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Book of Abstracts

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Grammaticalization as Distributional Learning: English Modals in History

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Keywords: English modals, distributional learning, learnability, Middle English, (re)categorization

This paper takes a fresh look at the rise of modal verbs in the history of English and applies a learnability-driven approach to historical data to explain the emergence of a new grammar with this new set of verbs in Middle English (ME, 1150-1500). We propose that modals, like other syntactic categories, can be discovered by the child learner via distributional learning and that the crucial mechanism for categorization is the Tolerance Principle (Yang 2016). Using CHILDES data and historical data we show that our approach can model (re)categorization in acquisition and diachrony.

The development of modals in the history of English has been a long-standing and hotly debated topic (see Lightfoot 1979, Warner 1993, Fischer 2007 and many more). Empirically, it is clear that the rise of today's set of (central) modal verbs (*can/could, may/might, shall/should, will/would, must*) gradually developed from lexical verbs (e.g., Warner 1993, Ch 6), a paradigm case of grammaticalization. However, understanding grammaticalization requires a precise psychological mechanism of how children classify words into syntactic categories, and how such classifications may change over time.

It has been well established that English modals emerge at the earliest stage of acquisition: they are virtually always used in structurally appropriate positions while adult-like semantic/pragmatic usage (e.g., epistemic meaning) is acquired much later (Papafragou 1998). Thus, modals as a formal syntactic category can be established purely on a distributional basis. Indeed, language acquisition research suggests that the formal/positional properties of highly frequent functional elements–pronouns, determiners, inflections, etc.–are critical for the classification of words into syntactic categories (Mintz 2003, Shi and Melançon 2010, Wang et al. 2022).

We propose the TP as a key computational mechanism for the discovery of syntactic categories from distributional information (Liang et al. 2021). In the conventional application of the TP, a rule defined over a set of N items can generalize if fewer than $\theta_N = N/\ln N$ are exceptions to the rule. If a productive rule cannot be established for a set of words, the learner will partition the words into subsets and recursively search for productive rules within. Category acquisition under the TP operates similarly.

Consider the top 50 most frequent verbal items in child-directed English (MacWhinney 2000), all of which can be identified as words that very frequently follow a pronoun (i.e. the subject). This is the approximate vocabulary size for young children who have learned the basic syntactic categories of English (Yang 2016). However, their distributional properties as defined by their successor on the right are quite heterogeneous: for 21, the most frequent successor is *not* (including contracted forms), exceeding the TP threshold ($\theta_{50} = 12$). Subdivision is necessary, which in fact creates the category of functional verbs (i.e., preceding negation). However the functional verbs are still heterogeneous: 10 are immediately followed by a bare verb, which again exceeds the TP threshold ($\theta_{22} = 7$), while the rest are immediately followed by an inflected verbal form which pre-linguistic infants can recognize (Kim & Sundara 2021). This subdivision yields the modal vs. auxiliary/copula distinction, as the latter category takes on inflected participles on the right. Note that negation is crucial for distinguishing modals: certain lexical verbs take bare infinitives (e.g., *go eat, come play, help make*) but are not followed by negation and are thus not classified as modals. The categorization of the major verbal classes based on the more frequent successors is purely formal and makes no reference to the semantic contents of words, and can be visualized as a decision tree in Fig 1.

The analysis of the Middle English corpus data (verb lemmatized versions of the PPCME2, PCMEP, PLAEME) is carried out similarly based on the distribution patterns of auxiliaries (modals, be, have), the so-called premodals and the 10 most frequent lexical verbs in the data shown in Table 1 and 2. Even if the system of negation was more complex, negation was always a marker of the auxiliary status of modals: in early Middle English it was first the clitic *ne*, also building contracted forms with auxiliary verbs like *nolde* (*ne wolde*) and *nis* (*ne is*), which according to Warner helped define the class (Warner 1993:151).
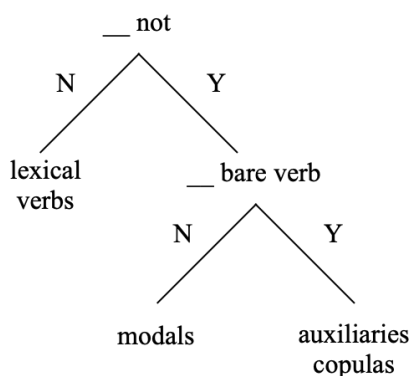

Figure 1. Recursive category of English verbs based on distribution (rightmost successor)

Auxiliaries (MD,BE,HV) in Middle English			
Period			
	___*not*	*ne*___*not*	___bare infinitive
M1	62	520	MD 3199, HV/BE 7
M2	757	622	MD 4056, HV/BE 1
M3	2528	193	MD 4027, HV/BE 0
M4	2347	16	MD 3526, HV/BE 0

Table 1: Distributional profiles for ME auxiliaries

Middle English	"Premodals"		10 most frequent lexical verbs	
Period				
	___*not*	___bare infinitive	___*not*	___bare infinitive
M1	0	11	2	1
M2	12	53	24	3
M3	20	3	117	0
M4	19	3	84	1

Table 2: Distributional profiles for premodals and lexical verbs

In the course of the Middle English period post-modal *naht/noht/not* became a marker of modalhood. This distinguished them from other verbal items including their lexical verb counterparts still taking objects (e.g., *connen, willen*) whose frequencies decreased over time. Bare infinitives are a further property of modals but as in Present-Day English they alone do not uniquely determine modals: negation is critical. Table 1 shows exactly this, i.e. negation (*not*) to the right robustly identifies modals (column 1), as does the bare infinitive (column 3) as opposed to *have, be* (column 3), "premodals" and lexical verbs (Table 2).

Our results have two major implications. First, and more broadly, we suggest that syntactic categories can be established on formal/distributional basis. Grammaticalization, therefore, is the child learner's reaction to changes in the distributional data that resulted in categorization distinct from previous generations. Second, our findings make clear that it is the placement before negation that has critically sustained the modal verbs as distinct from lexical verbs. It is perhaps no coincidence that a distinct modal system only arose in English, the only Germanic language that has lost verb movement that would place lexical verbs past negation as well.

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'Manner' in the Way Construction and the Reaction Object Construction

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A productive clause type of English is the so-called Way construction, illustrated in (1):

(1) Paco fandangoed his way into the hall   (Mateu 2002)

This construction invariably contains the word *way* and a prepositional phrase (PP). The noun *way,* obligatorily singular (Christie 2011: 5), is modified by a possessive adjective typically coreferenced with the subject. The following examples (from Salkoff 1988: 49-50) show that the PP occurs mandatorily:

(2) Max pushed his way through the crowd
(3) * Max pushed his way

The Way construction implies motion (concrete or abstract, see Salkoff 1988: 50), triggered by the relationship which *way* and the PP establish. That is, the construction guarantees that the subject referent walks a certain path, whose endpoint is specified either by a PP or by adverbs such as *downstairs* (*She hurriedly made her way downstairs*). Thus, (1) *entails* the sentence 'Paco reached the hall'.

Our interest is mainly in paraphrases that *include* the meaning of the verb, as e.g. (4) if compared to (1):

(4) Paco reached the hall *while/by fandangoing* (i.e. while/by dancing a fandango)

In (4), the *while/by*-phrase tells the manner in which the subject referent brings his path to completion (*How did Paco reach the hall? While/by fandangoing*). Levin-Rapoport (1988) and Jackendoff (1990) «suggest two distinct paraphrases […], one in which the verb designates the means of motion, the other in which the verb designates some other coextensive action or manner» (Goldberg 1995: 202), as e.g. in (5) and (6) (adapted from Christie 2011):

(5a) John elbowed his way into the crowd
(5b) John entered the crowd by elbowing (MEANS)
(6a) John whistled his way across the room
(6b) John$_i$ moved across the room while he$_i$ was whistling (MANNER)

Our aim is to account for the relationship between e.g. *elbowed* in (5a) and the adverbial clause in (5b). For this purpose, a parallel is drawn between paraphrases such as that between (1) and (4) and paraphrases such as that between (7a), a Reaction Object Construction, and (7b):

(7a) Morse nodded his appreciation of the situation (Mirto 2017)

(7b) Morse communicated his appreciation of the situation *by nodding*

The former paraphrase depends on the relationship between *fandangoed* in (1) and *fandagoing* in the adverbial *by*-phrase of (4). In parallel, the latter depends on the relationship between *nodded* in (7a) and the adverbial clause *by nodding* in (7b). We contend that both types of paraphrase originate from a single syntactic device, to be traced back to the analysis which Salkoff (1988), after Gross (1981: 45-48), labels «*à fusion*». Specifically, we hold that the verbs in e.g. (1) and (7a) share a key feature (see Mirto and Granifero 2022: 31-34, 43) with support verbs such as *make* (e.g. *She made a decision*). Just as support verbs may convey e.g. aspect or register (see Gross 1981: 29), the verbs in (5) and (6) contribute e.g. means or manner. Our analysis, based on the 13 Inspector Morse novels by Colin Dexter (see Mirto 2017), will also provide structural reasons for the exclusion of unaccusative verbs (**Max entered his way onto the stage*, Salkoff 1988: 81).

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Modal particles in exclamatives: The case of Udmurt

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This research focuses on the semantic contribution of Udmurt (Permic, Uralic) modal particles *uk* and *dak* when they occur in exclamative constructions. The particle *uk* roughly corresponds to the markers of uncontroversial information similar to German *ja, doch* (Panov 2020). The particle *dak* presumably originates from the Russian demonstrative *tak* 'so' and is used in a variety of functions.

The theoretical assumptions behind this study are that modal particles may show incompatibility or affinity to particular sentence types (Zimmermann 2011) and that certain modal particles can be analyzed as intensifiers (degree modifiers) that change the sentence type from declarative to exclamative (Batinić et al. 2015).

The research question is how the particles *uk* and *dak* are used as means of intensification in exclamatives of different types. I analyzed four types of Udmurt exclamative constructions: i) wh-exclamatives; ii) exclamatives formed by a demonstrative pronoun; iii) a tautological construction with a conditional conjunction *A ke A;* iv) constructions with no formal means of exclamation except intonation and a particle under consideration. Each exclamative type was tested with four classes of degree words (Bolinger 1972): adjectives, adverbs, nouns, and verbs.

The data is obtained through elicitation sessions with nine native speakers of Udmurt from different dialectal areas (Northern, Central, Southern) and supported by corpus examples (Arkhangelskiy&Medvedeva 2014-2021; Arkhangelskiy et al. 2003-2021).

The results of the analysis showed that both particles *uk* and *dak* are compatible with exclamative constructions of types I-III. Both particles can serve as the sole means of exclamation when a high degree is an inherent part of the semantics of a degree word (*tyškaśkyny* 'scold, criticize' in (1)). The particles can be used interchangeably in these constructions:

(1) *Oj,   so-je kyšno-jez   tyškaśk-i-z   **uk/dak**!*
     INTJ   3SG-ACC wife-P3SG   scold-PST-3SG   PTCL/PTCL
     'Oh, his wife scolded him so!'

An important difference is observed when the particles are used as a sole means of exclamation with words that don't have an inherent semantic component of high degree. In this case, the particle *dak* adds implicit scalarity, making the sentence a true exclamative according to the

features of exclamatives provided in (Michaelis 2001). In (2), the speaker is surprised by seeing unusually big or bright Moon.

(2)   *Oj,*   *toleź*   **dak**!

      INTJ   moon   PTCL

      'Oh, what a Moon!'

The particle *uk* gives rise to a different interpretation, namely, that of the speaker's surprise of the fact that there is a Moon in the sky:

(3)   *Oj,*   *toleź*   **uk**!

      INTJ   Moon   PTCL

      'Oh, there's a Moon!'

However, analyzing *uk* as a particle conveying surprise is challenged by the fact that it can be used in exclamatives that don't convey surprise (due to pragmatic restrictions) analyzed in Badan&Cheng (2015). In line with their analysis, I suggest that the particle *uk* is a marker of ego-evidentiality, i.e. the speaker's immediate and direct knowledge. In my presentation, I will show the tests that support this idea and discuss how ego-evidential meaning manifests in other sentence types where *uk* is used.

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Why don't Russian adverbs take (some) arguments?

The relation between part of speech and argument structure is a prominent topic beginning from Grimshaw (1990) and many others, such as de Cuba (2017). My study focuses on a tendency observed for Russian adverbials (see Déchaine 1993: 70, Déchaine, Tremblay 1996, Alexeyenko 2015: 88-93 with similar English and French data). Many arguments possible for expression with adjectives cannot be expressed with adverbials of the same stem. Examples (1) and (2) demonstrate that the adjective *gordyj* 'proud' and the adverbial *gordo* 'proudly' behave in this way: the instrumental-marked stimulus is only compatible with the adjective (1), not with adverbial (2).

(1) *igrok-Ø* **gord-yj** *svo-ej* *pobed-oj*

   player-SG.NOM proud-M.SG.NOM REFL-F.SG.INS victory-SG.INS

   'the player, proud with his victory'

(2) *On* *še-l-Ø* **gordo** *(*svo-ej* *pobed-oj).*

   he.NOM walk-PST-SG.M proudly REFL-F.SG.INS victory-SG.INS

   Intended: 'He walked proudly of his victory.'

The relevant class of adverbials mainly includes adverbials of emotional and physical state of the subject like *gordo* 'proudly', *spokojno* 'calmly', *ustalo* 'tiredly'. The argument that cannot be expressed is mainly the stimulus / reason argument or the content of emotion.

At the same time, in Russian (just as in English, see Alekseyenko 2015: 90-93, Déchaine 1993: 70), some adverbials take arguments: manner adverbials like *polezno* 'usefully (for)', *bezopasno* 'safely (for)', *nezavisimo* 'independently (on)', *neponjatno* 'unclearly (for)', as well as locative adverbs like *daleko* 'far away (from)' and *blizko* 'closely (to)'.

(3) *vremj-a* *kotor-oe* *možno*

   time-SG.NOM that-N.SG.ACC possibly

ispol'zova-t' **polezno** *dlja* *mozg-a.*

use-INF usefully for brain-SG.GEN

   'the time time that can be used usefully for the brain.'

Moreover, so-called predicatives (adverbial-like items functioning as non-verbal predicates) are compatible with stimulus and content arguments, as in (4), contrary to adverbials in the proper sense (5):

(4) *I* *mater-i* **spokojno** *za* *nego.*

   and mother-SG.DAT calmly for him

   'And the mother is calm (feels good) about him.' [Г. Я. Бакланов. Пядь земли (1959)]

(5) *Mat'-Ø* *govori-l-a* **spokojno** *(*za* *nego).*

   mother-SG.NOM speak-PST-SG.F calmly for he.ACC

   Intended: 'The mother spoke calmly for him.'

The analysis proposed by Alexeyenko (2015) relates the (in)ability of the adverb to take complements to the postposition of adjectives that have an argument expressed. However, this analysis does not seem

to be plausible for Russian: the presense of arguments in Russian adjectival construction does not prevent the adjective from being preposed, for instance, in (1'):

(1') **gord-yj**   *svo-ej*   *pobed-oj*   *igrok-Ø*

proud-M.SG.NOM   REFL-F.SG.INS   victory-SG.INS   player-SG.NOM

'the player, proud with his victory'

In other words, Russian adjectives are not subject to any positional restrictions, similar to the English one, but the restriction on adverbials is the same as in English.

I propose that the opposition between (2) and (3) is mainly between semantic classes. Adverbials like *gordo* 'proudly' in (2) and *spokojno* 'calmly' in (5) express the manner as related to the state of the subject ('the subject is calm / proud, and this is why (s)he) speaks / walks in a particular way'). For this class, the property of the subject is crucial to describe the manner of action, and other participants do not describe the manner and are not realized. By contrast, adverbials like *polezno* 'usefully' in (3) or *neponjatno* 'unclearly' describe the situation mainly as related to the second participant. The manner of action cannot be described without the second participant being defined. This is why the second participant is realized. We can regard argument NP / PP in examples like (4) as semantic arguments: their (im)possibility to be expressed depends on the semantics of the manner. Finally, predicatives, as in (4), have a syntactic argument: they do not express the manner the main situation proceeds in, but the main property, and have a full-fledged argument structure.

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Word Formation and Syntactic Productivity: Usage Patterns of German *ung*-Nominalizations

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This paper sheds new light on two phenomena of German which have received much attention in recent literature: verbonominal constructions as in (1)–(2) (*Funktionsverbgefüge*, cf. eg. Seifert 2004, Kamber 2008 and Harm 2021) and complex prepositions as in (3)–(4) (cf. e.g. Seppänen et al. 1994 and Hüning et al. 2020). In approaching the structures from the perspective of their core elements, i.e. deverbal nouns, the paper argues for a more differentiated picture with several types of constructions. Focusing on deverbal nominalizations with the suffix *-ung*, a well-researched derivation pattern of German (Demske 2000, Hartmann 2013a and 2013b), the study starts out with two simple questions: Why are some *ung*-nominalizations more prone to being used in the relevant constructions than others? And how do these preferences change over time?

(1) *Es **kommt** aber noch ein zweiter Gegenſtand **in Betrachtung**.* (von Clausewitz 1834)
     'However, a second issue comes into consideration.'
(2) *Aber es **kommen** hier vier Gegenſtånde **zur Betrachtung**.* (von Clausewitz 1834)
     'But four issues come to consideration here.'
(3) *[...] der [wolle] ihn **in Betrachtung** solchen Gehorsams der gnädigen Rücksicht des Himmelssohnes empfehlen.* (Berg 1873)
     '[...] he wishes to commend him, in consideration of such obedience, to the gracious care of the Son of Heaven.'
(4) ***Mit Berücksichtigung** aller dieſer Umſtände liefert die heutige vervollkommnete Ringmaſchine ca. 40 % mehr Garn als die Flügelmaſchine.* (Samter 1896)
     'Considering all these circumstances, today's improved ring machine delivers about 40% more yarn than the wing machine.'

The inventory of each category and their status as grammatical(ized) or lexical(ized) patterns remain subject of debate. The study is based on data from DTA (Deutsches Textarchiv, c. 1600-1900). Importantly, it takes into account not only *ung*-nominalizations that are attested in the relevant constructions, but also lexemes that either have never occurred in or have been lost from these constructions. In this manner, the factors responsible for the integration of nominalizations into the structures can be determined:

(i) *Age*. Following the tendency for nominalizations to become "nounier" over time, younger and "verbier" nominalizations are more often used in both types of constructions. Although the data shows that this is true in principle, there is a non-negligible number of important exceptions that require explanation.

(ii) *Semantic relation* to base verb. Many, if not most exceptions to (i) are constituted by nominalizations retaining a transparent semantic relation to the respective base verb. In other words, if the verb

behind the *ung*-nominalization can be recognized, it is more likely that it will be used in verbonominal constructions and/or in complex prepositions.

(iii) *Genre*. The explosive spread of these constructions does not take place before the 19th century, and it occurs in scientific and legal texts.

Remarkably, some *ung*-nominalizations have cognate competitors derived from the same stem, e.g. *in Betrachtung/Betracht kommen, mit Berücksichtigung/Rücksicht*. In addition to expected blocking effects, there seems to be mutual attraction of such lexeme pairs, pointing to different degrees of schematicity and compositionality of the respective structures. Thus, the general nature of the lexical inventory also plays an important role to be taken into account.

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Cognitive consequences of multilingualism and age in the processing of markedness and ungrammaticality in L1

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In this presentation we will investigate speakers' acceptability of marked and/or ungrammatical constructions in their native language with respect to their mono- or multilingual status (cf. Kemp 2007; Dewaele & Wei 2013) and age. In our research we focused on the position of adverbs of frequency and the distribution of (reflexive) possessives in Polish, the participants' native language. Crucially, in both cases fully grammatical syntactic constructions were tested alongside marked (for adverbs of frequency) and ungrammatical (for possessives) constructions (1-2):

1a Jan   rzadko   czyta   e-booki.   =unmarked, grammatical

    Jan   seldom   reads   e-books

1b Jan   czyta   rzadko   e-booki.   =**marked, grammatical**

    Jan   reads   seldom   e-books

2a Jan_1 znalazł $swoje_1$ klucze.   =unmarked, grammatical

    Jan   found   self   keys

2b *Jan_1 znalazł $jego_1$ klucze.   =**ungrammatical**

    Jan   found   his   keys

A default, fully grammatical word order (a pre-verbal adverb) is shown in (1a), whereas (1b) shows a marked (but also grammatical) word order with a post-verbal adverb. As for possessives, Polish has reflexive possessives, which are used in the subject-oriented reading (2a), whereas possessive pronominals, as in (2b), are characterized by anti-subject orientation, which (prescriptively) prevents them from coreference with the subject.

The aim of the present study was to investigate the extent to which *multilingualism* and *age* influence the acceptability of grammatical vs. marked/ungrammatical sentences in the native language. We compared the performance of four groups of native speakers of Polish (N = 99), differing in their multilingual status (monolingual vs. multilingual) and age (young adult vs. middle-aged). In order to test participants' linguistic intuitions, we performed an acceptability judgement task (cf. Keating & Jegerski 2015), comprising 10 experimental items per condition, which were assessed on a 5-point Likert scale. This task was followed by a Cambridge General English placement test (https://www.cambridgeenglish.org/test-your-english/general-english/), whose aim was to verify the participants' knowledge of L2 English, thus operationalizing the degree of multilingualism.

We analyzed the data with a mixed-effects ordinal logistic regression model, using the R software (R Core Team 2022). We predicted *acceptability ratings* from *grammaticality* (grammatical [1a, 1b] vs. marked [1b] / ungrammatical [2b]), *English score* and *age* (both entered as continuous variables). We expected significant effects of *multilingualism* and *age* on *acceptability ratings* as a function of *grammaticality*. The analyses for possessive pronouns showed statistically significant results of *grammaticality* (β = -0.59, *p* < 0.001), which interacted with *age* for ungrammatical sentences (β = -0.14, *p* = 0.001). As for adverb placement, *grammaticality* did not play a significant role in acceptability ratings (β = -0.01, *p* = 0.95). However, there was a significant effect of *English score* (β = 0.18, *p* = 0.015), which interacted with *grammaticality* for marked sentences (β = -0.12, *p* = 0.002).

The results show that both multilingual status and younger age contribute to an increase in tolerance for the acceptability of marked/ungrammatical sentences. We hope that our study will contribute to the growing body of literature regarding cognitive changes in the perception of grammaticality in L1 under the influence of other languages known by the speakers (L2/L3/Ln).

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DOUBLING AND EXTRACTION FROM PP IN ALEMANNIC GERMAN

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INTRODUCTION: We examine facts from Alemannic German, spoken in and around Switzer-land, using native speaker judgments. We discuss a type of pronoun, termed R-pronoun in van Riemsdijk's (1978) study of Dutch, which also exists in German (Abels 2012, a.o.). As Abels overviews, some standard German speakers allow movement of R-pronouns from PP. However, we show that in Alemannic, movement of the pronoun from PP requires another morpheme, which we gloss as 'DBL':

(1)
Do_1 iass i [$_{PP}$ t_1 *(de) vo]
this eat I   DBL of
'Of this, I eat some'

We argue that this is 'doubling', via the spell-out of a trace of focus-driven movement to a Foc(us)P above PP. We propose this by analogy with works arguing for a focus position above DP in, for instance, Bangla (Syed 2015) and Greek (Ntelitheos 2002).

FACTS: We first describe the patterns using the pronouns do/de ('this/here/it') and the P vo ('of'). When there is no PP or focus, do stands alone. Focusing the pronoun requires the additional morpheme de:

(2)
Min   hus   isch do   / do   de
my   house is   here   HERE   DBL

Also, when in PP, do must co-occur with de:

(3)
I iass [$_{PP}$ do *(de) vo]
I eat   this DBL of

This de is the same as the pronoun usually meaning 'it', which is never focused
(4)
I iass [$_{PP}$ de vo]
I eat   it of

Though in (1) the pronoun is extracted from PP, it is also possible to move the whole PP:

(5)
[Do *(de) vo]$_1$ iass i t$_1$
this DBL of   eat I

Since focus on the R-pronoun when not in a PP requires the morpheme de, we take the occurrence of de in the above PP examples to indicate focus-driven movement.

ANALYSIS: Following Abels (2012) and references therein, we assume that R-pronouns precede P because they must move to spec-PP. We propose that when the pronoun is focused, it then moves from spec-PP to the specifier of a FocP above PP. We argue that the trace of this movement in spec-PP is realized as the doubling morpheme de:

(6)   [$_{FocP}$ PRON$_1$ [$_{Foc}$′   Foc^0 [$_{PP}$ t$_1$(=de)   [$_{P}$′   P^0 t$_1$]]]]

After this, the pronoun can move alone, stranding FocP and PP, as in (1). Alternatively, move-ment of the pronoun can pied-pipe that FocP (containing PP), as in (5). When the pronoun is doubled but not in PP as in (2), we argue that it is directly dominated by FocP and moves to spec-FocP, leaving behind a trace expressed as doubling:

(7)   [$_{FocP}$ PRON$_1$ [$_{Foc}$′   Foc^0 t$_1$(=de)]

OTHER PRONOUNS: These patterns also occur with the other R-pronouns dot¨ ('that/there') and wo ('what/where'), and other prepositions. All R-pronouns are doubled by de. Cross-linguistically, doubling often involves un-marked morphology. van Urk (2018) shows that DPs can be doubled by pronouns in Dutch, and Landau (2006) shows that verb doubling in Hebrew yields infinitives. Analogously, in Alemannic various R-pronouns are doubled by a morpheme that normally is an un-marked pronoun ('it').

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Stratified Diffusion: The Spread of Anterior > Preterite in the Perfects of Europe

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Keywords: perfect, anterior, preterite, areal, Europe

In this paper, evidence is presented for the stratified diffusion of several key features of the periphrastic perfect construction across the map of Europe: the coopting of possessive HAVE as an auxiliary in many languages of western Europe, the development of HAVE/BE auxiliation in particular varieties, and, of special interest here, the shift of anterior to preterital meaning in a subset of these. It is argued that the latter innovation first appeared in the vernacular of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Paris and its environs:

1. FRENCH   (1264, finalization of a sale of land and an alder grove by Lady Eustachie of Genvry to Saint-Eloi of Noyon)
et ainsi lor **ai**   *jou* **livré**   *chel aunoy   devisé   et esbonné*
and then them have.1SG   I   give.PPP that alder grove divide.PPP and separate.PPP

de bounes   certaines qi   i   sont mises.
of boundaries certain   that there were set.PPP
'And then I **gave** them that alder grove, divided and separated by certain boundary markers which were set there.' (74, 6)
(Carolus-Barré 1964: 88-91)

The innovation spread to areas influenced by French culture such as western and southern Germany and northern Italy. French cultural influence reached western German territory in the twelfth-fourteenth centuries, attested first in documentary evidence from Cologne, Trier, and Strasbourg:

2. GERMAN   (1283, Last will and testament of Mechthild, Countess of Sayn)
…*alle mine scholt gelden die ich selve* **gemacht haven**…(7.2)
all   my   owed money that I self   make.PPP have
'all my owed money that I myself **have made/made**'
(Bohn and Rapp 1995: 241-45)

It eventually spread to the southeastern German area, to cities like Augsburg and Nürnberg, but not to the northern German territory, where the anterior/preterite distinction persisted.

Essential evidence for this areal explanation is provided by the extension of this innovation into contiguous Slavic territories under Habsburg rule—Czech, Slovak, Slovenian, and northern Croatian and Serbian—all of which have come to use their analytic perfects (with active resultative *l*-participle + BE) to mark the preterite (Thomas 2008, 2010)

3. CROATIAN
Jučer   **sam**   **pročitao**   *knjigu.*
yesterday be.PRS.1SG read.PRFV.PAP.M.SG book.ACC.SG
'Yesterday I read the/a book.'

<div align="center">(Gvozdanović 1995: 189)</div>

Northern Albanian has likewise adopted a preterital interpretation for its perfects:

4. ALBANIAN
    *Dje   e   **kam   parë** n'orën dy*
    yesterday him have.1SG seen at two o'clock
    'Yesterday I saw him at two o'clock'

<div align="right">(Friedman 1983: 85)</div>

Not only does the contiguity of the varieties that have adopted this innovation speak to its areal nature, but the absence of the shift in peripheral areas like English, Castilian, and southern Italian likewise lends support to this conclusion. This innovation thus represents part of an ongoing series of innovations that flowed from Latin and Romance into the Germanic languages and beyond.

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Infinitive fronting as a transparency effect: New data from Old Gallo-Romance

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The analysis of Stylistic Fronting (SF) (Maling 1990) in Old French is subject to debate (Mathieu 2006, Labelle and Hirschbühler 2014, 2017). In this presentation, I will argue that SF of infinitives in Old Gallo-Romance should be analysed on par with other Transparency Effects that are found in Restructuring clauses (e.g. clitic climbing, auxiliary switch). Scandinavian SF normally refers to head-movement in clauses where the subject is null – and it does not concern infinitives.
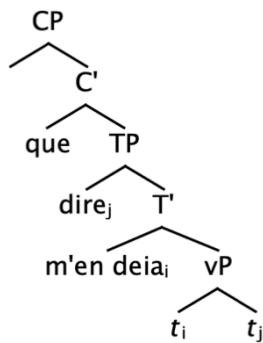
In Old French and Old Occitan, the infinitive can undergo be fronted in embedded clauses, notably when introduced by *que* (1), (2). The data show that the subject gap is not required.

(1)   E   **que** <u>ateindre</u> nel   poeit   [Old French]
        and that reach.INF NEG=3SG=can
        "and that he could not reach it."

(2)   Non sai   donc **que** <u>dire</u> m'en   deia   [Old Occitan]
        NEG know thus what tell.INF 1SG=GEN=should
        "Thus, I don't know what I should tell myself."

Infinitive fronting in the 13th century Gallo-Romance data is consistently found in clauses where the main verb is a modal – unlike SF in Icelandic. Furthermore, when the infinitive has an internal argument realised as a clitic, it systematically climbs to the main verb (as is the case in the two examples above). We never find proclisis or enclisis on the fronted infinitive: consider example (1) where the negation precedes the clitic, which indicates that it is not a case of enclisis on the infinitive. This environment is traditionally analysed as mono-clausal Restructuring in the literature (Rizzi 1982, Cinque 2001, Wurmbrand 2001). Unlike in most modern varieties, clitic climbing was an obligatory phenomenon in Old Romance restructuring clauses, which is categorically the case when the infinitive is fronted too. Further, recent work on SF in Icelandic (Ingason and Woord 2017) has shown that the presence of a CP-layer crashes the derivation. Consequently, (1) and (2) must be analysed as Restructuring clauses.

I propose an analysis whereby mono-clausal Restructuring is a necessary environment for Transparency Effects (and thus, infinitive fronting) to take place, yet it does not necessarily entail that the language will have these effects – for instance Modern French lacks clitic climbing and auxiliary switch, yet it has Restructuring configurations (Olivier 2022).

(3)

```
        CP
        /\
          C'
         /\
      que   TP
            /\
        dire_j  T'
              /\
      m'en deia_i  vP
                  /\
                t_i  t_j
```

The data show that the object of the fronted infinitive can either cliticise onto the main verb (i.e. clitic climbing) or move as a full DP with the infinitive (after undergoing short scrambling, cf. Martins 2011), in which case the order is *SUBJ - OBJ - INF − V*, when the subject is overt. Based on this evidence, I take infinitive fronting to be a case of *v*P-movement to Spec,TP. Given that subjects may be overt in this environment, I propose that they target a position sandwiched between CP and TP, namely SubjP (Rizzi and Schlonsky 2007). The structure of (2) is given in (3).

The loss of infinitive fronting before clitic climbing in French raises a question: why? One possibility is that heavier phrasal movement is lost before lighter head movement (Olivier et al. in press). Long participial agreement, based on Agree and not Move, persists longer. Another possibility is that the targeted position became unavailable to *v*P movement.

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The morphophonology of athematic verbs in Belarusian

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Keywords: verbs, stress, morphophonology, Belarusian, Slavic

Morphophonological properties of Belarusian are consequential for Slavic linguistics but are understudied and/or poorly documented. I analyze the stress properties of athematic verbs in Belarusian (Biryla & Shuba 1985, Kolas, Krapiva & Hlebka 2002, Kapyloŭ 2016), compare them to the better studied facts in Russian (Matushansky 2022, to appear; see also Halle 1973, Melvold 1990, a.o.), show that stress retraction is more common in Belarusian, and propose that two independent forces that commonly lead to regularization of morphological patterns – the preference for stem stress and preference for paradigm uniformity – by working against each other, give rise to the productivity of a mobile (retracting) stress pattern in Belarusian.

In (East) Slavic, morphemes are specified for accent-bearing properties. Athematic verbal stems (in Russian: a small, closed group) fall into one of the following categories: *accented* (carries accent), *post-accenting* (assigns stress to the following morpheme), *unaccented* (unspecified for accent), and *retracting* (unaccented in present tense, accented in the infinitive or infinitive and past tense). In Russian, the relevant verbal affixes are *accented* (PST-F.SG, PRS.3SG) and *unaccented* (PST-PL). Stress targets the leftmost accented vowel, or, in the absence of accent, the leftmost vowel, (1) (BAP, Basic Accent Principle, based on Kiparsky & Halle 1977).

Accented stems in Belarusian behave identically to Russian, (2a). The PST-PL form of *unaccented* stems, however, reveals that PST-PL is *accented* in Belarusian, (2b). In fact, in contrast with Russian, all PST morphemes (PST-PL, PST-F/M/N.SG) in Belarusian are accented, providing a strong example of paradigm uniformity. From this, it follows that, *unaccented* and *post-accenting* stems behave identically in Belarusian, (2b-c); in Russian, (1b-c) only differ in the PST-PL form. Together, unaccented and post-accenting stems stand in opposition to the retracting (and accented) stems in Belarusian.

Strikingly, retracting stems are more numerous in Belarusian, and there is an ongoing shift of *post-accenting* stems into the *retracting* category: cf. (2d, 1c). There are ~15 more *retracting* stems in Belarusian than in Russian (some optionally allow for *post-accenting*-like stress placement), and another 6 *post-accenting* stems that have retraction in the infinitive only. The latter fact suggests that the shift of post-accenting stems into the retracting category starts with the infinitive.

This, I hypothesize, is due to several factors. On the one hand, *retracting* stems are more frequent in Belarusian: e.g., many thematic Russian verbs systematically correspond to athematic (*retracting* and *post-accenting*) verbs in Belarusian, (3). Also, stress is more root-oriented in Belarusian. Belarusian nominal stress is less mobile and more faithful to the root (Dubina 2012), and thematic verbs are more commonly stressed on the root, (4). On the other, in contrast with Russian, Belarusian retained the syllabic infinitival ending *-ci* in unstressed positions in athematic verbs (5), which can serve as a model for retraction in post-accenting infinitival forms.

These factors illustrate the pressure for stem stress, especially in infinitives, which overpowers the accented properties of PST morphemes, but not that of person-marking morphemes in present tense (cf. (2d)). This contributes to the creation of new *retracting* stress patterns.

(1) Accentual properties of athematic verbs in Russian (accent = underscore, stress = acute)

	morpheme		accented PRS.3SG	accented PST-F.SG	**unaccented** PST-PL
a.	accented:	*-lez-* 'climb'	*l<u>é</u>z-<u>et</u>*	*l<u>é</u>z-l-<u>a</u>*	*l<u>é</u>z-l-i*
b.	unaccented:	*-ži(v)-* 'live'	*živ^j-<u>ó</u>t*	*ži-l-<u>á</u>*	*ží-l-i*
c	post-accenting:	*-nes-* 'carry'	*nes^j_-<u>ó</u>t*	*nes_-l-<u>á</u>*	*nes_-l-í*
d.	retracting:	*-kra(d)-* 'steal'	*krad-<u>ó</u>t*	*kr<u>á</u>-l-a*	*kr<u>á</u>-l-i*

(2) Accentual properties of athematic verbs in Belarusian (accent = underscore, stress = acute)

	morpheme		accented PRS.3SG	accented PST-F.SG	**accented** PST-PL
a.	accented:	*-lez-* 'climb'	*l<u>é</u>z-<u>e</u>*	*l<u>é</u>z-l-<u>a</u>*	*l<u>é</u>z-l-<u>i</u>*
b.	unaccented:	*-žy(v)-* 'live'	*žyv^j-<u>é</u>*	*žy-l-<u>á</u>*	*žy-l-<u>í</u>*
c	post-accenting:	*-bry(d)-* 'wander'	*brydz_-<u>é</u>*	*bry_-l-<u>á</u>*	*bry_-l-<u>í</u>*
d.	retracting:	*-nes-* 'carry'	*nias^j-<u>é</u>*	*n<u>é</u>s-l-a*	*n<u>é</u>s-l-i*

(3) a.   Ru. *bež-á-t'* 'run-**TH**-INF', *bež-á-l-a* 'run-**TH**-PST-F.SG'
     a'. Bel. *béɣ-čy* 'run-INF', *béɣ-l-a* 'run-PST-F.SG'
     b.   Ru. *rev-é-t'* 'roar-**TH**-INF', *rev-é-l-a* 'roar-**TH**-PST-F.SG'
     b'. Bel. *raŭ-cí* 'roar-INF', *raŭ-l-á* 'roar-**TH**-PST-F.SG'

(4) a.   Ru. *udít'* – Bel. *vúdzic'* 'fish.INF'
     b.   Ru. *dyšát'* – Bel. *dýxac'* 'breath.INF'
     c.   Ru. *letát'* – Bel. *lʲótac'* 'fly.INF' (colloq.)

(5) a.   Ru. *klást'* – Bel. *klásci* 'put.INF'
     b.   Ru. *krást'* – Bel. *krásci* 'steal.INF'

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Gapped and Overabundant Paradigm Cells in Modern Greek

Gapped and overabundant cells have been discussed in the literature as two distinct phenomena that are encountered in the paradigm (Baerman et al. 2010; Sims 2015; Thornton 2011, 2012, among others). The present study is bringing these two 'special' cases of cells together; it argues for a scalar, gradient relationship that seems to govern them, and tests how examples from Modern Greek can be placed upon the suggested scale through three relevant tasks. The tasks address contextual factors like register, phonological similarity, and semantic transparency, which have not yet been experimentally tested for Modern Greek data.

Schema 1

The main idea of the scale (Schema 1) is that, if canonical paradigm cells, i.e. cells containing a single form, are at the default point 1, then gapped cells are placed towards the 0 point and overabundant cells towards the 2+ point. The two absolutes, represented by the two end points, appear to be rare, since most cells fall somewhere in-between, and are even expected to move along the scale as language changes.

The genitive form of nouns in Modern Greek, particularly the plural form, serves as the experimental basis of the study, since it encompasses a great variety of cases from gapped to overabundant cells, mainly due to its non-transparent stress rules and its gradually declining use over time (Mertyris 2014; Sims 2019). Various nouns have been attested in Greek corpora with two stress variants (examples from elTenTen14, Sketch Engine, given in Table 1), yet I am focusing on feminine, penultimately-stressed nouns in /-a/, e.g. /platˈforma/ ('platform'), whose genitive plural can be both /platˈformon/ and /platforˈmon/. This group of nouns contains a significant number of loan words, which, upon adaptation to the language, appear prone to morphophonological and prosodic variations (Revithiadou 1999).

NomSg	GenSg		GenPl	
λογότυπος /loˈɣotipos/ 'logo' (masc-APU)	APU PU	N=1126 N=1009	APU PU	N=143 N=355
πλατφόρμα /platˈforma/ 'platform' (fem-PU)			PU U	N=247 N=486
σημειωματάριο /simiomaˈtario/ 'notebook' (neut-APU)	APU PU	N=84 N=72	APU PU	N=23 N=20

Table 1. Tokens from elTenTen14 with stress variation in ultimate (U), penultimate (PU), and antepenultimate (APU) syllables.

Through two reading tasks I am examining two possible conditions on overabundance. First, if the degree of formality dictates a certain stress placement on the genitive, since stress movement in Greek is associated with higher register (see Mitsiaki & Anastasiadi-Symeonidi 2019). Second, if phonological similarities between the noun and a preceding adjective exert some pressure on stress assignment. The idea stems from the concept of stress neighbourhood effect (Burani & Arduino 2004, among others), but it is adjusted to a more specific environment. The hypothesis is that an

ultimately-stressed adjective evokes an ultimately-stressed noun, meaning that the combination /aniˈxton platforˈmon/ ('open platforms-GEN.PL') may be preferable over /aniˈxton platˈformon/. It is expected that the more conditioned variation is, the closer to point 1 the cell will be placed. A third production task is dedicated to the diminutive suffix /-aki/, which typically resists genitive formations, resulting in a gap, e.g. */peðaˈkiou/ (*παιδακιού 'child-DIM.GEN.PL'). Oftentimes, /-aki/ becomes less transparent semantically (Petrounias 1993), as in /kokaˈlaki/ ('hair clip'), whose meaning deviates from the root noun /ˈkokalo/ ('bone'). The prediction is that lack of transparency will move a genitive cell from point 0 towards point 1 in the scale.

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Investigating the diachrony and present entrenchment of color terms through linguistic means
Berlin & Kay (1969 and later research) provided evidence that languages add basic color terms in a partially fixed order. The first basic ones correspond to the six Hering primaries (white, black, red, yellow, green, and blue) which may constitute a universal foundation for color naming (Kay et al. 1997, Kay et al. 2009, Kay & Maffi 1999). The aim of this paper is to investigate into the order of emergence and development of the Albanian color terms through the available linguistic evidence.

The basic Albanian ones are below:

	White	Black	Red	Yellow	Green	Blue	Brown	grey
masc.	*i bardhë*	*i zi*	*i kuq*	*i verdhë*	*i gjelbër*	*i kaltër*	*e murrme*	*i hirtë*
fem	*e bardhë*	*e zezë*	*e kuqe*	*e verdhë*	*e gjelbër*	*e kaltër*	*e murrme*	*e hirtë*
masc.					*jeshil*	*blu*	*kafe*	*gri*
fem					*jeshile*			

The color terms are evaluated through a range of linguistic means and patterns.

Firstly, the color terms with preposed article. Color terms are adjectives. Albanian adjectives are in two forms: i) preceded by the article (the earlier pattern): 'i' for masculine and 'e' for feminine and ii) the later pattern without a preposed article. The color term for white, black, red, yellow are only with a preposed article. The ones for green, blue, brown and grey have a synonymic pair one with a preposed article and one without.

Source.
i) The color terms for white and black come from proto-Albanian
ii) The color terms for red & yellow originate from Latin (language contact until the 5th cent. A.D)
iii) For green and brown, there is a pre-posed color adjective and a synonym without article – the latter are Turkish loans. Language contact with Turkish was from the 15th – 19th century A.D. There is no significant difference in the frequency (data from Albanian National Corpus), **but**, in usage, referring to the color spectrum, the speakers always use the recent Turkish loan synonym, as it is felt more representative or formal.
iv) The recent synonymic term for blue and grey (adjectives without a preposed article) are loans from European language – a language contact more recent than the previous cases.

Projection of gender, number. The color term for black is the 'heaviest' in marking: stem change for gender (i zi/e zezë) and an early-period, heavier marker for plurality (i zi/të zinj). The rest of the color terms with preposed article display gender distinction through the article only, and number distinction through article and post-posed marking. The color adjectives without article, with the exception of 'jeshil/jeshile' display no gender marking and very weak number marking, which is indictive of their very recent entry into Albanian.

Verbalization. The supposedly earlier color adjectives (black, white, red, yellow) have their verbalized term in the old pattern: *zi -> nxi; bardh -> zbardh; kuq -> skuq; verdh -> zverdh*. The rest of color terms lack the above and have the corresponding verb in a different, more recent pattern.

Type and token frequency. The color terms for black and white are at the top, with a significantly higher frequency of tokens and types. The color terms for red and yellow come next – at significant levels. The rest have hardly any type frequency and significantly lower frequency.

We refer to the usage-based approaches (Langacker 1987, Bybee 2010, Diessel 2017, 2019; Divjak 2019), relating usage data to entrenchment and cognitive structuring. The distinct linguistic means reveal the different time of emergence or borrowing. In addition, the earlier terms, due to their deep-rooted usage, have not been rivalled or competed (in language contact) like the more recent ones. Based on the evidence, the diachronic order as well as the present entrenchment appears in the following order:
a) Color term for white, black
b) Color term for red, yellow
c) Color term for green & brown, and later for blue & grey.

This account confirms the color order pattern as posited by Berlin & Kay, in terms of Greenbergian universals, (not Chomskyan).

Keywords: *color terms, typological universals, usage-based, entrenchment, language contact*

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Responding to proposals for joint action in Greek telephone calls

The purpose of the paper is to examine – within the conversation analytic framework – proposals for joint action that are accomplished through polar interrogatives and the kind of answers they get in Greek telephone calls. Proposals have been described as "directive-commissive" actions in which both speaker and recipient are involved as *agent* and as *beneficiary* (Couper-Kuhlen 2014). Their implementation through polar interrogatives (and even less, the type of answers they get) has been hardly looked into.

In a previous paper (Pavlidou & Alvanoudi 2023), we examined accepting answers to three formats of polar interrogatives, for example 'Shall we X?', as in (1):

(1)   A: *Φεύγουμε   από   εδώ;*
          go away.1PL.PRS   from   here
          'Shall we leave this place?'
       B: *Ναι.*
          'Yes.'

Our study confirmed the preference for particle-type answers reported for epistemically-oriented polar interrogatives by Enfield et al. (2019) – though not to the same extent. We argued that particle-type answers do 'simple' acceptance of the proposal, while repetitional answers additionally display the speaker's epistemic/deontic stance towards certain aspects of the proposal. All remaining answers (labeled OTHER-type answers) were found to accept the proposal in a mitigated manner.

In the present paper, we open up the scope of our examination to all formats of polar interrogatives encountered in our database and to both accepting and rejecting answers. The data are drawn from 190 fully transcribed telephone calls between familiars, which are part of the Corpus of Spoken Greek (cf. Pavlidou 2016). In these calls, more than 1200 polar interrogatives were identified according to Stivers & Enfield's (2010) coding scheme. Ca. 1/8 of these implement proposals for joint action via nine different polar interrogative formats. The quantitative analysis yields, once again, that particles are the most common type of answer across all formats (53.1%), although their presence is less prominent by comparison to the three formats originally examined. This category is followed by OTHER-type answers (26.6%) and by repetition-type answers (20.3%). Rejecting answers build only a very small part (11.8% of all answers), with highest occurrence in the category of OTHER-type answers.

In the presentation, the qualitative analysis will focus on OTHER-type answers. It will be shown that accepting answers of this type are commonly "transformative" in the sense of Stivers & Hayashi (2010), as in the following example:

(2)   A: *Θα. σε   δω   εσένα καθόλου;*
          FUT you see.1SG.PFV you   at all
          'Will I get to see you at all?'
       B: E   θα βρεθούμε κάποια   στιγμή.
          INTERJ   FUT meet.1PL   some   moment
          'INTERJ we will meet at some point.'

It will be also shown that the design of rejecting answers is such as to mitigate potential threats to the proposer's face, as in (3):

(3)   A: *Να   πάμε   σινεμά;*
          SBJV go.1PL.PFV cinema
          'Shall we go to the cinema?'
       B: *Έχω   διάβασμα.*

have.1SG.PRS   studying
'I need to study.'

It will be argued that OTHER-type answers to proposals for joint action are in the service of counter-balancing the dispreferred character of not whole-heartedly accepting or turning down a proposal, and thus maintaining affiliation between the participants.

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'This' at LP and RP: The case of Thai discourse markers *nii* and *niia*

Left and right peripheries (LP and RP) of discourse units, occupying the slots in the schematic structure of [(X) LP Argument.Structure RP (Y)] (Traugott 2014: 73), exhibit intriguing differences in their function with respect to 'exchange' and 'action' structures, e.g., turn management, clarification, challenge, etc. (Schiffrin 1987). Some researchers hypothesize the peripheral asymmetry, i.e., LP for subjectivity and RP for intersubjectivity (Beeching and Detges 2014), and some hypothesize the movement directionality, i.e., leftward movement for VO languages and rightward movement for OV languages, as a result of subjectification (Adamson 2000, cf. Traugott 2010). This paper reviews these hypotheses with two Thai discourse markers (DMs).

Two Thai DMs *nii* and *niia* carry different functions depending on their position at LP and RP. The DM *nii* originates from the proximal demonstrative *nii* 'this' and the DM *niia* from the combination of *nii* and the pragmatic particle *na* (Iwasaki 2004). Their functions are often similar, partly by virtue of having originated from the same origin, but their functions carry delicate shade of discourse meanings, as well.

The DM *nii* at LP carries the function of discourse initiation or topic shift/introduction, resembling 'try markers' (cf. Keenan & Schieffelin 1976) (action), whereas at RP it signals counter-expectation, or disappointment (subjective), and further, mild discontent (intersubjective). The other DM *niia* at LP carries nearly the same function as *nii*, i.e., discourse initiation or topic shift/introduction (action), whereas at RP it carries the functions of uncertainty, incredulity, or non-committal attitudes (subjective), and mild challenge or clarification request (intersubjective/action). Since the subjective/intersubjective functions do not correlate with the periphery, the peripheral asymmetry hypothesis is not supported, nor is the hypothesized leftward- or rightward-movement strongly supported.

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From deixis to evidentiality and beyond:
The particle *hine* in spoken Israeli Hebrew

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Previous research has shown that the domains of deixis and evidentiality often intersect in languages with or without grammaticalized evidentials (e.g., de Haan 2003; Hanks 2014). Notably, both deixis and evidentiality involve a relational structure between the origo and an object, and the core pragmatic dimension in both categories is the perceptual, cognitive, and social access that speakers have to the objects and events about which they are speaking (Hanks 2014). Moreover, deictic elements have been documented as one of the diachronic sources for the development of grammaticalized evidentials (Aikhenvald 2004; de Haan 2003; Hanks 2014). In this talk, we explore the evidential capacity of the Hebrew presentative particle *hine*, used primarily as a verbal pointer to concrete referents in the immediate environment, as well as to referential expressions of locations, time, states and events (cf. Izre'el 2022).

The functions and uses of the IH particle *hine* overlap to some extent with those of French *voici/voilà*, Russian *vot/von*, Latin *ecce*, Italian *ecco*, Yiddish *ot*, some particles in Baltic languages, and others (Killian 2022; Petit 2010; Talmy 2017). Based on a collection of 50 tokens of *hine* obtained from two sources of spoken Israeli Hebrew—television talk shows and video recordings of ordinary conversations—we will suggest that the basic function of *hine* is to point to a perceptible entity occurring in the immediate setting while indicating a change in the speaker's perceptual access to this entity or inviting such a change in the interlocutor, or both.

Moreover, we will show that, in some cases, the pointed-at entity constitutes evidence for the speaker's argument. This function can further be extended to the discourse domain, within which *hine* has more abstract uses in which it is directed at discursive referents. In such occurrences, *hine* exhibits an argumentative function of framing a previous or upcoming stretch of talk as evidence for the speaker's previously contested claim. An example of this function is shown in the following excerpt from a television talk show, which begins with a question implying that the guest should be willing to participate in Big Brother for a high reward (lines 1–2). Initially, the guest insists on not participating in Big Brother (line 3), but later makes a concession (lines 4–5) to which the host responds with *hine*, while pointing at the guest's direction (line 6). We suggest that this use reflects a metaphoric extension of the basic use of *hine* whereby the guest's partial adoption of the host's position is construed as the pointed-at object. Furthermore, we propose that *hine* is used here for "evidential vindication" (Kendrick 2019): It points to the guest's prior assertion framing it as evidence for the host's previously contested insinuation (lines 1–2).

We will propose a grammaticalization path for such developments, strengthening the conceptual affinity between the domains of deixis and evidentiality.

Example

1   Host: *az gam biʃvil ʃloʃa miljon |*
                so also for   three million
                '**So even for three million**'

2   *at   ve gaj lo timtseu   et=atsmeχem* [*b=a=aχ   ha=gadol /*
             you.SGF and Guy NEG will.find.2PL ACC=yourselves in=DEF=brother DEF=big
             '**you and Guy wouldn't find yourselves participating in the "Big Brother"?**'

3   Guest: [*lo || lo ||*
                                          NEG   NEG
                                     '**No. No.**'

4   *im ehje   raeva   le=leχem | ve   ze |*
             if   will.be.1SG hungry.SGF to=bread and DEM
             '**If I starve and all that**'

5   *ve   ze   jihje   [ha=davar ha=jaχid ʃe jatsil   oti |*
             and DEM will.be.3SGM DEF=thing DEF=only that will.save.3SGM me
             '**and that is the only thing that will save me**'

6 ⟹   Host: * [*hine || matsanu ||*
                         PART   found.1PL
                     '**There you go. We found (it).**'
                     * points at Guest with index finger*

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Reconstructing past migrations in the North-West Amazon: matches and mismatches between linguistic and geographical distances

The North-West Amazon presents a highly diverse cultural-linguistic landscape with a large number of small language families and isolates as well as a few larger expansive language families, like Tukanoan and Arawakan. In addition, there is extensive evidence of contact both across the entire area, and on more regional and local scales (e.g. Aikhenvald 2002; Seifart 2015; Chacon 2017; Arias et al. 2022; van Gijn et al. 2022). The present landscape is the result of a complex and layered history, likely featuring flexible alliances and trade relations, exogamy, migrations, displacements, multilingualism, language shifts, language extinction, etc. Since we have very limited direct (written) access to this history, we must reconstruct it as well as we can. Recent research has approached this issue on the basis of matches and mismatches between signals from different disciplines, which can be interpreted historically (Arias et al. 2022; van Gijn et al. 2022).

  In this contribution, we build on this line of research and more specifically, we zoom in on a pattern described in van Gijn et al. (2022): for some languages of the area, their phonological profile is very similar to that of the immediately surrounding languages, but their morphosyntactic profile is very different. For other languages, the degree of similarity to the surrounding languages is roughly the same for the phonological and morphosyntactic domains.

  In order to get a better view of the patterns, we have gathered data on morphosyntactic and phonological patterns for a dense sample of 41 languages. As our basic unit of comparison we take the construction (i.e. the possible syntagmatic structures associated with a particular morphosyntactic or phonological feature). This allows us to measure differences between subdomains of language at several levels of detail, ranging from summary features on the level of the language system to sub-constructional elements. On the basis of these data, linguistic similarity measures (linguistic distances) between individual languages are calculated per grammatical domain. This in turn allows us to compare linguistic distances to geographical distances between languages, establishing matches and mismatches between them.

  The phonology-morphosyntax mismatches, we argue, can be interpreted historically as being indicative of migrations and/or displacements, the phonological signal showing more recent contact events and the morphosyntactic patterns potentially showing older contact patterns. After presenting a detailed account of the linguistic patterns, we discuss these in terms of their historical interpretations, starting with those cases for which there is support in the ethnohistorical literature, and working our way towards the more speculative cases.

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Apprehensives and interrogatives in Bezhta

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The study is the first report on the morpheme *-dal*, which is mainly used in apprehensive 'precautioning' complement clauses with matrix verb 'fear' (1) in Bezhta, one of the Tsezic languages within the East Caucasian family. The marker *-dal*, which is mainly used in subordinate clauses, is used in negative purpose constructions expressing both apprehension and negative purpose (2). Along with such a subordinate usage, the morpheme *-dal* together with the regular question marker occurs in rhetorical questions and counterfactual conditional clauses (3-4).

(1)   ädämlä:š   šak   m-eλʼe-**dal**=na   **hičʼe-na**   gej
        people.GEN1   suspect(III)   III-go-APPR=ADD   fear-CVB   COP
        'I am afraid that people suspect me.'

(2)   do   gäčʼelaʔ   eⁿdo   biλoʔ   ädäm-lä   m-oqʼo-**dal**
        I   cop.NEG.CVB   inside   house.IN   man-PL   HPL-come-APPR
        λʼalo=na   y-oⁿso-na,   λʼodo
        stone(IV)=ADD   IV-pile-CVB   above
        zaz   gul-ca   do
        brushwood   put-PRS   I.ERG
        'When I am not at home, I pile on stones and put brushwood above it, so that people do not come.'

(3)   häž   b-oj-čʼe-zu   dena   Ø-oⁿqʼo-ł,
        pilgrimage(III) III-do-NEG.CVB-FOC   back   I-come-WHEN
        kʼetʼo   niso-**dal**-di   äλäʔlä   ädäm-lä:
        good   say-APPR-QUES   village.IN.GEN2   man-PL
        'Will the village people approve when I come back without doing a pilgrimage?!'

(4)   waj   j-accal,   hogo:ło   qazaq-ba:-d   j-iλʼe-ll-ijo-qʼoda:,
        well   II-cousin   that.time   Georgian-PL-INST   II-kill-CAUS2-PST-IRR
        žensa   mi   čʼago   j-aq-**dal**-di   gä:ło-λo   niso-na
        today   you   alive   II-happen-APPR-QUES   COP.IRR-QUOT say-CVB
        'Well, my cousin, if Georgians had killed us that time, would we still be alive?'

Examples (3) and (4) are a typical context of the use of the apprehensive -dal where it is combined with the interrogative particle -di and expresses a non-canonical question with a hypothesis which is negatively assessed or a "meditative" question. This provides a hypothesis for the evolution of the apprehensive meaning in a distantly related East Caucasian language, Archi. In Archi, the uses of the apprehensive are very similar to those in Bezhta, and the category itself was argued to go back to the subordinate use with the verbs of fear, but the origins of this specialized fear-converb remain totally unclear (Daniel and Dobrushina, in press). The association of apprehension with

interrogation observed in Bezhta may fill this gap if we admit that the apprehensive in Archi ultimately goes back to an (indirect) question construction, the use which is now lost, and followed the path from 'I wonder/ask whether P is true' to 'I fear that P might happen' -> 'Beware lest P happens'.

The paper contributes to the discussion on apprehensive using data from a less-described minority Nakh-Daghestanian language.

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"You're such a teacher" - impoliteness encoded in grammatical constructions?

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Keywords: impoliteness, grammaticalization, epithet, conventionalisation, predication

Within recent im/politeness research, debates have arisen regarding the notion of impoliteness being inherent in linguistic forms. The majority of arguments seems to oppose the view of impoliteness being inherent in specific linguistic features, and point to the importance of contextual factors (e.g. Fraser and Nolen 1981; Locher and Watts 2005). However, there seems to be some evidence that some expressions have a stable association with impoliteness effects (see, e.g., Culpeper's 2011 conventionalised impoliteness formulae). In our talk, we argue that particular constructions, specifically the English *You are such a [X]* and the equivalent German construction *Du bist so ein [X]*, may in specific circumstances carry relatively stable associations with impolite meanings.

When we encounter an utterance such as *You are such a [X],* the missing nominal represented by X is very likely an epithet. This is supported by corpus evidence. For instance, the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) features a very large number of epithets in the noun slot for search strings in which the subject is a personal pronoun. Across pronouns, there is an interesting variation, with the first- and second-person pronouns *I* and *you* being more likely to occur with epithets than the third-person pronouns *he* and *she*. We argue that this points towards a strong interpersonal meaning component. The phenomenon has also been noted by several authors (e.g. Bolinger 1972, Taylor 2012). Taylor identifies distributional peculiarities of epithets and points out that a sentence such as *You are such an idiot* is acceptable while a sentence such as *You are such an architect* is marked. As idiomatic constructions carry non-compositional meaning and may cause coercion effects (Hilpert 2014), the term *architect* may even acquire a negative connotation based on its occurrence in this particular construction. We argue that this effect is caused by the particle *such* and propose an epithet construction with the formal representation of [*such* + indefinite article + noun], which occurs predominantly, but not exclusively, in predicative contexts in which the subject is a personal pronoun. Evidence for coercion is provided through an online survey in which participants rated example sentences more negatively when they contained *such*. For this survey, predicative sentences with and without *such* were used with negative (e.g. *idiot*), positive (e.g. *sweetheart*), and neutral (e.g. *student*) nouns. It was predicted that examples featuring neutral nouns would be rated negatively with, but not without, *such* occurring in the sentence. With some variation across nouns, this was confirmed. The survey was run between-group, with the stimuli and filler items occurring in random order. 48 questionnaires were collected from non-linguist participants recruited from our personal network. We further show in our talk that the construction seems to also occur cross-culturally and present findings from a parallel German online survey on the *Du bist so ein [X]* construction with

corresponding predicative sentences with and without *so* with negative (e.g. *Idiot 'idiot'*), positive (e.g. *Schatz 'sweetheart'*), and neutral (e.g. *Student:in 'student'*) nouns.

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Microvariation in the Slavic secondary imperfective

Research question. While the secondary imperfective (SI) is a prominent phenomenon in Slavic languages, there is variation in its realization across languages and debates about its morphosyntactic status and meaning. This project explores SI experimentally for the first time, focusing on two research questions:

> (i) What is the cross-linguistic pattern of the range of meanings that SI allows with different prefix classes?
>
> (ii) Are there any differences between the behavior of SI in the present and in the past?

Study. In our recent work on Polish and Bulgarian, we propose that in languages that allow triplets (imperfective – perfectivized – SI all realized, instead of bare imperfective and SI in competition), there are <u>two classes of SI</u> occupying different positions in morphosyntax and having separate semantic profiles– and <u>the same language can realize both</u> depending on the prefix class. We now supplement our findings with experimental and corpus evidence and extend our analysis to Macedonian, Serbian, Czech, Russian and Ukrainian.

Findings. Our new data form a pattern and are compatible with Dickey's (2000, 2015) Eastern and Western type of Slavic aspectual verbal systems. We propose that his theory extends to the domain of secondary imperfectivization:

> (1) **Secondary imperfectivization Eastern vs. Western type split**:
> Eastern type: Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian are triplet languages
> Western type: Polish, Czech, Serbian, Macedonian are aspectual pair languages

Both East and West Slavic allow for secondary imperfectivization of lexically prefixed verbs forming aspectual pairs, but only the former allow (either fully productively or to a considerable extent) for secondary imperfectivization of verbs with purely perfectivizing prefixes. While SI forms of lexically prefixed verbs are ambiguous between the single ongoing and habitual meaning, the meaning of SI forms of verbs with purely perfectivizing prefixes is only habitual. We show also that superlexical prefixes which do not form SI in the Western type of Slavic aspectual system can form SI equivalents in the Eastern type and are interpreted habitually then.

Secondly, we show that these generalizations hold not only in the past tense, but also with regards to the present.

Formal syntax-semantics analysis. We propose that in Russian, Ukrainian and Bulgarian, there are two syntactic layers where SI morphemes may be generated, as in (2), whereas in Polish, Czech, Serbian, Macedonian there is only one layer, SI_{low}, (3).

> (2) East Slavic: SI_{high} >> SI_{low}
> (3) West Slavic: SI_{low}

SI_{low} has the same semantics in Polish and Bulgarian: it is input to Ferreira-style null IPFV operator acting at the level of AspP (following Tatevosov 2011, 2015 we

assume that aspectual morphology and aspectual interpretation are separate). According to Ferreira (2005, 2015) IPFV selects for VPs referring to singular or plural events giving rise to single ongoing and habitual interpretations, respectively IPFV [VPsg / VPpl]. A plural event is defined as a mereological sum (e1⊕e2⊕e3) having singular events as its proper parts.

We supplement Ferreira's theory with semantics for SI$_{high}$ as a habitualizer. We propose that SI$_{high}$ acts only on perfective input and it gives a sum of bounded non-overlapping events as an output, as in (4).

(4) $[\![\text{High SI}]\!] = \lambda P.\ \lambda t.\ \exists e_1 \ldots e_n: \textbf{sum(e, P)}\ \&\ \tau(e) \sqsupseteq t\ \&\ P(e) = 1$
        where $\text{sum}(e,P) \leftrightarrow P(e)\ \&\ \exists e_1 \ldots e_n < e: P(e_1)\ \&\ P(e_2)\ \&\ \ldots\ \&\ P(e_n)\ \&\ e = e_1 \oplus e_2 \oplus \ldots \oplus e_n$
        Defined only if P is a predicate of bounded events.
        Defined only if there is a precedence relation between $e_1 \ldots e_n$ such that the left boundary of e_{j+1} follows the right boundary of e_j

Our findings provide novel cross-linguistic evidence for Cinque's (1999) claim that habitual projection in languages which morphologically encode habituality is realized <u>above</u> other aspectual morphemes: <u>it's the highest in the aspectual spine</u>. SI$_{high}$ generates in a projection corresponding to Cinque's (1999) Asp$_{hab}$. This allows us to explain crosslinguistic variation and make typological and theoretical predictions.

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Null vs. pronominal subject alternation in Romanian: evidence from experimental and corpus studies

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The syntactic function of the antecedent (Carminati 2002, 2005) and the discourse status (Runner & Ibarra 2016) are two of the main factors assumed to be responsible for null/pronominal subject alternation in Romance. As Romanian has not been investigated yet, we present here two experiments and a preliminary corpus study dealing with this alternation.

The predicted preferences from the Position of Antecedent Hypothesis (PAH, Carminati 2002, 2005) are: (i) null subjects favor a subject antecedent, (ii) pronominal subjects favor a non-subject antecedent. In Romance languages, these tendencies seem to be gradual (Table 1): in Spanish and Catalan, the preferences are less categorical than in Italian and European Portuguese (Filiaci et al. 2013, de la Fuente & Hemforth 2013, Mayol 2010, Fernandes et al. 2018). Our first binary forced-choice experiment on Ibex Farm (20 experimental items, 30 distractors, 64 Romanian native speakers) show that the preferences in Romanian are similar to those in Spanish and Catalan (Table 1): participants mostly prefer to associate the embedded null subject with the matrix subject antecedent (64.2%), and the embedded pronominal subject with the matrix object antecedent (58.2%) (p<.001). Moreover, the results show that the preferences predicted by the PAH may be gradual, giving rise to microvariations within Romance.

In order to investigate the role of discourse status, in particular polarity, we ran a second binary forced-choice task (20 experimental items, 20 distractors, 49 Romanian native speakers), our hypothesis being that null subjects are less preferred when contrast plays a role (Farkas 2010). Each item consists of a polar question whose positive or negative answer contains either a null or pronominal subject. Cf. Figure 1, the frequency of pronominal subjects is enhanced by negative polarity compared to positive polarity (p<.001), in line with Fernandes et al. (2018) for Brazilian Portuguese (BP).

The robust preference for null subjects in Romanian (70%) is however a bit weaker than in Italian (77%, cf. Torregrossa et al. 2020). There might be a correlation between the baseline of null subjects and the antecedent preferences: since Romanian shows a less widespread use of null subjects, we expect to observe contexts in which pronominal subjects are preferred. We did a corpus study on a written (*Parseme-ro*) and an oral (*CoRoLa*) corpus, following Correa Soares et al. (2020)'s work on BP that revealed the significance of person and animacy (null subjects occur mostly with 3rd person and inanimate referents). Our corpus study includes 400 non-embedded sentences (half with null subjects and half with pronominal subjects). The preliminary results (Figure 2) show that person is a significant factor in Romanian too. Unlike BP though, Romanian null subjects are very frequent in discourse persons while pronominal subjects appear predominantly in 3rd person. This tendency in Romanian can be accounted for in terms of Acceptability Theory (Ariel 1990). Opposite person preferences in BP vs.

Romanian could be triggered by the potential interference with other factors (e.g. syncretism in verbal paradigm, discourse status).

Overall, our experimental and corpus studies show that a multifactorial analysis is needed to accout for the null/pronominal subject alternation in Romanian and, in general, in Romance.

Language	Null subject		Pronominal subject	
	Subject antecedent	Object antecedent	Subject antecedent	Object antecedent
Italian	76.89%	23.11%	17.05%	82.95%
European Portuguese	79%	21%	24%	76%
Spanish	66.32%	36.81%	33.68%	63.19%
Catalan	59.1%	40.9%	35.2%	64.8%
Romanian	64.2%	35.8%	41.8%	58.2%

Table 1. Null vs. pronominal subjects and their antecedents in Romance languages
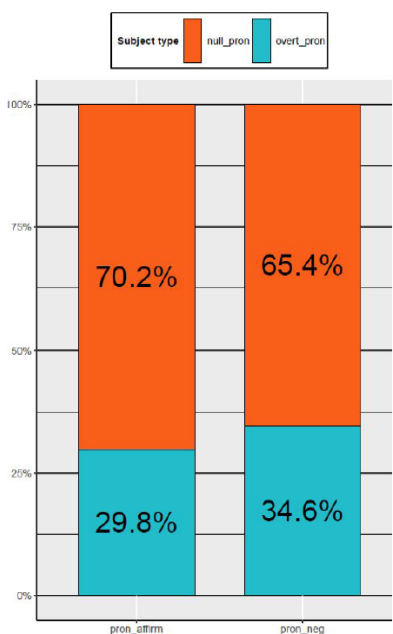
Figure 1. Results of Experiment 2
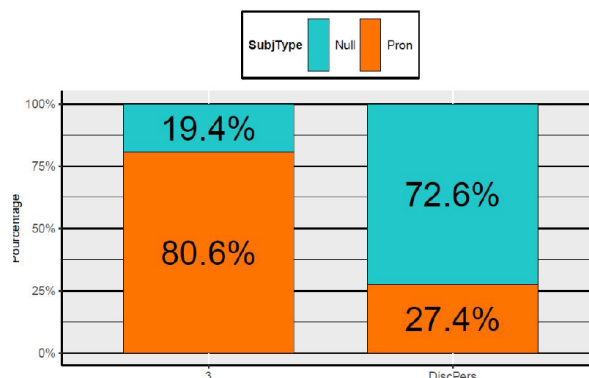
Figure 2. Results of the corpus study

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Evidential strategies in narrative discourse: a contrastive approach

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Abstract

The development of evidential systems is commonly described from the cultural and ethnolinguistic perspective. Some studies report correlations between the size and closedness of community and the 'richness' of the evidential system (Aikhenvald 2004: 359); others focus on cultural practices behind the grammaticalization of evidentials (Michael 2015). There have been no systematic attempts, however, to investigate how physical environment influences the use of evidentials (cf. Bernárdez 2017: 452, on "[d]ifficulties in accessing the world around" as a factor in the development of a complex evidential system among South American rainforest communities) or how it might be reflected in preferences for specific evidentials. Auditory perception may be unreliable in a loud environment such as the jungle, and an alternative information source might be preferred. On the other hand, the use of evidential markers could make speakers more sensitive to information source in general and lead to its more frequent mention in discourse (consistent with Slobin's 1987 'Thinking for Speaking' hypothesis).

This study explores these issues based on data from five understudied languages. First, we focus on three Siberian languages with differences in evidentiality systems: Udihe (Tungusic) with grammaticalized evidential particles marking visually perceived information (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 461–462), Nganasan (Samoyedic) with an auditory evidential (Gusev 2007), and Selkup (Samoyedic) where the auditory evidential is no longer in use but the latentive mood is used for different information sources from visual to auditory (Urmančieva 2014). Second, we compare them to two languages with no grammatical encoding of the sensory information source: Chuvash (Turkic, Central Russia) and Wan (Mande, Côte d'Ivoire). Our data consist of traditional narratives such as folktales and urban legends (Brykina et al. 2018, 2020; Nikitina et al. 2022).

Our goal is to compare the way different sources of sensory information are represented in discourse across these languages and explore environmental and other factors that could explain the differences. We look at how prominent different modes of perception are and how they are encoded: for example, they can be coded explicitly (through lexical or grammatical means, cf. [1]) or merely implied in context (e.g. the ideophone in [2] refers to the object's visual characteristics).

(1)   Nganasan (Brykina et al. 2018)

Maat'ǝküǝʔ	*sojbumunut'üŋ*	*muŋkaʔ*	*n'imǝǝnɨ.*
what:EMPH:EMPH:NOM.PL	sound:**AUD**:OBL.3PL	tree:GEN.PL	on:PROLADV

'There's some noise **heard** on the trees.'

(2)   Wan (Nikitina et al. 2022)

tē	*ɓú*	*è*	*fìlà*	*á*	*téŋ-téŋ-téŋ*
fire	powder	DEF	be.white	ADJ.FOC	**IDPH-IDPH-IDPH**

'The cinder is **sparkling** white!'

Our preliminary results show that several factors influence the encoding of information source in discourse. First, we observe overall prominence of visual perception in our data, which may reflect universal biological biases. Second, rhetorical style may also play a role: in Wan, we see an abundance of sound-related ideophones characteristic of skilful narration, and contexts where hearing is implied often involve performance of a song conventionally associated with the story. Third, environmental factors are reflected in the prominence of indices peculiar to a specific physical environment: tracing by footprints is characteristic of narratives from Siberia.

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Violence against children: discursive representation and gender stereotypes in the Spanish press

Research within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) aims to investigate the way in which discourse plays an essential role in the creation and perpetuation of inequalities and situations of domination of some social groups over others. Its relationship with socio-cultural structures is bidirectional: discourse, on the one hand, plays a fundamental role in the transmission of ideology, and actively participates and intervenes in the construction of social reality; on the other hand, discourse is in turn a product of social reality that linguistically encodes certain situations, and discursive practices are shaped by the (unequal) power relations present in society. The aim of CDA studies would be precisely to reveal the relations between discourse, society, and ideology by analyzing the ways in which language is ideologically and politically charged in different discursive contexts.

The media coverage of violence against their own children by fathers and mothers constitutes a flow of discourse of great social impact. Aggressions, and especially those that lead to the murder of a child, are the object of strong public rejection. It is to be expected that the discursive representation of such manifestations of extreme violence is based on linguistic uses which, in line with the principles of CDA, reveal a certain ideological and also pre-ideological substratum: a knowledge of a symbolic nature which anthropological studies usually refer to as "cultural imaginary". These imaginary harbours stereotypical clichés and representations that circulate at a given time in an epistemic community.

This study examines the discursive representation of filicide in the Spanish digital press and verifies the importance that a variable such as the sex of the aggressor has on in the narration of the murderous event. The examination of a corpus consisting of 200 news items corresponding to the decade 2013-2022 will serve as a basis for deciding whether the approach adopted by the press reveals the existence of gender stereotypes, linked to common notions in criminological studies. According to traditional criminology and Masculinity Theory, crime is considered an eminently masculine phenomenon, as women, in order to commit it, must go against their own nature (Naffine 1997); women who kill their children transgress understandings of motherhood and violate its social and cultural foundations (Barnett 2006), so they would be, for society, 'doubly deviant': both offenders against society and contraveners of the norms governing their expected sex- role behaviour (Heidensohn, 1970). At the same time, both CDA studies and feminist currents claim that women to be represented in the media as active agents, endowed with the same agency that has traditionally been associated with the male gender. In what follows, the corpus data are analyzed in order to decide where the discursive practices of the Spanish press stand at the crossroads between the two models of women's representation, and between victimization and agency.

Through a quantitative and qualitative analysis carried out with the aid of textual analysis tools such as those offered by Sketch Engine, it will be determined whether the gender variable is significant for the discursive construction of the agent of violence and whether the approach adopted by the press reproduces gender stereotypes. Particular attention will be paid to the discursive representation of the criminal event in terms of (non)agentivity, and the kill-die binomial, the importance given to the filial link, the characterization of the aggressor and his/her victim and the syntactic strategies for the elaboration of the news headlines.

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How can a Regular Verb be a Manner Adverbial Simultaneously?

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This paper points out that a verb can be a predicate and modifier *simultaneously*. The implication (contra Croft 2001/2003): A strict category-based trichotomy among reference, modification, and predication is awkward. Evidence comes from Japanese lexical V-V compounds in (1-2) where V_1 is a manner/means adverbial modifier for V_2 (Kageyama 1988, 1993, Matsumoto 1996, Nishiyama 1998, Himeno 1999, Fukushima 2005, 2021, Yumoto 2005, etc.). [N.B.: Only right-headed compounds are included here.]

(1) a. Taroo-ga   hasiri-sat-ta. ([sar]→[sat]: morphophonemics)

       -NOM   run-leave-PAST

    'Taroo left running.'

   b. Hanako-ga   sara-o   tataki-kowasi-ta. ([kowas]→[kowasi])

         -NOM plate-ACC hit-destroy-PAST

     'Hanako broke a plate by hitting.'

In these, V_1s display continuative verbal morphology and, more significantly, participate in ARGUMENT SYNTHESIS – determination of an ARGUMENT STRUCTURE (ARG-ST) for the whole compound as a cohesive verbal unit. Intransitive *hasiri-sar* 'run-leave' in (1a) shows a match between the two SUBJs (V_1: ARG-ST<NP_{ga}^i>, V_2: ARG-ST<NP_{ga}^i>), and for transitive *tataki-kowas* 'hit-destroy' (1b), the SUBJs and D-OBJs are matched, respectively (V_1: ARG-ST<NP_{ga}^i, NP_o^j>, V_2: ARG-ST<NP_{ga}^i, NP_o^j>). This is reflected in the semantic translation, for example, of (1b): $\lambda x \lambda y.(\mathbf{VIA}'(\mathbf{hit}'(x)(y))(\mathbf{destroy}'(x)(y)))$. [N.B.: VIA′ (for manner/means) is a function taking a proposition as an argument and retuning an adverbial modifier.] Though acting as an adverbial modifying V_2, V_1 is a verb (and a primary predicate in fact) in all the relevant respects.

While ARGUMENT SYNTHESIS seen above is straightforward and simple, it could be more complex the result of which further accentuates the significance of V_1 as a primary predicate.

(2) a. Taroo-ga   kodomo-o ture-sat-ta. ([sar]→[sat])

       -NOM   child-ACC snatch-leave-PAST

    'Taroo left snatching the child.'

   b. Zyaketto-ga   ki-kuzure-ta.

     jacket-NOM   wear-get.out.of.shape-PAST

     'A jacket got out of shape by (someone's) wearing it.'

To render transitive the whole compound *ture-sar* 'snatch-leave' in (2a), the accusative D-OBJ of V_1 *ture* 'snatch' has to be inherited (V_1: ARG-ST<NP_{ga}^i, NP_o^j>, V_2: ARG-ST<NP_{ga}^i> → V_1-V_2: ARG-ST<NP_{ga}^i, NP_o^j>) since intransitive V_2 *sar* 'leave' is unable to license an NP$_{ACC}$. Translation: $\lambda x \lambda y.(\mathbf{VIA}'(\mathbf{snatch}'(x)(y))(\mathbf{leave}'(y)))$. The same goes for (2b) where transitive V_1 *ki* 'wear' is the sole source of the D-OBJ. In (2b), while the SUBJ of V_1 is dismissed (and existentially quantified) due to proto-role incompatibility between the two SUBJs (PROTO AGENT vs. PROTO PATIENT; Dowty 1995), the D-OBJ of V_1 and SUBJ of V_2 are matched both being PROTO PATIENTs, i.e. V_1: ARG-ST<~~NP$_{ga}$~~, NP_o^j>, V_2: ARG-ST<NP_{ga}^i> → V_1-V_2: ARG-ST<NP_{ga}^i>. The case-maker is nominative due to the head's dominance in ARGUMENT SYNTHESIS. Translation: $\lambda x \exists y.(\mathbf{VIA}'(\mathbf{wear}'(x)(y))(\mathbf{get.out.of.\ shape}'(x)))$.

An account is furnished with a morphological construction schema (Booij 2010) coupled with a compositional translation procedure. A lexical V-V compound schema allows for a

verb – without additional derivational/other arrangements – to transcend a categorial boundary to function as an adverbial modifier.

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Interrogative constructions of rejection with *santo, cuento* y *cuenta*: historical considerations

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to study the function and origin of the locutions of causal sense *a santo de qué, a qué santo, a cuento de qué, a qué cuento* and *a cuenta de qué*. These phrases introduce marked interrogative constructions, so they imply a negative evaluation by the speaker, that is, they constitute a grammatical sign of the negative implication of the causal question in which they are inserted:

> *A santo de qué nos exigen a los militares lealtad a regímenes desleales con el ideal, con la tierra y con la raza;*
> *¿Y a cuento de qué esas prisas?*
> *¿Y a cuenta de qué lo de mirar a las ventanas del hotel Roma?*
> *Bueno, no sé a qué santo la Sapo estaría aquel día con nosotras porque no la invita nadie.*
> *¿a qué cuento viene que yo me enfurruñe y haga malas digestiones?*

Indeed, in the previous examples questions are asked in which the speaker considers that loyalty should not be demanded, that there should be no hurry, that he should not look at the windows, that Sapo should not be present, and that he should not sulk or have bad digestions.

The data from all the examples provided in the CDH and CORPES corpus for the forms *a santo de qué, a qué santo, a cuento de qué, a qué cuento* and *a cuenta de qué* are analyzed, and an account of the main functional characteristics of the mentioned structures are given. The five constructions are grammaticalized, since they are formally fixed. The meaning is also fixed in a set causal value, without considering the partial meaning of the elements that make up the construction. The five phrases can be realized in direct and indirect interrogative constructions, although direct ones are more common. The position of the subject is usually postverbal, when it appears, although it is also possible in a preverbal position. They make independent constructions possible, without a verb, and the most common type of structure is the one in which the phrase appears alone. Finally, a hypothesis is posed about the origin and development of the different phrases according to the formal and significant affinities between the different constructions and the relations of interference and analogy in use that may have arisen between them.

When mirativity and evidentiality meet: the case of Guaraní *ra'e* in Paraguayan Spanish

Paraguayan Spanish is characterized by some peculiarities due to the intense contact with Guaraní (Krivoshein de Canese/Corvalán 1987, Palacios 2001). Among these peculiarities in Paraguayan Spanish are Guaraní evidential particles to express the source of information of the transmitted propositional content without their use being obligatory.

In this contribution, we are concerned with *ra'e* ('had been; it turned out that'), which expresses evidential inferentiality having extensions to mirativity so that it is also described as particle of 'delayed perception' (Avellana 2013: 40, Carol/Avellana 2019, Palacios 2008: 291).

Mirativity refers to linguistic means of expression that convey "the speaker's attitude toward the proposition, not some objectively perceivable aspect of it" (DeLancey 2012: 541) and that indicate surprise or counterexpectation (Estigarribia 2020: 227). According to Aikhenvald (2012: 436) and DeLancey (2012: 540–541) mirativity and evidentiality are different categories which some languages express by different markers. However, by means of a quantitative and qualitative corpus analysis of newspaper articles from the Paraguayan yellow press (*Diario Popular*, *Hoy* or *Crónica*) we demonstrate that *ra'e* is a particle where evidentiality and mirativity overlap:

(1) *Una feroz piña se hizo **ra'e** en el lugar como atractivo en el marco del Festival de la Piña*. (La Crónia, 07/01/2019)
'A wild pineapple **surprisingly** grew in the place as attraction in the context of the Pineapple Festival.'

In detail, the aims of the study are the following: 1) after showing the functions of the particle in Paraguayan Guaraní, 2) we investigate its use in Paraguayan Spanish as represented in the yellow press, focusing on the syntactic behavior and the scope of *ra'e* as well as comparing these with the one(s) in Paraguayan Spanish. 3) The use of *ra'e* in the Paraguayan Spanish yellow press is checked in a systematic quantitative analysis in order to find out whether the syntactic position of *ra'e* in Paraguayan Spanish correlates with certain meaning nuances (more mirative vs. more inferential).

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Reflective questions with possibility modals: Evidence from Greek and Italian

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In this talk we study what we call *reflective* questions, whose main empirical characteristic is that they contain an expression of epistemic possibility such as a modal verb or particle. Reflective questions has been brought to light in recent literature (which called them 'conjectural', see Littell, Matthewson and Peterson (2010), Giannakidou (2016), Eckardt and Beltrama (2019), Frana and Menendez-Benito (2019), Kang and Yoon (2019), Mari (2021)). We identify a number of properties of such questions, including what we call the anti-addressee effect. We propose an analysis that understand those questions in contrast with biased questions arguing that modality enhances the possibilities beyond the modal base rather than restricting is as with bias.

Data. Our starting point is a parallelism between questions and modals: almost all analyses posit that they denote nonveridical epistemic spaces, i.e., they reflect partitioned epistemic states into p and not p spaces. A speaker uttering a plain yes/no interrogative is in a state of 'true' uncertainty, or *nonveridical equilibrium* and poses the question as a request to find out (Giannakidou (2013), Giannakidou and Mari (2021)):

(1)   Is Ernie a vegetarian?

Questions with possibility modals: they are weakened versions of the information seeking question, and can be continued by "Who knows?":

(2)   Pjos   (arage)   na   irthe   sto   party?   Pjos   kseri!
        Who   arage-particle   subj.   came-3sg-to   the   party?   who   knows!
        Who might have come to the party? Who knows!

(3) Who came to the party? #Who knows!

(4)   Dove   possono   essere gli   occhiali?   Chi   lo   sa !?

Where might.PRES.3pl be   the   glasses?   Who   that   knows !?
Where might the glasses be? Who knows !?

They are also questions posed to oneself: there is not even an addressee listening and expected to answer (see Mari (2021) on Italian future questions, and Italian future as a modal Mari (2009) and Giannakidou and Mari (2018a)). The self-reflective character is further evidenced by the fact that directly addressing the hearer is odd (*anti-addressee effect*).

(5)   #Ti *na* efages arage xthes? what subj ate.2sg araje xthes
         What might you have eaten yesterday?

Analysis. Our analysis is deployed in the framework what we have designed in Giannakidou and Mari (2018b,2021), and which relies on the key notion of metaevaluation O. Nonveridical spaces can be augmented with the function O which manipulates the degree of (un)certainty of the speaker. Starting with a mental state M(i), existential modals in questions widen the spectrum of the possibilities to a widened set designated as $O \supset M(i)$ in (7), thus making it harder to think of what would be an epistemic plausible answer.

(6)   [QUES   POSSIBLY   (PRES (p)))]^{O,M,i} is   defined   only   if
         (i) The mental space of the speaker M(i) is nonveridical and partitioned into $\{p, \neg p\}$ worlds.
         (ii) $O \supset M(i)$ (**the set of possibilities is enlarged beyond the epistemic set**). If defined:
         [QUES POSSIBLY (PRES (p))]^{O,M,i} = $\{p, \neg p\}$ relatively to O (**the alternatives considered belong to the larger set O**)

This accounts for why reflective questions seem open-ended, vague, and potentially lacking answers. In the talk, we will compare the reflective strategy to bias, which is the narrowing of the modal base due to previous expectations.

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The semantic-syntactic interplay in Hindi/Urdu
The case of the expression of cognitive events

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The basic aim of this study is to investigate the argument-structure constructions used in Hindi/Urdu to encode the domain of cognition and interpret the functional distribution of these constructions across the highly variable range of cognitive situations. The broadest aim of the work is to deepen our understanding of the semantic-syntactic interplay in Hindi. Cognitive events can refer to many situation types and include cognitive states (such as "know"), activities (such as "think"), accomplishments and achievements (such as "understand"; Vendler 1967, Comrie 1976, Luraghi 2020). Hindi/Urdu has several constructions for the encoding of cognitions: transitive frames and intransitive ones (mainly with a dative or a genitive subject) can be used for the encoding of this event type (Verma & Mohanan 1990, Montaut 2004). The choice of these constructions seems to depend on the different ways the cognitive event is construed: in particular, they seem to be selected according to specific semantic properties of the event, mainly related to the experiencer's agentivity and Aktionsart properties.

In this study, I follow the theoretical framework of Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995, Croft 2001, Hilpert 2014). One of the basic tenets of this approach is that argument-structure constructions are assumed to have their own meaning and certain constructions correlate with certain classes of verbs according to their semantic properties (Barðdal 1999). This theoretical frame perfectly fits my aim, given my intention to show that the constructions used in Hindi/Urdu to encode a cognitive event are related to the semantic foundations of the event expressed.

In this study I relay on a corpus-based approach: I extract linguistic data from a corpus consisting of Hindi/Urdu literary texts of the 20th century, and I investigate the corpus through *SketchEngine* (https://www.sketchengine.eu). I do a manual scrutiny of a random sample of 100 occurrences for each verb, and I annotate the following features for each occurrence: verbal aspect, Aktionsart, argument-structure construction, and control on behalf of the experiencer). After the annotation, I analyze the semantic properties of the verb classes each construction occurs in trying to give an account of the type-frequency (as defined in Barðdal 1999, 2008) and distribution of each construction, in order to evaluate their constraints of use in relation to event's properties and argument's properties.

The analysis will show that Hindi/Urdu uses "constructional" ways to encode the semantic properties of the participants (Experiencer's agentivity) and of the event (Aktionsart). I will show that in this language the transitive construction is typically used to encode cognitive activities controlled by the experiencer (such as *yād karnā* "remember" in example 1); the genitive construction is employed to encode cognitive states resulting from an activity (such as *vicār honā* "think", in example 2); and the dative construction mainly encodes states or achievements showing a minor degree of agentivity on behalf of the experiencer (such as *khabar honā* "know" in example 3, see also Kachru 1990 and Narasimhan 1998).

1. *Jis vakt tumheṁ kabhī zarurat ho,   merī   yād   karnā*
   If you need anything   my.F   memory.F   do.IMP.FUT
   "If you need anything, remember me."
2. *is   patr   ke viṣay meṁ   tumhārā   kyā   vicar   hai*
   this   letter about   2SG.GEN   what   thought.M   be.PRS.3SG
   "What do you think about this letter?"
3. *mujhe   is   vyāpār= kī   khabar   nahīṁ hai*
   1SG.DAT   this   affair=GEN   news.NOM   not   be.PRS.3SG
   "I don't know anything about this."

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Constructional exuberance in Kwakum nominal expressions

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This paper investigates constructional variation for nominal expressions (NEs) in Kwakum, a Bantu language spoken in the Eastern region of Cameroon. Indeed, Kwakum has a wide range of construction types for NEs that (seem to) express 'the same' semantic content, including ones with different word orders, with/out a connective, and with different agreement patterns. For example, the qualifier *kì-tààtʃɛ́* 'empty' can be used in combination with a noun in three constructions: following its head (1a), and as first (1b) or second (1c) *relatum* in a so-called connective construction (where an overt connective [CON], here a floating high tone, marks the second nominal constituent as a syntactic dependent of the first [Njantcho 2018; cf. also Van de Velde 2013]). The precise semantic or functional differences between these constructions are yet unknown.

(1) a. *ìtóó*   *kìtààtʃɛ́*
       ì-tóóᴸ   *kì-tààtʃɛ́*
       5-house   7-empty

   b. *kìtààtʃɛ́*   *kìítóó*
       kì-tààtʃɛ́ *kì-ᴴ-ì-tóóᴸ*
       7-empty   PP₇-CON-5-house

   c. *ìtóó*   *kítààtʃɛ́*
       ì-tóóᴸ   *ᴴ-kì-tààtʃɛ́*
       5-house   CON-7-empty

   'an empty house'

Language-internal constructional variation for NEs is common cross-linguistically, but not to the same extent or along the same parameters across languages (e.g. Louagie & Reinöhl 2022). Among Bantu languages and within Africa more broadly, Kwakum stands out as having an exceptionally wide range of constructional possibilities, with variation found along several parameters. Particularly noticeable are, first, the many options for expressions with qualifiers and quantifiers, including the availability of immediate pre-head position for some (an uncommon feature in the family [Van de Velde 2022]), as in (2), and the possible occurrence as syntactic head (but semantic modifier) in a connective construction, as in (1b); and second, the availability of exceptional patterns of 'neighbouring' noun class agreement (Njantcho & Van de Velde 2019), in addition to regular syntactic and semantic agreement patterns. This is illustrated in (3b), where the demonstrative agrees with its neighbour, the modifier 'two' (class 2), instead of with its semantic head 'house' (class 6); compare with (3a) where the demonstrative shows 'regular' class 6 agreement with the head noun.

(2) *gúmbà*   *kɔ̀ndù*
    entire   month
    'the/an entire month'

(3) a. *ǹ-tóóᴸ*   *ì-báàᴴ*   *mí-kɛ́ᴸ*
       6-house   2-two   PP₆-DEM

   b. *ǹ-tóóᴸ*   *ì-báàᴴ*   *yí-kɛ́ᴸ*

6-house   2-two   PP₂-DEM

'those two houses' (Njantcho and Van de Velde 2019: 402)

The goal of this paper is to map all construction types for nominal expressions, and to uncover whether they have any semantic, functional or information structural correlates. We use mostly newly collected data, which includes focused elicitation, a series of tasks targeting the information structure of NEs (from QUIS and BaSIS [Skopeteas et al. 2006; van der Wal 2021]), and several narratives.

We show that, first, constructional variation is very much lexically determined, even on the level of individual qualifiers and quantifiers. Secondly, in at least some cases, there are (subtle) semantic differences between the different constructions. For instance, (1c) is used specifically to refer to a (permanently) abandoned house, whereas the others are used more generally. Finally, analysis of information structural correlates is ongoing, but initial results surprisingly indicate that pragmatic factors play a limited role in construction choice.

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Anticausatives across time in Italian and Spanish: a contrastive historical approach

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Keywords: anticausative, reflexive, lability, Romance languages, historical linguistics

The causative alternation is the grammatical alternation whereby languages express externally caused (CAUSAL) vs. spontaneously occurring (NONCAUSAL) events. Typologically, the alternation is encoded via different patterns across languages (Tubino-Blanco 2020). A cross-linguistically peculiarity of several European languages is the preference towards explicit marking of the noncausal event via reflexive markers (Nichols *et al.* 2004), as shown in (1a-b) and (2a-b). This pattern is known as anticausativization (Haspelmath 1987; Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019: 41–53). Alternatively, in these languages, the alternation can be expressed by labile verb pairs, as in (1c).

(1) Italian
    a. *Il ragazzo bruciò il cibo*   CAUSAL
        the boy burn.PST.3SG the food
        'The boy burnt the food.'
    b. *Il cibo **si** bruciò*   NONCAUSAL–ANTICAUSATIVE
        the food REFL burn.PST.3SG
        'The food burnt.'
    c. *Il cibo bruciò*   NONCAUSAL–LABILE
        the food burn.PST.3SG
        'The food burnt.'

(2) Spanish
    a. *Juan rompió la mesa*
        J. break.PST.3SG the table
        'Juan broke the table.'
    b. *La mesa **se** rompió*
        the table REFL break.PST.3SG
        'The table broke.'

Across and within languages, individual verbs can be ranked based on their preference towards either the anticausative or the labile pattern (Haspelmath 1993, 2016). This variation has been explained by resorting to verb semantics or frequency effects. Semantics-based accounts claim that verbs lexicalizing less spontaneous events more frequently trigger anticausative marking (Haspelmath 1987, 1993:106). Frequency-based accounts assume that higher usage frequency items favor shorter coding (Haspelmath 2021), therefore verbs that routinely occur in noncausal contexts are less likely to receive anticausative marking (Haspelmath et al. 2014; Heidinger 2019).

Crucially, frequency-based hypotheses have been formulated on synchronic grounds and have not yet been tested in diachrony (Haspelmath 2016: 601). This work therefore aims at assessing whether frequency-based claims are borne out by historical data, and what the interplay is between semantic and frequency effects over time.

To do so, we undertake a contrastive and diachronic exploration of the distribution of anticausative marking in Spanish and Italian (13th-20th centuries), for which the alternation is relatively understudied (see Portilla 2007; Melis & Peña-Alfaro 2007; Cennamo 2012, 2021). We extracted 20 verb meaning pairs listed in Haspelmath et al. (2014) from the MIDIA and CDH corpus for Italian and Spanish, respectively, following the guidelines in Inglese (2021). For each verb in each language, we sampled max 600 tokens. We aim to explore whether the observed frequency of the verbs under investigation in causal and noncausal contexts changes over time and the consequences for encoding asymmetries in anticausative vs labile patterns in Italian and

Spanish. At the same time, we also include factors previously analyzed on synchronic grounds, such as subject animacy and control and aspectual properties of the verbs (Cennamo 2012, 2021; de Benito Moreno 2022:Ch.4). By resorting to regression models, we assess whether the role of these factors is stable across time or differences can be pinpointed at specific language stages and across languages.

The results of this work will contribute to showing how anticausativization emerges, and will offer the first in-depth empirical assessment of how anticausative markers spread diachronically through the verbal lexicon.

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Maa-Style *Media Tantum* Verbs

Maa (or Maasai; Eastern Nilotic of Kenya and Tanzania) has productive middle voice morphology. However, verbs whose citation form is necessarily a middle form show complexities relative to *media tantum* ("middle only") verbs as discussed in typological literature. Details of the system and variation among specific (quasi-)*media tantum* verbs amplify our understanding of middle voice systems.

The Maa middle productively applies to simple active transitive verb roots; compare the middle verb in (1) with the simple active transitive in (2). The productive middle derives reciprocal, reflexive, anticausative, (resultant) state, intransitive translational and non-translational motion, body posture, and some spontaneous-event stems; these are classic semantic functions of middles (cf. Kemmer 1993, Inglese 2022).

(1)   *a-ŋɛrr-á*   (2)   *a-ŋɛ́rr*
           INFINITIVE.SG-tear.up-MIDDLE.SG   INFINITIVE.SG-tear.up
           'to tear (by self); be torn up'   'to tear sth. off, destroy sth. by tearing'

In contrast, verbs which require a middle citation form are, at first glance, like Ancient Greek *media tantum* or "non-oppositional" middles (Kurzová 1999) since there is no corresponding simple transitive verb form; compare the verb in (3) with the non-existent form in (4).

(3)   *a-wwas-á*   (4)   **a-wwás*
           INFINITIVE.SG-be.arrogant-MIDDLE.SG
           'to be arrogantly proud'

Having both oppositional (1) and non-oppositional (3) middles motivates Inglese (2022) to include Maa as a "middle system" language.

This paper elaborates on the complexity of the Maa system first by establishing that the final /a/ in verbs like (3) is indeed a (historical) middle suffix (considering allomorphic behavior, perfect, and number interactions). Second, the heart of the study shows that even though Maa-style *media tantum* verbs are not recognized as words without a middle ending in citation form, this disappears if and only if a causative prefix, an instrumental applicative, or the progressive suffix are added; such disappearance of an otherwise-required middle morpheme is not discussed in typological surveys that consider Maa to have non-oppositional, or *media tantum*, verbs. The middle's disappearance in these precise Maa contexts is presumably due to historical semantic conflicts between the dynamic or agentive meanings associated with causative, instrumental and progressive grams, versus the tendency for middles to be associated with stative and anticausative (more undergoer-related) meanings. In fact, a lexical survey based on approximately 600 middle-form verbs shows that Maa *media tantum* stems tend to express emotions and some states; while oppositional middles rarely express emotions but otherwise have a much wider range of semantic functions (listed earlier) including dynamic reflexive, reciprocal and motion meanings. Finally, for at least some speakers, verbs like *a-ɪgará* 'to hide (self) behind something/lean against' have only a middle citation form but take perfect forms paralleling those of active verbs rather than the standard middle-perfect form. This suggests that the process of lexicalizing Maa-style *media tantum* verbs (or oppositional middle forms, depending on direction of historical development) is gradual across different morphological processes.

Overall, the study deepens understanding of semantic and formal variations in *media tantum* versus oppositional middle subsystems, with implications for further typological and historical work.

[489 words]

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Towards an account of the emergence, evolution and variability of emphatic negative coordination in Indo-European, part 1: A synchronic perspective

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Correlative constructions that both negate and coordinate, such as Armenian *oč'*... *oč'*..., English *neither*... *nor*... and Hindi *nə*... *nə*... are widespread in Indo-European (IE) (Salaberri 2022: 679). These so-called *emphatic negative coordination* (ENC) (Haspelmath 2007) constructions can be reconstructed for the proto-language (Pokorny 1959: 756–757). Comprehensive studies on this topic have been recently published (Badiou-Monferran 2004, Liljegren 2016: 349–350, Briceño 2019: 123–127, Van der Auwera et al. 2021, Van der Auwera & Koohkan 2022, among others), yet it is still unclear exactly how this clause linkage strategy emerged in the proto-language, how it developed in the various IE branches, and what led to the considerable variation found in the modern languages.

As the first (synchronic) part of a larger study on ENC constructions, this paper analyzes three features: (i) syntactic complexity of the elements coordinated in ENC constructions, i.e., whether these are phrases, clauses or sentences; (ii) degree of independence of ENC markers, i.e., whether they suffice on their own or must be accompanied by reinforcing elements such as standard negators and coordinating conjunctions; (iii) number of ENC strategies in each language. A sample of 240 IE languages with data from reference grammars and dedicated publications is analyzed by means of Cramer's V (Cramer 1946) test, whereby the aforementioned three features are treated as dependent variables and controlled through Theil's uncertainty coefficient (Theil 1966).

The results point towards a four-way typology of ENC constructions: the most frequent type involves correlative ENC markers of the type *nV... nV...* (1a), which link all kinds of coordinands and are attested in most historical stages. However, there are also languages with only non-correlative ENC constructions (1b), languages where ENC markers must be obligatorily reinforced and those where the original *nV... nV...* pattern has been replaced by innovative forms. In addition, some languages display multiple ENC constructions, the choice of which sometimes depends on the syntactic complexity of the coordinands.

(1)   a.   *In kas-a na ghami ob=u na ghami*
           this person-ACC nor care water-and nor care
           hezum
           firewood
           ‚This person cares neither for water nor for firewood' (Kerimova 1959: 75)

                                          (Bukharic)

   b.   *Ní frithalim-se rucai na-mmebuil*
           NEG expect-1SG shame nor-disgrace

‚I expect neither shame nor disgrace' (Thurneysen 1946: 540)

(Early Irish)

The data likewise suggest that the kind of ENC marker strongly correlates with IE subfamily, the „unitary" type *nV... nV...* being widespread in Indo-Iranian and Italic, the „reinforced" type in Anatolian, Germanic and to a certain extent in Balto-Slavic, the „non-correlative" one in Celtic and the „renovated" one in Albanian, Armenic, Graeco-Phrygian and Tokharian. This state of affairs suggests that ENC markers have been reinforced and renovated in different ways in different IE languages, therefore the variation observable nowadays.

Finally, this paper proposes a few functional explanations for other common properties of ENC constructions: for example, the frequent formal identity of the first and the second coordinator is accounted for as a result of the emphatic nature of this clause linkage strategy and the iconic relationship between repetition and emphasis. Formally non-identical ENC markers can in turn be explained in terms of ongoing (incomplete) change.

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Processing factors in contrast: A case study of syndetic and asyndetic complements in Spanish

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Processing constraints are mechanisms related to the general human cognitive ability to produce and process linguistic material. In syntactic alternations studies, they are often considered powerful explanatory factors that influence language variation. This paper addresses the interplay between two contrasting processing factors, Complexity Principle and Domain Minimization Principle, on the alternation between syndetic and asyndetic complements in Spanish, as in (1) and (2), respectively.

(1)   *dij-o*_{V1}   *a*   *la*   *testigo*   **que**   *la-s*   *mujer-es*
say.PST-3SG   to   DET.F.SG   witness   COMP   DET.F-PL   woman-PL

*est-aba-n*_{V2}   *obediente-s*
be-IND.PST.IPFV-3PL   obedient-PL

'He said to the witness that the women were obedient' (adapted from CODEA-2140)

(2)   le   *dij-o*_{V1}   Ø   *fuese*_{V2}   a   su
DAT.SG   say.PST-3SG   go.SBJV.PST.IPFV.3SG   to   POSS.3SG

casa
house

'He told her to go to his/her house' (CODEA-2500)

The Complexity Principle (CP) predicts that "in the case of more or less explicit constructional options, the more explicit one(s) tend to be preferred in cognitively more complex environments" (Rohdenburg 1996:151). Since the distance between the verbs (V1-V2) is larger in (1), the presence of the complementizer is more likely in this context than in (2) (Mazzola 2022).

Asyndetic complements are very frequent in contexts like (3), where an argument is extracted out of its clause (*carta cuenta*). This is defined as Filler-Gap Dependency, the filler being the element extracted and the gap its canonical position (*G*). The Domain Minimization Principle (DMP, Hawkins 2004) predicts that the material intervening between filler and gap should be as short and as simple as possible, because of the high cognitive efforts required to process the filler-gap relationship.

(3)   como   const-a   por   la   **carta cuenta**   que   *pid-o*_{V1}
like   be.stated-PRS.3SG   by   DET.F.SG   bill   REL   ask-PRS.1SG

Ø   **G**   se-a   *mostr-ad-a*_{V2}   a   los   testigo-s
be-SBJV.PRS.3SG   show-PTCP-F.SG   to   DET.M.PL   witness-PL

'[…] as stated by the bill that I ask to be shown to the witnesses' (CODEA-1801)

In cases like (3), the CP and the DMP stand in sharp contrast, because the strategy to alleviate processing efforts is diametrically opposed: the former favours the most explicit option (*que*), whereas the latter the shortest one (Ø). While Rohdenburg (2016) claims that different sets of English complementation patterns are regulated either by the CP or by DMP, for the Spanish syndetic/asyndetic alternation they both seem to be relevant (Pountain 2015; Mazzola 2022).

This study empirically tests the validity of the two principles, assessing their relative strength on the alternation between *que* and Ø and whether one wins over the other, both in synchrony and diachrony (1400-2020).

With this aim, this paper surveys 7,113 syndetic and asyndetic complement clauses with 25 main verbs extracted from the corpora CODEA, PRESEEA and CREA. The clauses are analysed both in canonical environments and extraction contexts, by using logistic regression and random forest. The findings point at the existence of a hierarchical relationship between processing principles: the DMP overrides the CP in extraction contexts, favouring asyndetic complements even when there is intervening material between the verbs. Moreover, the diachronic results show that the contrast remains unchanged over time, in accordance with the uniformitarian principle (Labov 1994:21).

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Diachronic pathways of definite articles distribution

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Definite articles are commonly suggested as an example of an unstable grammatical feature (Croft 1996, Wichmann & Holman 2009, Dediu and Levinson 2012, Greenhill et al. 2017). Frajzyngier (2008: 18) describes grammatical instability as a system "in which given functional distinctions are neutralized in significantly extensive environments", a situation which may cause articles to emerge and subsequently erode from a system. However, the properties promoting article emergence, loss, and persistence on a global scale remain unclear. Different linguistic features have been posited as the predictors of their distribution – gender marking and nominal classifiers, verb typology, topic and focus marking, verb-final word order, flexible word order, switch reference (Givón 1978, 1983), ergative alignment (Du Bois 1987, 2017), case marking (Comrie 1989), and perfective aspect (Leiss 2000). Empirical studies identified case, verb-final word order, flexible subject order, and ergative alignment as potentially robust predictors of the absence of definite articles (Evers 2020). These relationships have been explained in the light of 1) efficiency (case and flexible argument order can serve to mark definiteness and languages with these features might be less likely to gain another grammatical means with the similar function) and 2) the information status in languages with ergative alignment and verb-final languages (A arguments are prototypically definite, and clause-final arguments are prototypically indefinite). However, the relationships between the four predictors are complex: case marking is typically found in verb-final and flexible word order languages (e.g. Levshina 2021), and many ergative languages have case marking. An explicit causal approach is thus required to reveal the diachronic processes behind the cross-linguistic distribution of definite articles.

Here we disentangle the causal relationships underlying the synchronic distribution of definite articles on a global sample of 1232 languages matched for typological information from Grambank (The Grambank Consortium 2022) and the global EDGE tree (Bouckaert et al. 2022). We use logistic regression with phylogenetic correction within phylogenetic path analysis in *phylopath* package (van der Bijl 2018) to first establish the existing causal relationships between the predictors themselves and then to evaluate how and whether case, word order, and ergativity explain the distribution of definite articles.

We find that verb-final languages are more likely to maintain and gain case marking, and languages with case marking are likely to develop flexible ordering of core arguments. We use this causal model as the basis for several competing models predicting definite articles distribution. Out of the tested predictors of definite articles, only verb-final word order proves robust on a global sample: articles are more likely to be absent or disappear in verb-final word order languages. This suggests that word order dependent preferences for negotiating information status primarily shape the evolution of definite articles. The previously observed patterns of complementary distribution between 1) definite articles and 2) case, ergative alignment, and flexible word order are not supported by causal inference. Instead, these suggested relationships might be products of complex interactions between case, word order, and ergativity.

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Topic to proximate grammaticalization in Northern Khanty

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Keywords: information structure, obviation, grammaticalization, Uralic languages, Northern Khanty

Northern Khanty (< Ob-Ugric, Uralic) is known to have an information-structure-based system of verb agreement and voice (Nikolaeva 2001, Filchenko 2012). Like other genetically and areally close languages (Ob-Ugric, Northern Samoyedic), it distinguishes an active voice with two verb agreement paradigms: subject agreement and subject-object agreement, and a passive voice. Active is used whenever the A-argument corresponds to the topic role while passive is used otherwise. Within the active subject-object paradigm is used when the P-argument bears the 'secondary topic' role in Nikolaeva's (2001) terms. However, a closer look at Northern Khanty data reveals several constraints that do not fit an above-mentioned information-structural approach.

In this paper, I argue based on the comparative Northern Khanty text data (Obdorsk, Shuryshkary, Kazym dialects) and elicited examples (Kazym dialect, fieldwork in Kazym village, 2021-2022), that at least some of its dialects drift from a rather loose discourse-based to a more rigid system that is typical of hierarchical proximate-obviative systems as e. g. in Algonquian languages of North America (Zuñiga 2006). This drift is reflected in the gradual loss of accusative direct object marking as well as the rise of the following grammatical constraints:

a) Subject participant from the immediately preceding utterance is kept in the subject slot if it is a core argument;

b) In other cases, the choice of subject and voice form relies on the following hierarchies: personal pronoun / ∅ > full NP, human > animate > inanimate, and possessor > possessee; hence affinity of Khanty passive with inverse voice, cf. (Zuñiga 2006: 48);

c) The most salient referents receive a nominal 2SG possessive marker ('salient article', as in Mihailov 2018) which can appear only once in a given clause, and almost exclusively in the subject position, cf. (Aissen 1997: 707); hence affinity of 2SG-marked NPs with proximate NPs;

d) 3SG possessive agreement in NPs with an overt possessee is only possible if the possessee is topical and/or high in animacy or definiteness, i.e. proximate, cf. (Nikolaeva, Bárány 2019) on proximate possessors in Tundra Nenets.

Example (1) below from Kazym Khanty illustrates obligatoriness of passive when P outranks A in animacy, while (2) shows salient 2SG article and its uniqueness in a clause. Note that 'bone' in the latter case can only have a proper possessive marking, i.e. is interpreted as belonging to adressee.

(1) a. *wot-ən   aj ewi   iλ   păwət-s-a*
      wind-LOC   girl   down   drop-PST-PASS[3SG]
  b. **wot-en   aj ewi   iλ   păwt-əs*
      wind-POSS.2SG   girl   down   drop-PST[3SG]
      'The wind dropped a girl down.'

(2) *amp-en   λuw-en   šᵾwəλ-əs*
    dog-POSS.2SG   bone-POSS.2SG notice-PST[3SG]
    'The dog saw your bone.' / *'The dog saw the bone.'

Constraints (a, b, d) are more consistently observed in Northern Khanty in comparison to Eastern dialects which e.g., violate the *personal pronoun > full NP* hierarchy. Kazym variety with all four constraints attested appears to have the most accomplished obviation system. In sum, the above observations hint at the following possible evolution path: (a) gradual loss of accusative > (b) compensatory extension of passive to inverse contexts along with development of discourse functions of possessive marking > (c) grammaticalization of proximate 2SG marking. In my talk, I will discuss this scenario and its theoretical implications in further detail.

Acknowledgments

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Event-related brain potentials of the presupposition vs. assertion of known and new information

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Within experimental pragmatics (Noveck & Reboul 2008; Hagoort-Levinson 2014), presupposition processing is addressed by a double line of research. Behavioral studies (chiefly based on reading times or eye tracking measures) have characterized presupposition as a strategy to reduce the cognitive cost of some information (Loftus 1975; Langford-Holmes 1079; Schwarz 2014, 2015), i.e the *epistemic vigilance* (Sperber et al. 2010) of the addressee. Neurophysiological investigations (Jouravlev et al. 2016; Masia et al. 2017; Domaneschi et al. 2018) did not confirm this trend, pointing instead to major costs when presupposition was associated to discourse-new as compared to discourse-given information. No study has ever pinned down the neurocognitive correlates of *known* information packaged respectively as presupposition or as assertion. Known information should here be intended as content stored in the receiver's long-term memory (Lombardi Vallauri 2009), i.e belonging to the already existing world knowledge, such as the existence of the Pope, the fact that the sun rises every day or that a borough has streets. Presupposition is obviously the most natural and expected packaging for this type of information, as compared to assertion. The talk will present the results of an EEG study in which the same known information is processed:

(i) when presupposed, respectively by definite descriptions (e.g. *The black cat*) and subordinate clauses (e.g. *When the black cat crossed the street*);
(ii) when asserted, respectively by indefinite descriptions in presentative constructions (*there was a black cat*) and main clauses (*the black cat crossed the street*).

This condition, to be labeled *satisfaction* (SAT) because the presupposed information matches with already existing knowledge, is further compared to an *accommodation* condition (ACC, Lewis 1979), in which both the presuppositions and the assertions encode new information. Stimuli were audio tracks, administered to 48 native Italian students recruited at Roma Tre University. The analysis conducted on participants' EEG signals yielded prominent N400 deflections in response to assertions of known information and presupposition of new information, namely the cognitively less expected conditions. These effects were mostly observed in the canonical centro-parietal regions of the N400 component (p-values per relevant electrode: **CP6** p-value = 0,0010; **P8** p-value = 0,0004; **P04** p-value = 0,0010). Such results suggest that presuppositions cost more than assertions when conveying new information that requires accommodation, while assertions cost more than presuppositions when associated to known information, as assertion more naturally encodes novel contents. These trends confirm that N400 indexes increasing cognitive demands due to mismatching in sentence processing (Masia et al. 2017; Domaneschi et al. 2018) when the linguistic packaging of some information does not correspond to its cognitive state in the receiver's mind. Interestingly, our data also seem to demonstrate that (both with known and new information) the reduced processing effort associated to presupposition as compared to assertion shown by behavioural inquiries is reflected neither in N400 nor in P600

signatures (Lombardi Vallauri 2019). In other words, the neurophysiological correlates of epistemic vigilance are still to be found.

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A large-scale assessment of competition between nominal and prepositional patterns in the history of English

This paper investigates changes in argument structure in the history of English, precisely between Middle and Late Modern English (1150 to 1900). The main focus is on competition between nominal and prepositional patterns for the expression of any verb-dependent clause argument, ranging from prototypical adjuncts to prototypical complements. We assess the hypothesis that overall, PP-complementation increased in frequency over time as part of the general shift of English from a more synthetic to a more analytic language (e.g. Baugh & Cable 2002).

Phenomena such as the overall predominance of PP-expression for adjuncts, e.g. of location as in (1), in Present Day English, which have largely replaced earlier NP-variants, as well as the emergence of prepositional verbs (3), which are not attested in earlier English, seem to broadly support this claim (cf. e.g. Traugott 1992; Claridge 2000). However, prepositional verbs seem to never have had an evident nominal valency (e.g. OED, s.v. *insist*), and other adjuncts, such as expressions of time like in (2), still vary between NP- and PP-uses. Likewise, in the case of well-known syntactic alternations such as the dative (4) or conative alternation (5), the more recent prepositional variants have also not ousted the NP-construction, but they have come to co-exist in a highly systematic manner (e.g. De Cuypere 2015). In yet other cases, NP-variants appear to in fact have replaced earlier PP-options, rather than the other way round (6; OED, s.v. *congratulate*).

(1) They ate cake **in Rome**. [*They ate cake **Rome**.]
(2) They met you **on that day**. [They met you **that day**.]
(3) They insisted **on the lemon cake**. [*They insisted **the lemon cake**.]
(4) They gave cake **to the students**. [They gave **the students** cake.]
(5) They hit **at the ball**. [They hit **the ball**.]
(6) They congratulated **us**. [*They congratulated **with us**.]

Rather than focussing on individual cases of variation with specific verbs or verb classes, as has been done in previous research, the present paper now takes a novel approach in investigating these different pathways in NP- vs PP-competition on a large-scale, general basis. To do so, we use a dataset of all tokens of verb-attached NPs and PPs (N=approx. 406,000) extracted from the *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English* (PPCME2, PPCEME, PPCMBE2). We then employ a multi-state Markov-model, which, as shown by Van de Velde & De Smet (2021), can adequately deal with a range of pertinent issues, including lexical death and back-and-forth trajectories: individual verbs may maintain their preferred constructional variant, transition from one to the other, or fall out of use entirely. These developments may furthermore be affected by covariate factors such as e.g. verb token frequency or semantic class. The results demonstrate that a simple, straightforward NP>PP change – expected in a wholesale shift from syntheticity to analyticity – is indeed not supported by the data (cf. also Szmrecsyani 2012). Nevertheless, more subtle regularities in the development of verbal complementation over time can be detected.

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Sound symbolism in onomatopoeia: language-specific phonemic biases

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Keywords: Onomatopoeia, phonemic biases, sound symbolism

In our phonological typology of demonstratives (Author), we discovered language-specificity related to the sound symbolic coding of the proximal-distal distinction. Similar language-specific tendencies seem to be connected to the production of imitatives as regards the phonemic biases of languages, i.e. related to the consonant/vowel quality ratios (C/VQ ratio; Maddieson 2013) they have: the higher the ratio, the more *consonantal* the languages, and the lower, the more *vocalic*. For example, while some *vocalic* languages code the distinction with front-back vowels (English *this~that*), some more *consonantal* languages code it with consonants (Hinuq *hado~hago*). We believe this generalization also holds for some of the most common examples of onomatopoeia, taking examples of the sounds of animals and rain.

For example, consider the sounds that dogs make in different languages: Finnish *hau hau*; Italian *bau bau*; Hebrew *hav hav/haw haw*; Arabic *haw haw/hab hab*. While the same phenomenon and sound ambience is present, it seems that the more *consonantal* the language, the more likely the words end in a consonant instead of a diphthongal element. This is connected to the phonological structures of the languages and invites a more detailed study on the subject, also including animal sounds with more cross-linguistic variation, e.g. the sounds of frogs. The most exotic example of this comes from Aristophanes (*Frogs*: 209) on Ancient Greek: *brekekekeks koaks koaks*, compared with the more usual *croak* (English) and *kero kero* (Japanese; Abbot 2004).

Heavy rain is often accompanied by vowel quantity connected to the durationality of pouring rain: Japanese *zaazaa*, English *whoosh*. If vowel quantity is lacking, voicing and a long consonant quality are present: English *hammering*, *thunking*. Lighter rain often has front-back vowel distinctions, repetitive di-syllabic constructions and/or voiceless stops (English *drip-drop*, French *plic ploc*; Japanese *shito shito*; Korean *ju-ruk*) (pluviophile.com). In the coding of rain, languages as dissimilar as English and Japanese, therefore, share some common ground, even though it has previously been shown that English and Japanese have clearly differing natures regarding sound symbolism (Imai & Kita 2014). Korean, on the other hand, has *ppal-ppal* for 'dripping freely', i.e. denoting (assumed) smallness with /a/ while the others seem to code it with front and high vowels (at least in the first part of the pair). Korean presents an example of language-specific sound symbolism: it considers high and front vowels big and dark, and back non-high vowels small and bright, contrary to many other languages (Cho 2006: 66-69; compare Ohala 1984; see also Johansson & Carling 2015 regarding the similar Georgian coding of the smallness/largeness distinction).

As we can see from these cases, there are always examples that serve at least partly as counter-examples in sound symbolic research, which merits further research on language-specific iconic coding of onomatopoeic words. This phenomenon has been studied before by Dingemanse (2015), and it is one of our aims to study the results regarding a statistical significance to answer the research question: Is the connection to language-specific phonemic biases significant in terms of sound symbolism in the above stated onomatopoeic categories?

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Genealogy vs. contact configuration: argument coding across Romani dialects in Europe

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Keywords: valency, argument coding, areal linguistics, language contact, Romani

Romani is an Indo-Aryan language that has been spoken in Europe since the Middle Ages (Matras 2002). Most structural changes which we observe in contemporary Romani dialects took place in the 16–17th centuries following the migration and relocation of Romani population across Europe (Matras 2005). Currently, Romani is spoken on a vast territory, primarily in Europe, and is in contact with languages of different genealogical affiliation, e.g. Indo-European (Slavic, Germanic, Romance etc.), Turkic, Finno-Ugric.

The goal of our study is to identify the ways in which areal and genealogical factors affect one particular domain of the grammar of Romani dialects, viz. argument coding of bivalent verbs ('eat', 'kiss', 'see', 'like', 'reach' etc.). Argument coding is known to be susceptible to contact influence at various levels (Grossman, Witzlak-Makarevich, Seržant (eds.) 2019). Contact-induced innovations alter genealogically conditioned patterns in intricate ways (Say 2014).

In our study, we compare lexically determined argument coding patterns in the Romani dialects of Europe with the respective patterns in their contact languages. The data come from the Romani Morpho-Syntax database (RMS; https://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/rms/) and the Typological database of bivalent verbs (BivalTyp; https://bivaltyp.info/). RMS contains questionnaire-based elicited data on various Romani dialects from 120 locations in Europe, and BivalTyp is a typological database which provides information on coding of bivalent verbs in almost 100 languages.

In order to compare the argument coding in Romani dialects and their contact languages, we selected 43 bivalent verbs which appear in both databases. The data on contact languages (e.g., Greek, Ukrainian, Romanian, Turkish, Hungarian) was taken from BivalTyp, and the Romani data was annotated manually.

Our study shows that, despite the common origin, Romani dialects exhibit substantial variation in the argument coding of bivalent predicates. On average, out of 43 bivalent predicates, some 10 predicates display systematic variation across dialects. However, different aspects of argument coding are affected by language contact to varying degrees. We found a statistically significant correlation between the level of transitivity in Romani dialects and their contact languages. Romani dialects in contact with Greek, Albanian, Italian, Slovenian and Finnish, known to be transitive-prominent languages (under the assumption that the partitive object marking in Finnish is considered transitive), show a higher ratio of transitive patterns then the rest of the dialects spoken in Eastern Europe. The ratio of non-canonical subjects, on the other hand, does not display any gross correlation with the respective ratio in contact languages. At the same time, Romani dialects do form geographical clusters based on the prevalence of non-canonical subjects of bivalent predicates: e.g., different Romani dialects of Bulgaria show a very small ratio of non-canonical subjects, whereas Romani dialects of Ukraine and Russia have a higher number of non-canonical subjects. In our talk we are going to discuss the ways in which the observed argument encoding variation in Romani dialects emerged as the result of the interaction of genealogically conditioned patterns and contact-induced innovations.

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Trends in Uralic partitive structures:
Subset marking by Px in the East versus superset marking by case in the West

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Morphologically rich Uralic languages employ different strategies to express partitivity. We focus here on the possessive partitive strategies as described in the Uralicist literature (Bakró-Nagy et. al. 2022), categorizing them following a) analyses in recent volumes on partitives (Sleeman & Luraghi 2023, Giusti & Sleeman 2021, Ihsane & Stark 2020, Luraghi & Huumo 2014) and b) diachronic accounts of Hungarian and modern Udmurt (É. Kiss 2018, É. Kiss & Tánczos 2018). We expand the analyses to more languages based on a) existing sources (Northern Mansi, Hungarian, Erzya, Meadow Mari) and b) additional elicitation.

We analyse Uralic partitives
a) as semantic-typological 'part/amount of N' relationships (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001)
b) formally: A⊆B (A: subset, "the part", represented by DP1, B: superset, "the whole", DP2, cf. Falco & Zamparelli 2019).

(1) a. [DP1three[NP(freshmen [PP of[DP2 the[NP students]]]]]] (Falco & Zamparelli 2019:11)
  b. [DP1[AgrP3SGi[NumP one[NP (cow)[PP/KP -INE [DP2three[NP cowi]]]]]]]
  c. [DP1[AgrP3PLi[NumP two[NP (student)[KP[DP2[NP proi]]]]]]]
  d. [PP/KP[DP1[NumP two[NP (student)[PP/KP out(ELA)[DP2[NPthem]]]]]]]

We examine the encoding of partitive relationships
  a) on the superset via case (elative/ablative/partitive) (2a&b), and
  b) on the subset via Px, number/person possessive agreement with the superset on the subset (a quantifier) (3)-(6).

(2) Finnish
  a. *[...] Kaksi*   *he-istä*   *hylättiin.*
      two[NOM]   they-PL.**ELA.SUPERSET**   reject.PASS.PST
      [Ten students took the exam.] 'Two of them failed.'

  Hungarian
  b. *[...] Kettő*   *a*   *diákok*   ***közül***
      two[NOM]   the   student.PL   **among.ABL.SUPERSET**
      hazakísért.
      home_accompany.PST.3SG

[Ten students took the exam.] 'Two of them accompanied me home.'

(3) Mari

    a. *[...]*   *Kokyt-**šo***   *dene*   *kutyr-en-am.*
         two-**3SG**[NOM]**.SUBSET**   with   speak-PST2.1SG
         [Ten students took the exam.]
         'I spoke with two of them.' (Elena Vedernikova, p.c.)

    b.   *Kum*   *uškal-**yšte***   *ikty-**žy**-m*
         three   cow-**INE.SUPERSET**   one-**3SG.SUBSET**-ACC
         užal-em.
         sell-PRS.1SG
         'I will sell one of (the) three cows.' (Bereczki 1990:38)

(4) Hungarian

     *Kettő-jük   *a*   *diákok*   *közül/*
     two-**3PL**[NOM]**.SUBSET**   the   student.PL   among.**ABL.SUPERSET**

     *kettő-**jük***   *hazakísért.*
     two-**3PL**[NOM]**.SUBSET**   home_accompany.PST.3SG
     [Ten students took the exam.]
     'Two of them accompanied me home.'

(5) Erzya
     *ves'eme-**st***
     all-**3PL.SUBSET**
     'all of them' (Rueter 2010:153)

(6) Mansi

     [...]   *akw*   *pāla-**nəl***   *kapitalizm*   *sistēma,*
         one   half-**3PL.SUBSET**   capitalism   system
         mōt   *pāla-nəl*   *socializm*   *sistēma.*
         other   half-**3PL.SUBSET**   socialism   system
         [The Great October Revolution has divided the countries of the world in two:]
         'one half of them is the socialist system, and the other half the capitalist system.'
     (Rombandeeva & Vakhruševa 1989:89)

We also examine whether the superset DP2 can be overt or must be covert. In Mari, the superset can be optionally overt: see the contrast between (3a&b) and the representations associated with the two structures in (1b&c). In Erzya, Mansi, and Hungarian, once the subset is marked with Px, the superset DP2 cannot be overt: see the contrast in the options under (4), Hungarian. In DPs with no overt superset DP2, we assume that the subset agrees with phonologically silent features (*pro*), cf. (1c).

We divide the languages based on the features (singular/plural) encoded in Px on DP1:
a) mostly singular: Mari, (3)
b) plural: Hungarian (4), Erzya (5), Mansi (6).

Functionally and formally, we propose Uralic has two large groups/types of partitive relationship markers:
a) DP1 and DP2 are related via cases (1d)
b) DP1 can be marked with Px (1b) & (1c), with subtypes where the superset can be either covert or overt (as in (3)).

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On diachronic aspects of the Estonian V2

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Keywords: verb second, wh-interrogatives, language contact, diachrony, Estonian

In Estonian, the finite verb is in second place in declarative main clauses, regardless of the constituent the sentence starts with. Estonian is a so-called V2-language (e.g. Lindström 2017).

(1) a. Mari **küpsetab** homme kooki.
         M   bakes   tomorrow cake.PARTITIVE
     b. Homme **küpsetab** Mari kooki.
         tomorrow bakes   M   cake.PARTITIVE
     c. Kooki **küpsetab** Mari homme.
         cake.part bakes   M   tomorrow
         'Mary bakes a cake tomorrow.'

There is reason to believe that the Estonian V2 word order reflects contact with Germanic. However, there are a number of differences between the V2 of Germanic and V2 in Estonian. Most notably, the Germanic but not the Estonian V2 characterizes all main clause types. As opposed to declarative main clauses, in Estonian wh-questions a verb-final order is also possible (Lindström 2017, Tael 1990).

(2) a. Homme **(küpsetab)** Mari kooki **(*küpsetab)**.
         tomorrow bakes   M   cake.PARTITIVE bakes
         'Tomorrow, Mary will bake a cake.'
     b. Millal **(küpsetab)** Mari kooki **(küpsetab)**?
         when bakes   M   cake.PARTITIVE bakes
         'When will Mary bake a cake?'

The differences between declarative and interrogative main clauses raise the question of how this asymmetry has emerged: is V2 disappearing from the interrogative clauses, or has it not (yet) emerged there? In order to shed light on the developments, we look at the proportion of V2 in declarative main clauses and main-clause wh-interrogatives in Estonian from different historical periods (see Table 1).

In all the sources analysed, the V2 word order dominates in the declaratives, similarly to modern Estonian (see Figure 1, left), but in the interrogative sentences, the sources diverge sharply: in the German-speaking authors' works from the 17th century, the German V2 word order exclusively dominates, but in the language of a 19th century Estonian author and in the 18th century texts by German-speaking authors who relied on Estonian informants, the verb-final word order dominates, as in the modern language (see

Figure 1, right). This difference in the word order of the interrogatives between the sources suggests that the V2 word order in 17th century interrogatives is, in Metslang and Habicht's (2019) terms, a feature of the interlanguage of L2 speakers: V2 did not exist in the language of native speakers and disappeared from the written language very quickly when Estonian started to be developed by native Estonian authors. The results thus suggest that the Germanic V2 order was borrowed into Estonian declarative main clauses but to a much lesser degree into main clause wh-interrogatives. The presentation will discuss the possible reasons of the different development of declaratives and interrogatives in Estonian.

Source	Period	Declaratives	Wh-interrogatives
VAKK, G. Müller, sermons	1600-1606	100	90
VAKK, H. Stahl, „Hand- und Hausbuch I"	1632	100	57
S. H. Vestring, „Lexicon Esthonico Germanicum", example sentences	ca. 1720-40	200	55
VAKK, A. Thor Helle "Kurtzgefasste Anweisung zur Ehstnischen Sprache", 10 dialogues	1732	319	87
VAKK, F. R. Kreutzwald, various texts	1840-1850	100	100
EtTenTen2013	2013	-	273

Table 1. The sources used in the study
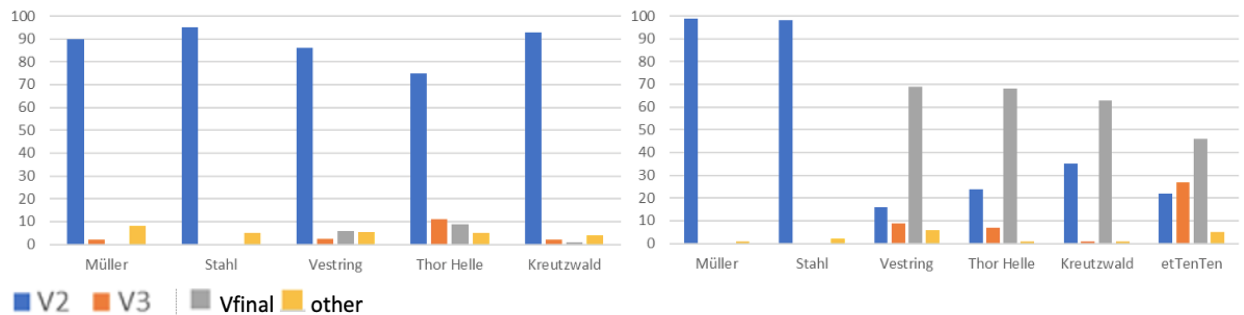
Figure 1. Distribution of word order patterns in main clause declaratives (left) and wh-interrogatives (right) in the examined sources

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Sonority-driven stress in language change:
The case of Proto- Modern South Arabian

It has been argued since Kenstowicz (1997) that, in some languages, stress is sensitive to vowel sonority and not just, as often, to syllable weight. However, the existence of sonority-driven stress has been recently questioned by de Lacy (2013), Rasin (forthcoming), Shih (2016, 2018), and Shih & de Lacy (2019). These studies operate within a synchronic approach. I will argue that the *diachrony* of "Modern South Arabian" (MSA) attests sonority-driven stress.

The MSA languages (Soqotri, Jibbali, Hobyot, Mehri) form a branch of the Semitic family. They lack a written history and their historical phonology has long been poorly understood because of the dearth and inadequacy of the existing descriptions, a situation that is now changing thanks to a number of recent studies (e.g. Naumkin *& al.* 2014–2018; Rubin 2014, 2018). As with typical Semitic languages, MSA morphology is predominantly of the root-and-pattern type. In MSA, stress is not predictable on the basis of a representation of the word that would pre-exist to stress-assignment. It is thus best described as phonemic, and part of the morphological pattern. The MSA languages are fairly consistent regarding the position of stress in cognate patterns, which allows to reconstruct stress for Proto-MSA. Semitic languages, however, exhibit diverging stress systems and there is no consensus on Proto-Semitic stress. At any rate, no Semitic branch coincides with Proto-MSA in this respect.

I argue that the position of Proto-MSA stress can be accounted for not on the ground of a hypothetical Proto-Semitic stress, but on the sole basis of the quality and position of the vowels in the Proto-Semitic etyma: stress favors the rightmost non-final *a over the high vowels *i and *u. Examples from the verbal system:

		"Ga" verbal type			"Gb" verbal type		
		Perfect 3ms	*Perfect 3fs*	*Jussive 3ms*	*Perfect 3ms*	*Perfect 3fs*	*Jussive 3ms*
Classical Arabic	*Pattern*	$C_1aC_2aC_3a$	$C_1aC_2aC_3at$	$yaC_1C_2uC_3$	$C_1aC_2iC_3a$	$C_1aC_2iC_3at$	$yaC_1C_2aC_3$
	Example	*kataba*	*katabat*	*yaktub*	*labisa*	*labisat*	*yalbas*
Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez)	*Pattern*	$C_1aC_2aC_3a$	$C_1aC_2aC_3at$	$yəC_1C_2əC_3$	$C_1aC_2C_3a$	$C_1aC_2C_3at$	$yəC_1C_2aC_3$
	Example	*nagara*	*nagarat*	*yəngər*	*labsa*	*labsat*	*yəlbas*
Proto-West Semitic received etyma		*$C_1aC_2aC_3a$	*$C_1aC_2aC_3at$	*$yaC_1C_2uC_3$	*$C_1aC_2iC_3a$	*$C_1aC_2iC_3at$	*$yiC_1C_2aC_3$
Modern South Arabian	*Jibbali* *Pattern*	$C_1oC_2óC_3$	$C_1oC_2oC_3ót$	$yóC_1C_2əC_3$	$C_1éC_2əC_3$	$C_1iC_2iC_3ót$	$yəC_1C_2óC_3$
	Example	*ḳodór*	*ḳodorót*	*yóḳdər*	*féðər*	*fiðirót*	*yəfðór*
	Hobyot *Pattern*	$C_1ɛC_2óC_3$	$C_1əC_2ɛC_3ót$	$yɛ́C_1C_2əC_3$	$C_1íC_2əC_3$	$C_1əC_2iC_3ót$	$yəC_1C_2óC_3$
	Example	*θɛbór*	*θəbɛrót*	*yɛ́θbər*	*fíðər*	*fəðirót*	*yəfðór*

Glosses: *kataba* 'write'; *labisa, labsa* 'wear'; *nagar* 'speak'; *ḳodór* 'be able'; *féðər, fíðər* 'shiver'; *θebór, θɛbór* 'break'.

We must therefore suppose the operation of quality-sensitive stress-rules at some time in the prehistory of Proto-MSA. At the end of the process, Proto-Semitic vowel alternations (ablaut) in the morphology have yielded stress alternations in MSA.

In the area, Ethiosemitic and many Arabic dialects attest systems where prosody as a whole and, most notably, vowel syncope are sensitive not only to syllable structure but also to the quality of the vowels, with *a* being stronger than high vowels in parsing rules (cf. e.g. Angoujard 1990). But the situation implied by MSA comparison involves no syncope, only stress-assignment is concerned, while syllabic weight is not relevant. It is therefore a prototypical sonority-driven stress system.

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On some restrictions on pronominalization in Russian and French

The talk focuses on cases in French and Russian in which a noun phrase cannot be replaced with a pronoun or pronominalization is limited. Namely, we will consider the restrictions on pronouns in copula constructions (Russian *byt'*, French *être*, and Russian zero copula), as well as in verbs like Russian *sčitat'* consider', *kazat'sja* 'seem', *naznait'* 'assign', French *appeler* 'call'*, declarer* 'declare'*, nommer* 'appoint'*, trouver* 'find, regard as', in which the third actant expresses the status or characteristic of the second.

The data was collected from linguistic corpora and Google search. Also, we used native language knowledge for Russian and French speaker survey.

I. In French, with verbs expressing characteristic or status, the pronominalization of the third argument is ungrammatical.

(1) **Macron la / le nomme Elisabeth Borne* 'Macron appointed him / her [Prime Minister] Elisabeth Borne'.

This seems to be due to the fact that the third actant of such verbs is not an autonomous participant – it expresses characteristics of the second argument, a direct object *Elisabeth Born* (cf. [Bailyn 2001, where such cases are treated as depictives, and Jauneau 2011, where the term attributive is used for them). In some cases, such as with verbs of speech, the adverb *ainsi* is possible as an alternative:

(4) *Le cumulard Laurent Garcia ne veut pas qu'on le nomme ainsi* (https://blogs.alternatives-economiques.fr/...)

'The part-time worker Laurent Garcia does not want to be called like this (a part-time worker).'

In Russian, with verbs of the same group, pronouns are generally possible. However, the pronoun is much easier used in the instrumental object position of a passive or reflexive verb like *byt' naznačennym* 'be appointed' (5) than with transitive verbs in active voice (6).

(5) *<...> vmesto odnogo predsedatelja pojavilos' dva sopredsedatelja. **Imi** byli naznaeny Dmitrij Komissarov i ... Ilja Južanov*. [Club of oligarchs in the Consumer Council // Moskovsky Komsomolets, 2017.06]

(6) *Kak i dve tysjači let nazad, den'gami možet byt' vsjo, čto ljudi **imi** sčitajut <…>*. [Краткая история денег от древних времен до наших дней // lenta.ru, 2019.04]

II. Copula verbs also behave differently in Russian and in French. The French verb *être* has special properties. Like other lexemes, for example, *trouver* 'regard as'*, nommer* 'appoint'*, etc., it does not allow a consonant pronoun in the predicate position. However, with this verb, it is possible to use a non-consonant pronoun (*le neutre*).

(7) *Quatremer a raison de nous prendre pour des cons. Nous **le** (**les*) sommes.* (http://www.richard3.com/2014/05/election_chez_les_cons.html).

'Quatremer has a reason to regard us as fools. We really are.'

Although the subject is the pronoun *nous* 'we', the pronoun *le* is used in the predicate position, and the pronoun *les* agreed with the plural subject is not possible.

The Russian verb *byt'* 'to be' also behaves more "liberally" than its French counterpart. It allows standard consonant pronouns in the predicate position:

(8) *Prezident' ne stal glavnym geroem meroprijatija. **Imi** byli volontery.* [Socially trained people: what volunteers told the president about // Izvestia, 2019.12]

'This time, the President did not become the main person at the event. **They** were the volunteers.'

The only construction type in Russian where pronominalization is strictly prohibited are zero copula constructions.

(9)   **Vse   sčitaj-ut Petj-u durak-om i Petj-a dejstvitel'no **on**.*

        Intended: 'Everyone considers Petja to be fool, and Petja is really **he**.'

(10)   **Prezident' ne glavnyj geroj meroprijatij-a. **Oni** volonter-y.*

        Intended: 'The President is not the main person at the event. The volunteers are **they**.'

        III. For Russian, an additional factor is the communicative structure of the utterance. The use of pronouns in the predicate position with being and with characteristic verbs is practically forbidden if the pronoun is a rhema, as in (11) (this restriction resembles the restrictions on weak pronouns in terms [Cardinaletti, Starke 1999], [Testelets 2003]):

(11) *??Dmitrij Komissarov i Il'ja Južanov byli naznačeny **imi.***

        'Dmitry Komissarov and Il'ja Yuzhanov were appointed **them**.'

The data addressed so far shows that different features are relevant for French and Russian. French is intolerable to pronominalization of NPs in the predicate position. In Russian, only focused constituents and constituents of zero copula constructions resist pronominalization – these are only constituents in communicatively strong positions, not any predicate NPs.

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Overabundance, defectivity, and periphrastic strategies:
Evidence from Turkic

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Keywords: overabundance, defectivity, morphology, regularisation, Turkic

In Turkish, a possessum agrees with the person and number features of its possessor in Genitive-Possessive phrases. The initial sounds of all possessive agreement suffixes – except the 3PL – are subject to deletion depending on the final sound of the stem: the initial vowel of the suffixes is deleted when the stem ends in a vowel and the initial *s* sound of the 3SG possessive suffix is deleted when the stem ends in a consonant (Göksel & Kerslake 2005), as illustrated in (1).

(1)

Regular Possessive paradigm	SG	PL
1	X-**(I)m**	X-**(I)mIz**
2	X-**(I)n**	X-**(I)nIz**
3	X-**(s)I**	X-**lArI**

Although 3PL agreement is ubiquitous in possessive phrases in Turkish, *-AsI* desideratives that agree with a 3PL possessor do not have an acceptable form (2).

(2)

-AsI paradigm	SG	PL
1	X-*AsI*-**m**	X-*AsI*-**mız**
2	X-*AsI*-**n**	X-*AsI*-**nız**
3	X-*AsI*-**Ø**	*X-*AsI*-**ları**/*X-*A*-**ları**

There are two possible 3PL *-AsI* desiderative forms: (i) *X-AsI-lArı*, (ii) *X-A-lArI*. When hard-pressed, some speakers produce *X-AsI-lArı* while others produce *X-A-lArI*. However, speakers tend to reject even their preferred form. We argue this is due to the irregular 3SG form, where the regular POSS.3SG morpheme –*(s)I* is absent, and possible analogical paths. 1SG and 3SG desideratives have similar frequencies and they compete for being the analogical base when deriving 3PL desideratives. If speakers choose 1SG as the base, the predicted 3PL form is *X-AsI-lArI* (2a). If they choose 3SG, the predicted form is *X-A-lArI* (3b). This competition leads to "overabundance and defectivity" in the 3PL cell.

(3) *a. X*m (1SG) : *X*ları (3PL) :: *X*asım (1SG) : ***Xasıları (3PL)***
     *b. X*sı (3SG) : *X*ları (3PL) :: *X*ası (3SG) : ***Xaları (3PL)***

However, given that 3PL desideratives do not exist in the input, speakers could possibly adopt a decomposition that would *regularize* the paradigm of desideratives: if they take the desiderative suffix to be *-As* and they parse the *I* in its final position as the initial vowel of the following possessive suffix, then the paradigm would be regularized as follows.

(4)

-As paradigm (after reanalysis)	SG	PL
1	X-*As*-**Im**	X-*As*-**ImIz**
2	X-*As*-**In**	X-*As*-**InIz**
3	X-*As*-**I**	X-*As*-**IArI**

Although Turkish speakers haven't yet reanalyzed the desiderative suffix as in (4), Turkmen, another Turkic language, has done it, given that it has the exact same paradigm in (4) (Clark 1998: 292). We posit that this change is expected also in the desiderative paradigm of Turkish under the pressure for regularization (Ferdinand et. al. 2017).

Another Turkic language, Tatar (Tatarstan), we observe that 3PL *-AsI* desideratives are not defective and the desiderative suffix is *-AsI* in all cells. Having searched corpora and collected acceptability judgments, we argue Tatar does not have a gap because Tatar speakers predominantly use *-AsI* desideratives to express a wish or desire and has lots of input for all cells. However, in Turkish and Turkmen, a construction formed with *iste-* 'to want' is used frequently for this function and, *-AsI* desideratives can be easily replaced with this highly available periphrastic construction – making them more prone to being defective when combined with the speaker uncertainty about the 3PL desiderative form.

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Morphosyntactic analysis of passive formation in Jordanian Arabic

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Keywords: Passive; Jordanian Arabic; vP; voice.

This abstract explores passive formation in Jordanian Arabic (JA). It firstly shows how passive verbs are morphologically derived. Secondly, it investigates the observation that certain transitive verbs are not passivized.

Firstly, passive verbs in JA are derived through the prefixation of certain passive morphemes whose choice is phonologically constrained. For examples, when the verb is monosyllabic or disyllabic with one light syllable, the prefix -*n* is attached to the verb stem. In perfective forms, the prefix -*n* is attached to the beginning of the word as shown in (1).

(1) katab   >>   ʔin-katab
     write.PST.3SG.M   PASS-write.PST.3SG.M
     'wrote'   'was written'

In the imperfective forms of the verb, the morpheme -*ʔin* appears between the imperfective marker *b* and the verb stem, as shown in (2):

(2) bu-ktub   >>   bi-n-katib
     IMPFV-write.3SG.M   IMPFV-PASS-write.3SG.M
     'write'   'is written'

When the verb has a word-internal gemination or consists of two heavy syllables (or more), verbs are passivized through the morpheme *t* with the same distribution of the prefix -*n* in perfective and imperfective forms.

(3) ʔassas   >>   ʔit-ʔassas
     establish.PST.3SG.M   PASS-establish.PST.3SG.M
     'established'   'was established'

(4) bi-ʔassis   >>   bi-t-ʔassas
     IMPFV-establish.3SG.M   IMPEF-PASS-establish.3SG.M
     'establish'   'is established'

Secondly, one intriguing observation relating to passive formation in JA is the fact that verbs which are prefixed with the morpheme -*ʔis* cannot be passivized with no exception (examples 5-6) although their counterparts in SA can be passivized with no exception (examples 7-8):

(5) ʔistard͡ʒaʕ   >>   *ʔit-stard͡ʒaʕ   (JA)
     take.back.PST.3SG.M   PASS-take.back.PST.3SG.M
     'took sth back'   'was taken back.

(6) ʔistad͡ʒwab   >>   *ʔit-stad͡ʒwab   (JA)
     interrogate.PST.3SG.M   PASS-interrogate.PST.3SG.M
     'Interrogated'   'was interrogated'

(7) ʔistard͡ʒaʕa   >>   ʔisturd͡ʒiʕa   (SA)
     take.back.PST.3SG.M   take.back.PST.3SG.M.PASS
     'took sth back'   'was taken back.

(8) ʔistaʕaara   >>   ʔistuʕiira   (SA)
     borrow.PST.3SG.M   borrow.PST.3SG.M.PASS
     'Borrowed'   'was borrowed'

Note that JA passive forms in (5-6) remain ungrammatical if -*n* is used instead of -*t* or if -n/-t is placed after -*ʔis*. Following the main views of the morpheme -*ʔis* in the traditional grammar of Arabic, we assume that the morpheme -*ʔis* is a light verb with a meaning such as like *asking for/applying for*, etc. For example, the verb *ʔistard͡ʒaʕ* roughly means *asked for sth to take back* (while the verb *rad͡ʒd͡ʒaʕ* means *took back*). It is in fact quite apparent that all verbs that start with the morpheme -*ʔis* are always have a composite meaning.

We propose that -*ʔis* as a light verb occupies the head v^0 position inside vP which is a layer that is normally assumed to house light verbs (Hale and Keyser 1993; Chomsky 1995). If we assume that Voice Phrase

whose head Voice[0] is filled with the passive marker *is* a flavour of v[0] in JA, we can readily account for the observation that the presence of the morpheme -*ʔis* bleeds passive formation in JA. -*ʔis* or the passive marker can merge under v[0] (see Chomsky 1995; Harley 1995 a.o. for the assumption that Voice Phrase is a flavour of vP). On the other hand, Voice Phrase in SA is projected above vP (Voice Phrase is not a flavour of vP in SA; see Cuervo 2003, Alexiadou et al. 2006, Harley 2009 for relevant arguments from other languages). This difference between JA and SA with respect to the projection of Voice Phrase (a distinct projection or a flavour of vP) is theoretically significant because it indicates that both views can be maintained but not for the same language. This assumption, if right, is significant by itself because it alludes to the micro-variation of the projection of Voice Phrase in Arabic grammar.

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BE perfects and grammaticalization in Bulgarian and Lithuanian: A study based on data from Facebook comments

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Studies conducted on the perfect show that grams formed with the copula and a past active participle may undergo similar developments under grammaticalization to possessive perfects, having resultative constructions as their starting point, prototypical perfect grams in the middle, and past tenses at the end of their grammaticalization chain (Dahl 1985, Bybee & Dahl 1989, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Lindstedt 2000, Drinka 2017). However, while the semantic and formal changes involved in grammaticalization of possessive and split-auxiliary perfects have been described in detail based on data from Romance or Germanic languages (Squartini & Bertinetto 2000, Heine & Kuteva 2006, Broekhuis 2021), little is known about the parallel process with exclusively BE perfects.

Based on the Overlap Model (Heine 1993) and the idea that diachronic conceptual shifts may coincide with points of ambiguity observed in synchronic data, I argue that some features of primary and secondary grammaticalization specific to BE perfects can be seen in data from Bulgarian and Lithuanian.

My study is based on data from genre-parallel collections of Facebook comments in Bulgarian and Lithuanian, an underrepresented register in grammar studies. These doculects (Wälchli & Cysouw 2012) seem to be particularly well-suited for a study on perfects, as narrative contexts are minimal, the genre is close to a dialogue, and the informal register justifies the expectation to find values that are not sufficiently well-established yet to be frequently used in more formal texts.

Quantitative and comparative analysis of around 2000 perfect tokens from each doculect shows that the two grams fit into a cline of a specific BE-perfect grammaticalization, which is in a way inversely parallel to grammaticalization stages for possessive perfects, as the focus shifts away from the subject in 'X is Y' schema (Kuteva 2004).

A number of conceptual shifts and contexts of ambiguity parallel to both languages are identified. First, between stative and subject-oriented resultative perfects, indicating a likely lexical source of BE perfects in the former:

Bg.

Много	*сте*	*се*	***загрижи-ли***	*за*	*България!*
Mnogo	*ste*	*se*	***zagriži-li***	*za*	*Bâlgarija!*
much	be.PRS.2PL	RFL	concern-PST.PA.PL	PREP	Bulgaria

'You are so concerned about Bulgaria!'

Second, between inferentials and transitive resultative perfects, which provide the basis for the grammaticalization towards evidential values in Bulgarian and are infrequent as well as unstable in Lithuanian:

Lit.

[*Ukrainiečiams nieko nėra neimanoma.*]

Juk	*jie*	*Juodąją*	*jūrą*	***iškas-ę***
PTC	3PL.M.NOM	Black.ACC.SG.F.DEF	sea.ACC.SG.F	dig-PST.PA.PL.M

ir	*Karpatų*	*kalnus*	***supyl-ę***
and	Carpathian.GEN.PL.M	mountain.ACC.PL.M	pour-PST.PA.PL.M

'[For Ukrainians there's nothing impossible.] After all, they have dug out the Black Sea and poured out the Carpathian Mountains.'

Perfects of persistent situation are abundant in Bulgarian and occasional in Lithuanian, while experientials are freely used in both. This shows that with BE perfects resultativity is more readily obscured than the orientation towards the subject and differs from the development of possessive perfects, where the initial step is the broadening of the concept of current relevance in resultative perfects (Dahl & Hedin 2000), while experientials and perfects of persistent situation are typical of more grammaticalized grams.

Quantitative frequency data shows that in both doculects, despite different patterns of copula usage in Bulgarian and Lithuanian, there is a clear tendency to drop the auxiliary more often with less grammaticalized perfect values, while with typical perfect values the auxiliary is more frequently present. In Bulgarian, the auxiliary-drop tendency resurfaces again with evidential values. I argue that this auxiliary usage curve is related to a grammaticalization cline specific to BE-perfects.

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Majorcan Catalan: a window to analyse past participle agreement as an epiphenomenon

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The main goal of this presentation is to provide a formal analysis for past participle agreement (PPA), flexible enough to explain not only the data from Majorcan Catalan (which is one of the Romance varieties more prone to PPA; according to Rosselló 2003 and Gavarró & Fortón 2014), but also from other Romance varieties.

I start from De Cia's (2023) observation that, in Friulian, PPA_{OIS} is not optional (*pace* Loporcaro 1998), but conditioned by the topicality of the object: PPA_{OIS} is only licensed if the direct object can be interpreted as a *given topic* or as an *aboutness-shift topic*, in the sense of Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007), but PPA_{OIS} is ungrammatical if the object is under *narrow focus*. Strikingly, a similar constraint applies to Majorcan Catalan:

(1) *a.*   —Els   heu   vist(s)   sempre, an   es   cossiers?
        CL.ACC.MAS.PL have.you seen(.PL) always   DOM the "cossiers".MAS.PL
        'Have you always seen the "cossiers"?'

        —Sempre… Sempre **he** *vists*   es   cossiers i   es   dimoni.
        always   always   have.I seen.MAS.PL the "cossiers" and the devil
        'Always, I have always seen the "cossiers" and the devil'

   b.   I   llavò **he** *vists*   «hombres licenciados en carrera»   de Montuïri:
        and then have.I seen.MAS.PL men   graduate in university-degree from Montuïri
        'And then I have seen men graduate at university from Montuïri:'

        Cases   de senyors: […]. Frares: […]. Metges: […] Apotecaris: […]. Missers: […].
        houses of lords   friars   doctors   pharmacists   lawyers
        'houses of lords […]. Friars: […]. Doctors: […]. Pharmacists: […]. Lawyers: […].

   c.   —Què has   rebut?   —**He** **{rebut/*rebudes}**   dues multes.
        what   have.you received   have.I received.{MAS.SG/*FEM.PL} two   fines.FEM.PL
        'What have you received?'   'I have received two fines'

A similar phenomenon can be found in Sanvalentinese and Ripano (D'Alessandro 2017) and in some Bantu varieties like Manyika (Bax & Diercks 2012) and Swahili (Mursell 2018). De Cia, following Mursell and D'Alessandro, claims that *v/v** in Friulian enters the derivation with [*u*φ:_] features and with an extra [*u*δ:_] feature, which looks (through the operation *Agree*) inside its c-command domain for the nearest DP/NP with a [Givenness] or [Aboutness] interpretable δ (discourse) feature. By contrast, Bax & Diercks prefer an analysis based on the incorporation of a pronominal clitic into the verb, which resembles the kind of analysis that I assume to explain condioned PPA, following the analysis proposed by Georgi & Stark (2020) for French. In long-distance movement, both in French and in current

Majorcan Catalan, PPA with a *wh*P is just possible with the most embedded participle, but not with the highest participle:

(2) [Quines cadires has **{dit/*dites}** [que ha {*repintades*/repintat}]]?
which chairs.FEM.PL have.you said.{MAS.SG/*FEM.PL} that has repainted.{FEM.PL/MAS.SG}
'Which chairs have you said that (s)he has repainted?'

According to Georgi & Stark, the syntactic mechanism that explains *optional PPA* with *wh*-Ps or with clitics in French is not *Agree* (unlike unaccusative constructions, auxiliated robustly with *être* and with *mandatory PPA*), but *resumption by sub-extraction, stranding and incorporation* of an H functional head (from the highest DP layer) into the participle. Crucially, this mechanism cannot be applied to already moved constituents, which are "islands for sub-extraction".

The main conclusion is that PPA is an *epiphenomenon*, which can be regarded as the by-product of several syntactic mechanisms. One of these mechanisms is *Agree* (Chomsky 2001; Longenbaugh 2019), which explains mandatory PPA within unaccusative constructions in French and Italian (*Sono {arrivate/*arrivato} le ragazze*), and even those cases of systematic or categorical PPA$_{OIS}$ (like in Old stages of Majorcan Catalan); but PPA could also be the result of *Concord* (Giusti 2008) or Zeijlstra's (2012) *Reverse Agree* — as in passive constructions, where PPA is mandatory even in current Spanish (*La ciudad fue destruida*), as in any other case of Concord between a noun and an adjective (*La ciudad es bonita*). Moreover, optional PPA could come from *resumption by extraction, stranding and incorporation* of an H functional head, as a strategy for marking information structure.

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Conditional language contact: The Septuagint Greek translation and the (in)stability of conditional structures in the history of Greek

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"contact between languages (or dialects) is a source of linguistic change whenever a change occurs *that would have been unlikely, or at least less likely, to occur outside a specific contact situation*. This definition is broad enough to include *both the transfer of linguistic features from one language to another and innovations which, though not direct interference features, nevertheless have their origin in a particular contact situation*" (Thomason 2003, 688, my italics). Though criticized as a definition for vagueness in criteria and for excluding likely changes as contact-induced, the principle of likeliness has proven to be a useful heuristic principle for detecting contact-induced change (Heine and Kuteva 2005, 22), as contrastive syntactic analyses of translated and non-translated texts show (see Lavidas 2022). An important reason for the relative success of the principle of likeliness is in my view also its implicit bearing on the actuation problem, since investigating likeliness of change due to contact provides new answers to this unsolved riddle (Walkden 2017).

In this talk, I argue that investigating translation contact evidence can uncover the synchronic conditions for contact-induced change as well as the diachronic conditions for such changes to persist in the history of a language. By analyzing the diachronic (in)stability of conditional structures in Septuagint, the New Testament and Post-Classical Greek literary and non-literary texts (III BCE – III CE), I demonstrate that both the synchronic conditions for contact-induced change in Septuagint Greek and the diachronic conditions of persistence are more diverse than previously assumed. I will show, among other things, that some conditional structures were on grammaticalization pathways that seem to have been sped up in the setting of written language contact (e.g. conditional *ei* 'if' which formed indirect questions in Classical Greek, Wakker 1994, 379–84 but form direct ones in the Septuagint, Muraoka 2016, 756), some gain new usages in Septuagint Greek which only persist in New Testament Greek (e.g. insubordinate conditional assertives, la Roi 2021, 40–41), whereas others possibly follow different diachronic trends (e.g. in terms of loss of the optative mood, Tjen 2010) or simply remain stable. I will synthesize the stable and unstable conditional patterns in this diachronic corpus using a language ecology framework that incorporates both factors of language-internal and language-external ecology (Croft 2000), in order to provide more insights into the varied factors behind the actuation of contact-induced change.

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How Siberia became Tungusic speaking

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Since the 17th century, when ethnographic information started becoming available from North Asia, most parts of Siberia are known to have been occupied by Tungusic speaking local groups (Dolgikh 1960). Most of these groups speak a variety of relatively uniform dialects of Ewenki, while in the northeast dialects of the closely related Ewen language are also spoken. The fact that Ewenki and Ewen, the two principal members of the Ewenic branch of the Tungusic language family (Vovin et al. 2023) are mutually so close and internally so coherent is itself suggestive of a history of recent expansion, which has taken these languages from a compact homeland to all over Siberia.

The external history of Ewenic in Siberia can be studied on the basis of linguistic evidence, especially loanwords and onomastics, which confirm that Tungusic reached the more marginal areas of Siberia only some centuries ago, with some regions, like Kamchatka and Sakhalin on the North Pacific becoming embraced by Ewenic varieties as late as the 19th century. Along the margins of the Ewenic territories there arose language contacts with the neighbouring ethnolinguistic groups, including the Samoyeds (Uralic) in the northwest and the Yukaghir (Kolymic) in the northeast. However, in most regions where Ewenic is historically known to have been spoken, the earlier languages have been extinguished without clearly identifiable traces. Since there is no reason to assume that the earlier population would have vanished, it has to be concluded that language shift played an important part in the northern expansion of Tungusic. More recently, a somewhat similar language shift has led to the absorption of former Ewenic speakers into the sphere of the expanding Yakut language (Turkic), whose presence in central and northern Siberia dates back to the 15th to 19th centuries.

The original expansion center of Ewenic can be placed in the Middle Amur basin and its tributaries, especially the Zeya, and dated to the period corresponding to the consolidation and expansion of the historical Mongols in Mongolia and western Manchuria in the 11th to 13th centuries. The Zeya basin was probably the location where Ewenic underwent an initial differentation into Ewen and Ewenki, of which the latter was further divided into a Siberian and a Manchurian subbranch. An intrusion of the Siberian branch into the Amgun' basin on the Lower Amur resulted in the formation of the Neghidal variety, which incorporates traces of interaction with Ghilyak (Amuric), while the Manchurian branch was differentiated into the modern Orochen and Solon varieties.

It may be concluded that that the expansion of the Ewenic languages has involved a surprisingly recent and rapid process. In this process, the language, which was originally spoken by semi-sedentary cattle breeders and small-scale agriculturalists in the Middle Amur basin was adopted by taiga-dwelling hunters, fishermen, and reindeer breeders. Ultimately, Ewenic varieties came also to be spoken in the Arctic tundra zone, as defined by vegetational and climatic features.

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The relation between function and position:
The case of Dutch discourse markers

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Keywords: Discourse markers, Dutch, function, periphery, position

Recent research into the relationship between position and function/meaning of Dutch discourse markers yields two types of non-conclusive, even partially conflicting, results:

- According to Evers-Vermeul (2010), the semantics of the element *dus* 'thus, so' tends to be more functional (towards 'accessibility marker') if it occurs more to the right of the clause.
- Van der Wouden and Foolen (2015, 2021) report a tendency of discourse markers in general to have a more functional semantics if they occur in more peripheral positions – be it the left-hand or the right-hand end of the clause (cf. Traugott 2012, Beeching & Detges 2014).

In this paper, we will take a new approach to the relation between function and position. We investigate a number of discourse elements that are very common (at least in the Netherlandic variant of Dutch) and that have a functional use (as 'modal particle') in the middle of the clause. Taking data from the Corpus of Spoken Dutch, among others, we then systematically look at what (types of) meanings they may have in the left and right periphery of the clause. The differences between the elements are noteworthy: some of them, e.g. *'ns* (a bleached form of *eens* 'once'), do not occur in the left or right periphery, i.e. outside the main clause, others such as *dan* 'then' show a whole range of meanings from temporal deictic in first position (immediately before the inflected verb) via modal particle in the middle towards discourse marker in sentence final position, whereas *toch* 'yet' apparently can occupy the full range of positions from the left periphery to the right one, with varying function. The variation sheds more light on the Dutch individual particles, on the one hand, and on the general relation between position and function, on the other.

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Locative and existential predication in Gawarbati (Indo-Aryan) and the surrounding region

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Keywords: existential, Hindu Kush, information structure, locative, perspectivization

The relations between **figure** and **ground** are usually expressed by locative clauses, *the book is on the table*, or by locational-existential clauses, *there is a book on the table*. The difference between these constructions has been widely discussed from a cross-linguistic perspective (e.g., Freeze 1992, Koch 2012, McNally 2016, Creissels 2019, Haspelmath 2022). However, there is a need for more natural language data from non-European low-resource languages. We present a contrastive analysis of locative and locational-existential clauses in a spoken corpus of Gawarbati, an under-described Indo-Aryan language of the Pakistan-Afghanistan border area. The analysis also compares figure-ground constructions in geographically close languages.

The main factor distinguishing locative and locational-existential clauses in Gawarbati and in the surrounding region is word order: in (1), the order is figure-ground, and in (2), ground-figure.

(1)   *ama*   ***aːuʈoŋga-a***   *tʰanek*
        we   **Awtonga-OBL**   be.PRS.1PL
        'We are in Awotonga' [Gawarbati, locative]

(2)   ***aman-i   laːm-a***   *primeri*   *zanaːn-a*   *sikul*   *tʰanet*
        our-F   village-OBL   primary   women.GEN-M   school   be.PRS.3PL
        'There are girls' primary schools in our village' [Gawarbati, locational-existential]

It has been claimed that in languages like Gawarbati, word-order variation in figure-ground constructions is simply motivated by **information structure** (Koch 2012: 541), and, as a result, no dedicated locational-existential construction can be postulated in languages of this type (Creissels 2019: 60). An alternative view suggests that such variation reflects **perspectivization** or **viewpoint**, a parameter distinct from information structure and, in particular, underlying the choice between active and passive voice (Partee & Borschev 2002; Creissels 2019: 49-50; Haspelmath 2022: §12). In our talk we provide evidence in favour of the second analysis and show how perspectival and information

structure interact in discourse. For example, focalization of the figure in locational-existential clauses can result in the word-order pattern in (3).

(3)   *biʣli-an-a*   *sahulat*   *tʰana*   *gal*   *faːr*

        electricity-GEN-M   facilities   be.PRS.3SG.M   valley   river.side

        'There is ELECTRICITY in Arundu Valley now.' [Gawarbati, locational-existential]

Another parameter which may differentiate locative and locational-existential clauses is the predicate's lexical identity. In locative clauses in Gawarbati, we often find the verb 'sit' instead of the bare copula. Although this verb certainly preserves its semantics, its high frequency suggests that specifying posture of the figure in Gawarbati is more obligatory than, for example, in English. Interestingly, in some neighbouring languages, e.g., Nuristani Ashkun (Morgenstierne 1929: 233) and Indo-Aryan Palula, posture verbs appear to be used more frequently in locational-existential clauses. The posture verb in (4) merely indicates the presence of the figure, while its posture seems to be secondary.

(4)   *tíi*   *šíiṭi*   *áak*   *máakaṛ*   *šúk-a*   *meewá*   *ǰáma*   *the*

        3SG.REM.OBL   inside   IDEF   monkey   dry-PL   fruit   gathered   do.CV

        bheš-í   **heens-íl-u**   **de**

        sit.down-CV   **exist-PFV-MSG**   **PST**

        'Inside [the cave], there was a monkey with some dried fruit.' [Palula, locational-existential]

In another subset of languages, one copula is used for locatives and another for locational-existentials (e.g., Iranian Pashto), or the copula may be left out in locatives, while overtly expressed in locational-existentials (e.g., Iranian Wakhi (Bashir 2009: 842)). The data from Gawarbati and other languages of the region has the potential of revealing some of the diachronic development behind such constructional-lexical alternations (Ameka & Levinson 2007). The study will also fill some gaps, regarding word order and clause structure, in the emerging areal typology of the Hindu Kush region (Liljegren 2020), as well as of the larger surrounding regions of South and Central Asia (Masica 2001).

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Geographical variation in Udmurt: Vocabulary and syntax

Chambers and Trudgill (1998: 99–100) claim that morphosyntactic isoglosses are more significant than lexical or phonological ones. Nevertheless, traditional dialectology has predominantly relied on the latter in most languages. This has also been the case for Udmurt (Permic < Uralic). The most widely used dialectal classification by Maksimov (1999) is primarily based on phonological differences. It takes into account some morphological and lexical variables, but not syntax.

My study is the first to empirically compare areal distributions of lexical and syntactic features in Udmurt to the traditional classifications. Scherrer and Stoeckle (2016: 110) show that syntactic isoglosses in Swiss German do not correlate with the other levels so well compared to how those correlate with each other. Rusakov et al. (2018) claim that features related to grammar and vocabulary in Albanian do not contradict the traditional dialectal classification, however vocabulary yields fewer clear isogloss bundles. I observe similar effects in Udmurt.

For the lexical part of my research, I use the data from the Dialectological atlas by Nasibullin et al. (2009 and the subsequent seven volumes). With 175 data points for almost each feature, it provides enough data for conducting a dialectometric analysis (Ward's hierarchical clustering, visualizations of lexical similarity and isogloss bundles). The syntactic part is a limited case study. It relies on my own data that I collected in the field in 2021–2022, as well as extracted from published dialectal texts. I study four groups of features, all of which are known to be geographically distributed:

- case of the pronominal complement of inflected postpositions / relational nouns (nominative/genitive), illustrated by (1);
- whether a pronominal complement in the nominative triggers possessive agreement on the postposition (1);
- optionality of possessive agreement with a genitive modifier in the 1st person in NP (2);
- mutual ordering of pairs of discourse clitics (3).

(1) *mịnam vịl-a-m* vs. *mon vịl-e* vs. *mon vịl-a-**m***
    I:**GEN** on-ILL-1SG.POSS   I:**NOM** on-ILL   I:**NOM** on-ILL-**1SG.POSS**
'onto me'

(2) *mịnam pi-**je*** vs. *mịnam pi*
    I:GEN son-**1SG.POSS**   I:GEN son
'my son'

(3) *lịkt-o-z=**dịr=ińi*** vs. *lịkt-o-z=**ińi=dịr***
    come-FUT-3SG=**probably=already**   come-FUT-3SG=**already=probably**
's/he will probably come already'

The dialectometric analysis of the vocabulary is relatively consistent with the traditional classifications. It supports the division of Udmurt into several supradialects, which roughly form latitudinal belts. However, several areas that can be phonologically subdivided turn out to be lexically homogeneous or continuum-like. Three of the four syntactic feature groups, on the other hand, do not align well with the phonology and vocabulary. Some of them in fact produce East/West divides rather than the North/South borders suggested by the other groups of features. The only syntactic feature that is in line with the other levels is at the same time the only one affected by the contact with the Tatar language, whose influence is stronger in the South.

These results confirm that dialectal variation at the syntactic level follows somewhat different patterns than phonology or vocabulary. Geographic variation in syntactic patterns is thus worth a closer look cross-linguistically.

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Demonstratives of manner, quality and degree: Constraints on features of comparison

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German *so* ('such'/'like this') is, in the first place, a demonstrative expression that can be used deictically and anaphorically. It combines with nominal, verbal and adjectival expressions and serves as a modifier of quality, manner, or degree. In (1), *so* combines with the noun *Auto* ('car') characterizing Anna's car as being similar in certain respects to the one the speaker points at.

(1)   (speaker points at a car):
        Anna hat auch so ein Auto.   'Anna has a car like this, too.'

Demonstratives expressing manner, quality or degree occur across languages (König & Umbach 2018). They pose the problem of how to reconcile their demonstrative characteristics with their modifying capacity. Umbach & Gust (2014) suggest that they express similarity to the target of the demonstration gesture (while regular demonstratives like *that* express identity). Similarity is spelled out in multi-dimensional attribute spaces. It is shown that in the case of quality and manner, but not in the case of degree, similarity classes constitute ad-hoc kinds.

The notion of similarity would be trivial without specifying relevant features of comparison, or "respects of similarity" (Goodman 1972). However, the choice of such features seems to be severely constrained. In the example in (2) the demonstrative *so* is used anaphorically referring to a previously mentioned property. Being Japanese is easily picked up, leading to the interpretation that Berta has a Japanese car. In contrast, being new does not qualify as a feature of comparison – the second sentence cannot be understood such that Berta has a new car. Similarly, in (3) preparing a chicken in the wok qualifies as a feature of comparison whereas preparing it in the garden does not.

(2)   Anna hat ein japanisches Auto / ein neues Auto. Berta hat auch so ein Auto (nämlich ein japanisches Auto / *nämlich ein neues Auto).
        'Anna has a Japanese car / a new car. Berta has such a car, too (namely a Japanese car / a new car).'

(3)   Anna hat das Huhn im Wok zubereitet / im Garten zubereitet. Berta hat die Ente auch so zubereitet (nämlich im Wok / *nämlich im Garten).
        'Anna prepared the chicken in the wok / in the garden. Berta prepared the duck like this, too (namely in the wok / in the garden).'

In the talk, a series of experimental studies will be presented investigating constraints on features of comparison. Acceptability ratings were collected for nominal and verbal stimuli analogous to the

examples in (2)/(3). The results point to restrictions found with kind formation (Prasada & Dilingham 2006), and to the distinction between external and internal manner modification (Maienborn & Schäfer 2011). Questions to be discussed are, on the one hand, how these features of comparison relate to Quine's (1969) natural kinds or Lewis' (1986) natural properties and, on the other hand, whether analogous restrictions are found for demonstratives expressing similarity in other languages.

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Questions in monological discourse in the Estonian Parliament

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The aim of this paper is to investigate interrogatives occurring in monological settings in political discourse. The corpus material comes from the proceedings of the Estonian Parliament consisting of the edited version of the recordings of the parliamentary sessions. We have extracted all unembedded interrogatives from the reports of the Prime Ministers and of the Chancellor of Justice addressed to the Estonian parliament from 2016 to 2022. These interrogatives are produced orally in front of a present audience (members of the parliament), but they are not expected to be immediately answered. They are not induced by the ignorance of the speaker and thus do not appear in their canonical, i.e. information seeking function (Farkas 2022). Questions in parliamentary discourse have been widely investigated in various languages, including also Estonian (Koit et al. 2019, Koit 2022), mainly focusing on their rhetorical and argumentative functions in debates (e.g. Ducard 2003, Nowak 2016, Zhang et al. 2017, and Ilie 2018). In our qualitative analysis, we examine the use of interrogatives in monologues, focusing on different types of non-canonical questions, in previous studies often characterized as "rhetorical questions" (Ducard 2003, Nowak 2016). In our study, we regard rhetorical questions in a narrow sense, i.e. as questions assuming an obvious answer for the speaker and the addressee (Rohde 2006, Farkas 2022). In addition to these, other kinds of non-canonical questions occur in our corpus, e.g. "self-addressed questions" in the terms of Farkas (2022) that can be answered by the speaker, as shown in the example below, or are addressed to the "conversational community" composed of the speaker and the addressee (Farkas 2022).

> Q: Mis saab edasi? Kas kehtestatud kontrollmeetmetest piisab?
> *'What happens next? Are the adopted control measures sufficient?'*
> A: Kui me neid meetmeid järgime, siis ma väga loodan, et nendest piisab.
> *'If we follow these measures, then I really hope that they are sufficient.'*

Inspired by the semantic and discursive framework developed by Farkas (2022), we describe different types of non-canonical questions depending on the actual addressee, the expectation of an answer and the assumed responder. The examples of our corpus suggest that unlike in canonical questions, the relations between the participants (the speaker and the addressee) and their roles (the questioner and the responder) are not straightforward in non-canonical questions. For example, even though the analyzed material is monological, for some question types we can identify an assumed responder, which coincides with the speaker in the example above. We investigate various linguistic and contextual elements that contribute to the interpretation of these relations and show how the identified question types are related to their use in different discursive functions.

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Non-referential elements in the history of Low German

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Diachronic research into the syntax and clause structure of Low German has increased in the past few years but still, little is known about the inventory of non-referential elements, their syntactic representation and the discourse-related factors favoring their use and distribution in the respective varieties. In his grammar of Low German dialects of the late 19th century and the century turn, Grimme (1910) accounts for three elements acting as non-referential items, namely the personal pronoun *et* 'it', the single demonstrative *dat* 'that', and adverbial elements like *do* 'then' and *dor* 'there'. He observes that there is a division of labor between these elements, in that the adverbial elements prototypically occurring in existential constructions with a clause-internal indefinite subject (1a-b), while the pronominal elements more commonly act as non-referential arguments in the accusative, i.e., as semantically empty objects, see (2a-b). The variation between *it* and *that* results from differences in the formal paradigm of personal pronouns, as *it* is missing in some of the varieties and therefore replaced by *that* (Grimme 1910: 73). The aim of the present paper is to trace back the history of these classes of elements in the respective historical varieties of Low German by using the evidence included in the reference corpus ReN, and to investigate their distribution in terms of dialects, clause type, grammatical function and syntactic position. A special focus is placed on weather and psych verbs in which expletives in Germanic prototypically occur, but also on existential constructions, presentational sentences and impersonal passives, i.e. on contexts in which non-referential elements are ungrammatical in clause-internal position in modern German as a representative of asymmetric OV/V2-languages, in contrast to other classes of expletives. It is also of interest if the variation between *it* and *that* already applies for the MLG varieties and has an impact on the positional realization of these two elements in the respective syntactic clause types.

(1) a. *da^o was es ma^{o}l ne fra^u*
          there   was once upon a woman
          'once, there was a woman' (Grimme 1910: 142)
     b. *dō^r is-n smit w^{i}est*
          there is-a blacksmith been
          'There was a blacksmith there' (Grimme 1910: 142)

(2) a. *hǫ^i kritt-et met-tr annest*
          he   gets-it with-the.dat fear
          'he gets frightened' (region of Assinghausen/Sauerland; Grimme 1910: 130)
     b. sa^i hā^{r}n dat am lūts^{t}n
          they have it loud.superl
          'they make the biggest noise' (region of Stavenhagen/Mecklenburg; Grimme 1910: 130)

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ReN, Referenzkorpus Mittelniederdeutsch/Niederrheinisch (1200 – 1650), https://www.slm.uni-hamburg.de/ren/korpus.html

Metaphors as register markers

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Keywords: metaphor, register, corpus, annotation

The situational and functional context of communication shapes the form of discourse, resulting in different linguistic *registers* (Halliday and Hasan, 1985, Biber and Conrad 2009). *Metaphors* refer to entities similar to the referents of their literal interpretations. Theories reconstruct this similarity in different ways (Ritchie 2013). We investigate how metaphors are used as register markers, presenting results from a new annotated German corpus.

Much previous work on this topic investigates metaphors in specific registers. E.g., Steen et al. (2010) and Beger (2015) analyse news, conversation, fiction, and academic discourse. They conclude that register influences the function of metaphor, e.g., informational registers predominantly use metaphor to express content. Goatly (1994, 2011) and Deignan et al. (2013) correlate metaphor functions with register features, identifying e.g. relations between interlocutors as a decisive factor.

Like the VU Amsterdam Metaphor Corpus (Steen et al. 2010), our corpus (of eventually 180,000 words) includes different registers (parliament speeches, newspaper commentaries, sermons, light fiction, debates of a debating society, and TEDx talks), which represent important dimensions of register variation like literality/orality, persuasivity, or social relations between the interlocutors. Our annotation extends the 'Metaphor Identification Procedure-VU' (MIPVU; Steen et al. 2010, Herrmann et al. 2019), identifying metaphors as well as the contexts that motivated their metaphorical interpretation. It also distinguishes non-conventionalised and extended metaphors (several metaphors sharing a specific metaphorical similarity) and a new kind of metaphor called *potential metaphor*, the deliberate combination of tokens of the same expression first with literal and then with metaphorical senses in the same text.

The MIPVU requires annotating all metaphors, irrespective of their degree of conventionalisation. To be able to function as a register marker, however, metaphors must be free choices, whose optional use can subsequently be harnessed for register marking. Metaphors whose use is necessitated by the language system cannot be employed for register purposes, e.g., the highly conventionalised spatial metaphors needed to describe temporal constellations like the fact that one time span is located *inside* another or *follows* it. The group of metaphors that can serve as register markers are 'deliberate', i.e., are intended to be recognised as such by the recipient (Steen 2015). Since deliberate metaphor in general is hard to define (Krennmayr 2011, Reijnierse et al. 2018), we focused on those that are recognisable with high accuracy in our corpus, viz., non-conventional, extended, and potential metaphor.

Non-conventionalised and extended metaphors appear significantly more in highly persuasive registers. Despite their oral nature, the debates and the TEDx talks did not emerge as less metaphorical than the literal registers, unlike the conversations investigated by Steen et al. (2010). We link this result to the different degree of informative purpose for debates and talks as opposed to conversations. As for individual registers, we found a mixed pattern for fiction, like in Reijnierse et al. (2019): It has few conventionalised metaphors but considerable numbers of non-conventionalised and extended metaphor. Sermons exhibit the highest register marking. They abound with non-conventional metaphors, furthermore, extended and potential metaphors emerge as clear register markers for sermons.

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Language contact, continuity and change: On δίδωμι in Septuagint Greek

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Keywords: Septuagint Greek, language contact, multi-predicate structures, nominal predication, causatives

This paper discusses the peculiar use of the verb δίδωμι in Septuagint Greek illustrated in (1a) (cf., e.g., Danove 2013: 391, and Muraoka 2016: 537). It has no parallel in Classical Greek, and is usually understood as a Hebrew calquing (cf., e.g., Helbing 1928: 52), since the Hebrew text here regularly displays verb forms of the root *ntn* (cf. 1b), which is rendered as δίδωμι also in other contexts (cf. 2).

(1a)   Ez. 26: 19
        Ὅταν **δῶ** σε πόλιν ἠρημωμένην
'When I render you as a desolate city' (NETS)

(1b)   ***baṯittî'***   *ōṯāḵ*   *ʿîr*   *neḥĕreḇeṯ*
        when I make   you   city   desolate
'When I make you a desolate city' (NIV)

(2a)   1Sam. 10: 4
        καὶ **δώσουσίν** σοι δύο ἀπαρχὰς ἄρτων
'and they give you two first fruits of bread' (NETS)

(2b)   *wənāṯənû*   *ləḵā*   *šətê-*   *leḥem*
        they'll give   to you   two   [loaves] of bread
'They will give you two loaves of bread'

Alongside the external factors influencing – in the translation process – this innovation, discussion focuses on its consistency with other contexts, involving different types of complementation (cf. 3 and 4), where δίδωμι occurs since the Classical times (cf. Bruno 2013).

(3)   Si. 13: 6
       καὶ προσγελάσεταί σοι καὶ **δώσει** σοι ἐλπίδα
'He will smile at you and will give you hope' (NETS)

(4)   Ge. 31: 7
       καὶ οὐκ **ἔδωκεν** αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς κακοποιῆσαί με.
'and God did not give him leave to harm me.' (NETS)

What emerges is then a deep continuity between the "old" types and the "new" one, since the latter can be referred to the spread of the same syntactic pattern underpinning the Classical formats. Further evidence on the syntactic homogeneity of this set of structures is provided by their Latin parallels (in Old Vetus as in Jerome's Vulgate), especially when offering renderings alternative to the literal *ntn*/δίδωμι/*do* equivalence. Translation thus proves to work as a lens empowering the linguist's eye.

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Negative feedback as a source of defectiveness

The present paper attempts to account for some cases of defectiveness using the Negative Feedback Cycle hypothesis (Kapatsinski, 2022), which is a connectionist account of how speakers decide that a form they have generated is good enough to produce.

According to connectionist models of production, the message that the speaker wishes to express activates semantic features, which activate associated forms, e.g., CAT+PLURAL activates *cat*, *cats* and *-s*. The form whose meaning perfectly matches all of the intended message, here *cats*, is inherently advantaged by the fact that it is receiving activation from more semantic features than other forms. However, sometimes one of these other forms is more frequent, e.g., *cat*, and could be selected for production instead, resulting in paradigm leveling (Bybee & Brewer, 1980; Harmon & Kapatsinski, 2017).

The NFC explains how paradigm leveling can be avoided, and predicts that such avoidance requires processing time. The idea is that generated forms send inhibitory feedback back to semantic features associated with them. Because intended semantic features are receiving activation from the message, they are merely deactivated by this feedback. In contrast, unintended semantic features (here, SINGULAR) are inhibited, and then send this inhibition back down to the associated forms (*cat*). As a result, forms that activate unintended semantics (*cat*) are inhibited. In addition to avoidance of paradigm leveling, the NFC has also accounted for when speakers stop planning and start speaking, and the liberation of libfixes from their hosts.

NFC produces defectiveness in two ways. First, defectiveness results if all generated forms have unintended consequences. This can account for the avoidance of forms that have more frequent homophones (or near-homophones) even when only one form is generated. For example, the avoidance of *deržu* as the 1ˢᵗ person singular non-past of *derzitⁱ* 'dare' in Russian can be explained this way, because it would be homophonous with the 1ˢᵗ person singular non-past of the more frequent *deržatⁱ* 'to hold'. The same account is available for taboo avoidance and 'bad meanings driving out good' in semantic change. Second, defectiveness can result from too much competition: if too many forms are activated by the same intended semantic features, and all cue the intended features well, the negative feedback to these features can overcome excitation coming from the message, resulting in all forms being inhibited (the importance of the number of activated forms is consistent with experimental results in Schuler et al., 2021, though they propose a different account for their data). For example, consider the novel Russian verb *žbitⁱ*. Should its 1ˢᵗ person singular be *žblʲu* as in *grabitⁱ~grablʲu*, *žbʲju* as in *bitⁱ~bʲju žobʲju* as in *sbitⁱ~sobʲju* or even *žbivu* as in *žitⁱ~živu*? The multiple competitors make it more likely that a gap will result. Although it is likely that not all gaps can be explained by negative feedback, I argue that the NFC provides a natural way to differentiate defectiveness from overabundance by evaluating forms for whether they should be produced.

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Question sequences in TED talks

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Discourse has been overwhelmingly studied through a binary lens – monologic versus dialogic (Bakhtin 1981, 1986; Bres 2017). However, TED talks have characteristics of both discourses. In the TED setting, presenters are affected by the audience's presence, adjusting in real-time based on the audience's reaction. Concurrently, interaction between the speaker and the audience is not guaranteed. Therefore, it is of interest to try and place TED talks into a hybrid discourse category.

Previous research on questions has often focused on institutional settings (Fløttum et al. 2006; Tracy & Robles 2009; Ehrlich et al. 2010; Hall 2022). Moreover, much of this work has been conducted on written academic corpora (Fløttum et al, 2006; Van Bonn & Swales, 2007; Carter-Thomas & Chambers, 2012; Curry & Chambers, 2017). Because TED talks are a presentational setting where the speakers are considered experts in their field, there might be similarities between written academic corpora and TED talk transcripts. This potential congruency demonstrates how this study will be a welcome addition to research on questions in academic discourse.

Though much of the work on questions is based on written discourse, there is some previous research on spoken registers. However, much of this work is related to question answer pairs and interaction between two entities. (Ginzburg et al 2019; Groenendijk 1999; Krifka 2001). There have been some studies on question sequences, as in Lupkowski & Ginzburg (2016), however such studies focus on dialogic interaction and not discourse where there is only one speaker. This paper will help to fill the gap on research regarding question use in discourse where there is one speaker but several addressees.

The analysis of question sequences in TED talks may be useful in determining the specific discourse category of TED presentations. This paper demonstrates how TED presenters use question sequences in both a monologic and dialogic sense. This dichotomy brings up the questions: Why and how do presenters use question sequences in TED talks? What does the use of question sequences say about the discourse type of TED talk presentations? What is the role of questions in the structuring of discourse and of subquaestiones in the building of side structures (Klein & Stutterheim, 2002)?

Through an analysis of a transcribed corpus of TED talks in English, as studied in Celle & Liégeois 2021, this paper will examine question sequences. Relying on Ginzburg et al. 2019's classification of the response space, I will consider how to account for a question coming after a question in a mostly non-interactive discourse setting.

This paper will test the hypothesis that question sequences target the audience in different ways to encourage audience participation, manipulate the audience's reaction, and

anticipate the audience's questions and reactions. Moreover, this paper aims to prove that the use of question sequences indicates that TED talks are neither purely monologic or dialogic and thus a third hybrid discourse category should be considered.

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Evidentially in oral narrative texts in New Western Iranian Languages

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Evidentially is generally unmarked in Iranian languages. The aim of the present paper is to present the development of grammatical markers for evidentially in New Western Iranian languages of the Zagros Mountains, which are unique in this regard. The paper concentrates on a sample of six languages spoken in Iran: Balochi, Koroshi, Kurdish Colloquial Persian, Sistani, and Shirazi. The data was extracted from a quantitative analysis of digital corpora of connected spontaneous speech (Barjasteh Delforooz 2010, Nourzaei et al. 2015, Nourzaei 2017, Öpengin 2016, and my recent fieldwork on Shirazi and Colloquial Persian in 2019). According to Aikhenvald and Dixon's (2001:3-5) classification of evidentiality, New Western Iranian languages belong to the broad type that distinguishes eyewitness from non-eyewitness accounts, with eyewitness accounts being unmarked and non-eyewitness ones marked by the third-person singular or, infrequently, by the plural present tense form of the verb 'to say', *ašī/šīt/gušī/šī/mīge/mīgūyand*. The degree of grammaticalization differs across the languages. For instance, in Balochi, Koroshi and Sistani, this evidential (*šī*) is not only used at the beginning of folktales and remote life stories to indicate that the storyteller did not witness the events concerned, but also occurs in contemporary life stories and even sporadically in daily language, as in the following examples:

[Folktale]
šī hasta yak šērē…
'It is said there was a lion…'

[Remote life story]
šīt yakk xānēat nāmay xudānizar xānat…
'It is said (there) was a khan (whose) name was Khudanizar Khan…'

[daily life conversation]
došī šī azīmī gesā dozetagan
'It is said, someone stole Azim's house last night'

šī kajīrī ǰenek soedā en
'It is said, Kajir's daughter is in Sweden'

The data shows that this form not only contributes non-witnessed meaning, as in the previous examples, but also indicates the narrator's distance from the event concerned. In Koroshi, folktales and remote life stories are typically related in present tense, with evidential marking used at the beginning of the story, but seldom thereafter. When narrating the same contemporary life story, however, the male and female narrators take differing attitudes to the events being reported, and this is reflected in the choice of tense. The male uses present

tense as default and repeatedly employs the evidential marker to distance himself from the story, even though he was a direct observer. In contrast, the female narrator uses the past tense and does not employ the evidential marker, thereby identifying herself with the story, as in the following examples:

[Extract from a contemporary life story told by a woman]
zenabī bač ǰane gefta…
'Zenab's son has married (lit. took a wife) …'

[Extract from the same story told by a man]
ašī *zenabī bač ǰane agī…*
'It is said Zenab's son gets married (lit. takes a wife)'

The paper concludes that New Western Iranian languages have grammaticalized their respective verbs for 'to say' as markers of evidentiality. This is due to their contact with non-Iranian languages spoken in this region, e.g. Turkic and Ando-Aryan (Jadgali) languages that possess an evidential marker. The lower frequency of this form in daily life conversations could indicate recent spreading of this feature from narrative texts into more common usage.

Keywords: evidentiality, eyewitness, non-eyewitness, Western Iranian Languages, Balochi, Colloquial Persian, Kurdish, folktales, life stories, male and female.

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Binding conditions revisited: A view from an acquisition puzzle

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We address the acquisition of the binding conditions (BC's) in Mano (a Mande language in Guinea), in a population of bilingual speakers of Mano and Kpelle (also a Mande language) in a Kpelle-dominant community. The facts are from the 1st author's fieldwork.

Kpelle and Mano 3rd person pronouns show a contrast between plural and general number (GN) (Corbett 2000).

Kpelle has no special reflexive pronoun:

Table 1. Basic pronominal prefixes in Kpelle

Singular and general			Plural			
1SG	2SG	3GN	1PL.INCL	1PL.EXCL	2PL	3PL
ŋ́-	é	ŋ̀-	gǔ	kú	ká	dǐ

(1) àá   **ŋwàa**
     àá   (*<ŋ̀-   wǎa)*
     3GN.RES **3GN**   wash
      'She washed herself/him.'

Mano has a dedicated anaphor *ē* in 3rd person general number:

Table 2. Basic and reflexive pronouns in Mano

Singular and general				Plural		
1SG	2SG	3GN basic	3GN reflexive	1PL	2PL	3PL
ŋ̄	ī	à	ē	kō	kā	ō

À and *ē* are in complementary distribution in direct object position (2a,b).

(2) a. *ē*   *ē*   *zúlú*
         3GN.PST   3GN.REFL   wash
         'She washed herself/*him.' (el)
    b. *ē*   *à*   *zúlú*
         3GN.PST   3GN   wash
         'She washed him/*herself.' (el)

The binding domain of *ē* is the minimal finite clause; the antecedent typically the subject (2a). In Mano-dominant villages complementarity under binding between *ē* and *à* is acquired around 4 yrs, like complementarity in English (Baauw 2016) modulo the Delayed Principle B

(DPB) effect. However, some early bilingual speakers of Mano in a Kpelle dominant setting keep using *à* in locally bound and free readings, much like the Kpelle prefix *ŋ̀-* is used, well after the age of 8. This cannot reflect the DPB and is puzzling if the binding conditions are innate as such (Chien and Wexler 1990), just like a language without anaphors like Kpelle is puzzling. This suggests a role of learning. If so, what is learned? Following Giblin (2016) & Reuland & Zubkov (2022), we propose that binding of phi-deficient anaphors is effected by Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2005). Anaphor binding and condition B effects are mediated by a C-head in the Left periphery. C has an unvalued phi-feature, and searches its domain for a value. It finds it in the nearest subject, and shares it with phi-deficient anaphors in its domain, which result in binding, as in (3). A pronominal is ruled out, when C tries to value it as well. Since by assumption a pronominal is already valued, it resists valuation, yielding a crash.

(3)

$$[\ C_{F\text{-val} \to F+val}\ [_{TP}\ [_{DP}\ F_{+val}]\ [_{VoiceP}....[_{Anaph}\ F_{\text{-val} \to +val}\ ....\ ]/^*\ [_{Pron\ F+val}\ ....\ ]]]]$$
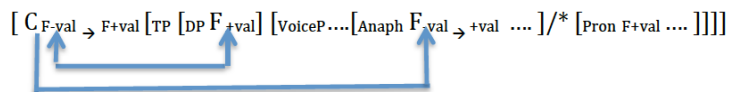
Languages vary in the feature C seeks to value: [+person] in Russian (Reuland & Zubkov 2022); [+participant] in Mandarin (Giblin 2016); [+author] in Vietnamese (Doàn 2022). Kpelle C, then, realizes the option of no deficiency. If so, no search for valuation ensues: no phi-deficient anaphor, no attempt to value a pronominal, and no crash. The Mano pattern follows if C has an unvalued [+GN] feature. A GN subject values C and thereby *ē* [unvalued +GN→valued +GN]. The intrinsically valued [+GN] pronominal *à* crashes. In an explicitly plural marked subject the [+GN] feature is inaccessible, which leaves C unvalued (admissible, see Preminger 2014), avoiding a crash with a [+plural] pronominal *ō*. Late or incomplete acquisition of *ē* in Kpelle-dominant individuals then reflects a delay in *learning* the relevant property of C in Mano.

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Variation in argument marking of lexical reciprocal verbs in Latin and Homeric Greek

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Keywords: lexical reciprocals, discontinuous reciprocals, constructional alternation, Latin, argument structure constructions

Lexical reciprocals can be defined as verbs that depict events that are necessarily (or very frequently) symmetric (Knjazev 2007; Haspelmath 2007; Dimitriadis 2008). Lexical reciprocals are bivalent verbs and encode situations that feature two participants, but they do not share the morphosyntactic behavior of typically transitive verbs. Firstly, they are often associated with non-active voice marking (Inglese 2022). Secondly, their argument structure differs considerably from that of transitive verbs, with the second participant typically marked differently than the Patient in the transitive construction (Nedjalkov 2007:27–31). Consider the coding frames of Latin verb *pugno* 'fight': the transitive NOM-ACC construction, in (1); the intransitive constructions, either SIMPLE, with a plural NOM subject, in (2), or ABSOLUTE, with the second participant omitted altogether, in (3); bivalent non-transitive patterns (DISCONTINUOUS constructions) with the second participant flagged as an oblique, in (4).

(1) ***quod*** *(…) isti defensores iudiciorum* ***pugnaverunt***
REL.ACC.N   DEM.NOM defender.NOM.PL sentence.GEN.PL fight.PPF.3PL
'Which such advocates of these decisions had fought.'

(2) ***exercitus*** *pari Marte* ***pugnabant***
army.NOM.PL even.ABL M.ABL fight.IMPF.3PL
'The armies were fighting on even terms.'

(3) *pro me* ***pugnabit*** *L. Philippus*
for 1SG.ACC fight.FUT.3SG L. Ph.NOM
'Lucius Philippus will fight for me.'

(4) *ne* ***pugna*** *cum tali coniuge*
NEG fight.IMPV.2SG with such.ABL partner.ABL
'Do not fight with such a partner.'

Cross-linguistically, lexical reciprocals rank halfway on the transitivity hierarchy (Malchukov 2005), and they tend to follow the coding frame of either INTERACTION or MOTION verbs (Croft 2022:213–224). When multiple coding frames are available, as in (1)-(4), scholars have pointed out different motivations for the choice a specific one: information structure factors (Knjazev 2007:120), the more or less symmetric conceptualization of the event (Allan 2003:52–53), verbal semantics (Dimitriadis 2008:387-390), and idiosyncratic lexical restrictions (Inglese & Zanchi 2020). Nevertheless, we still lack a comprehensive account of the reasons behind such variation in the argument structure construction of lexical reciprocals.

Building on these premises, this paper offers an in-depth investigation of constructional alternations with lexical reciprocal verbs in Latin and Homeric Greek, with a focus on the three main semantic classes (Knjazev 2007:122): general relations of identity/difference (e.g. *congruo* 'coincide'), spatial relationship of proximity/remoteness (e.g. *congrego* 'assemble'), and human relationship of rivalry/collaboration (e.g. *pugno* 'fight'). The main goal is to describe the existing range of variation in the coding frame of these verbs

and their frequency in texts across the two languages. For each class, I have selected a list of relevant verbs and extract a representative sample of their occurrences from the *L.A.S.L.A* corpus and from the *HoDeL* database.

By resorting to regression models, I quantitatively evaluate which of the factors proposed in the literature actually play(s) a role in explaining the observed variation. The result will shed light on how and why speakers select coding frames, pointing to the need of integrating fine-grained corpus analyses with typological generalizations to better understand argument structure construction alternations (Levin & Rappaport-Hovav 2005; Malchukov 2015). The findings of this work will thus contribute to enhancing our understanding of the morphosyntax of lexical reciprocal verbs across languages.

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Web resources

L.A.S.L.A database of Latin texts: http://web.philo.ulg.ac.be/lasla/

HoDeL: The Homeric Dependency Lexicon: https://hodel.unipv.it/hodel-res

Che ti venga x, a conventionalised curse formula in 14th-18th century Italian

The search for conventionalised impoliteness formulae of the past can build on a rich body of work into mediaeval insults (e.g. Gonthier 2007). Using judicial records, Dardano et al. 1992 and Alfonzetti and Spampinato Beretta 2012 give an overview of both lexical and syntactic aspects of insults (*ingiurie*) in Old Italian: use of a negative evaluative noun with adjective; use of a declarative *tu sei* 'you are'; rhetorical questions and use of the multifunctional connective *che* 'that'; various intensification strategies.

This diachronic proposal works with curses (ill-wishes, maledictions*, maledizioni*), another privileged form of verbal abuse in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, which has enjoyed far less scholarly attention. Unlike an insult, a curse does not contain a negative evaluation of the recipient, and, unlike a threat, the realisation of the harm the speaker wants the recipient to befall is put into an indeterminate point in the future. Culpeper (2011: 136) gives the following examples of curses: [go] [to hell/hang yourself/fuck yourself] and [damn/fuck] [you]. This type of cursing is a form of swearing: nobody actually believes this will cause harm. Kádár and Szalai 2020 work on contemporary ritual curses and they carefully distinguish between swearing and cursing, which has a harmful effect that taps into a supernatural and cosmological domain.

I will investigate the disease-curse [che] [ti venga] [un malanno/una fistola/un cancaro/etc], 'may a disease, a fistula, a cancer come to you', which was first analysed for Ludovico Ariosto's theatre play *La Lena* (1528; Paternoster 2015: 149), where it has six hits. I ask to what extent this is a formulaic curse, i.e., a grammatical expression that is conventionalized for impoliteness. I aim to examine:

- the use of the subjunctive and its use in Plautian ill-wishes;
- the inversion [che] [un malanno/una fistula/un cancaro] [ti venga];
- the plural [che] [ti vengano] [cento cancari/mille cacasangui];
- the (limited) range of maledictive nouns – mainly related to disease – and their diachronic development (*rabbia* 'rabies', e.g., is an 18th-century addition);
- benedictive examples (no more than 2);
- the use of the pronoun 'ti' in a t/v system (with a small minority of 'gli' and 'mi', which form imprecations);
- intensifications (hyperbole).

To answer the question if *che ti venga* can be considered a 'curse-marker', I will consult two diachronic corpora: Codit (balanced, 33 million tokens, 13th century-1947) and Gutenberg Italy 2020 (not balanced, 112 million tokens, 13th century-WWII), resp. 20 and 16 hits. Most occurrences arise in theatre plays and therefore I also query a corpus of theatre plays by prolific 18th-century playwright Carlo Goldoni (3,7 million tokens, 46 hits, with special attention to its frequent use in asides). Finally, on a methodological level, I will discuss a metapragmatic comment from 1604 which unambiguously indicates that the sheer presence of *che ti venga* (without the maledictive noun) in a speaker causes apprehension in the recipient. Finally, a limitation is that all examples are literary, however, Tardivel (forthcoming) finds examples in Bolognese trial records, 1350-1385.

Sources

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Gutenberg Italian 2020, preloaded corpus on https://www.sketchengine.eu/

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Ambiguity beats complexity in the history of the English conative alternation

The present paper revisits the impact of different cognitive factors at play in argument structure variation, and possible changes in such variation over time. More specifically, the paper zooms into the choice between nominal (1a, 2a) and prepositional patterns (1b, 2b) in the English conative alternation (Levin 1993; Perek & Lemmens 2010; Perek 2014), and discusses the development of this phenomenon from Middle to Late Modern English (1150-1900).

(1) a. They hit **the ball**.
     b. They hit **at the ball**.

The emergence of this alternation is commonly assumed to reflect a general increase in frequency of PP-expressions as part of the typological shift of English from more synthetic to more analytic (Baugh & Cable 2002). However, its precise historical development and the factors impacting the choice between patterns has to date been little explored, particular on a more large-scale, empirical basis.

In this paper, the main question to be addressed regarding the diachrony of the alternation is the relative importance of variables relating to morpho-syntactic complexity and predictability compared to the impact of ambiguity avoidance. That is, I test two basic hypotheses: (i) a prediction emphasising the relevance of the complexity principle, and (ii) one grounded in studies of differential argument marking. As to the first, Rohdenburg's (1996) complexity principle as assessed in Levshina (2018) or Pijpops et al. (2018), among others, suggests that PP-patterns should be preferred in more complex (less predictable) contexts – this can be operationalised in various ways, including e.g. length of the constituent, or association strength between verb and head noun. Regarding the latter, it is well known that in languages such as Spanish or Hebrew, in clauses where subject and object arguments may be ambiguous (e.g. atypically featuring an animate rather than inanimate object) objects are frequently marked by a preposition to resolve this (Levshina 2021; also Aissen 2003; de Hoop & de Swart 2008; Iemmolo 2011; Witzlack-Makarevich & Seržant 2018; Haspelmath 2019; Tal et al. 2022). Applying this argument to the English conative alternation, potentially ambiguous or atypical instances would then be expected to show a higher likelihood of PP-pattern use.

To assess these hypotheses, or rather, to assess which of the two predictions may be more prominently at play in this alternation, I use a subset of a larger dataset including all instances of verb-dependent NPs and PPs (N= approx. 406,000) from the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpora of Historical English* (PPCME2, PPCEME, PPCMBE2), based on Levin's (1993) list of verbs and their equivalents in earlier English provided in the *BASICS toolkit* (Percillier 2018). These instances are coded for a range of variables relating to complexity and ambiguity, such as e.g. length, animacy, or definiteness. By means of mixed-effects logistic regression modelling as well as conditional random forest analyses (e.g. Levshina 2015; Winter 2019), I show that ambiguity avoidance seems to be more important than complexity effects in the conative alternation. Furthermore, this impact is stronger in Middle English, suggesting a connection to case loss and an increased need for disambiguation at that time.

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The role of translation at the beginning of Spanish Media Discourse (18th Century): French models and Interference between Source Text and Target Text

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Philological research on the origins of Romance languages has highlighted the role of translation as a factor of linguistic change and as an essential function in elaboration processes (in the sense of Kloss 1978[2]). Once Romance languages reach the domain of communicative distance (cf. Koch & Oesterreicher 1990 [2007]) and European vernaculars become cultured languages, linguistic historical research has prioritized the analysis of original Romance texts, and therefore translation as a phenomenon of language contact (cf. Haßler 2001; Del Rey, del Barrio and Gómez 2018) has been gradually relegated, partly because of the consideration of translated texts as second-hand products (cf. Baker 1993), as opposed to the original texts that entail the canon of the literary and linguistic history of each language. However, translation continues to motivate important changes in the target languages, especially in the syntactic-discursive and lexical domains, and, perhaps more importantly, it triggers the consolidation of vernacular structures in the target language due to the results of negative interference (cf. Kabatek 1998; Del Rey 2018).

In this paper we will show the effects of convergence and divergence processes between source text and target text in the shaping of early Spanish media discourse during the 18th century. With this purpose, we will present a parallel corpus of texts excerpted from the Spanish version of the *Mercure Historique et Politique*, translated by Salvador Mañer (1738-1744) in Madrid (Carmona 2020). This corpus is a major result of the project *DiacOralEs* ("Towards a Diachrony of Orality/Scripturality: Conceptual Variation, Translation and Discourse Traditionality in Spanish and other Romance Languages", funded by the Spanish Government), a project which grants a leading role to translated texts as a source of unique data for historical linguistics and variational analysis. *Mercuries*, a main type of early news discourse in Europe, like others in this period, owe their development to the influence of foreign models. Likewise, these models can exert influences of different kind on choices at a microlinguistic level, also regarding morphosyntactic features open to variation (article before country names, compound relative pronouns, object pronoun case, prepositional adjuncts, etc.), which will be our main concern on this occasion. These influences may produce anomalous or normal results in the target language, according to what we call, respectively, *positive* or *negative interference* (Coseriu 1977; Del Rey 2020).

The aim of the analysis is to establish the relations of convergence and divergence that lead to movements of negative and positive interference in translated texts of the corpus in order to understand how media discourse of this period is shaped in Spanish with respect to the French original sources which serve as a discourse model.

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Evasiveness in Greek political interviews: A case study in Conversation Analysis

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This study investigates the practice of evasiveness within the medium of Greek political interviews and debates through the methodology of Conversation Analysis (CA) (Sacks et al. 1974). The present analysis is accomplished according to the proposed model of questioning and answering dimensions in American and British news interviews by Clayman & Heritage (2002).

Their model suggests that interviewers' (IRs') questioning involves the setting of the topical agenda, the embodiment of presuppositions, and the incorporation of preferences. Correspondingly, during the practice of answering interviewees (IEs) have the option of engaging or declining the topic of the agenda, confirming or disconfirming the embedded presuppositions, and align or misalign with the preferences (Heritage & Clayman 2010).

The research question emerging from the existing literature while juxtaposing the Greek corpus with the English one pertains to: Which are the practices being deployed by politicians to display resistance towards the addressed questions? A qualitative research methodology has been chosen to perform the given study, after transcribing political interviews according to standard CA Jeffersonian system from Greek to word-by-word English translation and, finally, to an idiomatic translation.

I present evidence from transcripts of two political debates and five broadcast interviews arguing that Greek IEs show a large degree of negative & positive resistance, by providing partial or incomplete responses or performing a different action than the one they have been asked to (Clayman and Heritage 2002, 2010). For example:

(IR: O. Tremi IE: A. Tsipras)

1 O.T: *giati i polites na ksanapsifisun siriza?*
    why should the citizens revote Siriza?
2 A.T: *kiria tremi oli gnorizun oti:: safto to eksamino i eliniki*
    Mrs Tremi everyone knows tha::t in this semester the Greek
3   *kivernisi edose mia poli megali mahi…*
    government gave a very big fight…

Here, the IR is asking a why- prefaced question identifying that an explanation as a following response is the preferred answer (Pomerantz 1984, and Buttny 1993). Instead, what follows is a shift of the agenda through the formation of the extreme case formulation (everyone) (Pomerantz 1986) and the proceeding delay features (tha::t).

Thus, this suggestive analysis investigates Greek IEs' evasive practices proposing that (a) preliminary strategies are the incorporation of IR's wording, rhetorical questions, *look-* and *listen-* prefaced statements (Sidnell 2007), shifting/readjusting the topical agenda (Greatbatch 1986, 1988), and (b)

evasiveness is favoured by IRs' style of questioning that is characterised by the formulation of multi-sentence questions.

The plethora of findings are in agreement with the equivalent of English corpora: similar practices of resistance can be found in both cross-cultural contexts with some differentiations in the ways of implementation and Greek IEs' multi-unit style of questioning is in accordance with the rapid increase of multi-prefaced questions that American and British news interviews have revealed during the past 40 years (Clayman and Heritage 1999).

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Core expansion in diachronic prototype semantics:
A computational case study on loanwords

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Keywords: vector space model, semantic change, Dutch, prototype semantics

In recent years, the computational modeling of semantic change has witnessed an enormous growth, testified by the introduction of new techniques (Kutuzov et al. 2018). Deep neural networks called 'transformers' have become the state of the art in the computational modelling of semantics in contemporary texts and are now also applied to historical corpora (Manjavacas & Fonteyn 2022). The gist of these models is that they represent the meaning of a single corpus occurrence (i.e. a token) as a single numerical vector and vectors of many tokens are then compared through similarity indices in order to assess whether they share the same meaning or not. Hence the term token-based vector representations.

There is also a growing awareness that the application of token-based vector representations on historical data needs grounding in historical semantic scholarship, and that consequently a tighter connection between computational modelling and linguistic theorizing should be pursued (Tahmasebi et al. 2021). Among the cognitive-functional realm of theories, diachronic prototype theory (Geeraerts, 1997) is the most appropriate framework to focus on and to put to test. At the same time it is most amenable to be tested by means of token-based vector representations based on corpora, as its key tenets are all very well suited to be subjected to computational operationalization (e.g.: the importance of quantitative aspects of semantic structure; the blurring of the distinction between semantic and encyclopaedic knowledge etc.).

In this presentation we offer a case study on a fundamental hypothesis in the diachronic-prototype semantic literature, namely that changes in the referential range of one specific word meaning may take the form of a peripheral expansion on the prototypical core cases within that referential range (Geeraerts 1997: 23). This hypothesis relies on the distinction between the prototypical core and the periphery of a conceptual category. Crucially, this core/periphery distinction can be formulated in terms of token-based vector representations: core applications are those that will have the most tokens in a certain time frame and those tokens will contain the highest number of similar context words; peripheral applications will have less tokens which contain less similar context words relative to the core.

Loanwords are a suitable test case for this expectation, as they usually enter the language with a simple, monosemous reading, so that allows us to keep track in detail of the development of a word. As test cases we take a selection of 9 English loanwords that entered into the Dutch language during the 20th century, and as a corpus we rely on the newspaper section of the historical Delpher corpus (archived by the National Library of the Netherlands). Concretely, I focus on the frequency changes and vector-similarity changes of the context words of the tokens of those loanwords. We expect to see that the shift to major new meanings (either core senses or secondary, figurative senses) will usually

take place after an initial expansion of the original core meaning. If core cases are indeed more stable, we expect to see earlier movement in the centre than in the periphery.

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Similative constructions in the Walser German linguistic islands of Northern Italy

Similative constructions have never been investigated in the North-Western Alpine Germanic varieties spoken in small linguistic islands in Italy. They are particularly interesting because of the extended contact situation in which these communities are immersed, who regularly make use of up to four different languages in their repertoire, namely Walser German, Italian (= It), French (= F) and Piedmontese (= P). In the paper, the focus will be on the two Walser German varieties spoken in Gressoney (= Gr) and Issime (= Is). As a whole, the similative constructions reflect the state-of-affairs observed by Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998) for Swiss German (= SW), insofar as the main similative (and equative) marker is *wie* / *wi*, as reported in Tab. 1. However, two remarkable differences have to be pointed out. First, a special marker *wit* is used in Is when the standard consists of a pronoun (1). This marker apparently goes back to the Is marker *witte* which constitutes a second remarkable aspect because a clear distinction is observed between the marker employed for a subordinate clause with similative value and for a subordinate manner question marker modifying a noun (2). In Gr *wétte* is generally used for introducing manner questions (3) while *wie* is used elsewhere (4). Independently of the lexical substance, the distribution found in Is and Gr reflect the similar situation observed in French, which is apparently the result of a longtime contact. On the other hand, a difference in terms of contact intensity has been pointed out for Is where French has largely been used as a vehicular written variety, while in Gr Standard German played this role at least until the Italian unification. In this light, we can account for the difference observed in taxonomic nouns in Gr (5) where a typical German pattern occurs while in Is (6) a French model is reflected.

Lgs.	equative	similative	role	similative clause	manner questions
SG	*wie*	*(gliich) wie*	*alz*	*wie*	*wie*
Gr	*wie*	*(glich) wie*	*alz*	*wie(/wétte)*	*wétte*
Is	*wi/wit*	*wi/wit*	*alz*	*wi*	*wi/witte*
F	*comme/que*	*comme*	*comme*	*comme*	*comment*
P	*coma/che*	*coma*	*coma*	*coma*	*coma*
It	*come*	*come*	*come/da*	*come*	*come*
Tab. 1: Markers used in the languages of the repertoire					

(1)   *an schien gruass fammullju mi vill boffi … wit wir*

      'a nice big family with many little kids … like us'.

(2)   *oan z'vil lugu wi dschi schwétzi un witte voarwu heji üriu hout*

      'without caring too much about how they talk and what color their skin has'.

(3)   *alz éscht kanget gschrébenz wétté häscht du chònnòt*

      'Everything has been written how you could'.

(4)   *em Potschhus éscht éngstallté kanget, ganz wie éscht gleité gsid en dschim hus*

      'It has been installed in Potschhus exactly like it used to be in his house'.

(5)   *tientsch em wértschhus ou en art schabete zòm aperitiv uftroage*

      'in taverns they also dish up a kind of crap for the aperitif'.

(6)   *hentsch gchroutut vacksi un aller suart weidu*

      'They mowed weed and any sort of grass'.

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Temporal clauses in Old Church Slavonic and Ancient Greek: typological differences emerged from massively parallel corpora

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The most frequent temporal clauses in Old Church Slavonic (OCS) (*jegda*-clauses, conjunct participles, and dative absolutes) all have direct counterparts in Ancient Greek and can, to some extent, have backgrounding functions in both languages [C11, BH11, NP22]. This makes it challenging to define general differences between the two languages by drawing only on individual mismatches.

Taking previous studies such as [HHC14] as points of departure, we approach the issue by generating probabilistic semantic maps (PSMs) from aligned translations of the New Testament in over 1400 languages [MM14], including the Greek and OCS versions from the PROIEL corpus [HJ08]. Starting from *when-* and *while*-clauses in English as commonly recognized backgrounding clauses [P04, APV07, AT22], we extract their counterparts in the other languages and generate PSMs by applying multidimensional scaling to a Hamming distance matrix, calculated on the basis of the number of common observations between each pair of languages. The resulting maps help us place the temporal clauses in OCS and Greek among the possible coexpression patterns observed in the world's languages. First, each unique form among the Greek and OCS counterparts to *when* and *while* is represented in a map by averaging all the observations for that particular form. Following the assumption that the resulting data point approximates the prototypical usage of the corresponding value, we can use the distance between each point as a proxy for semantic (dis)similarity:
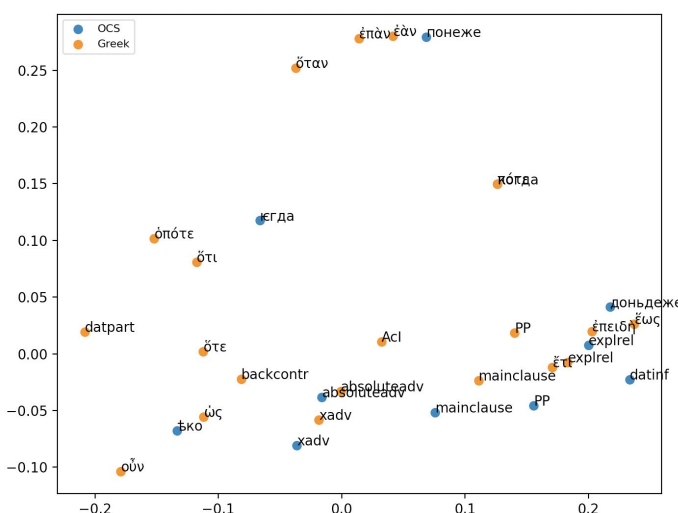
Second, similarly to [HHC14], Kriging is used as an interpolation method to detect areas that are likely to be the domain of a specific linguistic means in each language in the dataset.
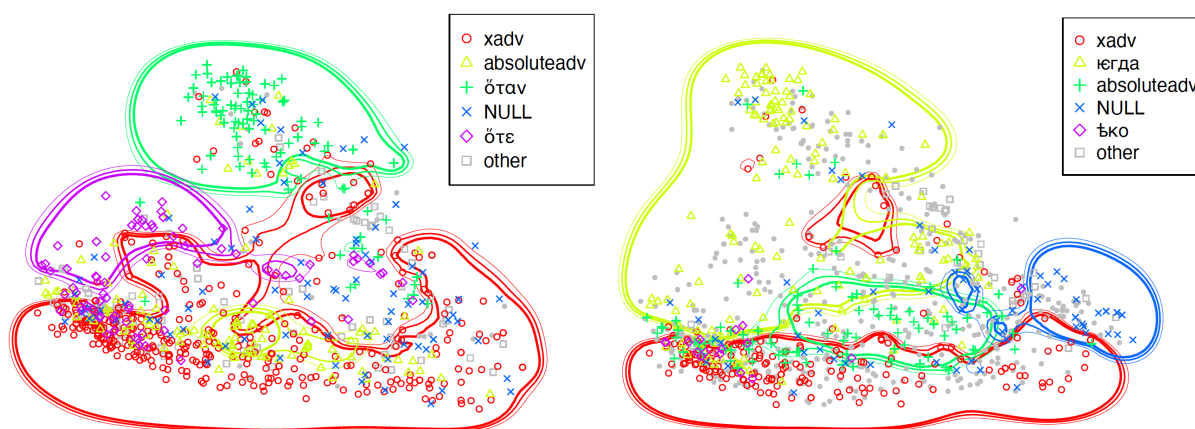
Levels drawn at 29-32-35%   Levels drawn at 29-32-35%

The maps for OCS and Greek are then compared with those of the other languages in the dataset, indicating that they follow two somewhat different colexification patterns, both independently attested in the corpus by genetically and areally unrelated languages.

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Dead or alive: A lifetime effect of Pomak nominal tense in a self-paced reading experiment

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Keywords: nominal tense; processing; reading experiment; judgment task; Pomak

Background

In some languages, tense is grammatically encoded in nominals; i.e., nominal tense. Past nominal tense, in particular, indicates that a referent is dead (Nordlinger and Sadler 2004). However, in Pomak, a minoritized Slavic variety spoken in Greece, past nominal tense locates a referent in the past independent from the lifetime status of the referent (Adamou 2011). Pomak nominal tense is preferably congruent with verbal tense but can also be independent from it (Adamou and Haendler 2020). Nominal tense is also reported in some Bulgarian dialects, but is being lost because of the influence of Standard Bulgarian that has a single definite article.

Goals and predictions

Our goal is to explore how Pomak readers integrate contextual information about the lifetime status of the referent with nominal and verbal tense. Although there are no experimental studies exploring the lifetime effect in languages with nominal tense, it has been tackled in languages with verbal tense (Chen and Husband 2018; Palleschi, Ronderos, and Knoeferle 2020). We tentatively predict longer reading times in the conditions *alive/past article* as compared to *dead/past article*. If a parallel can be drawn with the results in Chen and Husband (2018), we should find processing costs immediately following nominal tense, in addition to general costs sentence-finally as readers update the discourse information. To the extent we can compare a reading experiment with an eye-tracking study like Palleschi, Ronderos, and Knoeferle (2020), we expect shorter reading times in the condition *dead /future tense* because of the overtness and severity of the violation.

Method

We used a self-reading experiment with end-of-sentence acceptability rating. 25 L1-Pomak participants (mean age = 39.07, sd = 17.04) read 80 experimental sentences in four conditions where 'lifetime status' and 'congruence' were manipulated and 40 fillers. A context sentence provided information about the lifetime status of a kin referent (dead/living). The critical sentence started with the same referent marked with a past article (*my[+past] grandmother*) and was followed by a verb either in past perfect (congruent) or future tense (incongruent).

Results

Results reveal that sentences with living referents are read more slowly in the two regions following past nominal tense (see Figure 1). In the sentence final region, dead referents with future verbal tense are read faster. Reading disruptions for dead referents while processing nominal tense are also discussed. In the acceptability task, participants rated sentences based on the agreement of the lifetime status with verbal tense/aspect rather than nominal tense (see Figure 2).

Discussion

Taken together, our results suggest that past nominal tense has an underlying lifetime effect apparent during online processing but that it does not translate into explicit lower acceptability ratings.
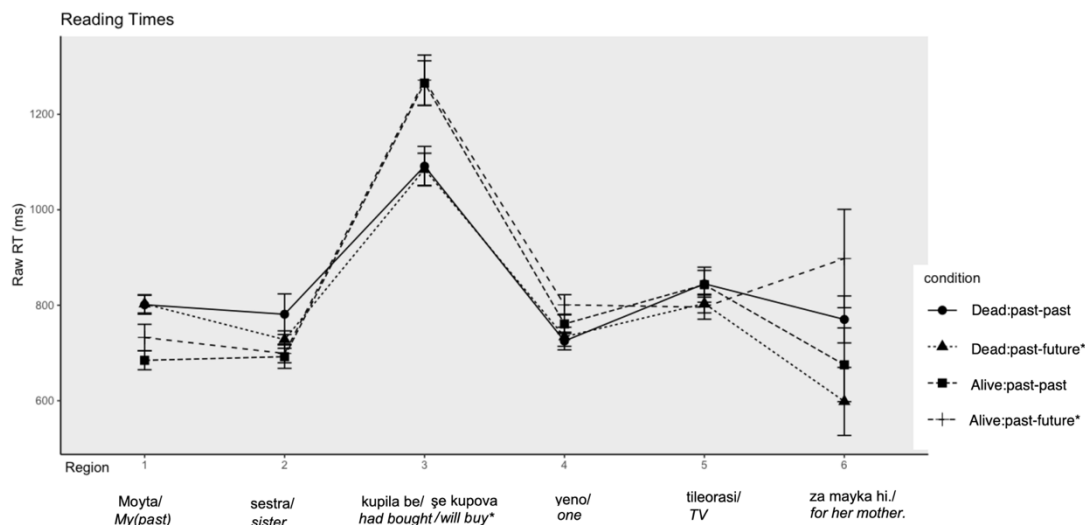

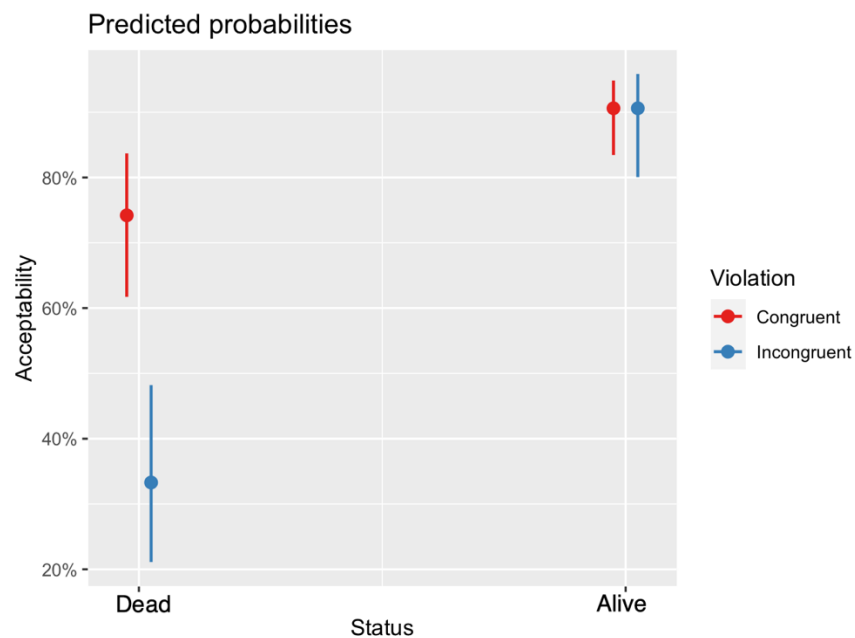**Figure 1.** Mean raw RTs across critical regions of interest. Error bars show standard error around the mean.

Figure 2. Interaction plot showing percent predicted probabilities for acceptability rates.

(Words: 485)

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A History of Negative Contractions: With Special Reference to the Reason Why *doesn't* was Delayed in American English

In Nakamura (2011, 2012, 2013, 2016, 2018), I elucidated the periods and chronological order in which negative contractions became established in British English (BE), whereby I demonstrated that *doesn't* and the past-tense group (such as *didn't* and *couldn't*) were established around the mid-nineteenth century, 100-150 years later than the present-tense group (such as *don't* and *can't*), perhaps because of their inelegant consecutive consonant clusters /-(l)dnt, -znt, -snt/. They were established just around the same time as *isn't*, *wasn't*, *haven't*, *hasn't* and *hadn't* were. Furthermore, I clarified that the usage of the third person singular present (3SG) *don't* was superseded by *doesn't* in the course of the second half of the nineteenth century. *Doesn't* took more than 150 years to be accepted, despite its first written occurrence in 1674. Relative to the rise of *doesn't* around the mid-nineteenth century, the usage of the 3SG *don't* began to be stigmatised as an informal usage, developing in that direction up to the early 20th century, when it was finally established at the "vulgar" (*OED²*, s.v. do. *v.*, 2c) or "non-standard" (Denison 1998: 195) speech level.

In American English (AE), however, the usage of 3SG *don't* developed roots as a normal usage. Mencken (1919 [1977]: 542), for example, states that the negative contraction of *do* was usually *don't*, and that *doesn't* was seldom heard. Trask (1995 [2004]: 199) also writes that "the form *doesn't* scarcely exists in vernacular speech" in west New York. Thus, it was a century later than in BE, i.e. in the course of the second half of the twentieth century, that *doesn't* was established (Bloomfield and Newmark 1963: 26). Perhaps Americans gradually became conscious of the components of *don't*. Few full-scale studies with reference to this delay have been undertaken to date.

Thus, to substantiate my elucidation over the periods and chronological order of the establishment of negative contractions stated above, the present presentation attempts to yield conclusive evidence based upon 23,722,461 examples of negative contractions and non-contractions collected from 21 varieties of BE and AE corpora. They include BNC; Time, COCA and SOAP; ACE, Kolhapur and Strathy; *OED²* on CD-ROM; 129 volumes of printed diaries and correspondence (1600-1950), a heterogeneous mixture of 260 electronically logged texts (1351-1950), ARCHER (1600-1999), EEBO and Hansard; a heterogeneous mixture of 416 electronically logged texts (1751-1950), ARCHER (1750-1999), Supreme Court and COHA. In the main part of my presentation, I respond to the reason for this prolongation of the establishment of *doesn't*, based upon the examples of *doesn't* and 3SG *don't* gathered from these texts and corpora. Evidence shows that *doesn't* was rarely used even in BE until the mid-nineteenth century and, accordingly, little known and unfamiliar to the multitudes who immigrated to the United States before that time. There was nothing else for it but to continue to have recourse to the non-contracted *does not* or else to 3SG *don't* as a

normal usage until the mid-twentieth century. The delay of *doesn't* in AE and the continuance of 3SG *don't* are closely related.

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Psycholinguistic study of causality in Spanish: Coding, categorisation and language and cognition correlation

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Previous studies on Spanish caused-motion events have shown that this language offers linguistic strategies to encode causality on the basis of intentionality, i.e., the degree of participation of the agent (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2012, and Ibarretxe-Antuñano et al. 2016). However, little has been said about the possible correlation between these linguistic resources and the way these speakers categorise causality (Fausey & Boroditsky 2010, and Filipović 2013). This paper investigates the relation between the way speakers talk about causality and the way they think about it (Tierry 2016, and Yoshinari et al. 2010).

Data were collected using the Causality Across Languages Clips, a set of 58 videos of causal interactions among humans, natural forces and inanimate objects (CAL; NSF BCS-1535846 & BCS-1644657). Three hundred native Spanish speakers (of two different macro-varieties: European Spanish and American Spanish) participated in three tasks: (i) a non-verbal categorisation task where participants have to attribute different degrees of responsibility to the event actors, (ii) a verbal description task, where participants responded to the question "what happened?" and (iii) a judgment task in which participants had to decide whether different causal actions (linguistically contextualised and decontextualised) are intentional or not. In order to carry out the task analysis, a causal linguistic agentivity scale was proposed, based on the presuppositions put forward by Hopper and Thompson (1980), in which nine parameters of either a morphosyntactic or semantic nature have been taken into account, also adding to them the multimodal strategies executed by the speakers themselves. This last element has been added due to the fact that recent literature has clearly shown that, by way of the point of view, gestures make the agent's degree of agentivity known and, in relation to this, the degree of assigned responsibility (Chan and Kelly 2021, and McNeill 1992, 2000).

Results show that intentionality is a key concept in the categorisation and multimodal codification of (any type of) causal events in Spanish. The non-verbal categorisation task revealed that speakers arranged causal events on the basis of the agent's intentionality resulting in a clear distinctive categorisation of intentional vs. accidental events. The oral description task confirmed this sharp distinction between intentionality (*lo tiró* [CL.ACC THROW.3SG.P]) vs. accidentality (*se le cayó* [CL.3SG.ACC CL.3SG.DAT fall.3SG.P]. Gesturally, there are also perceived differences in encoding depending on the type of video. While participants used more character point of view gestures in the intentional videos; in the accidental ones, speakers preferred to encode the event from the observer's point of view. The results of judgment task have concluded two crucial questions: intentionality is not only a key semantic component in both the coding and conceptualisation of causality in Spanish, but also how the linguistic description of causal events reflects the way these actions are categorised. Specifically, how to elude or intensify causal responsibility through a greater or lesser degree of multimodal agentivity. In this regard, it has been demonstrated that there is a proportional and direct correlation between the manner in which a speaker describes the causal action and the way they have thought out the responsibility of this action.

This demonstrates that intentionality is a key element in the processing of causal events in Spanish. In short, the intentional component is crucial not only in the non-verbal categorisation of causal events (intentional vs. non-intentional, guilty vs. non-guilty), but also in the oral and gestural encoding of these events in Spanish.

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Bound pronouns in coordinating constructions: The case of Maltese prepositions

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Keywords: bound pronouns, coordinate deletion, Maltese, prepositions

Maltese (Afroasiatic, Semitic) shows variation in coordinating constructions involving identical prepositions. A preposition can either be used in front of each complement or just in front of the first one (EQUI-P-deletion, cf. Stolz and Ahrens 2017; Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 87). So far, it is not entirely clear what conditions this variation. This talk focuses on one factor reported to block deletion: bound pronouns as complements. Stolz and Ahrens (2017: 132) suggest that when a bound pronoun is involved, a form of the preposition needs to be used in front of both complements as in (1).

(1) [Korpus Malti 3.0, literature11]

Ernest	*kien*	*lesta*	*l-mejda*	*[għalih*	*u*	*għal*	*ommu]*$_{coco}$
Ernest	be	ready	DEF-table	[**for**:3SG.M	and	**for**	mother:3SG]

'Ernest had prepared the table [**for** him and (**for**) his mother].'

However, this phenomenon has not been analyzed quantitatively in a large text corpus. The preposition inventory of Maltese is now considered to be almost three times as large as the number of prepositions included in the study by Stolz and Ahrens (2017, cf. Stolz and Levkovych 2020: 217f.). Including 36 prepositions that can inflect for person (Schmidt, Vorholt and Witt 2020: 254).
A closer look at the Korpus Malti 3.0 (250 million words, Gatt and Čéplö 2013) reveals that structures like (2) with only one preposition can be found as well.

(2) [Korpus Malti 3.0, news148940]

għall-pajjiżi	*tal-Mediterran*	*[bħal-na*	*u*	*l-Italja]*$_{coco}$
for:DEF-country:PL	of:DEF-Mediterranean	[**like**-1PL	and	DEF-Italy]

'[...] to the Mediterranean countries [**like** us and Italy].'

These previously unreported structures defy the criterion of 'structural symmetry' put forward by Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 87), i.e. the second preposition can only be omitted in structurally identical prepositional phrases. Hence, the following questions arise:
- To what extent do the two constructions appear in the corpus?
- Do all prepositions behave in the same way in these constructions?
- What are the characteristics of constructions involving only one preposition?

This talk addresses these questions by presenting a corpus-based account of the distribution of Maltese prepositions in coordinating constructions. It can be confirmed that coordinations involving a bound pronoun strongly favour the usage of a preposition also in front of the second complement. In fact, this is the only option for the majority of Maltese inflecting prepositions. However, some

prepositions show a proportion of counter-examples that cannot be ignored. Given these findings, the case of bound pronouns as complements is not as straightforward as previously reported.

Abbreviations

1   first person
3   third person
DEF   definite
M   masculine
PL   plural
SG   singular

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Double-oblique alignment in Iranian languages: towards a typology

Overview: This study explores double-oblique[1] alignment in Iranian languages. I argue for two distinct subtypes of this alignment pattern, based on differences in agreement and presence of DOM.

Data: The phenomenon under discussion is double-oblique alignment in flagging. That is, in some Iranian languages, in the past tense both A and P are marked by the same oblique case, meanwhile S is marked by a direct case. This may be illustrated with Balochi (1) and Rushani (2) examples:

(1) mā   zahm-ã   arθ-aɣ-ant
     1SG.OBL sword-PL.OBL bring-PERF-3PL
     'I brought the swords' (Korn, 2008, 10)

(2) mu   tā   wunt
     1SG.OBL 2SG.OBL see.PST
     'I saw you' (Payne, 1980, 156)

The sample of my study contains 26 idioms, with the following subgroups surveyed: Tatic (Stilo, 2018), (Stilo, 2019), Kurdish (Matras, 2016); Pamiri (Payne, 1980), Balochi (Korn, 2008), Zaza (Akkuş, 2019) and Parachi (Efimov, 2009). The languages under discussion were tagged with information about their case marking on nouns, case marking on personal pronouns and verbal agreement.

Results: The study has shown a sharp divide between languages which exhibit double-oblique alignment. There are two distinct groups of languages that will be called Group 1 and Group 2.

Languages from Group 1 show agreement with either A or P participants, even though it is marked by an oblique case, as in (1). Furthermore, in these languages there is variation between oblique-marked direct objects and unmarked direct objects. On the contrary, languages from Group 2 show no agreement with the subject or the object of the verb, as in (2). The oblique case on direct object in these languages is consistent, in contrast to languages from Group 1.

Group 1 contains languages from the Tatic sub-branch (Vafsi, Kafteji, etc.) and Western Balochi. Group 2 consists of several Northern Kurmanji dialects (Muş, Diyarbakır, etc.), Mutki Zazaki and Pamiri languages (Gojali Wakhi and Rushani).

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[1]also known as 'horizontal'

1

	Group 1	Group 2
Languages	Tatic languages, Balochi	Kurmanji dialects, Mutki Zazaki, Pamiri languages
Agreement	yes, with A or P	no
DOM	yes	no

Discussion: The differences explored in my study can be viewed as a part of the broader 'nominative vs. ergative' distinction. Group 1 languages are tripartite, with ergative and accusative markers having the same phonological content. Group 2 languages, on the other hand, resemble the nominative languages with DSM.

This distinction may be extended beyond Iranian languages. Indo-Aryan languages with double-oblique alignment are expected to be similar to Group 1 languages. For example, Haryanvi (Indo-Aryan) marks both the agent and the definite object with the same postposition *ne* (Butt, 2017, 829), yielding a double-oblique alignment pattern similar to the Group 1.

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Identifying effects of language contact through translation in corpora

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keywords: language contact through translation, Middle English, Old French, copying of argument structure, corpus-based approach

Working with linguistically annotated historical corpora has become the state of the art for many working on diachronic syntax in English and especially the Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical Linguistics have extensively been used for many studies, both qualitatively and quantitatively (see Kroch & Taylor 1997, Haeberli 2002, Pintzuk & Taylor 2006 and many others). It is well-known that many English historical texts are translations from mainly Latin or French and, inevitably, a number of them are also contained in these corpora. Yet surprisingly few studies have dealt with translation effects that surface as statistical effects in quantitative corpus studies (see Taylor (2008), Cichocz et al. (2016), Haeberli (2018), Struik and van Kemenade (2022)). Investigating object pronoun placement in Middle English in the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English* (PPCME2) Haeberli (2018) found that preverbal and pre-auxiliary objects are mainly lost after the thirteenth century. However, three of the texts, all translations from Old French or Anglo Norman, behaved significantly differently still exhibiting regular preverbal placement of object pronouns in the fourteenth century. As a consequence, Haeberli separated these outliers and modified his previous analysis. Further, he added full text analyses of the Old French source texts and Middle English target texts and identified statistical translation effects. Haeberli concluded that "... translation-induced contact [...] can have important quantitative effects and that these have to be seriously considered in any syntactic analysis of historical texts based on a foreign source text" (p. 301).

Apart from full text analyses of source and target text, adding etymological annotation to corpora can also be a successful methodological approach to identify translation effects. Examining contact-induced changes in the argument structure of Middle English verbs on the model of Old French, Trips & Stein (2019) used the verb lemmatised version of the PPCME2 (BASICS) including etymological information (French-based/non-French-based). They found global copying (cf. Johanson 2002) of EXPERIENCER/RECIPIENT PPs to Middle English and thus direct influence of Old French loan verbs but also indirect influence, i.e. an increase of RECIPIENT PPs with native verbs of transfer of possession especially in Middle English translations of Old French texts. The quantitative effects they found, i.e. quantitative differences between French-based texts and non-French-based texts, support Haeberli's findings.

These studies emphasise the necessity to set the topic of language contact through translation on the research agenda. In my talk I will discuss a number of methods to tackle this issue systematically. I will argue for an approach that combines corpus-based studies with full text analyses. Concerning the latter I will sketch a way to build a parallel corpus of Old French source texts and their Middle English translations. I will further discuss how translation or shining through effects (Teich 2003) may be identified by using standard approaches from translation studies like probabilistic unigram language models to calculate relative entropy between source and target language text (e.g. Przybyl et al 2022).

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"Come Rain or Shine...". Native Speakers Pre-schoolers' Acquisition of Romanian Weather Terms Expressing Hydrometeors

(*Abstract*)

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the manner in which Romanian pre-schoolers (from 4 to 6 years old) acquire a certain number of Romanian weather terms which denote various types of hydrometeors. These hydrometeors are well known weather phenomena, which refer to water or ice particles that form in the atmosphere or at the surface of the Earth as a result of condensation or sublimation. This category of atmospheric phenomena mainly includes precipitations as *burniță* ('drizzle'), *grindină* ('hail'), *lapoviță* ('sleet'), *ploaie* ('rain') or *ninsoare* ('snowfall'). Phenomena such as *rouă* ('dew'), *brumă* ('hoarfrost') or *promoroacă* ('rime') are known as deposits, whereas *ceață* ('fog') and *aer cețos* ('mist') are included in the so-called suspensions.

The analysis starts from ten flashcards consisting in colourful images which show the ten phenomena under scrutiny and their respective definitions. As a part of a series dedicated to natural phenomena, these ten flashcards are addressed to children of 4 years and above and aim to make them learn in an easy and playful way atmospheric occurrences observed around the world. Given that the target audience is represented by pre-schoolers, the definitions are largely simplified, so as to offer essential explanations of the abovementioned phenomena.

The specificity of the corpus triggers both the research method (e.g., a theoretical framework based on child language acquisition) and the structure of the linguistic analysis itself. On the one hand, the analysis examines to what extent the short explanations on the flashcards were simplified, by comparing them with the definitions excerpted from a general language dictionary. On the other hand, the analysis contains a case study undergone on pre-schoolers who were actually given the set of flashcards. Consequently, the paper highlights the difficulties pre-schoolers had on correctly identifying the hydrometeors and, implicitly, on effectively learning the terms which designate them.

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The Danish type-noun *slags* 'kind' as a marker of similarity

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Keywords: categorization, desemanticization, discourse prominence, grammaticalization, type-nouns

The purpose of this presentation is to demonstrate how *slags* 'kind' when occurring as N1 in type-noun binominals, TNBs, with the formal structure [N1 + N2] has undergone a process of grammaticalization, which, among other things, implies that *slags* more often than its original or literal meaning of categorization, in fact, expresses a meaning of similarity, cf. the contrast between (1) and (2).

(1) *Smykkerne er lavet af bjergkrystal og af obsidian, der er en [slags$_{N1}$ vulkansk glas$_{N2}$].*
      'The jewellery is made of rock crystal and of obsidian, which is a **kind of volcanic glass**.'

(2) *Bush bliver en [slags$_{N1}$ kransekagefigur$_{N2}$] i Det Hvide Hus.*
      'Bush becomes a **kind of figurehead** in the White House.'

In (1), *slags* establishes a taxonomic relation, as it subcategorizes obsidian as a kind of volcanic glass, while in (2), *slags* expresses that Bush shows metaphorical similarity to a figurehead, rather than that he actually represents a subkind of figurehead.

The assumptions about grammaticalization concern both structural and functional aspects and build on a corpus study carried out by Mørch (2017) of 2,946 occurrences of *slags* and 150 occurrences of each of the type-nouns *art* 'species', *form for* 'form of' and *type* 'type' extracted from *KorpusDK.*

The structural analyses of data, which focus on the use of preposition, number and gender agreement features and anaphoric reference, overall indicate that *slags* when functioning as N1 in TNBs loses morphosyntactic properties typical of lexical nouns and, consequently, reanalyzes as a functional head in a separate projection under DP, as opposed to heading an NP within a DP in a standard binary head-complement structure (Müller 2022). This reanalysis of internal NP functions indicates redistribution of meaning in the sense of Traugott (1995, 2010) and can, thus, be seen as a strong argument for grammaticalization on the constructional level.

On a semantico-functional level, analyses indicate desemanticisation of N1 (Lehmann 1985), i.e. semantic shifts from a literal to a similarity meaning as in (1) vs. (2), which means that N1 through a diachronic change has been discursively downgraded in relation to N2 – another clear sign of grammaticalization (Boye & Harder 2012). In fact, of the 2,946 examples in which *slags* occurs, only 12 per cent have a purely taxonomic meaning, 33 per cent are ambiguous, and 55 per cent have a meaning of similarity (Müller et al. 2020).

Finally, the claims about grammaticalization and change of meaning of *slags* are corroborated by data that show, first, that *slags*, in opposition to other type-nouns and nouns in general, cannot head nominal compounds, cf. (3ab),

(3a) *en art salat*   →   *en salatart*
       'a kind (of) salad'   'lit. a salad-kind'

(3b)   *en slags bil*   →   **en bilslags*
       'a kind (of) car'   'lit. a car-kind'

and, second, that statements such as "it is a *slags* X, but it is not an X" – also at odds with other type-nouns – are not contradictory, since *slags*, due to grammaticalization, is more prone to expressing similarity than categorization.

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Onomatopoeia in Bezhta

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The paper is the first report on onomatopoeia and sound symbolism in Bezhta (one of the Tsezic languages, East Caucasian). Onomatopoeia in Bezhta is both universal and language-specific. The universal onomatopoetic expressions in Bezhta are those imitating animal sounds, like *miyaw-miyaw* – meow, *ma^n:h* – moo. Onomatopoetic expressions in Bezhta cover two main semantic fields: Natural sounds and Artifacts.

Natural sounds are devided into1) <u>humans</u>: *hik'* - hiccups, *hic-hac* – sneezing, *q'ur* – rumbling in stomach, *χor-χor/χur-χur* – by running nose, *wiš* – stifle, *p'är-p'är* – chatter, talk, *piš-piš* – whisper, *pir-por* – whisper, grumbling, *łep'-* whimper, *qis-qas* – chewing, *qas-qas* – scratching, *zi-zi* – shaking out of cold, etc.; and 2) <u>animals:</u> *wic'-wic'* – mouse squeak, *χurr-χurr* – purr of a cat, *ha^{n}w-ha^{n}w* – bog's barking, *prr-prr* – snorting of a horse, *wič-wič* - twitter, *qurq-qurq* – cooing of pigeons, *ʔüʔüʔü* – crowing, *q'a:-q'a:-q'a:* - cackle, *šš* - snake hiss, *ʁäʔ* -caw, ect.

Artifacts are sounds of striking and knocking, e.g. motion sounds: *dip'-dap'* – sound of falling, thud, *q'ip'-q'op'* – stomp, *qoc-qoc* – sound of heels, trot, *lix-lax* – wiggling, slow rocking, slight movement, *xuc* – collision, *ɣip'-ɣap'-* fuss, mess around, *ɣir-ɣir* – jolt, rumble-tumble in a car, and other onomatopoeic words: *žir-žar* – tinkling, *di-bi* – of a drum, *č'iq'-č'iq'* – sound of cutting with scissors, *piq'-poq'* – sound of boiling corn porridge, *ƛ'iq'-ƛ'aq'* – crackling, *ƛ'äq'* – shot, bang, *č'iq'* – click, *diq-däq* – knocking, *q'öp'* – knock, etc.

Bezhta definitely implies sound symbolism in the formation of onomatopoeia. These are the following. <u>Final [R]</u> imitates resonant and loud noise: *ɣir-ɣir* – jolt, rumble-tumble in a car, *ƛ'är-ƛ'är* – motor of a motorcycle, *žir-žar* – tinkling, *čar* – splashing, *zir* –shaking. <u>Low-intensity sound: Final [P']</u> imitates muffled and hollow sound: *q'ip'-q'op'* – stomp, *ɣip'-ɣap'-* fuss, mess around, *lip'-lap'* – sound of jolt, shake, *q'öp'* – knock. <u>High-intensity sound: final uvular</u> imitates loud sound: *ƛ'iq'-ƛ'aq'* – crackling, *ƛ'äq'* – shot, bang, *č'iq'* – click, *diq-däq* – knocking. <u>Final vowel</u> reflects durable actions, like swing, laughing, birds singing, musical instruments: *hu-hu* – owl, *qi-qi* – laughter, *ku-ku* – swing. Sound symbolism is also associated with reduplication

(Hinton et. al. 1995:9). In Bezhta reduplicated stems are associated with repetitive actions, e.g. *diq-däq* – knocking, whereas non-reduplicated stems are associated with short sounds and momentary actions, e.g. *dap'* – thud.

Bezhta uses secondary onomatopoeias, which are words derived from primary onomatopoetic sound. Some Bezhta onomatopoeia constitute a certain class of verbs, which is a small group of onomatopoetic unergatives verbs in Bezhta, for example, *ʁäʔƛ-* 'caw', *hicƛ-* 'sneeze', *öhƛ-* 'cough', *hik'ƛ-* 'hiccup', *hahƛ-* 'yawn'. The single S_A argument is in the Ergative. Diachronically these onomatopoetic verbs seem to have arisen through the incorporation of an onomatopoetic element into the verb *iƛ-*, which synchronically means 'call' in Bezhta but has the more general meaning 'say' in some other Tsezic languages (Comrie et al. 2015: 542).

Based on comparative analysis of closely related languages, the work will provide further evidence for sound symbolism in onomatopoeia in other Tsezic languages. The work will also cover main topics in onomatopoeia, including sound polysemy, synonymy, degree of universality as well as the grammar of onomatopoeia.

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[Hinton et. al. 1995:9]

What sound does it make?: Lexico-syntax of onomatopoeic manner expressions in Japanese, Korean, and Ainu

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Keywords: onomatopoeia, manner, adverb, particle, verb-framed language

This study addresses manner adverbs with special reference to onomatopoeic morphemes, drawing on Ainu-Japanese parallel texts (ILT 1984-1989) and their Korean translations. Onomatopoeia manifests itself as verbs in Japanese, Korean, and Ainu: *dokidokisuru* (Japanese), *dugeundugeungeorida* (Korean), and *toktokse* (Ainu) '(of a heart) flutter.' As illustrated in (1), Japanese and Korean also lexicalize it in adverbs (*sat* and *hwag* 'with a whooshing sound'), but Ainu hardly does (the postverbal particle *tek* 'swiftly does not represent any sound).

(1) a. *suruto, nodo-no   sita-o   yari-ga   **sat**to   toot-te....*   Japanese
       then   throat-GEN bottom-ACC spear-NOM swiftly pass-and

   b. *geureoja mog   mit-eul   chang-i   **hwag**(-hago)   jinaga-go....*   Korean
       then   throat bottom-ACC spear-NOM   swiftly(-saying) pass:go-and

   c. *akusu, rekut   corpokke   op   kus   **tek**   híne, ...* (ILT 1984: 18)   Ainu
       then   throat its.bottom spear pass swiftly and

The three languages are analyzed as "verb-" rather than "satellite-framed languages" (Talmy 1991). Verb-framed languages are assumed to lexicalize manners as satellites (adverbials) rather than verbs (Wienold 1995; Matsumoto 2003). However, the present study reveals that the three languages differ in adverbial realizations of onomatopoeia (a type of manner).

In Japanese, onomatopoeic adverbs can have three different realization forms (Miyaji 1978; Sasaki 1986): onomatopoeic stems with the locative particle *-ni* (*kasakasa-ni* 'dryly'), as in (2a), and the quotative particle *-to* (*kasakasa-to* 'rustlingly') or no such particle (*kasakasa* 'rustlingly'), as in (2b). Korean also has the locative particle *-(eu)ro* (*jigeujaegeu-ro* 'zigzag (adv.)') and the quotative particle *-hago* (*"eummae"-hago* '(saying) "moo"') but realizes onomatopoeic adverbs most frequently with no distinct particle (*bassag* 'dryly' and *basagbasag* 'rustlingly').

(2) a. *te-ga   **kasakasa-ni** kawai-teiru.*
       hand-NOM dry(ly)-ly   dry-PERF
       'I have dry hands.'

   b. *kaze-de   otiba-ga   **kasakasa(-to)** natta.*
       wind-with fallen:leave-NOM rustlingly-QUOT sounded
       'Fallen leaves rustled with wind.'

   c. *son-i   **bassag**(^{??}-hago) malassda.*
       hand-NOM   dryly(-saying)   dried
       'I have dry hands.'

   d. *baram-e   nagyeob-i   **basagbasag**(-hago) sori-ga   nassda.*
       wind-with fallen:leave-NOM rustlingly(-saying)   sound-NOM came.out

‘Fallen leaves rustled with wind.’

The three languages have onomatopoeias to express sensory images accompanying the events/states actually or potentially experienced by speakers. However, the languages differ in how and how much they conceptualize such images in onomatopoeic terms. In Japanese, onomatopoeias with -*to* and -*ni* tend to represent ‘dynamic processes’ and ‘resultant states,’ respectively, (Sasaki 1986: 735). The quotative particle -*to* implies that Japanese views onomatopoeias with -*to* as quoting sensory images of such dynamic processes, as illustrated in (1a). In contrast, Korean does not necessarily have such a view of onomatopoeias; it can employ the quotative particle -*hago* for auditory onomatopoeias, as in (1b) and (2d), but cannot for non-auditory onomatopoeias, as in (2c).

Ainu conceives of some onomatopoeic expressions as quoting sounds, but it lexicalizes them as verbs instead of adverbs; onomatopoeic stems of sensory images are not followed by the quotative particle *sekor* but by the verb root -*se*, which literally means ‘say,’ as exemplified by *toktokse* ‘(of a heart) flutter,’ mentioned above. Like English, Ainu is more likely to lexicalize onomatopoeic manners in verbs. This can be closely related to the fact that Ainu makes a far more fine-grained distinction of visual, auditory, and other perceptions in grammatical devices of evidentiality.

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Hypothetical manner constructions in French and Spanish: Prosody co-signals degrees of (in)dependence

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Insubordination –defined by Evans (2007:367) as the "conventionalized main clause use of what […] appears to be formally subordinate clauses"– has received an increasing amount of scholarly attention exploring both its grammatical status and its functional behaviour. However, as D'Hertefelt (2018:220) points out, "prosody remains […] one of the […] least studied features of insubordination". Kaltenböck's (2016) and Elvira-García et al.'s (2017) studies form notable exceptions in this respect.

This paper aims to further fill this gap in the literature by providing an exploration of the prosodic behaviour of hypothetical manner clauses in French and Spanish, introduced by *comme si* and *como si* respectively (both meaning 'as if'). More precisely, it seeks to answer two specific **research questions**:

  i) can different degrees of (in)dependence be correlated with distinct prosodic configurations?
  ii) can prosody help us investigate the developmental pathway of insubordinate constructions in discourse?

To answer these questions, this contrastive study relies on the prosodic analysis of (in)subordinate 'as if' clauses, following the Autosegmental Metrical (AM) model (Pierrehumbert 1980) and specifically using both Fr_ToBI (Delais-Roussarie et al. 2015) and Sp_ToBI (Prieto & Roseano 2010, Hualde & Prieto 2015) transcription systems. Following previous applications of these systems (Delais-Roussarie et al. 2015, Elvira-García et al. 2017), the analysis focuses on **nuclear configurations** (pitch accent + boundary tone), as these are usually found to convey the most intonational information. These were applied to a sample of spoken corpus data (n=214 in French and n=105 in Spanish), as well as to an *ad hoc* sample of spoken data elicited through a Discourse Completion Task (Vanrell et al. 2018).

First, the results show that different prosodic configurations do correlate with distinct degrees of (in)dependence. Syntactically-independent clauses generally show prosodically-independent behaviour, i.e. they constitute intonation units on their own, as they are surrounded by independent units displaying a falling tone. By contrast, prototypical subordinate clauses are generally preceded in discourse by a main clause showing a *continuation rise* (Elvira-García et al. 2017), which implies prosodic integration of the subclause into the same intonation unit as the main clause. Second, this study sheds clear light on how insubordinate constructions arise in discourse. Crucial in this respect are **bridging contexts** (Evans & Wilkins 2000:550, Heine 2002) which contextually support both a *manner* and a *denial* functional reading, illustrated in (1) and (2) (see also Brinton 2014:104).

(1) *Spanish*
Habl-as   ***como***   ***si***   ***me***   ***conoc-ieses.***
speak-IND.PRS.2SG   as   if   me   know-SBJV.PST.2SG
'You speak as if you knew me.'

(2) *French*
Vous   *me*   *parl-ez*   ***comme***   ***si***   ***je***   ***conn-aissais***   ***le***   ***Wallon.***
you.2PL   me   talk-IND.PRS.2PL   as   if   I   know-IND.PST.1SG   the   Walloon
'You talk to me as if I know about the Walloon language.'

The analysis shows that a significant number (24% in French and 32% in Spanish) of subordinate clauses like (1) and (2) display a rising-falling pitch contour (L+H* L%), which is also attested in insubordinate clauses conveying *denial of an assumption* in the two languages. This finding thus supports Van linden & Van de Velde's (2014) hypothesis of insubordination arising through a process of hypoanalysis (Croft 2000) and shows that speakers do reanalyse this contextual meaning as an inherent property of the subordinating conjunction, allowing insubordinate uses to appear in discourse.

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Old and new approaches to vernacular glosses in textual culture of medieval Poland: The case of embedded glosses

Most of Old Polish texts are in fact fifteenth century copies with accompanying inscribed or reinscribed glosses (interlinear and marginal) introduced into the text. The aim of the present article is to show how to recognize these types of glosses in the text using elements of semantics, syntax, rhetoric and source studies. The majority of examples come from the most extensive monument of Polish and Slavic medieval prose and apocryphal literature in the Polish language: *Rozmyślanie przemyskie* [The Przemysl Meditation]. About several hundred glosses introduced into the text of *Rozmyślanie* have been recognized. The glosses have had an enormous impact on the form of the preserved copy.

In the only preserved copy of this apocryphal text all glosses are incorporated into the main body of the text, often haphazardly and in inappropriate places. Some of them were turned into headings of chapters by the last copyist.

During our paper we will show how to work with a text with a multi-layered structure (a "text within a text within a text"), what tools are most suited for proper recognition of glosses and how to analyse the degree of their integration with the main body of the text.

The Evolution of Subjunctive Constructions with Infinitive in the Polish Language

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Keywords: mood, subjunctive, complementizer, żeby, infinitive, diachrony

The article explores the evolution of *żeby*-clauses with infinitives in the Polish mood system. Clauses introduced by the complex complementizer *żeby* defy a unified description, and traditional Polish grammars classify them either as indicative (Puzynina 1971; Nagórko 2007) or conditional/subjunctive (Tokarski 1973/2001; Laskowski 1984). I will use the term 'conditional/subjunctive mood' to refer to *tryb przypuszczający* understood as a category traditionally recognized by Polish grammarians, which encompasses a variety of irrealis moods, such as conditional, hypothetical, subjunctive, and optative. The term 'conditional/subjunctive mood' should be distinguished from 'subjunctive mood' which I define as an irrealis dependent mood usually found in embedded clauses (following Quer 2006), according to the Polish descriptive grammar described as complement clauses (zdania dopełnieniowe), which serve as complements to *verba sentiendi et dicendi* (Pisarkowa 1972). In the literature, there is also the discussion wether *żeby* is a complex complementiser composed of the simple complementizer *że* (subordinating conjunction equivalent to English that), the particle *by*, and person and number suffixes that mark the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural or, because in subjunctive mood we cannot separate *że* and *by*, it is a united complementiser with past tense auxiliary clitics (see Witkoś 1998, Migdalski 2006, Sadowska 2012). The diachronic view of processes leading to a contemporary state, especially grammaticalization and reanalysis, is the contribution of the author in this discussion. The approach is mainly based on the Construction Grammar model (Goldberg 2006, Fried 2015) and corpus analysis. I follow Fried's definition of constructions as "conventionalized clusters of features (syntactic, prosodic, pragmatic, semantic, textual etc.) that recur as further indivisible associations between form and meaning". We argue that the subjunctive mood has its representation not only in a specific construction pattern based on a limited group of verbs opening positions for subordinated clauses with complementiser (*że)by* and *l*-participium, but also in constructions with infinitives representing inpersonal predicates. The diachronic changes involve grammaticalisation of the particle *by,* lexicalization of the complex complemetizer, differentiation of the pattern dependent on the identity or nonidentity of the subjects, etc.

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Egophoricity and formality in Kathmandu Newār

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Egophoricity is a grammatical category known to mark agency, volition and epistemic access between speaker (S) and addressee (A). In this talk I demonstrate that in Kathmandu Newār, formality of interaction and the status of S and A also play a role in the marking of egophoricity. I further show that the data shed light on current grammatical approaches towards the encoding of formality between S and A.

Hargreaves (2018) explained that egophoric marking is used when the seat of knowledge (SoK) is self-borne where the self is S in declaratives and A in interrogatives (see example 1). Conversely, non-egophoric marking is used when SoK does not coincide with the speech-act participants (see example 2). What has been overlooked thus far is the role of status and formality. A close examination of interactions in Kathmandu Newār indicates that when S and A are of equal status (S=A) or when S is higher in status than A (S>A), the canonical pattern of egophoric marking may not be observed and instead, a non-egophoric marking is possible in interrogative contexts (see example 3). In contrast, when S<A, the conventional egophoric marking must be used (see example 4).

Crucially, the Kathmandu Newār data indicate that there may be mismatches in formality marking within a single sentence which lead to nuanced formality. For example, 2nd person pronouns can encode a distinction in formality (where *cha* is informal and *chi* is formal). Among verbs, the verb *wan* ('go') is informal while *jhā* ('go') is formal. While in example 4, the formality in pronoun, verb, and egophoric marking all match, this is not necessarily the case in example 5. Here the formal pronoun and verb co-occur with non-egophoric marking which marks the context as somehow informal – the combination of non-matching formality derives a semi-formal utterance.

Comparing two approaches that argue formality to be a part of grammatical representation, Portner et al. (2019) claim that formality and status are represented as features in the topmost syntactic layer of a sentence (cP), which is dedicated to encoding contextual variables (see schema 6). The formality of the interaction and the status of participants are set in c and all elements within the sentence that are sensitive to such features have to agree. Since in Kathmandu Newār mismatches are not only possible but allow for a nuanced marking of formality and status, we cannot analyze the data with a single feature setting for the entire utterance.

In contrast, Ritter & Wiltschko (2021) contend that formality can be intrinsic or derived: Japanese pronouns intrinsically encode aspects such as status, whereas formal pronouns of the German type are derived – a 3rd person plural pronoun is used as a formal 2nd person pronoun. Demonstrating from the Kathmandu Newār data, I propose that there is no general syntactic head that determines the formality and status of the utterance, and hence different elements within an utterance can encode different aspects of formality and status, yielding nuanced levels of formality.

Examples:

(1) Egophoric marking:

  a. Decl: **S = SoK**

     Ji   mhigaḥ   ana   wan-**ā**

     1.SG yesterday there.DEM go-PST.**EGO**

     'I went there yesterday.'

  b.   Interrog: **H = SoK**

     Cha   mhigaḥ   ana   wan-**ā** lā?

     2.SG   yesterday   there.DEM go-PST.**EGO** Q

     'Did you go there yesterday?' (informal)

(2) Non-egophoric marking:

  Decl: **S ≠ SoK**

  Wa   mhigaḥ   ana   wan-**a**

  3.SG   yesterday   there.DEM go-PFV.**NONEGO**

  'S/he went there yesterday.'   [Data in (1) and (2) quoted from (Hale, 1980, p. 95)]

(3) **Informal context, status: S=H** (eg. friends) or **S>H** (e.g. father to son)

  Cha mhigaḥ   ana   waṃ   lā?

  2.SG yesterday   there.DEM   go.IMPV.NONEGO   Q

  'Did you go there yesterday?' (More informal than 1b.)

(4) **Informal context, status: S<H** (eg. son to father)

  Chi   mhigaḥ   ana   jhayā   lā?

  2.SG.FRML   yesterday   there.DEM   go.FRML.PST.EGO   Q

  'Did you go there yesterday?'(formal, respectful)

(5) **Semi-formal context, status: S=H** (eg. acquaintances)

  Chi   mhigaḥ   ana   jhāḥ   lā?

  2SG.FRML   yesterday   there.DEM   go.FRML.IMPV.NONEGO   Q

  'Did you go there yesterday?' (Semi-formal, polite)

(6) [cP **C** [formality], [status] [Sentence]]

The development of the suffix *-ment* in the 21st century

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The suffix *-ment* is a nominalizer which typically attaches to verbal bases and whose productive status in Contemporary English is debatable. During the last couple of centuries, the lexical potential of *-ment* has been in progressive decline and it is presently portrayed as practically "defunct" (Anshen & Aronoff 1999: 24; see similarly Lieber 2005, Lindsay & Aronoff 2013, and Palmer 2015: 126). Various reasons have been posed for the current low productivity of *-ment*, among them the lack of disyllabic verbs to act as lexical input or the existence of competing nominalizing process which restrain each other's output. Morphological competition refers to the situation where the same syntactic-semantic category can be expressed simultaneously by more than one word-formation process (Bauer 2009, Bauer et al. 2013: 33, and Aronoff 2016, 2019). Despite the above, recent sporadic coinages in *-ment* have been reported which cast doubts on conclusive statements about the suffix's demise (Bauer et al. 2013, Kawaletz and Plag 2015, and Lapesa et al. 2018):

(1)   alertment, ambushment, approvement, divorcement, fakement

This investigation is based on a set of nonce formations retrieved from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (Davies 2008-), later complemented with information from the *British National Corpus* (Davies 2004) and *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Proffitt 2019). By examining derivatives of *-ment* and of rival word-formation processes, the aims of the paper are:

i)   To explore the nature of these 21st century *-ment* coinages in order to accept or reject the traditional view of this suffix as synchronically unproductive today, and

ii)   To consider *-ment* in the light of other types of nominalization, e.g. *-al*, *-ing*, verb-to-noun conversion, for a contextualized inspection of morphological competition in this domain.

Given these objectives, the data of the study includes not only formations by *-ment*, but by any word-formation process expressing the competing semantic category ACTION. Competition is hence studied through clusters of lexemes which express the same sense and are derived from the same verb. The following forms, for example, constitute the cluster of rival lexemes derived from *bedazzle*$_V$ with the meaning 'the action of bedazzling':

(2)   bedazzlement, bedazzle$_N$, bedazzling

Once c. 50 clusters analogue to (2) are built, it is possible to explore the nature of competition and thus observe which units prevail and which fall into disuse, as well as factors surrounding each outcome. This methodology affords a view of *-ment* within the broad context of English

synchronic nominalization and explains the suffix's current low productivity degree. The preliminary results of the study point to a still existing although residual productivity level of -*ment* mainly through nonce-formations attested in the BNC and COCA, which is why the potential of this process frequently proves insufficient to compete with nominalizers like -*ing* or conversion.

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Prefixes and the formation of verbal complexes

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INTRODUCTION: This study investigates the formation of superlexical-prefixed verbal complexes in Slavic. Svenonius (2004) suggests a point of attachment below the secondary imperfective head for some superlexical prefixes allowing secondary imperfectives, such as *pere-* in [Spec, *v*P] (*Figure 1*). However, after spell-out, they surface in a position showing a case of Mirror Principle violations. The traditional Head Movement (Koopman 1984, Travis 1984, Baker 1985) is inadequate to model the linear order of morphemes in superlexical-prefixed verbal complexes. Rather, two main mechanisms are required: the syntactic operation of *Generalized Head Movement* (GenHM) (Arregi & Pietraszko 2018, 2019), unifying upward and downward head movement by creating a single complex head, and the postsyntactic operation of *Merger* (Matushansky 2006, Harizanov 2014, Martinović 2019), combining a head with its specifier.
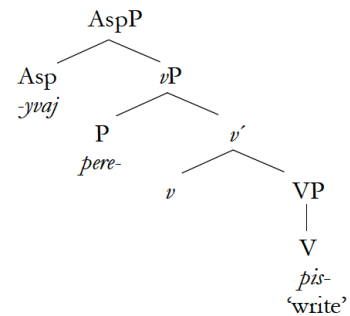
Figure 1
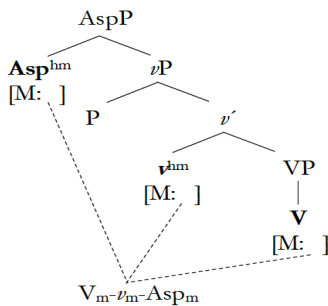
Figure 2

ANALYSIS: The verbal complex *pere-pisatj* 'rewrite' requires the V, *v*, and Asp terminal nodes with V_m, v_m, and Asp_m being the set of each node's morphological features, respectively. GenHM applies syntactically to the *v*-head and the head of this complement, i.e. V-head. The output is a V-*v* complex
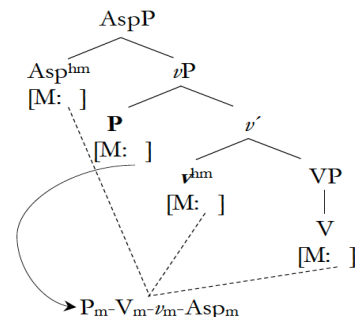
Figure 3

that contains the M-values of the input heads, i.e. the set of the morphological features of V and *v*. GenHM applies to all the heads that trigger the operation, and the output of the previous complex head is merged with the next higher head. Therefore, the extended head chain that includes the V, *v*, and Asp nodes share the same newly formed M-value with the morphological features of all nodes participating in the operation (*Figure 2*). If there is no prefix, the complex head is pronounced in the topmost position.

However, in the presence of prefixes attached to the verb stem, I argue that a second step is needed, the postsyntactic operation of Merger, which applies before the verb is pronounced in the highest position. This operation is used to combine a head with its specifier. Here, the rule applies combining the *v*-head with P (*Figure 3*), where *pere-* is generated. Since *v* contains not only its M-value but the GenHM-generated head chain with the M-values of all the nodes, P_m is added to the M-value of the head chain in

an outer position, i.e. being peripheral to the morphological terminals in the complex head. And then, the verbal complex is spelled out in Asp position.

The analysis also accounts for the formation of prefixed verbal complexes in Modern Greek as another case of Mirror Principle violations. Prepositional prefixes are introduced as Ps in [Spec, VP], below Tense. However, they are spelled out in a higher position, as evidenced by the fact that they precede the past tense morpheme after spell-out, i.e. P-T-V (e.g. *ant-**e**-grafa* 'I was copying'). The traditional operation of Head Movement cannot be used to attach the prepositional prefixes and the past morpheme to the verb. Rather, they are formed as subject to the syntactic operation of GenHM (as an upward displacement) and the postsyntactic operation of Merger, as in Slavic.

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Using non prototypical verb patterns as an effective argumentative device — the case of the capacitive construction

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This paper focuses on the capacitive pattern in English, which can be found in the following sentences (in bold):

(1) **The Countryman comfortably seats four adults** and offers 41.3 cubic feet of cargo room behind the rear seat. [Corpus of Contemporary American English — COCA]

(2) **A smaller chalet sleeps three** with a screened-in porch, kitchen, den and bathroom with shower. [COCA]

(3) THE OLD CHAPEL, **sleeps eight**, chapel, king size, en-suite, dog friendly, Spark. [Tripadvisor]

It is used to match a location (*The Countryman, a smaller chalet* and *the old chapel* in [1-3]), to a quantified capacity (*four adults, three* and *eight* in [1-3]). It is mostly used in newspapers, magazines and websites (Airbnb, Tripadvisor, etc.). These contexts are specialized, and they are also argumentative — they include speech acts aimed at persuading the addressee to believe or do something (rhetorical argumentation, Ducrot 2004). The capacitive pattern is linked to these specific genres because it allows the speaker to convey powerful argument about an entity by placing it at the forefront, both cognitively and at the syntax-semantics level. Compare the following allosentences :

(4) a. **The tent sleeps six**, not counting the additional space provided by your vehicle. [COCA]
(4) b. Six people can sleep in the tent, not counting the additional space provided by your vehicle.

(4)b. is a rephrasing of (4)a. featuring a prototypical syntax-semantics alignment (Comrie 1989) (subject/agent on the one hand and adjunct/location on the other hand). The locative constituent is topicalized in the capacitive structure (4)a., and it becomes part of the argument structure of the verb (subject). Therefore, there is a syntactic promotion of the locative constituent in the capacitive pattern, which reflects its cognitive promotion. Indeed, the locative item is not a mere circumstance of the event: it is what makes the event denoted by the verb possible. In (4)a., six people would be able to sleep in the tent because it has the required size to provide shelter for 6 people. Hence, the structure is very efficient from an argumentative point of view: it enables the speaker to give a considerable importance to the locative item that s/he is talking about (both at sentence and text level) in the conceptualization of the event. Thus, it makes the structure very well-suited to argumentative contexts, illustrating Biber and Conrad's functional analysis (2009).

Using a 800-occurrence database that I compiled using the COCA, I will show how the topicalization of the locative constituent and the conciseness of the construction greatly contribute to the effectiveness of the argumentation.

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Clause combining strategies across registers: Comparing written and oral Kurmanji Kurdish

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Keywords: syntax, discourse, registers, clause combining, Kurmanji Kurdish

This paper analyses linguistic means of clause combining in Kurmanji Kurdish, comparing two registers: a published piece of writing on a sociolinguistic topic and an oral presentation of the same topic in front of an informal discussion group (90 minutes). The data, part of two larger corpora, were put together with an interest in domain-specific vitality and complex language use under conditions with limited institutional support (Öpengin 2011, Akin and Öpengin 2013 [2007], Ozmen 2010), such that register variation is an autodidactically acquired competence.

Cross-linguistically, written academic registers make use of a productive class of semantically explicit, polylexical and discontinous junctors, which can realise explicit connections at various textual, clausal and phrasal levels (Kurdo 1991 [1990]: 272–285; Fabricius Hansen 2007, Hennig 2015, Herkenrath 2019). Oral registers, by contrast, can be assumed to organise clause combinations less explicitly and more linearly, in analogy with the needs of knowledge processing in co-present speaker-hearer interaction (Ehlich 1991) and flowing transitions between syntax and discourse (Matthiesen and Thompson 1988, Mithun 1988, Chafe 1994, Miller and Fernandez-Vest 2006, Rehbein 2012); see (1), from the written publication, and (2) from the oral discussion:

(1) Kurmanji Kurdish, written (KA_067_kur_m_105)

Ji	*her*	*du*	*ali-yên*	*ve*	*hewl*	*tê*	*da-yîn*	***ku***	*di*
ADP	both	two	side-EZF.PL	ADP	attempt	come.PRS.3SG	give-VN	COMP	ADP

ders-an	*de*	*naverok-a*	*ders-ên*	*asayî*	*yên*	*bi*	*almanî*	*û*
class-OBL.PL	ADP	content-EZF.F	class-EZF.PL	regular	EZF.PL	ADP	German	and

ders-ên	*bi*	*kurdî*	*li*	*wer.hev*	*werin*	*temamkirin,*	***ango***	*ji*
class-EZF.PL	ADP	Kurdish	ADP	each.other	come.SBJ.PL	complete-VN	that.is	ADP

hêl-a	*naverok-a*	*ders-ê*	*ve*	*entegrasyon-ek*	*pêk.were.*
respect-EZF.F	content-EZF.F	class-OBL.F	ADP	integration-INDEF.M	take.place.SBJ.3SG

Ne	***tenê***	***ev,***	*ji.bo*	*sinif-ê*	*yekemîn*	***jî***	*fêrkir-in-a*	*alfabe-yê*
not	only	this	for	grade-EZF.M	first	also	teach-VN-EZF.F	alphabet-OBL.F

bi	*şêwir*	*û*	*bi*	*awa-yekî*	*paralel*	*tê*	*meşand-in*
ADP	consultation	and	ADP	manner-INDEF.EZF.M	parallel	come.PRS.3SG	carry.out-VN

'From both sides, the attempt is undertaken **that** in class the content of regular classes in German and classes in Kurdish complete each other, **i.e.,** that an integration takes place with respect to the content of the class. **Not only this**, for the first grade, the teaching of the alphabet is **also** carried out in consultation and in parallel.'

(2) Kurmanji Kurdish, spoken (SÎ_021_GRU042_Zan_004559)

Hefti-yê	*du*	*saet*	*in. ((0.7s))*	***Yanî***	*wê*	*biçe*	*fêrî •*	*alfabe-ya*
week-OBL.F	two	hour	be.PRS.PL	that.means	FUT	SBJ.go.3SG	learning	alphabet-EZF.F

kurdî	*dibe. ((0.5s))*	*Fêrî*	*nav-ên*	*demsal-an*	*dibe*	*( ) in,*
Kurdish	become.PRS.3SG	learning	name-EZF.PL	season-OBL.PL	be.PRS.3SG	be.PRS.PL

ni-zan-im ( ).	***Yanî***	*em*	*bêj-in*	*vucûd-ekî*	*kurdî*
NEG-know.PRS-1SG	that.means	we	SBJ.say.PRS-PL	foundation-INDEF.EZF	Kurdish

pê.re	*çêdibe.*	*Ne*	*ders-eke*	*em*	*bêj-in*	*û ((0.8s))*
with.this	get.built.PRS.3SG	not	lesson-INDEF.EZF.F	we	SBJ.say.PRS-PL	and

teşwîk-î ((1.9s))	*zimannasi-yê*	*bibe*	*teş… Erê,*
encouragement-INDEF	linguistics-OBL.F	SBJ.be.PRS.3SG Ø	yes

teşwîk-eke	*piçûk*	*heye,*	***lê***	*ne*	*perwerde-yeke*	*wisa*
encouragement-INDEF.EZF.F	little	exist.PRS.3SG	but	not	training-INDEF.EZF.F	like.that

'That's two hours a week. ((0.7s)) **That means**, who goes there, learns the Kurdish • alphabet. ((0.5s)) Learns the names of the seasons (   ), I don't know (   ). **That means**, let's say, a Kurdish foundation gets built with this. Not a lesson, let's say and ((0.8s)) encouragement ((1.9s)) towards linguistics… Yes, there is a little encouragement, **but** not such a training.'

Among other means, (1) makes use of a subordinating complementizer (*ku…* 'that') and a discontinuous connector (*ne tenê ev, […] jî* 'not only this, also […]'), while (2) makes use of a discourse marker (*yanî* 'I mean') and a coordinating conjunction (*lê* 'but'). This might indeed indicate a more 'syntactic' versus a more 'interactional' type of processing complexity. In order to check the generalisability of these observations, the two sets of data will be systematically inventoried

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Phonetic rarities and their role in speaker identity changes, language divergence and convergence: Evidence from Vanuatu

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It is well known that specific features of speech can be used to index sociocultural identities (Labov 1994; Trudgill 1972), e.g. specific sounds in a language can reinforce in-group membership. Phonetic rarities, more specifically, play a role that goes beyond "widespread phonological processes" (Ladefoged & Everett 1996). In this paper, we explore the role that two cross-linguistically rare sounds – bilabial trills and linguolabials – play in indexing identity in speech communities in Vanuatu, and how these sounds' persistence or loss relate to processes of language divergence and convergence. The data come from publications and interviews conducted during our own fieldwork.

The cross-linguistically rare prenasalised voiced bilabial trill ᵐʙ has been documented in 23 of the approximately 40 languages spoken on Malekula Island in Vanuatu; a few of these languages also have the plain voiceless ʙ̥. These 23 languages are restricted to the southern two thirds of Malekula (see Map 1); virtually all languages in this area have bilabial trills. Linguolabials (plosives, nasals and fricatives) have been documented in nine languages in northern Malekula and on small islands off the south-eastern coast of the neighbouring large island Espiritu Santo (Lynch 2020). All languages of Malekula, Espiritu Santo and neighbouring islands are members of the North-Central Vanuatu (NCV) group (Clark 2009).

Bilabial trills and linguolabials are salient features of these languages: they often have phonemic status, they appear in core vocabulary, and speakers and outsiders are conscious of them (Crowley 2006, Guerin 2011). The latter is not surprising given that both sounds are auditorily aberrant compared to the typical sound inventories of NCV languages; they are also visually available – bilabial trills involve vibrations of the lips, linguolabials – a noticeable protrusion of the tongue.

Both sounds have been disappearing from some languages during the last 20-50 years. In Uripiv, Nahavaq and Aulua, bilabial trills have been lost or are only used by a few older speakers (Moore 2019, Paviour-Smith 2005, Dimock 2009). These communities are characterised by more intense contact with outsiders, who are speakers of languages without bilabial trills. Some such outsiders reportedly find these sounds "rather comical" (Crowley 2006).

Similarly, linguolabials have been (almost) entirely lost on Espiritu Santo. These speech communities live in relative proximity to Luganville, Vanuatu's second largest urban centre, and have recently experienced rapid social changes and a significant increase in contact with outsiders. Speakers of these languages who no longer use linguolabials also report finding the sounds comical.

Linguistic features have played an important role in cultural differentiation in Vanuatu; this is reflected in the extreme linguistic diversity in the area (François 2012). Identity attachment likely also played a role in the persistence of these rare, and otherwise easily lost sounds (Rangelov, Walworth & Barbour 2023). At the same time, changing identities, related to ongoing rapid social changes, correlate with a tendency towards language convergence manifested as a levelling of phonetic and phonological diversity. This pilot study demonstrates the role that phonetic rarities can play in mechanisms of change in speaker identity and linguistic diversity.

Map 1. Languages with bilabial trills (black markers) and linguolabials (grey markers) in Vanuatu

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The Mechanisms of the fallacy and the subjunctive conditionals

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■ Fallacy is a well-known flawed mode of reasoning that leads to false conclusions (e.g., (1)(2)) and tends to occur "in the absence of absolute knowledge" (Lamb, 1988). This is connected to human heuristics (Volokh, 2003), meaning that the mechanisms of fallacies cannot be accounted for logically.

(1) If communists win in Vietnam, Indochina at large will be communized.

  (In fact, Indochina at large is not communized.)

(2) If you want to make America great again, you should vote for Trump.

However, irrespective of the precise details of the *if p, q* form in question, the key question to ask is "how likely is *p* to support *q*?" This question, in turn, requires us to ask, "What are the mechanisms by which *p* can lead others to support *q*?" My aim was to analyse mechanisms behind the fallacies, to elucidate how fallacies become endowed with their semantic significance, a topic that remains under-explored in the linguistic/semantic field. By showing that, when framed within a modern Stalnakerian view of presupposition and common ground (Stalnaker, 1998, 2002), speakers of fallacies are not expected to use a presupposition *p* as vectors of new information *q* but, rather, they solicit the change of (evaluation) contexts/worlds). I argue that fallacies and subjunctive conditionals can be analysed similarly, and that fallacy is a mode of reasoning that occurs where there is incongruity between the presupposed context/world and the current, existing one.

■According to standard Stalnaker-Lewis analysis, conditionals (e.g., If it rains, you will get wet) conform to a semantic structure whereby the if-clause restricts an implicit quantifier over worlds, as in (3) (von Fintel, 1998):

  (3) A bare conditional if p, q has the logical form $\forall D$ (if p) (q).

    If defined, it is true in a world w if all worlds w' in D(w) such that p(w') are such

    that q(w'): $p \cap D(w) \subseteq q$.

    (D is a function that assigns to any (evaluation) world w a set of accessible worlds.)

Clause (3) states that *if p, q* is true in a world w if all *p*-worlds w' in the currently relevant contextually determined domain of quantification D(w) are *q*-worlds. This quantificational structure typically carries the presupposition $p \cap D(w) \neq \varnothing$. In conversation, there is also the current context set C, which contains all and only those worlds that are currently taken to be epistemically accessible: "common ground" worlds. Here, therefore, all *p*-worlds are within C, as in (4).

  (4) $p \cap D(w) \subseteq C$

By contrast, a subjunctive conditional (e.g., If it rained, you would get wet) is only felicitous relative to a world w if C contains no *p*-worlds, as in (5).

(5) p∩D(w) ⊄C

■ Clause (5) dictates that the subjunctive should be used where the presupposition is that *p* is false in C. However, given that the antecedents in (1) and (2) are not false in the current C, one might allow there to be implicit presupposition x, as in (6).

(6) (C∩p) ∩x ⊆ q

Taken together, (4)–(6) may suggest that a fallacy conditional is only felicitous relative to a world w if C contains no *p*-world but does contain an x-world, as in (7).

(7) x∩(D(w)⊆C

This implies something about the new multitude of context sets.

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"Notwithstanding its professed keen interest in precedent": judicial opinions as dialogic texts

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Judicial decisions are crucial genres in Common law countries where they have the force of law. They are understudied in linguistics (Goźdź-Roszkowski 2020). We argue that analyzing judicial opinions from two corpora through dialogical linguistics (Bres et al. 2016) clarifies the structure of divisions that refer to rejected precedents.

A few recent linguistic studies have focused on these texts. Goźdź-Roszkowski (2020) studied Polish Constitutional Court opinions. Charnock (2012) used dialogical linguistics to focus on landmark Common Law decisions without, however, carrying out a systematic linguistic analysis. Kalamkar et al. (2022) created a tagged corpus of Indian opinions and identified 12 *rhetorical roles*. The rhetorical role related to precedents rejected by the judges especially posed identification problems (Kalamkar et al. 2022).

In this study, we apply dialogical linguistics to rejected precedents in the BUILD corpus (2021/2022; Kalamkar et al. 2022) and in a corpus of SCOTUS decisions used in the project *Lexhnology* (2023). Bres et al. (2016: 81) define dialogism as the "orientation of any discourse […] towards other instances of discourse." We classify segments treating rejected precedents using three dialogical viewpoints: *interdiscursive*, towards past discourse; *interlocutive*, towards the anticipated reply from the legal audience; *intralocutive*, towards the treatment of the judge's own discourse.

We find that rejected precedents in the BUILD corpus follow an identifiable pattern. The judges call the interlocutor's attention to the precedents using different recurrent linguistic forms of expression (interlocutive dimension), cite the precedents, describe their facts and/or issues. Then they evaluate the precedents as not relevant to the present case through qualifiers such as *not applicable* or *no relevance*, which highlight these segments' interdiscursive nature. More rarely, the rejection is implicit and intralocutive. The interlocutive dimension may also be found after the rejection. The SCOTUS corpus contains fewer examples of this pattern.

Our application of Bres et al.'s (2016) theory shows that a more detailed annotation of judicial opinions, one which integrates the dialogical nature of judicial discourse, may help in identifying the beginning and end of sequences dealing with rejected precedent.

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Conchucos Quechua evidentials from a discourse-structural perspective

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Quechuan languages exhibit a relatively large set of discourse-pragmatic enclitics, a subset of which has traditionally been labelled as evidentials (Weber 1989, Cerrón-Palomino 2008, Faller 2002, Shimelman 2017). Although there is variation across languages, Quechuan evidential systems usually exhibit a tripartite division between a first-hand evidential, a reportative, and a conjectural. In Conchucos Quechua, these are *=mi* and *=chaa*, *=shi*, and *=chi*, respectively (*cf*. Hintz and Hintz), as shown in (1).

(1) a. puklla-ykaa-yaa-n
   to.play-PROG-PL-3
   'They are playing'

   b. puklla-ykaa-yaa-n**=mi**
   'They are playing" (I've seen it)

   c. puklla-ykaa-yaa-n**=shi**
   'They are playing" (I was told)

   d. puklla-ykaa-yaa-n**=chi**
   'They are playing" (I infer it)

This characterisation, however, fails to account for the fact that these enclitics are not obligatory, mainly because the analyses have been focused almost exclusively on the sentential level. Consequently, their optionality has been explained only as a by-product of their usage as markers of source of information.

In this presentation, I argue that the non-obligatoriness of these enclitics is integral to their function and meaning. However, this can only be seen when we analyse them from a perspective that accounts for (i) the place they occupy in the discourse structure and (ii) the discourse participants' knowledge states and beliefs about the knowledge states of their interlocutors. For this, I offer an analysis of the uses of the direct *=mi/=chaa* and the conjectural *=chi* based on a corpus of semi-controlled dialogical speech (*i.e.*, naturalistic data) and from the perspective of the *Question-under-discussion* theory of discourse (Roberts 1996), and with particular attention to the reconstruction of the underlying discourse structures (Riester 2019). The data, collected in Huari (Ancash, Peru), was elicited through the application of four different tasks that pairs of participants were asked to resolve in a dialogical manner. These tasks varied in (a) the requirement for collaboration or competition among the participants, and (b) the symmetry or asymmetry of their knowledge states. The instruments were applied with 17 pairs of speakers and amount to ca. 5 hours of recordings.

The analysis shows that the use of these enclitics is linked to conflicts in the update of the common ground (Stalnaker 2002), which explains their optionality as well as their low frequency of use. That is, speakers will only make the additional effort to include *=mi/=chaa* in their utterances when they want

to ensure that the content of their assertions is accepted by their interlocutors as shared knowledge, regardless of whether the source of information is direct or not. Likewise, speakers will use *=chi* to express a tentative commitment to the truth of their assertions, regardless of whether the source is inferential or not. Therefore, an analysis of these enclitics as assertional modifiers (in the terms of Farkas and Bruce 2010 and Malamud and Stephenson 2015) seems more appropriate.

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Field Reports on Focussed Elicitation of Epistemics in Trans-Himalayan Languages

It is well established that context dependence and social conditioning are important factors in the usage of epistemic (e.g., evidential, egophoric, epistemic modal, engagement) markers around the world. That is, a speaker's decision to communicate meta-information in a certain way is influenced by the context, physical and social, in which they are communicating (Grzech et al 2020). Specifically, engagement paradigms such as those presented in Evans, Bergqvist & San Roque (2018), as well as broader epistemic paradigms which contain forms marking engagement-like contrasts (e.g., Kurtöp (Hyslop 2017: 299), Eastern Geshiza (Honkasalo 2019: 584)) show that, in their selection of grammatical forms, speakers are attentive to their and their addressee's contexts and perspectives. Similarly, the social conditioning on the use of egophoric forms in Milang (Modi 2017: 456) and to some extent in Amdo Tibetan (Tribur 2019) shows that speakers are attentive to the context of their speech act at a sociocultural level. With this view of epistemics in situ, it is important to assess how data that accurately represents these distinctions can be collected in guided elicitation sessions, if at all.

This presentation will discuss the methodologies used in two small documentation projects focussing on eliciting data on epistemics in an interactional setting. These elicitation activities will be based on activities described by San Roque et al (2012) and Gawne (2020). The first project was integrated with a field methods class at the University of Sydney with two speakers of Chocangaca, a Tibetic language spoken in Eastern Bhutan, and involved running elicitation activities both as a pedagogical tool and to collect data for analysis outside the classroom. The second project involved a two-week field trip to South-Western Bhutan to run similar activities with speakers of Lhokpu, a Trans-Himalayan language of unclear genealogy. The elicitation activities undertaken include the family picture task (San Roque et al 2012), the "20 questions" game and descriptions of magic tricks (Gawne 2020), as well as picture describing and guessing games developed from Levinson et al (1992) and Schober and Clark (1989), using both the stimuli provided in the literature, as well as stimuli developed in the field. Primarily, these tasks aim to elicit epistemic contrasts in language, most saliently explicitly marked grammatical distinctions.

This presentation will present and discuss these tasks not only in terms of their ability to elicit evidence of these epistemic contrasts in lieu of a large scale, non-elicited corpus of language use, but also in terms of their ability to reveal any interactional or social conditions on their use by different speakers. Preliminary results suggest that these stimulus-led elicitation tasks are capable of efficiently and readily producing contrastive epistemic data, but cannot in isolation provide insights into the larger scale interactional and social conditioning of the use of the markers.

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Impoliteness and identity construction in online conflicts about three criminal cases in Greece

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Keywords: impoliteness, identity, conflict, online, platform.

The topic of this research project is entitled *Impoliteness and identity construction in online conflicts about three criminal cases in Greece*. The research is situated within the broader field of pragmatics and sociolinguistics, in particular socio-pragmatics, and concerns the study of linguistic impoliteness and identity construction in online interactions characterized by conflicts. The aims of the research are (1) to identify the linguistic impoliteness strategies realized among the speakers involved in the interactions, (2) to highlight the means and processes of identity construction and negotiation of both victims and perpetrators of criminal cases, and (3) to study the cycle of conflict that is developed between speakers during the interactions.

The approach will be based on linguistic data derived from online discussions between speakers - unknown to each other - who comment on three criminal cases. In particular, the linguistic context consists of comments posted by users of the YouTube platform (also Bou-Franch & Blitvich, 2014) in the comment fields of popular (in terms of views) videos on specific topics. These videos relate to the deaths of Vagelis Yiakoumakis (February 2015), Zak Kostopoulos (September 2018) and Eleni Topaloudi (November 2018).

The interactions formed for all three cases are characterized by (a) conflicts between the commentators and (b) use of impoliteness strategies among the commentators, during constructing the identities of the speakers, as well as of the victims and the perpetrators. Consequently, a multidimensional and complex network of interactions is created with many linguistic mechanisms at its core.

The data analysis is qualitative in order to first analyse the impoliteness strategies, the construction of identities, the course and causes of the speakers' conflicts (Bousfield 2013, and Jeffries & Webb 2008). The approach to linguistic impoliteness will be based on Culpeper's theoretical model of *Impoliteness* (1996, 2011, 2016), while for identity, Spencer - Oatey's *Rapport Management* (2007, 2008, 2011) and Locher & Watts' (2005) *Relational Work* will be primarily used. The above theoretical frameworks are utilized with the aim to show how linguistic impoliteness strategies lead to relational work during interaction, and in this case to disharmony, thus, to conflicts.

The initial findings of the research, which is currently ongoing, show that impoliteness is a means of creating, constructing and renegotiating identities. Identities are constructed and then either reinforced or dismantled and renegotiated. This element is significant for conflict, because conflict is actualized or caused because of the way in which the speakers renegotiate the already constructed identities. Conflict is realized once the process of renegotiation has begun. Therefore, the offending event (which may be the initial construction) triggers the conflict and then the conflict is ongoing as long as the renegotiation of these identities takes place. This process is mainly realized through linguistic impoliteness strategies.

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Asymmetry among vocal sounds for non-vocal sound experiences: An Edoid case

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Keywords: Onomatopoeia, ideophones, velar consonants, liquids, Emai,

Onomatopoeia identifies a word where vocal sounds from human language imitate, resemble, or suggest non-vocal sounds of the natural world. Sound symbolic words of like character in Africa are called ideophones (Akita and Dingemanse 2019, Childs 1994, Voeltz and Kilian-Katz 2001). They evoke vivid scenes through their imitative phonetic properties. Employing data from an Edoid language of Nigeria, we assess the phonological character of ideophones that refer to sound. Data derive from fieldwork that produced over 30 hours of oral narrative texts from the Emai people. A majority of our ideophones (70+) denote sound images and occur in construction with verb *hɔn* 'hear' and 2nd person singular pronoun (*ú hɔ́n-í pèú* 'you heard a smack').

Emai is SVO with little segmental inflection. It manifests grammatical and lexical tone, exhibits a twelve-vowel system (seven oral, five nasal), and articulates 27 consonants that combine place (seven), manner (five), and voice (two).

Emai ideophones referring to sounds in the environment are constrained as to phonetic form. They assume two basic syllabic shapes: CV(V) and CV(V)CV. Word initial consonants (C-1) in these shapes distribute unevenly as to place of articulation. C-1 privileges velar consonants [g, k, ɣ, x, gb, kp] as opposed to labials or alveolars. Percentages are 61.4% for velar, 25.7% for labial, 12.8% for alveolar. Alveolar position is highly dispreferred for initial consonants. In CVCV shapes, C-2 differs. While velar predominates (52.3%), alveolar is nearly equivalent (46.6%). However, a full 90% of C-2 forms are alveolar liquids, either [l] or [r].

Additional constraints pertain to the voice/voiceless dimension. Some ideophone pairs contrast in voice quality of C-1. The voiced member, compared to its voiceless counterpart, is associated with a greater degree of loudness. In orthographic form, examples include *bói / pói* 'popping sound from pulling a tree out of the ground,' *váò / fáò* 'zinging sound from an arrow shot through the air,' *gbàán / kpàán* 'smacking sound from hand hitting on head', and *gbìó/ kpìó* 'cracking sound from hitting someone with a cane.' There is also a tendency for some ideophones to show only a voiceless C-1. Their voiced counterpart surfaces as an extant verb, viz. *kùén* 'snapping sound from breaking a stick in two' vis-à-vis *guen* 'to bend,' and *kúá* 'sound of pouncing onto another' vis-à-vis *gua* 'to heap earth onto earth.'

Vowels in Emai ideophones fail to show similar constraints regarding their open/close or front/back qualities. But after C-1, vowels often pair (V_1V_2). When they do, V_2 appears to be a remnant verb suffix of the perfective that in Edoid was phonologically variable, remains so in Edoid Bini (Agheyisi 1991), but today in Emai retains a constant *-i* form: *vá-ì* 'bolted' vis-à-vis *váà* 'whistling sound of arrow rushing through space.'

We note in conclusion that our naturalistic data support recent views that sound symbolic correlations are better sought relative to broad structural correspondences rather than a single acoustic feature (Haynie, Bowern, LaPalombara 2014, Dingemanse et al. 2016, Johansson et al. 2020).

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The formal and functional distribution of right-peripheral arguments in German and Persian across registers

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Keywords: right-dislocation, right periphery, information structure, register variation, typology

Introduction: Languages like German and Persian mark the core clause boundary with a clause-final verbal complex, yet speakers may choose to place verbal arguments – among other elements – in the right periphery, i. e. following clause-final verbal elements (e. g. Altmann 1981; Frommer 1981). For several languages, a connection between discourse functions and right-peripheral placement has been suggested (German: Averintseva-Klisch 2019; Tamil: Herring 1994; French: Ashby 1988; Catalan: Mayol 2007). Looking at cross-linguistic aspects of register, we asked how right-peripheral functions may be compared across languages, since a functional syntactic configuration also motivates their utilization for register distinction. Frommer (1981: 140, 149) demonstrated for Persian that postverbal subjects are sensitive to register. Do right-peripheral arguments (RPA) behave similar with respect to register in languages with SOV-basic linearization, e. g. German and Persian which differ in their register range (see Persian diglossia: Modarresi 1978)?

Methodology: Using spoken language corpora of German (29,548 sentences – FOLK: Deppermann et al. 2020) and Persian (39,692 sentences – SGS corpus: Adli 2016), we analysed the syntactic arguments, i. e. subjects and direct objects, that follow the verb-final position for their formal and discourse functional properties previously reported as relevant (see in particular Herring 1994; Birner and Ward 1998; Ott and Vries 2016; Averintseva-Klisch 2019), including the presence of a co-referential / referentially different element in the core clause, its syntactic category (nominal, pronoun), and informational-structural status (topic, focus, givenness). From these we derived three main comparable discourse functions occurring in both languages: *discourse management*, i. e. reassuring common ground, *emphasis*, i. e. highlighting elements, and *modification*, i. e. adding / contrasting information. We focus on the first function. By applying formal syntactic criteria, e. g. the felicity of a co-occurring co-referential pronoun, we categorized the degree of integration of the RPAs in each language. Classifying the conversations in both corpora by situational characteristics and indicators such as honorific use allowed us to compare the rates of the discourse functions between formal and informal spoken registers.

Results: German RPAs with a discourse management function usually come in the form of a subject and occur most frequently in informal registers while in Persian, though they also tend to be subjects, they are more frequent in formal registers. Thus, while the main discourse function is the same across languages, their socio-emotive function (see Eckert 2018; Sauerland and Alexiadou 2020) differs. Moreover, RPAs are more tightly integrated into the core clause in Persian than in German, for in Persian they allow extraction, being quantified and being followed by focused constituents, and are infelicitous with a co-referential pronoun as in (1a) in contrast to German (1b), so German RPAs are rather clause-external (cf. Ott and Vries 2016).

(1) a. Persian: RPA with infelicity of co-referential pronoun

(*u)	tanhA	zendegi	mi-karde	**maqtul**	tu-je	xuna-S?
3P.SG	alone	life	PROG-do.PST.3SG	murdered	in-GEN	house-POSS.1SG

'Did the murdered live alone in his house?'   [SGS]

b. German: RPA with optional co-referential pronoun

(die)	hann	alles	in	die	garage	geta	**die**	**männer**
they	have	all	in	the	garage	put	the	men

'They put everything in the garage the men.'   [FOLK151]

We will present quantitative (and qualitative) evidence that the relation between function and core clause integration affects register distinctions differently in each language.

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Digital grammaticography: towards data-rich corpus-based interactive hypertext grammars

The prospect of grammatical descriptions not bound by the limitations of print products has increasingly received attention (Zaefferer 1998; Evans and Dench 2006: 28-30; Weber 2007: 182; Nordhoff 2012; Lau 2021). Most contributions deal with possible applications and technologies (Drude 2012) or structural design questions (Nordhoff 2008); actual implementations are usually hand-crafted websites (Junker 2000; Thieberger, Musgrave, and Baker 2018). A notable recent exception is Lau (2022), who uses the Text Encoding Initiative guidelines (TEI Consortium 2020) for XML to both write descriptive prose and encode databases. The main drawbacks to this approach are the time-intensive quasi-manual encoding of XML and the fact that TEI has very little support for descriptive linguistics (despite its focus on digital humanities).

This talk will demonstrate another approach to digital grammaticography. Fundamental to it is the concept of separating linguistic data from descriptive prose. The latter is written in the lightweight markdown format[1] and contains no object language data per se. Rather, identifiers reference database entities, which are stored in the equally lightweight CLDF format (Forkel et al. 2017). With the help of a python library[2], templates are used to render referenced CLDF entities in the output format, which can be PDF (via LaTeX) for traditional print products or a combination of HTML/CSS/JS for browser-based consumption.

A "grammar writing tool" (Lau 2021: 224-229) for a markdown-based workflow only needs to process and combine plain text files. Though primarily created for grammaticography, the presented application is in fact a general-purpose editor for linguistic documents with integrated data. While plain text files can be edited in many applications, a simple web-based editing interface with a live preview is provided.

A much richer output is achieved by feeding the CLDF dataset into a CLLD app (Forkel et al. 2019), which serves as a "grammar exploration tool" (Lau 2021: 216-224). As in traditional grammaticography, the digital grammar is structured into chapters, but every piece of language data is rendered as a hyperlink to a detail view (of morphemes, lexemes, wordforms, interlinearized text records etc). Word forms and example sentences can have audio associated with them. These functionalities are achieved by modular CLLD plugins for displaying referenced entities, displaying

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1   https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Markdown
2   https://github.com/cldf/cldfviz

linguistic documents, modeling morphology, and browsing text corpora. The list views built into CLLD greatly facilitate searching for data.

The presented approach makes grammars explorable in an efficient and non-linear manner, increases the reproducibility of analyses, and makes data available to other researchers in an simple open format, separate from the description. It also relieves authors from the burdens of copying data into documents, keeping inserted analyses up-to-date and manually formatting the output. The creation of CLDF datasets requires some programming knowledge, so the presented toolchain also includes tools for converting glossed corpora from Shoebox/Toolbox or FLEx into CLDF. It has the aim to be accessible for digitally literate linguists with no programming knowledge.

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Dialectal variation in Selkup: challenges of a corpus study

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This study is an overview of dialectal variation among the Selkup speakers based on the corpus data mainly from 1960s-1970s. Our goal is to show how the degree of Russian influence on different Selkup dialects and the internal dialectal variation may be connected to the historical context and to geographical environment.

Selkup is a Samoyedic (< Uralic) language spoken in Western Siberia. Traditionally its speakers were semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers. Permanent Selkup settlements appeared in many areas by the end of the 19th cent., in particularly in the southern areas. Selkup is notorious for numerous dialects and for the lack of sharp boundaries between at least some of them (Klumpp & Budzisch 2023). Our paper aims to contribute to better understanding of patterns organizing this continuum.

Our study is based on the SLC Corpus (Budzisch et al. 2019; 55,839 tokens) and the INEL Selkup Corpus (Brykina et al. 2021; 81,498 tokens), providing data for Northern, Central, Ket and Southern Selkup dialects. The SLC corpus is based on published text sources, while the INEL Selkup Corpus consists of the fieldwork archive of Angelina Kuzmina (notes from 1960s-1970s). The degree of Russian influence differed considerably for various dialects in 1960s-1970s. The Northern Selkups, which moved away from the Ob river to the basins of Yenissey and Taz rivers in the North about 300 years ago, have undergone minimal Russian influence. The speakers of Ket dialects, occupying the easternmost part of the Selkup territory along the river Ket, already at that time made use of Russian discourse and modal words. The speech of Central and Southern Selkups, living along the Ob river and having most contacts with Russians, was most influenced by Russian, also in their basic lexicon.

In order to analyze the internal dialectal variation, we have chosen twenty phonetic, morphological and lexical features, partially known from previous research (Helimski 1985, Glushkov et al. 2012, among others) and partially supplemented by our observations. Using these features, we have compared speech samples of about eighty Selkup speakers from different dialects. The results show that some features (for instance, nominal plural) have stable values within dialects and thus may be used as the basis for dialectal attribution. Other features, such as the initial *š/s/h* alternation, have more complex distribution, varying also for the speakers from the same dialect/village.

We have performed a more detailed microstudy of fifteen speakers of Sondorovo and Ivankino subdialects, situated in ca. 100 km from each other along the Ob river. We have matched structural features to current (as of the time of data collection) or previous locations of the speakers, and the results show that at least in this region Selkup dialects definitely formed a continuum.

In our talk we present descriptive results of the study and address a methodological question of how such kind of linguistic data may contribute to understanding of sociolinguistic processes.

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Trends in the expression of manner in emergent Modern Hebrew

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The emergence period of Modern Hebrew (1880s-1920s) involved extensive expansion and standardization processes, geared towards the modernization of the language, which was hitherto productively used only in writing, and in restricted usage domains (Doron et al. 2019). The expression of manner posed a particular challenge for the revivers, since Hebrew never developed morphological means to express manner, whereas in the European contact languages (both the revivers' native tongues and languages of cultural activity) the expression of manner was fully developed. Discussions in the period's language planning literature indicate that the need for Hebrew equivalents for the Indo-European modes of expression was greatly felt (e.g. Avinery 1929). However, suggestions to artificially introduce fixed morphological devices to express manner (e.g. Avishai 1929) had been rejected. As a result, down to our day, most manner adverbs and adverbials are grammatically unmarked, and are therefore hard to identify and to distinguish from formally similar elements fulfilling other functions (Mor 2013).

In the absence of fixed, designated morphological or syntactic mechanisms to express manner, both ancient Hebrew and present-day Modern Hebrew share multiple devices to that end. These include (but are not restricted to) a wide range of options, such as:

- Conversion of nouns, adjectives, participles or infinitives into adverbs
- The use of various suffixes, mostly shared with other parts of speech, particularly nouns and adjectives (e.g. the feminine plural suffix *-ot*), but also the archaic, no longer productive, adverbial *-am*.
- Prefixation of prepositions, most commonly *be-* 'in, with, by', and less commonly also *le-* 'to, for', *ke-* 'as', *mi-* 'from' and more.
- Adverbial phrases
- Specific lexical items (mostly inherited from ancient Hebrew)

Quite expectedly, the philological examination of a large morphologically-parsed corpus representing language use in the early Hebrew press (1870s to 1930s) indicated the continued employment of these devices throughout the emergence period of Hebrew as well. However, two trends stand out as particular to that period:

(1) The introduction of a new syntactic mechanism, consisting of the preposition *be-* 'in, with, by' + the noun *ófen* 'mode, manner' + an adjective or a participle (e.g. *be-ófen rišmi* 'officially', lit. 'in-manner official'). Less frequently, alternative lexical items such as *mida* 'measure', *derex* 'way, *tsura* 'form' are used instead of *ófen*. This new

construction, most likely reflecting the impact of the contact languages, has turned into a major means to express manner in present-day Modern Hebrew.

(2) The frequent recourse to a patently biblical usage consisting of an inner object (namely a noun derived from the same root as the predicate) + a modifying adjective (e.g. *niftsa ptsa'im qašim* 'was wounded seriously', lit. 'was wounded wounds severe.PL'). This construction was conventionally used up to the end of the emergence period in standard journalistic style, nevertheless it was not incorporated into the standard register of written Modern Hebrew, and its extremely rare occurrences in present-day language are restricted to highly elevated literary style (Ilani 2013).

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The morphologization of English *zilla*, from blend fragment to augmentative suffix

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Keywords: morphology; word-formation; affixation; language change; English

English is generally claimed to be devoid of augmentative suffixes (Cruse 2006:18, Dixon 2014:171). Bauer *et al.* (2013:411) mention *-rama* and *-ola* as possible augmentatives and Bauer (2014:6) cites *problemola* as a relevant example. This paper argues that, on the basis of its extensive attestations (in both the *Oxford English Dictionary* and electronic corpora) and of a traceable morphosemantic evolution, *-zilla* is a more obvious exemplar of the category.

The evolution of *zilla* is twofold, consisting first of a process of institutionalization, from a blend fragment from *Godzilla* to a morpheme, and then of a process of evaluative affixation. *Godzilla* was originally the name of a monster in a 1956 US movie that first served to designate other monsters or monster-like entities and was then used as a source element in blended names of monsters (e.g. *Hogzilla*). The recurring blending pattern *Xzilla* led to the fragment gaining morpheme status as a combining form and its use was concurrently extended to non-literal interpretations, in jocular names designating monster-like entities of the human, animate and inanimate types (e.g. *Snore-zilla*; *Lobsterzilla*; *Ringzilla*). Suffixization is then documented to have started with an antonomastic extension to non-names showing semantic specialization ('overbearing planner'). When the left element was an animate noun, as in *bridezilla*, the construct was reinterpreted as being semantically left-headed, turning *-zilla* into a suffixoid. The stage of evaluative suffixation was finally reached with the appearance of uncontroversially left-headed constructs showing semantic bleaching, *-zilla* taking the basic augmentative value 'big size' also found in *mega-*. This is attested in a number of complex nouns designating inanimate and non-concrete entities (e.g. *axizilla* and *wimpzilla* (in the terminology of particle physics); *conglomerazilla*; *disclaimerzilla*).

It is concluded that the augmentative suffixization of *-zilla* has followed a fairly original path. Mutz (2015:150) indicates that augmentatives typically develop from nouns or through the refunctionalization of non-evaluative affixes and Kuteva *et al.* (2019:285-286) only report one cross-linguistic denominal path, from nouns meaning 'mother', 'woman', or 'female'. Some augmentative suffixes, however, do originate from concepts denoting large size. This is for example the case in Ewe (Agbetsoamedo & Agbedor 2015:476-478) and Warlpiri (Bowler 2015:442).

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Three types of differential marking in Chinese
from a double synchronic and diachronic perspectives

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Keywords: differential object marking, differential place marking, differential dative marking, syntax, synchrony and diachrony,

This communication analyses three types of differential marking in mandarin Chinese. The first one, the most known, is differential object marking (DOM) (see Aissen 2003, Bossong 1985, Iemmolo & Arcodia 2014) where the basic structure SVO could in certain conditions transform into SOV, with a marker preceding the (direct) object: S + V + O —> S + Marker + O + V. This DOM structure is probably the most studied Chinese construction so far, be it in synchrony or in diachrony. However, the origin of this form is still debated. The historical evolution of the DOM construction will be revisited in detail. A cross-linguistic study about the factors affecting DOM (e.g. animacy, definiteness, or affectedness of the NPs, topicality, etc) will also be undertaken, taking into consideration the semantic, pragmatic, and syntactic factors.

The second one is what is now called differential place marking (DPM) (Haspelmath 2019, Stolz 2014), i.e. a situation in which the coding of locative, allative or ablative roles depends on subclasses of nouns, in particular place names (toponyms), inanimate common nouns and human nouns. When languages show asymmetric coding differences depending on such subclasses, they show shorter (and often zero) coding of place roles with toponyms, and longer (often adpositional rather than affixal) coding of place roles with human nouns. Like DOM, DPM can be explained by frequency asymmetries, expectations derived from frequencies, and the general preference for efficient coding. A comparative analysis will also be undertaken, based on the existing research works that have given an overview of DDM phenomena in several languages and formulated several universals that seem to be well supported.

The last type is differential dative marking (DDM) (Chin 2011, Peyraube & Lü 2019). The dative constructions are usually known to be the most typical three-argument constructions. In Standard Chinese, there are six dative structures and two classes: 'neutral alignment' without any dative marking and 'indirective alignment' with the dative marker *gěi* (or a variant of it). That means that the universal coding asymmetries can be explained as caused by the functional-adaptive force of coding efficiency. The more predictable information can be left un-coded. This is obviously the case when the verb is a verb of giving. In other words, the choice of dative structure is driven by the verb. What is debatable in some assumptions that have been made is the claim that in grammatical coding asymmetries, a less frequent construction tends to be overtly coded while the more frequent construction tends to be zero-coded. Given the number of dative structures – not limited to two – in the different historical stages of Chinese and in other Sinitic languages, we found that the constructions with indirective alignment are more frequent than the ones with neutral alignment.

These three topics seem to be very suitable to further development from either synchronic or diachronic perspectives.

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Language change in case of intermittent contact of related lects

This paper uses an example of Northern Samoyedic languages (< Samoyedic < Uralic), spoken by hunters, fishers, and reindeer herders in the North of Siberia, to set stage to a discussion of language change in case of intermittent contact of related lects. This sociolinguistic setting is particularly frequent in the Arctic.

In our earlier works we showed that some structural features of Northern Samoyedic spoke against a neat branching tree, but rather made part of isoglosses crisscrossing these related languages in various directions. Events of diachronic divergence and convergence were identified. This linguistic story was set against sociolinguistic circumstances that we could reconstruct for the last 150 years. The two types of evidence matched each other well, suggesting a wave-like spread of innovations realized by bilingualism in neighbouring languages which coexisted with ideologies foregrounding relational identities based on geographic proximity and not on ancestry; constant migrations led to a series of alternate phases of more and less intense interaction with various neighbours.

We have now tried to extend the pool of our linguistic data so that it includes as many phonetic, morphological, and syntactic features as possible, potentially aiming at the full coverage of the Northern Samoyedic structures. With more than 70 divergent features collected for all five Northern Samoyedic languages (Forest Nenets, Tundra Nenets, Forest Enets, Tundra Enets, Nganasan), we arrive at a better understanding of what each of them shares with others. Surprisingly, languages that were traditionally described as more related (= representing branches within Samoyedic: Nenets, Enets, Nenets-Enets) actually might share less common features than those that were known to have experienced mutual contact influence. Presumably, in the traditional picture, some changes can be analysed as clade defining, regardless of how small they might be in number; they also tend to belong to the phonetic and (partially) morphological domains. The others, that are traditionally conceived as contact induced ones, would usually be observed in morphology and syntax, though not exclusively.

In the present paper we plan to report on the linguistic details of our study (features that were analysed and their grouping into the traditional categories of 'inheritance' and 'contact'), but also to challenge the use of traditional comparative method in case of families where languages came out and in contact intermittently. Lack of settlements, nomadism, and specific language ideologies typical in the Arctic (at least in the past) tend to have left a specific imprint on the histories of its language families. We make a move towards exploration of what kind of historical scenarios might have resulted in the complex picture observed today in Samoyedic and elsewhere. E.g. we suggest that, with constant migrations of speakers, contact among related languages has an unbounded potential of shaping the languages: contact before a divergence event might not differ substantially from contact after it, including the volume of the structural impact. Likewise, some features might not be actually innovated, but turn from 'dormant' (=low frequency), into 'active' (= high frequency), with the process easily replicated in the contact languages.

Building mirativity in Italian future questions with *mica*

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Keywords : future, mirativity, questions, mica

The paper studies mirative future questions in Italian, and asks how the mirative interpretation is derived from the meaning of future in combination with MICA (for an account of future as encoding mirativity, see Rodriguez Rosique (2019)).

(1)   Context: Paul has been invited by Susan for dinner, but he barely touches any food.

    Susan :   Non avrai   MICA   gia   mangiato ?

                    Not have.fut.2sg   MICA   already eaten ?

    Interpreted as : You haven't eaten yet, right ?!

1. To our goal we first propose an account of Italian future questions as reflective (Mari (2021), Giannakidou and Mari (2021)) and not addressee oriented (e.g. Frana and Mendez-Benito (2019); Ippolito and Farkas (2021)). We discuss theories that consider future questions as featuring the interrogative flip and propose new empirical arguments to argue that the flip does not occur (see also Eckardt and Beltrama (2019)). We propose that future questions bear on a state of mind (see Giannakidou and Mari 2018; also for Spanish, Escandell-Vidal and Leonetti (2021)) that can be ground (but does not need to) on some stereotypicality based-reasoning and personal credences (Mari (2009,2010), Ippolito and Farkas (2021)).

2. We then discuss the meaning of MICA and review previous proposals that hold that it reveals speaker's expectation that *p* is not true (e.g. Frana and Rawlins (2019); in (1) Susan, the speaker, is considered as expecting that Paul has *not* eaten).

We argue that MICA can also be used when the speaker believes that *p* is true. In (2) Susan expects that John *is* on a diet.

(2)   Context: John is eating a lot. Susan knew that John was on a diet.
    Susan: Non sei mica a dieta ?
    Interpreted as : You are on a diet, aren't you ?!

We thus propose that MICA-future questions feature a different way of building mirativity (Aikhenvald 2012) relying on the un-commitment to general rules and laws. We argue that MICA presupposes that there exists a defeasible generalization (e.g. for (1) to eat a lot defeasibly implies that one is not on a diet) and that MICA undoes the general inference (note that the predicate does not need to be gradable, unlike in Spanish, see Escandell-Vidal and Leonetti (2021), building on Rett 2011).

3. Putting the pieces together we overall propose that, when combined with the future, MICA forms a question where the prejacent is represented both as following from stereotypically conditions and as in contrast with those conditions. The speaker is thus represented as being in a state of epistemic contradiction and incredulity that undergrounds the mirative flavor of the question.

4. We suggest that MICA future questions are akin to concessive questions in French, and show a parallelism between concessive future (Baranzini and Mari (2019)) and MICA future mirative questions.

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Existential and locative clauses in Yaqui

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The Yaqui language (Uto-Aztecan, Mexico) employs several existential and postural verbs to express the existence/location of an entity (figure) at a certain place (ground). The existential verbs are *aane* 'exist, be in the vicinity of/doing something', *ayuk* 'exist, be at', *o'orek* 'be_placed' and *manek* 'be_placed'. The four basic postural verbs are *bo'oka/to'oka* 'lying (sg/pl)', *katek/jo'okak* 'sit (sg/pl)', *weyek/ja'abwek* 'standing (sg/pl)', and *cha'aka* 'hang'. These existential/locative predications have not received much attention in the Yaqui grammar (Dedrick & Casad 1999).

In this paper, we examine the syntactic-semantic properties of Yaqui existential/locative clauses. The data come from direct elicitation using well-known non-verbal stimuli, as well as oral texts. Syntactically, these verbs have fewer morphosyntactic properties that plain verbs, but they differ from copular verbs. Semantically, these verbs are perspectivized from the figure (Creissels 2019), but various factors determine the choice of competing verbs for particular situations: its animacy, non-individuation, and geometrical shape. For instance, *aane* may be interpreted as a plain existential or as an existential-locative depending on the explicit codification of the ground; the most common situation involves an animate figure being at or moving around certain location (1a). In turn, *ayuk, o'orek,* and *manek* consistently motivate a locative reading of inanimate figures (1b). Following Newman (2002) and Ameka & Levinson (2007), the small contrastive set of Yaqui posture verbs (1c-e) describe the posture of inanimate entities according to their inherent physical and geometrical features (O'Meara & Guerrero 2015). However, a larger corpus shows three unexpected features regarding the selection of a particular verb. First, there are several figures that may combine with more than one postural verb (2a). Second, an 'unbounded' figure (plural/aggregate/mass/non-countable) may alternate between existential and postural verbs (2b-c). And third, when the figure-ground construction involves garment and body-parts, other verbs are possible including possessive predicates (2d).

The Yaqui data is interesting to the study of existential and locative clauses for the following reasons. Although posture verbs are very productive, they do not have a classificatory function, consequently, Yaqui falls somewhere in between a postural-verb language and a multi-verb language (Levinson *et al*. 2003, and Levinson & Wilkins, 2006). There is no general verb that can be used in case the inherent properties of the figure are less specific. The use of existential-locative predicates is motivated by 'unbounded' entities, but their distribution is still unclear, and they cannot be paraphrased by means of the Spanish verb *existir* 'exist' (Koch 2012, Creissels 2014). In this study, we extend the analysis to oral narratives since they may reveal additional evidence to understand the function of these existential/locative predications in discourse.

(1) a. *Konichukui-Ø   junak   kupteo   kaa   kampamento-po   **aane-n**,*
      Konichukui-NOM   DEM.MD   evening   NEG   camp-LOC   exist-IPFV

        *puepplo-u   **aane-n**   junaman   betuk   bwia-wi.*
        town-DIR   exist-IPFV   DEM.DS.L   under   valley-DIR
        'That evening *Konichukui* wasn't in the camp, she was walking down the valley.'

    b. *U-Ø   tasa-Ø mesa-po   jikat   **manek***
       DET-NOM   cup-NOM   table-LOC   up.LOCC   be.LOC
       'The cup is on the table.' (BOWPED_1; AM)

    c. *Wepul   pelotam   mesa-po   jikat   **katek**.*
       one   ball.PL   table-LOC   up.LOCC   siting.UND.SG.PFV
       'One ball is sitting on the table.' (SFVL_7; AV)

    d. *U-Ø   pino-Ø   kawi-bepa   **weyek**.*
       DET-NOM   pine-NOM   mountain-ABOVE   standing.UND.SG.PFV
       'The pine is standing above the mountain.' (BOWPED_17; GF)

    e. *Kuchara-Ø   selvietam-betuk   **bo'oka**.*
       spoon-nom   napkin-below   lying.UND.SG.PFV
       'The spoon is lying under the napkin.' (BOWPED_24; ML)

(2) a. *U-Ø   librom   tabla-t jikat   **katek**   //   **weyek***
      DET-NOM   libro.PL   board-LOCC up.LOCC   siting.UND.SG.PFV   standing.UND.SG.PFV
      'The book is sitting/is standing on the board.' (BOWPED_8)

    b. *Sementerio-Ø   teo-po   bichapo   **o'orek**   //   **katek***
       cemetery-NOM   church-LOC   seen.LOC   be.at   siting.UND.SG.PFV
       'The cemetery is sitting in front of the church.' (DELOCA_v3_33; GF)

    c. *Munim   wari-po   **manek**   //   **ayuk**   //   **orek***
       beans.PL   basket-LOC   be.LOC   be.LOC   be.LOC
       'There are beans in the basket.' (DELOCA_v2_23; AM)

    d. *U-Ø   jamut-Ø   nakam-po   reepa-**k**.*
       DET-NOM   woman-NOM   ear-LOC   earring-tener
       'The woman has an earring on the ear.' (BOWPED_42: AV)

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Semantic maps and suffix multifunctionality in Medieval Spanish

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Keywords: suffixation, Medieval Spanish, semantic maps, semantic roles, suffix multifunctionality

The suffixation is one of the most productive word formation means in Spanish. However, the meaning of suffixes has not been studied systematically yet. Consequently, when describing the meaning of suffixes, dictionaries and grammars often use vague terms that include a wide range of concepts. This is also the case of so called *nomina agentis*, *nomina instrumenti* or *nomina loci*. To illustrate, some Spanish instrumental suffixes can denote not only prototypical instruments such as tools (*abridor* 'opener'; *ceñidero* 'belt'), but also less typical concepts such as chemicals (*catalizador* 'catalyst'), plants (*dormidera* 'opium poppy'), machines (*lavadora* 'washing machine') or body parts (*tragadero* 'throat'). Moreover, most of the suffixes seem to be multifunctional (Luschützky and Rainer, 2013). Thus, instrumental suffixes sometimes form agent nouns (*vendedor* 'seller'; *mandadero* 'messenger') or place nouns (*comedor* 'dining room'; *miradero* 'lookout tower') as well. These multifunctionalities are not random, but a consequence of systematic diachronic changes (Luján, 2010). Moreover, Luján (2010) proposes to study the meaning of suffixes (and word formation patterns in general) in terms of semantic roles associated with them. This approach allows to include in the analysis the prototypical along with the less prototypical instances of each category.

In this talk, I will present an onomasiological analysis of all suffixed nouns associated with any semantic role in four Spanish Medieval chronicle texts written in four subsequent centuries (1200s-1500s). The main goals are: (1) identify the most frequent multifunctionalities; (2) identify the most productive and the most multifunctional suffixes associated with semantic roles; and (3) visualize the multifunctionalities and the relationships between the semantic roles on semantic maps. The analysis was done in two steps: first, I included only transparent derivatives associated with a semantic role (e.g., *sirviente* 'servant' < *servir* 'to serve' and *-nte*; in total 396 nouns derived with 38 suffixes were analyzed); and secondly, I added other derivatives with the suffixes identified in the first analysis, but that are not transparent (those are mostly cultisms and borrowings, e.g., *barrunte* with an uncertain origin; 234 nouns were added), because they may cause analogy effects. The multifunctionality of suffixes and the relationships between the semantic roles can be illustrated on semantic maps. Particularly, I apply a combination of the MDS algorithm proposed for semantic map creation by Croft and Poole (2008) and the automatic semantic map inference algorithm proposed by Regier et al. (2013). Combining both methods is especially useful for an onomasiological analysis such as this one.

The results show that most of the Spanish suffixes are multifunctional, because they are associated with two or more semantic roles. The most important multifunctionalities are those between the following semantic roles: Agent, Locative, Instrument and Means. Semantic maps created by the combination of the two above-mentioned algorithms proved to be useful tools for visualizing suffix multifunctionalities and the relationships between semantic roles in the onomasiological analysis. The

resulting maps should be understood as relevant hypotheses about the possible combination of semantic functions in Spanish suffixation.

Acknowledgements

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Comparing possessive, existential, and locative constructions in Wakhi

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Keywords: Iranian, nonverbal predicates, possessives, existentials, locatives

In this paper, I compare possessive, existential, and locative nonverbal predicates in Afghan Wakhi (Indo-European, Iranian). Wakhi has two basic constructions used to express possessive clauses: one with a genitive-marked possessor (1), and one with an adverbial PP possessor phrase (2). I argue that both constructions belong to the larger class of locative predicates (3).

(1) POSD   POSR
    [ji   çɯi] [ʐʊ-n]   (tʊi).
    one   sister 1SG-GEN2 (COP)
    'I have a sister.'

(2) POSD   POSR/LOC
    [əm   pari] [(də) diu-i   safed   kaf]   tu.
    DEM1   fairy   (in)   ogre-EZ   white   palm   be.PST
    'The white ogre had the fairy (lit., The fairy was in the white ogre's hand).'

(3) NP_SUBJ   PP_PRED
    [a=ʒarʒ]   bʊ   [ta   xun]!
    EMPH=milk   also   up.to   house
    'That milk is up at the house!'

Stassen (2009:49–50, 79, 2013), Haspelmath (2022:8), Overall et al. (2018:31–33), and Danesi and Barðdal (2018:203–6) all classify constructions such as (3) as locational possessives. I agree that this Wakhi construction is a locational possessive because it meets Stassen's (2009:49–50) criteria of including a copula, encoding the possessee as the grammatical subject, and encoding the possessor in an oblique or adverbial case.

Another type of nonverbal possession, the *with*-possessive construction, expresses the possessee via an adverbial *with*-PP and the possessor as the grammatical subject of the clause (Stassen 2009:54). Although the Wakhi construction given in (4) does contain a *with*-PP, the possessee, not the possessor, is marked as the grammatical subject. Therefore, this sentence is actually another example of a locational possessive.

(4) POSD   POSR/LOC
    [pʊl]   [dʊ tao-ən] nʊ-tu.
    money   with 2SG-ABL   NEG-COP.PST
    'You didn't have any money (lit., There wasn't money with you).'

Locational possessives that have an indefinite possessee (5) resemble existential constructions (6), which in turn resemble locative constructions. This similarity follows from the fact that locatives typically expand to create both existential and locational possessive functions (Overall et al. 2018:31–33).

(5) POSR/LOC   POSD
     [dam   kaf]   [ji   dʊstkaul]   tu.
     in.PROX palm   one   purse   COP.PST
     'She had a purse (lit., In her hand (there) was a purse).'

(6) ADV_PRED NP_SUBJ   COP
     [drəm]   [xuʐgʊk]   tʊi.
     at.1   sea.buckthorn.berry   COP
     'There are sea buckthorn berries here.'

Danesi and Barðdal (2018:205–6) observe that locative possessive constructions in Vedic occur with the 'be' copula, not the 'become' change-of-state verb. Based on this observation, they conclude that locative possession is an inherently stative construction in Vedic. Additional research is needed to determine whether locative possession in Wakhi can be used when indicating a change of state or whether it is restricted to stative constructions.

Predicative possessive constructions in which the possessor is marked for genitive case may be examples of adnominal (NP-internal) possession if the possessor and possessee can be shown to form a constituent (Stassen 2009:107, 113). Example (1) is unclear in this regard, but in sentence (7), the adverb *niv* 'now' interrupts the possessor and possessee. Since the possessor and possessee cannnot be members of the same constituent, and since the possessor receives oblique case marking, I follow Stassen (2009:50) and treat them as a sub-type of locational possession.

(7) POSR   POSD
     [jəm   kaʂ-ən]   niv   [adaf]   ki . . .
     DEM1   boy-GEN2   now   goal   COMP
     'This boy now has the goal that . . .'

My analysis of Wakhi predicative possession concurs with Overall et al.'s (2018:33) proposal that locational possessives historically develop from locative predicates. It also supports Stassen's (2009:54, 277–80) statement that locational possession is an areal feature of the Eurasian languages in the Indo-European family. Furthermore, syncretism between the GEN2 and ablative case markers (and variation in the form of the GEN2 marker) in Wakhi suggests that the predicative genitive may have its roots in a locative construction, as Stassen (2009:122–27) demonstrates to be the case for a number of Indo-European languages. The relationship between these two case markers is a topic for future research.

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The role of prefabs in the spread and conservation of grammatical constructions. Two case studies on Spanish verbal periphrases.

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Bybee and Torres Cacoullos (2009) argue that prefabs, i.e., conventionalized multi-word units play a role in promoting formal and semantic change. In the early stages of an emerging construction (e.g., the modal auxiliary *can* in English or the change-of-state verb *quedarse* + adjective in Spanish) prefabs (*can tell*/*say* and *quedarse solo*/*quieto* respectively) show a higher degree of unity, challenging thus the lexical status of the elements involved. At the same time, since prefabs are the most frequent members of the semantic class they belong to, they contribute to increase the productivity of the general construction. Rosemeyer (2014, p. 75 et passim), on the other hand, shows that highly frequent specific instantiations of a disappearing construction are liable to be untied from the general construction and therefore will not be affected by changes experienced by the latter. As a consequence, this process of emancipation not only leads to the conservation of these units but also results in a slower decrease in frequency of the disappearing construction.

Interestingly, while both studies assign an important role to prefabs and the process of routinization, the impact these units have on the constructions involved seems to be twofold, fostering the spread of a construction in one case, and preventing a construction from disappearing in the other case.

In this paper we will test both claims presenting two case studies on the emergence and evolution of Spanish verbal periphrases. Specifically, we will discuss the periphrasis *andar* + gerund ('to walk'), in which the existence of a particular instantiation of the periphrasis seems to have functioned as the driving force behind the spread and grammaticalization of the construction. In addition, we will explore the case of *proseguir* ('to continue'), which originally had a relatively high usage frequency but nowadays mainly survives in a specific instantiation.

For our quantitative analysis we will use diachronic data from the language corpora *Gradia* and *Corde*, whereas data regarding contemporary Spanish will be extracted from *Corpes XXI.*

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The Lexicalization of Aboutness: Expletive *chiru* in Cilentano and *a* in Fornese

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Expletive-like elements are often found in null-subject languages (see Hinzelin and Kaiser 2007, Carrilho 2008, Nicolis 2008, Kaiser and Remberger 2009 a.o.), in which the expletive seems, at prima facie, to function as a syntactic placeholder for the subject position. The paper analyses the syntactic-pragmatic behaviour of two expletive-like elements in two null-subject Romance languages, namely Fornese (cf. 1), spoken in the North-Eastern part of Italy, and Cilentano (cf. 2), spoken in Southern Italy.

(1)	A	riva	las	feminas		
	EXPL	arrive.3SG	the.F.PL	woman.F.PL		

"There arrive the women"

(2)	Chiru	a	muortu	mariti	e	muglieri
	EXPL	have.3SG	die.PTCP	husband.M.PL	CONJ	wife.FPL

"There died husband and wife"

In examples (1) and (2), the finite verb agrees with the preverbal place holder *a/chiru*, rather than with the plural only argument of the unaccusative verb 'arrive', suggesting that, in these examples, *a* and *chiru* behave like an expletive proper. The use of *a* and *chiru* is currently expanding to all canonical syntactic environments in which non-null subject languages require an expletive subject (i.e., weather, presentational, existential, impersonal and extraposition, see Williams 2000, Biberauer and Roberts 2010, Pescarini 2014). *Chiru* and *a*, in fact, seem to be robustly established with weather verbs (due to their quasi-argumental nature, see Bolinger 1977, Levin 2015).

Whist it may be argued that the presence of expletive-like *a* in Fornese is linked to the hybrid status of Northern Italian Dialects (abbreviated NIDs) as non-consistent null-subject languages (Cardinaletti and Repetti 2010), the status of *chiru* in Cilento is more puzzling, as Southern Italian Dialects generally behave as null-subject languages proper.

In the paper, we argue that both Fornese and Cilentano are developing comparable expletive-like elements from the same type of discourse-pragmatic marker, which lexically marks an "empty" aboutness/shift topic position. In different syntactic environments, *chiru* and *a* are in fact optional and can co-occur with pronominal or lexical subjects (see Sornicola 1996 and Ledgeway 2010 for chillo in Neapolitan). In other NIDs, *a* has been described as marking the following material as novel information (Benincà 1994, see also Poletto 2000), generally in broad focus. With reference to invariant expletive-like *chillo* in Neapolitan (i.e., closely related to *chiru* in Cilentano), Sornicola (1996) and Ledgeway (2010) also claim that it is generally followed by new information, and it is incompatible with other topicalizations and focalizations.

The striking similarities in the syntactic and discourse-pragmatic properties of *chiru* and *a* led us to conclude that these two elements are a pragmatic place-holder for an "empty" aboutness/shift topic position. In line with Erteschik-Shir (1999), the truth value of the propositional content of all clauses in

broad focus must be checked against a topic (in the sense of Reinhart 1981), and hence possess a topic-comment articulation. In the absence of an overt or null aboutness/shit topic, *a* and *chiru* surface as a syntactic-pragmatic placeholder. We claim that the innovation in Fornese and Cilentano then lies in the fact that these elements are reanalysed as TP-internal expletive elements (see Faarlund 1990 for an account of the phenomenon in Germanic).

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Contact and diffusion with multinomial probit models

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Statistical and computational techniques to study the spatial diffusion of linguistic features has gained considerable interest during the last decade, both in dialectology (Nerbonne, 2009; Wieling, Nerbonne, and Baayen, 2011) and typology (Guzmán Naranjo and Becker, 2021). While several approaches to modelling contact and the spatial diffusion of features exist, they tend to face some shortcomings: firstly, methods usually assume either Euclidean or geodesic distances between language communities and ignore topography; secondly, they only take individual features into account, or take multiple features but ignore inter-feature correlations; third, they ignore external information about the overall likelihood of the values of linguistic features. In this talk, we present a model which aims to solve these issues, and we show how this model can be applied to the study of diffusion and contact-induced changes in dialectology and typology.

The model is an improvement on Guzmán Naranjo and Mertner (2022), which introduced multinomial probit models for areal typology, but is applicable also to dialectological studies. The idea behind multinomial probit models is that we can study multiple correlated binary variables simultaneously. This is important because it allows us to control for inter-feature correlations. The spatial component is modelled using Gaussian Processes (Williams and Rasmussen, 2006). A Gaussian Process models the spatial correlation by calculating a covariance matrix from the distance between observations, with the key feature being that the spatial correlation between observations decays non-linearly, and it quickly drops to zero for distant observations. Instead of using Euclidean or geodesic distances, which assume either a flat or smooth surface, we calculated the topographic distances (van Etten, 2017) between the languages in our dataset using the GMTED data (Danielson and Gesch, 2011).

We add three key innovations: (1) the inclusion of missing data, (2) universal prior structures, and (3) aggregated spatial effects. Regarding (1), we introduce a new technique which allows us to model variables even if some observations are missing from the data. While models like that of Ranacher et al. (2021) allow for missing data, the model of Guzmán Naranjo and Mertner (2022) does not. The use of universal priors (2), introduced by Ranacher et al. (2021), means the model has access to additional information not present in the data. For example, if a feature is cross-linguistically rare (e.g. click consonants), the model will assign more weight to a diffusion/contact-based explanation for the spatial distribution of that feature. Finally, (3) is a new technique we developed which allows us to aggregate the spatial patterns from multiple features as the overall degree of diffusion or contact-induced change between dialects or languages in an area.

We present three case studies on Balkan lects and American languages using the datasets compiled by Ranacher et al. (2021) and Urban et al. (2019). We show that our model is capable of capturing spatial patterns known from the theoretical literature, and that the results are in line with well-understood facts about these areas. Additionally, our results suggest that large geographic clusters of convergent languages are the result of smaller clusters of localised diffusion, which is a well-known phenomenon in the study of convergence areas (Joseph, 2010). Overall, we do not see large distance contact effects in any of our datasets. We also demonstrate how this model can be used to include topographic information and, potentially, other geographic features which might be relevant for diffusion and contact-induced change.

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The dual as an exponent of QP: Evidence from Jordanian Arabic
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Keywords: Dual; QP; Jordanian Arabic; singulatives

In Standard Arabic (SA) and Jordanian Arabic (JA), the paucal or partitive interpretation of number is often manifested by lexical quantifiers, such as *bid^ʕ* 'few' (SA) and *ʃwajjit* 'few' (JA) or by certain plural markers, including the broken plural pattern *ʔaC1.C2uC3* (SA) and the feminine plural suffix *-aat*, especially when it is suffixed to singulatives (JA) (Mathieu 2012; Fassi Fehri 2018):

(1) a.   *bid^ʕ-at-u*   *ʔaqlaam* (SA)   b. *ʃwajj-it*   *glaam*   (JA)
       some-SG.F-NOM pen.BPL   some-SG.F   pen.BPL
       'Few pens'   'Few pens'
     c.   *ʔaʃhur*   (SA)   d. *bagar-aat*   (JA)
       month.BPL   cow.COLL-FPL
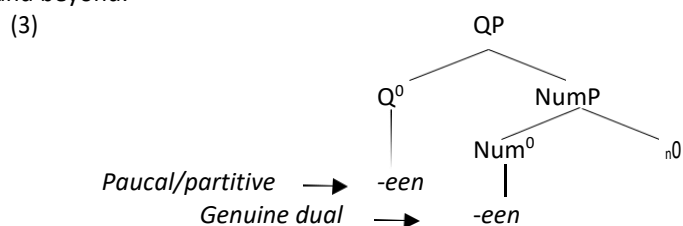   'Few months'   'Few cows'

Although these lexical and morphological components can be viewed as flavours of Q^0, the head of the Quantifier Phrase (QP), we propose that lexical partitive quantifiers (e.g., *bid^ʕ* 'few'; *ʃwajjit* 'few') externally merge with Q^0, whereas the target plural markers (the paucal plural template or *-aat*) merge with Num^0 below Q^0. Then they move to Q^0 to yield the paucal/partitive reading. Evidence for this can be drawn from the fact that in SA they all denote extremely bound paucal numbers with the standard cut-offs of 3 and 9. Note that JA differs from SA with respect to the fact that JA lacks broken plural patterns that yield a paucal (or partitive) interpretation.

     A point that is most relevant here is the observation that JA, unlike SA, exploits the dual, which is a number marker, to convey a paucal (partitive) interpretation. For example, in (2b) Speaker's B intention of the number of books is either exactly two or few (e.g., five or less/more) books. The dual marker *-een* in (2b) can be either interpreted as a true dual marker (denoting two) or a paucal (or partitive) quantifier.

(2)   a. Speakers A: *kaʔinn-i*   *ʃufit*   *b-ɣurift-ak*   *kutub*   *kθiireh*
                 like-1SG   saw   in-room-your   book.PL   many
                 'I guess that I have seen many books in your room.'
       b. Speaker B: *kull-hin*   *ktaab-een*   *ja*   *radʒil*
                 all-3PL.F   book-DUAL   VOC.   man
                Interpretation 1: 'Man! I have only two books.'
                Interpretation 2: 'Man! I have few books.'

We propose that the dual in JA is another flavor of Q^0; however, it is base-generated with Q^0, unlike the paucal broken plural patterns in SA and the feminine *-aat* in SA and JA, which are assumed to move from Num^0 to Q^0. The paucal or partitive interpretation of the dual *-een* in JA is not yielded by the movement of *-een* to Q^0 in JA. The main reason behind this comes from the fact that the dual marker under Num^0 can only yield a dual interpretation, and therefore its movement to Q^0 will never yield a paucal reading (with cut-offs of 3 and 9).

     The ability of the dual *-een* to be one of the exponents of Q^0 (through external merger with Q^0) indicates that this morpheme has been re-analysed in JA grammar as a result of its expansion in functionality. Therefore, we suggest that when the dual marker denotes a paucal interpretation, it externally merges with Q^0. On the other hand, when it denotes exactly two, it merges with Num. Note that having one morpheme with a double morphosyntactic nature (i.e., can externally merge in two positions), as shown in (3) is not uncommon in Arabic and beyond.

(3)

QP
├─ Q^0
│   │
│   *-een*
└─ NumP
     ├─ Num^0
     │   │
     │   *-een*
     └─ n^0

Paucal/partitive ⟶ *-een*
Genuine dual ⟶ *-een*

Following this, Q^0 in Arabic has several flavours that are either manifested lexically or morphologically (through suffixes). These flavours include lexical partitive quantifier, paucal broken plural, the feminine sound plural -*aat* (especially with singulatives), and the dual -*een*.

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From prepositions to causal conjunctions: An incomplete change process in the emergence period of Modern Hebrew

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The emergence of Modern Hebrew offers unique insights on processes of linguistic change due to the rich textual evidence, which is not usually available in other cases of language genesis (Doron et al. 2019). The aim of this paper is to discuss the employment of two prepositions – *ʔaħare* 'after' and *ʕal yede* 'by means of' – as causal conjunctions in written texts prior to the revernacularization of Hebrew. This usage has been hitherto overlooked by research since the new, causal function did not integrate into present-day Modern Hebrew, but was abruptly discarded following the consolidation of Hebrew as a spoken language in the early 1920s.

The discussion of the change process in the function of both prepositions, as well as its subsequent reversal, is based on data from the early Hebrew press, which served as a major channel for the transformation of Hebrew into a modern means of communication. The research corpus, consisting of more than 280,000 morphologically parsed words, represents language use in the Hebrew press over six decades in the seminal period of modernization, from the early 1870s to the early 1930s. The philological examination of the corpus indicated that the aforementioned prepositions had been used up to the 1920s as causal conjunctions (alongside their original functions in temporal clauses and *by*-clauses, respectively), but this usage abruptly disappeared following the consolidation of Hebrew as a spoken language.

The transition from temporal to causal meaning is very common, and has been extensively discussed in the linguistic literature (e.g. Traugott and König 1991: 194-199; Kortmann 2001: 846-849; Hopper and Traugott 2003), whereas the transition from instrument to cause is less common (e.g. Kortmann 1997: 196). In the case of Hebrew, both changes occurred in the written modality, but their usage patterns are compatible with the general difference between the two grammaticalization paths: The use of *ʔaħare* 'after' as a causal conjunction was highly conventionalized, as the temporal and causal functions correlated in the corpus with different syntactic constructions, whereas in the case of *ʕal yede* 'by means of' there is no sign for a process of conventionalization, as the distinction between the instrumental and the causal readings is bases solely on context-dependent pragmatic inference rather than on overt linguistic coding (Blakemore 1987; Ziv 1993; Meyer 2000).

Despite this difference, both usages were discarded in the early phases of standardization, reflecting the intersection between various synchronic and diachronic, linguistic and sociolinguistic factors, including inter alia linguistic ideology, distribution, redundancy and the availability of alternative means of expression. Hence, while the transformation of *ʔaħare* and *ʕal yede* into causal conjunctions reflected general linguistic processes, their abrupt rejection in that function is best attributed to the unusual sociolinguistic circumstances of the emergent speech community.

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Elucidating aspects of variation in Early Modern Greek though translations from Italo-Romance

Although the history of Greek language has been thoroughly investigated (see the number of studies on Homeric, Ancient Greek, Koine and Byzantine Greek), the linguistic era between 16th-18th century remains to a great extent unchartered. However, the investigation of this time span can offer an important contribution, not only to the study of the diachrony of Greek, but also to the theory of language change. On the one hand, it is this linguistic era (often referred to as Early Modern Greek, henceforth EMG) that covers the transition to Modern Greek Koine. On the other, the linguistic reality of Greek-speaking communities of 16th-18th century is characterised by extended variation of several levels (dialectal, social, stylistic), which forms a very dynamic system, consisted largely of competitive lexical, morphosyntactic and phonological structures (see Holton & Manolessou 2010). From this viewpoint, EMG offers an excellent illustration of a linguistic system in change, in which we can trace equally linguistic change in process, as well as factors of change and variation.

In this paper, we investigate translation ventures undertaken in EMG, wherein linguistic material of a language A (mainly Italian/Venetian) is interpreted in a language B (vernacular EMG). Specifically, we focus on translations of theological/didactic texts and notary books. The selected theological and didactic translations are written by authors who are either bilingual or non-native speakers of EMG vernaculars, while they are addressed to a readership that is not familiar with the formal language. This, combined with the fact that the colloquial language of the time was neither standardized nor rendered in the written form, gives rise to interesting translation undertakings, in which the source language and the mother tongue of the translator interferes with the EMG vernacular. As we argue, the translated linguistic material in these texts features diatopic (geographical), diastratic (social) and diaphasic (genre, register) variation (especially in the domain of noun and verb morphology), which becomes more evident in cases of parallel translations of the same text (e.g. the translation of Fiore Di Virtù). As concerns notary books, the fact that they were written in areas under Venetian occupation, complying with a Venetian model – in both, style and genre – gave rise to the appearance of formulaic expressions that combine the Venetian prototype formulation with the EMG vernacular.

Through the analysis of examples from the field of nominal and verbal morphology, and through the comparative examination of parallel translations of certain texts, our research reveals innovations of EMG that are subject to change or fall into disuse in subsequent stages, while it brings to the fore the interference of diatopic factors in language variation and change. As we argue, in a phase where the Greek language lacks standard form and political entity, translated EMG texts can serve as a testbed for checking hypotheses related to the evolution of language.

Keywords

Early Modern Greek, translations, Italo-Romance, diachrony of Greek, language change, variation, vernaculars

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Gestural strategies in questions during monologic discourse

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This study aims at identifying regular gestural correlates to questions produced in TED talks in English. We investigate how TED speakers use their hands and heads to express questions, as we identify co-occurring gestural features and estimate their frequency.

In conversational speech and dialogues, questions have been linked with multimodal cues such as eyebrow rises (Granström & House 2005) and frowns (Ginzburg & Lücking 2021), head nods (Crespo-Sendra *et al.* 2013), beats (Hardison 2018), and palm-up gestures (Cooperrider *et al.* 2018). However, it is not clear whether the same cues are found in monologic discourse, where the role and participation of the audience are constrained.

We focus on hand gestures, eyebrow rises, and head movement. We assume that questions in monologic discourse are delivered for both discourse-structuring and emphatic purposes, as strategies to attract the audience's attention. Emphasis refers to a communicative effort from speakers, which results in a particular syntactic, prosodic, or gestural configuration. This configuration includes a surface element that is supposed to be perceived as standing out. We hypothesize that speakers' use of gestures during the expression of a question will be different depending on question type and syntactic status, and on the localization of the question in the talk. Although some research has noted the prominence of hand gestures in specific non-canonical questions (Ippolito 2019), little work has been carried out about the role and systematicity of other articulators in monologic discourse and in questions specifically.

We use video datasets belonging to the TED repository, with different varieties of spoken English (majority: General American). The videos were transcribed and annotated using ELAN for gestures and question types (2 hours and 23 minutes annotated, 625 questions across 9 speakers). Specifically, we annotated eyebrow movement (rises, frowns), head movement (beat, nod, tilt, other), hand gesture size (small, medium, big), hand gesture type (iconic, metaphoric, pointing, beat, emblem, adaptor), handedness (one hand, two hands), as well as repetition (repeated hand gesture, not repeated). The annotations targeting question types focus on the ways each question is marked. These include fronted item (wh- word and auxiliary), declarative question (including those ending with a tag as well as *in situ* questions) and verbless sentences. The syntactic status of questions was coded as either direct, embedded, or appositive. Finally, the textual localization of each question was annotated (beginning, middle, end of talk).

We conduct a quantitative analysis on the amount and nature of hand gestures as well as head and eyebrow movement collected in co-occurrence with a question. A series of chi-square tests of independence was conducted to examine the relation between the proportion of gestures and question type, the proportion of gestures and syntactic status, and between the proportion of gestures and question localization.

As our data shows, gestural features often accompany questions. Question type and syntactic status have an effect on the amount and nature of gestures, but not question localization. We discuss how gestural features map out the different discursive functions at play.

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Vertical and horizontal evolution of the Uralic language family and its relation to genetic and cultural history

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The spread of Uralic languages has been associated with the dispersal of the N-haplogroup, with various Comb Ceramic cultures, and even with the Bronze Age Seyma-Turbino trading network. However, empirical investigation of language-culture or gene-language coevolution is difficult because researchers have asserted contradictory "truths" for the timing and pattern of the Proto-Uralic disintegration. Besides, the evolution of language families is presumably a combination of vertical (genealogical) inheritance and horizontal transmission through language contacts, and there is no unified model taking this into account for the Uralic languages. We attempt to remedy this.

We used the updated UraLex 3.0 (basic vocabulary cognate corpus) to make a phylolinguistic model of the vertical evolution, which we combined with genetic and archaeological timings in Bayesian chronological analyses to study the interrelation of linguistic, cultural, and genetic events. We also used UraTyp (typological database of Uralic languages, Norvik et al. 2022) to study structural contact within Uralic languages, and Grambank (typological database of world languages, Skirgård et al. 2023) to study contacts between Uralic languages and their neighbours. These new typological databases also provide possibilities to investigate the structural evolution of languages, and we used UraTyp to test hypotheses about simplification/complexification of Uralic languages as part of evolution of the family (Nichols 2021).

The phylogenetic model was made using Bayesian phylogenetic inference in BEAST2, modelling lexical data from UraLex 3.0 with calibration points described in Maurits et al. (2020). A phylolinguistic tree as often presented in such analyses is a summary tree representing thousands of binary branching trees each of which provides one version of the family history. We investigated this 'posterior sample' of trees to test the different hypotheses about the Proto-Uralic first disintegration reviewed by Grünthal et al. (2022): 1) Samoyedic – Finno-Ugric division, 2) Finno-Permic - Samo-Ugri division and 3) different rake models. UraLex3 3.0 and optimized BEAST model supported hypotheses of rapid disintegration of Proto-Uralic, instead of the stepwise hypotheses 1 or 2. The model suggested 5 individual branches stemming from PU and that the series of disintegrations took place 4300, 4000 and 3800 years ago (with wide posterior probability distributions).

Admixture analyses model wave changes rather than genealogical trees. Analysis of structural contact and change with typological data indicates clustering of Finnic and Saami languages separately but also areal contacts (horizontal evolution) within Mari, Mordvinic, and Permic languages and within Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic languages. Interestingly, preliminary analyses of Uralic and their neighbours with Grambank structural data do not detect the same Indo-European contacts that loanword layers indicate. This could indicate a lack of intensive contacts. Instead, a multilevel phylogenetical model detects evidence of subtle simplification of Uralic typology, supporting the hypothesis that part of Uralic history could have been language spread through adult learners or language shifts.

We will discuss Uralic history in the light of vertical and horizontal evolution of the family and relate this to genetic and cultural events considered topical in earlier literature.

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Argument coding patterns in the history of Insular Celtic

During the course of their history, the Insular Celtic languages saw a considerable restructuring of their argument coding morphology: Old Irish, the oldest sufficiently attested language of the Goidelic branch, maintained a system of five cases ultimately inherited from Indo-European. Together with a few prepositions, all of these cases except for the vocative were used to flag arguments in different constructions. A wide variety of verbal markers were used to index arguments, too. From petrified case forms and the few Brythonic names attested in Latin sources, we can deduce that the picture must have been similar in Brythonic prior to this branch's attestation. The medieval Brythonic languages have already lost all their case morphology but still maintain a fully fledged - albeit conditioned – indexing system (Russell 2017: 1282–1286, 2011: 145–146; Thurneysen 1946: 155–162; Schrijver 2011: 42).

The modern languages present an altogether different picture: In Goidelic, the case system has been either reduced to a minimal (and currently obsolescent) system with an opposition between nominative and genitive (Irish, Scottish Gaelic), or completely lost (Manx). The possibility of indexing has also been greatly reduced, one set of indexes being completely lost, the use of the other heavily restricted. The Brythonic languages except Breton lose one set of indexes, too, while the other set also comes under some heavy conditioning (Ó Curnáin 2007: 1, 506–513; Gillies 2009: 254–259; Broderick 1984: 1, 27–30; Acquaviva 2014; Borsley et al. 2007: 198–222; Wmffre 1998: 43; Russell 2017: 1287–1289; Jouitteau et al. 2006).

Changes to the morphological structure at this scale impacts the availability and distribution of argument coding patterns. In may talk, I will trace these changes, investigate where they originate, which predicates remain stable, and whether the languages return to a similar argument coding pattern distribution after restructuring their morphological system.

Since argument coding is not readily comparable between languages or even different historic stages of the same language, I collect a sample of data from all stages of the Insular Celtic languages based on the predicate meanings in the ValPal database (Hartmann et al. 2013). While this list of meanings is by no means perfect (Haspelmath 2015: 134), it is good enough to serve as a *tertium comparationis* to ensure comparability between different stages and accross subbranches, and the database – albeit not quite genealogically and areally balanced – offers the possibility for cross-linguistic comparison.

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Transitive *habeo*-verbs in existential predication in Uralic languages

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Keywords: non-verbal predication, existential predication, possessive predication, Uralic languages, grammaticalisation

Uralic languages usually lack transitive *habeo*-verbs and transitive predicative possession patterns (Laakso & Wagner-Nagy 2022: 977). The known exceptions are Nganasan (< Samoyedic), Khanty and Mansi (< Ob-Ugric), and South Saami (< Finnic-Saamic) (ibid.), cf. example (1). Cross-linguistically, it is well-attested that transitive predicative possession patterns are likely to spread to existential predication, cf. Brazilian Portuguese (2) (Koch 2012: 536, 542; Chappell & Lü 2022: 56–59). As for Uralic, the analysed corpus data (NSLC; OUDB corpora; SIKOR) confirm the usage of *habeo*-verbs in existential clauses for Khanty, Mansi and Nganasan, as displayed in (3a)–(3c), whereas it is not attested in South Saami (Richard Kowalik, p.c.).

From a diachronic point of view, the correlating grammaticalisation pathway can be sketched as follows: a verb meaning *grasp/hold/seize/take* > *habeo*-verb > existential (Creissels 2019: 72–73; Chappell & Lü 2022: 37). The merger of possessive and existential predication patterns leads to structurally ambiguous clauses. In some cases, the inanimateness (3a) and omission (3b) of the first argument dissolve the ambiguity, yielding rather an existential reading. However, such disambiguation is often impossible since many criteria for defining a prototypical possessive relationship (possessee as a concrete entity, spatial proximity of possessor and possessee, possession has no conceivable temporal limit) also hold for existential predication (Heine 1997: 39–41).

The transitive existential clauses in Uralic are not fully grammaticalised yet, which allows a snapshot of the grammaticalisation process. First, the predicative possessive is used with an inanimate, thus "non-canonical" possessor (3a). Second, the possessor is omitted, and the clause gets an impersonal reading (3b). Third, the "possessor" is coded by the locative case, which disambiguates the readings formally (3c). Since existential clauses, per definition, contain a location (Koch 2012: 538–539), the latter development is not surprising. Comparing the Uralic data to, e.g., Brazilian Portuguese (2), I argue that languages generally tend to dissolve the structural ambiguity formally. Frequently, the resulting existential structure is an impersonal transitive clause including a locative phrase, whereas the possessor of a possessive clause is still the first argument of the *habeo*-verb.

Examples:

(1) *manne   akte-m   peanna-m   atnam.*
     1SG   one-ACC   pen-ACC   have.PRS.1SG
     'I have a/one pen.'
     (South Saami; Kowalik 2016: 36)

(2) *tem   um   livr-o   sobre   a   mes-a.*
     have.PRS.3SG   INDEF.M   book-M   upon   DEF.F   table-F
     'There is a book on the table.'
     (Brazilian Portuguese; Koch 2012: 542)

(3a)   *Hɨaðəə-ðɨ*   *biriə*   *ho-ntɨ.*
                 forehead-POSS.3SG   wound.ACC   have-AOR.3SG
                 'There is a wound on the forehead.' ~
                 ?'The forehead has a wound.'
                 (Nganasan; NSLC, MVL_080226_TwoHorses_flks.715)

(3b)   *eːrjet-ət-taɣ:*   *ottə*   *pəsen,*   *pəsen*   *taj-et.*
                 inspect-PRS-3SG>SG   ehm   table   table   have-PRS.3SG
                 '[He went into the house, into the girl's room]. He inspects it: A table, there is a table.'
                 (Yugan Khanty; Schön 2017: OUDB Yugan Khanty (2010–) Corpus, Text ID 1619, 093–094)

(3c)   […]   *tam*   *muβ-ən*   *ɬoβattaɬn*   *βɵːnt*   *βuɬi*   *taj-əs.*
                 this   earth-LOC   completely   forest   reindeer   have-PST.3SG
                 '[But at that time] there were a lot of forest reindeer everywhere.'
                 (Kazym Khanty; Moldanov 1997: OUDB Kazym Khanty Corpus. Text ID 1024, 022)

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"Entrenchment" versus "crystallization" of Spanish and Dutch absolutes: Syntactic creativity in translations from Latin

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Keywords: *absolute construction; translations; Latinisms; elaboration process; contrastive diachrony*

This paper deals with the diachronic-contrastive analysis of the non-finite verbal Spanish and Dutch absolute construction (AC), based on a parallel corpus of 15th- till 18th-century translations from Latin. The past participial AC, a highly formal Latin calque in early Spanish and Dutch translated texts, evolved towards a fully entrenched gerundial AC in Spanish (1: *siendo* 'being'), whereas it grammaticalized into a fossilized expression with little verbal force in Dutch (2: *uitgezondert* 'except'). I will argue that a combination of language-internal and external factors determined both evolutions.

(1) *¿Siendo   tú   esclavo   de   la   gula,   osas*
     be.GER   you.M.SG slave.M.SG of   the.F.SG greediness.F.SG dear.IND.PRS.2SG
     llamar   esclavo   á   otro?
     call.INF.PRS slave.M.SG to   someone.else.M.SG

     '*You being a slave of greediness*, do you dare to call someone else a slave?'
     (Navarrete, 1629, *Los Beneficios*)

(2) *vloden   zy   alle   van   haar   uitgezondert   d'overlopers*.
     flee.IND.IPRF.3PL they.M.PL all.M.PL   from   her.F.SG except.PST.PTCP/PREP   renegade.M.PL
     'they all fled from her, *except the renegades.*'
     (Glazemaker, 1658, *Van de Weldaden*)

Translations from Latin into late medieval and early modern European languages are praised as unique material to trace processes of syntactic elaboration (Baker 1993; Del Rey Quesada 2018; Kabatek 2005). However, the influence of Latin on the syntax of both Romance and Germanic, which may uncover cross-linguistic developments, has not received sufficient attention (but see Cornillie 2019 on *minari ruinam/amenazar/dreigen* 'to threaten'). The AC, which is a frequently used Latin calque in preclassical Spanish (Del Rey Quesada 2019: 43; Pons Rodríguez 2015: 395) and Middle Dutch (Komen 1994: 185; van de Pol 2016: 331) texts, still lacks a comprehensive diachronic-contrastive account. Therefore, my qualitative research includes philosophical-rhetorical Latin source texts with their respective 15th- till 18th-century Spanish and Dutch (re)translations. The parallel corpus exists of six original works of Cicero and Seneca translated by seven Spanish (Cartagena, Thamara, Loaysa, Revenga y Proaño, Ruiz Montiano, Navarrete and Valbuena) and six Dutch (Coornhert, Gualtherus, Mostart, Glazemaker, Perponcher and Wolff-Bekker) authors.

The Latin *ablativi absoluti* and the ACs in the target languages are analysed in terms of formal and functional equivalence or creativity, which reveals the diverging evolution between Spanish (1) and Dutch (2). My 18th-century results show a predominance of an integrated gerundial Spanish AC (80%), while 58% of the Dutch ACs fluctuates on the verge of grammaticalization. Three language-internal and external factors are methodologically proven to have stimulated this development: (i) the high overall frequency of the Spanish gerundial predicate, (ii) the preference of Romance languages for unbounded

constructions and (iii) the more opportune cultural-historical tendencies in the Iberian Peninsula. Due to the absence of all these factors in Dutch, the non-finite verbal AC had to cope with too many unfavourable conditions to ensure its survival. This multi-level approach indicates how the Spanish and Dutch AC gradually carved their own path in a functionally and formally original way.

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You might "risk" your reputation if you "play" a rough game of soccer: Revisiting Spanish *se* and Italian *si*

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The Romance clitic *se/si* is known to fulfil multiple functions (reflexive, ergative, middle/passive, benefactive, completive, inherent; Russi 2008; Mutz 2012; Lewandowski 2021, among others), constituting one of the most intensely researched topics across different theoretical frameworks. This study investigates an understudied function of *se/si* exemplified in the sentences in (1). (The data in (1)–(3) are from *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA, https://www.rae.es/banco-de-datos/crea) and CORIS/CODIS (https://corpora.ficlit.unibo.it/coris_ita.html).)

(1) a. *Son los que comen un pincho a media mañana y **se saltan** la ingesta del mediodía.*
      'They are the ones who eat a bite at mid-morning and **skip** the meal at noon.'
   b. *Tony Blair **si gioca** la reputazione.*
      'Tony Blair **risks** his reputation.'

While *se/si* is obligatory in (1), it is rare or impossible if *saltar* and *giocare* carry their literal meaning as seen in (2).

(2) a. *Los perros **(?se) saltaron** un muro derribado.*
      'The dogs **jumped** over a fallen wall.'
   b. *È piuttosto muscoloso perché **(*si) gioca** a calcio.*
      'He's quite muscular because he **plays** soccer.'
   c. *Weah non **(*si) gioca** una partita dal 7 dicembre.*
      'Weah hasn't played a game since December 7.'

As shown in (3), verbs denoting physical consumption like eating and drinking display a similar pattern; that is, *se/si* is strictly obligatory under the verbs' metaphorical meanings.

(1) a. *Las grandes empresas ***(se) comen** a las pequeñas.*
      'Big companies **take over** small ones.'
   b. *Weah, che ***(si) beve** Tarozzi, Shalimov e Brambilla.*
      'Weah, who **overtakes** Tarozzi, Shalimov and Brambilla.'

The examples in (1) and (3) thus show that *se/si* may appear in transitive constructions to obtain a variety of metaphorical meanings. Idioms as those illustrated in (4) support this observation.

(4) a. *Comerse un/el marrón* 'draw the short straw' (lit. 'eat a chestnut').
   b. *Mangiarsi le mani/i gomiti* 'intensely regret (doing) something' (lit. 'eat one's hands/elbows').

Lewandowski (2021) proposes a functional/semantic network for Spanish and Italian completive *se/si* which comprises many senses including "skipping" and "risking" as in (1), arguing that they all stem from the prototypical central notion "complete consumption" through metaphor and metonymy. This analysis accounts for cases in which the progression of the event is eminently registered in the way the direct object is affected (e.g., *comerse una manzana/mangiarsi una mela* 'to eat up an apple). However, it seems untenable to assimilate the senses 'skipping' and 'risking', or idiomatic meanings as in (4) to the sense "completive consumption" even via metaphor/metonymy.

Our primary objective is to characterize the role *se/si* plays in (1), (3) and (4) and, drawing from corpus data, identify the verbs most compatible with this type of *se/si*. Presently, our data suggest that verbs with richer semantic domains (e.g., *comer/mangiare* vs. *jugar/giocare*) are more likely to take *si/se* and to partake in idioms. Moreover, the object NPs shape the idioms' meanings via well-known paths of metaphorical/metonymic extensions. Concerning *se/si*, we preliminary propose that it bestows a 'subjective' meaning (often accompanied by a malefactive reading) by restricting the event to the subject's personal (typically emotional) domain.

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Pragmatic values of the Spanish periphrastic 'future' construction in colloquial speech and in computer-mediated communication

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The Spanish periphrastic future construction (PF) <*ir a* 'go to' + infinitive>, as in ***Van a trabajar*** *mañana* 'They are going to work tomorrow', has a wide range of possible interpretations. It mainly expresses posteriority, but it has also evolved uses expressing different types of (inter)subjective qualifications (Marín Arrese 2017, Rodríguez Rosique 2019, Rosemeyer & Sansiñena 2022, a.o.). Some of these developments have been addressed extensively in the literature, while others remain un(der)described, particularly some new uses whose semantics-pragmatics are at first sight incongruent with the meanings typically associated with the 'future' constructions.

This paper analyzes the pragmatic values of the PF in Peninsular and Rioplatense Spanish in Twitter as well as in colloquial conversations from the late 20th century and 21st century. For the latter, we make use of four different corpora, namely, COLA, C-ORAL-ROM, Val.Es.Co. and Ameresco. All documented tokens of the PF are analyzed in terms of different morphosyntactic, lexicogrammatical, semantic-pragmatic and discourse-interactional parameters, and are additionally coded for contextual elements expressing speaker-related meanings (such as modal adverbs, discourse particles, hedges, etc.).

We argue that sentence type is an important factor when it comes to the expression of modal meanings, since e.g., polar and partial interrogatives with a PF are more likely to display rhetorical effects than declaratives (Rosemeyer & Sansiñena 2022). The refutational use of the PF in (1), for instance, constructed as a rhetorical question with *cómo* ('how'), is intersubjective and counts as a repetition of the interlocutor's previous proposition presented as non-factual. Its procedural meaning can be glossed as 'why do you conjecture that *p*?'.

(1)   A: *Os tenéis que poner en mi lugar*
               'You have to put yourselves in my shoes.'
        B: *Pero cómo me **voy**   **a**   **pon-er** en   tu   lugar*

but   how me go.PRS.IND.1SG to   put-INF in   your place

tronca
girl
'But how **could** I (lit. go to) put myself in your shoes, girl?' (COLA n.d.)

We also account for challenging uses of the PF in dispreferred response-initiations that are *wh*-interrogatives with *qué* ('what'), as in (2), where the speaker conveys that the interlocutor surely does not know (or is expected not to know) anything about the topic under discussion.

(2)   A: *Marruecos está dando un partidaso!!*

‘Morocco is playing a great game!!’
B: *que*   **vas**   **a**   **sab-er**   *vos*   *de*   *futbol*
        what   go.PRS.IND.2SG to   know-INF   you   about   football
        ‘What **would** you (lit. go to) know about football?’ (Twitter 2022)

In cases such as (2), the PF could easily be replaced by the inflexional future form -i.e. the synthetic future (SF)-, but the pragmatic difference between the two formulations is yet to be explained.

This study sets out to describe a set of un(der)described constructions such as (1)-(2), which still await a comprehensive description of their form and meaning features, and to account for recent changes - in terms of semantic/pragmatic and lexicogrammatical changes- and for their increased productivity. Moreover, it accounts for the distribution and availability of the diverse situated meanings of the PF (see Linell 2009) in Peninsular and Rioplatense Spanish.

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Georgian ergative: inherent or dependent case?

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The paper addresses the question whether the Georgian ergative is an inherent or structural case. It applies a number of widely accepted diagnostics (see Zaenen, Maling and Tráinsson 1985, Woolford 2006, Bobaljik 2008, and Sigurðsson 2012 among others), to test structural vs. non-structural case in order to determine the status of ergative being inherent or structural. Existing accounts of the Georgian ergative provide arguments supporting both views (see Marantz [1991] 2000, Nash 1996, 2017, Ura 2006, and Legate 2008). The arguments (old and new) provided in the paper concerning the ability to control agreement, the need for a second DP in the case-assignment domain and case alternations in different syntactic environments lead to the conclusion that Georgian ergative is structural. The claim is that being structural Georgian ergative is best analyzed under the Dependent Case Theory (DCT), and not in Chomskyan way as Case assigned/checked by a functional head under agreement (Chomsky 1995, 1998, 2000, 2001). To be more precise, Georgian ergative is a case assigned to a higher DP when the lower DP bears an unmarked case (1).

(1) *p'ropesor-ma   ts'eril-i   da-ts'er-a.*
    professor-ERG   letter-NOM/ABS   PR-write-3SG.SBJ:PFV.PST
    'The professor wrote a letter.'

Problematic for this view, however, are two types of verbs which either lack second DP argument (unergative verbs) (2), or where the second DP does not carry unmarked case (predicates with ergative-dative pairings) (3).

(2) *jarisk'ats-ma   bolomde   i-brdzol-a.*
    soldier-ERG   end_till   PV-fight-3SG.SBJ:PFV.PST
    'The soldier fought till the end.'

(3) *k'ats-ma   she-khed-a   kal-s.*
    man-ERG   PR-look_at-3SG.SBJ:PFV.PST   woman-DAT
    'The man looked at the woman.'

I argue that both these cases involve a covert object in the nominative/absolutive, based on the argumentation, that they have transitive structure, exhibit agreement morphology for this implicit argument, use a D head as a residual of a DP with null objects and can employ cognate objects. Some of these arguments such as transitive structure of unergatives and possibility to employ cognate objects were already presented in the literature (Schuchardt 1895, Hewitt 1987, 1995, Lazard 1998, Melikishvii

2001, Melikishvili, Humphries and Kupunia 2008, Nash 2017, etc.). The one not discussed so far is the existence of the D head, which can be checked by adding a quantifier *bevri/tsota* 'many/few' to all unergative verbs. Crucially, this quantifier has the same case marking as a direct object (4).

(4) *momkhsenebel-ma*   *bevr-i*   *i-saubr-a.*
      presenter-ERG   many-NOM/ABS   PV-talk-3SG.SBJ:PFV.PST
      'Presenter talked a lot.'

It can be analyzed either as a residual of a DP with a cognate object, or as an independent determiner, which at the moment of derivation has unvalued case features, and after assigning DC, is realized as nominative/absolutive. Thus, it can be counted as a case competitor for DC calculus.

Although the existence of the implicit argument in the structure of unergatives is not uncontroversial cross-linguistically, I show that existing counter-arguments for the absence of an implicit argument for other languages (for instance, Basque, as presented by Preminger 2012) do not hold for Georgian.

All claims are based on large empirical domain obtained from the existed on-line corpora (Gippert, Meurer and Tandashvili 2011-2021, and Doborjginidze, Lobzhanidze and Gunia 2012) and the additional spoken data collection created as a result of the original fieldwork.

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Questions in monologues: an analysis grounded on ISO

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Keywords: questions, ISO, discourse relations, communicative functions, parallel multilingual corpus

The present study aims to put forward a semantic-pragmatic characterization of interrogatives in monologues. Different types of interrogatives occur in discourse, such as *yes/no* questions, *wh-*questions, or alternative questions. Some studies show that a causal association between the nature of the text, dialogue or monologue, and the context, formal or informal, and the type of interrogative can be established (Moniz et al. 2011, a.o).

Our study analyzes the types of interrogatives and their semantic and pragmatic values in a multilingual parallel corpus of spoken monologues in five languages, English, European Portuguese, Lithuanian, Bulgarian, and Hebrew, extracted from the TED Talks transcripts. The corpus was developed with English as the pivot language, and the examples are aligned in all five languages based on the occurrence of an interrogative.

In order to ascertain the semantic and pragmatic value of the interrogatives, we devised an annotation scheme that harmonizes two parts of ISO 24617 - *Language resource management – Semantic annotation framework (SemAF*, part 8 - *Semantic relations in discourse, core annotation schema (DR-core)* (ISO, 2016; Bunt and Prasad, 2016) with a plug-in to Part 2 *Dialogue acts* (Bunt et al. 2020, and ISO 2020) (Silvano et al. 2022). This annotation scheme enables us to determine, on the one hand, the discourse relations that questions establish with the segments to which they are connected, and, on the other hand, their communicative function. To the best of our knowledge, this approach has not yet been tried out in questions annotation in monologues. Most studies on monologues annotation adopt either discourse relations (Stoyanchev and Piwek (2010), Mendes and Lejeune (2022), a.o.) or dialogue acts (DialogBank), and sometimes with frameworks different from ISO, or do not target specifically questions.

The methodology of the study was the following: (i) manual annotation, by an expert in each language, of a corpus sample to identify the main lexico-syntactic features of questions; (ii) development of rules for the automatic detection of questions; (iii) corpus annotation and evaluation of inter-annotator agreement; (iv) quantitative and qualitative analysis of the results.

In our preliminary analysis, we have observed that, despite the monologic nature of the corpus, interrogatives are very frequent and diversified across the five languages ((1) a *yes/no* question and (2) a *wh*-question).

(1) <u>Don't they sound incredible?</u> But most people don't agree.
(2) And this is truly the most amazing thing in the world. It's the greatest mystery confronting human beings: <u>How does this all come about?</u> Well, the brain, as you know, is made up of neurons. We're looking at neurons here. There are 100 billion neurons in the adult human brain.

Our findings also reveal that, in some cases, it is possible to establish a discourse relation between the question and the self-reply given by the speaker – Elaboration in (2a) – while, in others, no reply is

given, and the interrogative serves a communicative function – CkeckQuestion/ agreement in (1). Additionally, the analysis disclosed some interesting differences between the five languages with respect to the translation choices and the role of the interrogatives. Further, the nature of the TED talks is useful data for this study as they contain many instances of interrogatives inviting interaction with the audience.

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Language contact effects in their multilingual ecology: A typological approach

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Over the past two decades, typological evidence has increasingly indicated that language structures adapt to their socio-cultural environment (e.g., Kusters 2003, Lupyan and Dale 2010, and Bentz and Winter 2013). One commonality in these studies is that they reuse pre-existing data to test for relationships between sociolinguistic and linguistic variables (but see Gil 2021, and Verkerk and Di Garbo 2022). However, those data are often generic socio-demographic data, rarely collected for testing direct claims about linguistic adaptation. As such, those data are at best approximations. For instance, population size is often used as a proxy for the degree of linguistic contact, although both large and small communities may be highly multilingual (e.g., Pakendorf et al. 2021).

We argue that to advance research in this area, the field should move away from using generic socio-demographic data to collecting new data specifically designed to test causal hypotheses about adaptation to the sociolinguistic environment. More targeted and fine-grained sociolinguistic data are particularly needed (e.g., Kusters' 2003 seminal work used "only" one binary sociolinguistic variable). We demonstrate a typological approach for collecting both sociolinguistic and linguistic data that allows for testing hypotheses about contact effects in multilingual contexts.

In our approach (Di Garbo et al. 2021), each part is tailored to fit the overall research design (e.g., sampling, approach to comparison, explanatory framework, variable coding; Levinson and Evans 2010). The sociolinguistic data are collected through a questionnaire that probes experts' assessments of social interaction between the language groups. The assessments are collected per social domain (e.g., trade, labour, marriage) to better capture variation in interaction. The linguistic data is then collected using a multivariate typological approach, which takes language-internal variation into account and allows for detecting even potentially small effects of contact, especially in the domain of pattern borrowing (cf. Matras & Sakel 2007). The data is collected for nominal number, adnominal possession, demonstratives, word prosody, and syllable structure.

The data come from a global stratified sample of 99 languages. The sample is organised into 33 sets, each comprising three languages (Di Garbo and Napoleaõ de Souza 2023): the Focus Language, which we evaluate for effects of contact; the Neighbour Language, an unrelated language identified as the potential source of linguistic influence; and the Benchmark Language, a close relative of the Focus Language that serves as a parameter to disentangle contact effects from shared inheritance. The controlled similarity counts are turned into probability distributions with the beta distribution; we randomly sample from those distributions (using Monte Carlo sampling) when correlating the linguistic data with the sociolinguistic data.

The contact literature predicts that the more intense the contact between languages, the greater its impact on language structure (Thomason and Kaufman 1992). Our results suggest that this prediction

holds to some extent: the more intense the social interaction between the Focus and Neighbour communities is, the greater the probability is that the Focus Language will converge to the Neighbour Language (p < .05). The presentation will discuss these and further results from the targeted data.

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Processing English closed compounds:
Word-level and context-level parameters

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By means of online interviews with native speakers of English, Warriner et al. (2013) and Brysbaert et al. (2014) compiled datasets with *representation (word-level) norms* for English words. These norms referred to the semantic variables 'valence' (positivity), 'arousal' (excitement, mood-enhancement), and 'concreteness'. In Snefjella and Kuperman (2016) the application of representation norms to the 7 billion token USENET corpus (Shaoul & Westbury 2013) resulted in *context norms* for English words. Each context referred to an array of five content words before to five content words after a target word.

The present paper describes the effects of the above mentioned norms on the comprehension (lexical-decision) and production (naming) of compound words. The objects of study were over 2000 closed (concatenated) compounds of English taken from the LADEC database (Gagné et al. 2019). In the analysis, the forced-entry method of regression was used. The response times for the compounds from the English Lexicon Project (Balota et al. 2007) and the British Lexicon Project (Keuleers et al. 2012) were used as dependent variables. Compound frequency and compound length (in characters) were used as controls.

The results showed that, in lexical decision alone, latency-reducing representation valence for the compound co-occurred with latency-increasing context concreteness for the second constituent. Rerunning the analysis using the hyponymy norms from Gagné et al. (2020) showed that, in both lexical decision and naming, context concreteness for the second constituent and hyponymy were equally relevant. These effects are regarded as evidence for dual- and multiple-route models of morphological processing.

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On existential and predicative locative construction-functions and construction-strategies

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Linguists working on existential and predlocative clauses are often confronted with the question whether "non-core" examples such as (1) and (2) should be included in the discussion.

(1) non-core existential, English
    Here is a new pencil.

(2) non-core predlocative, English
    The dragonfly was hovering over the field.

To a substantial extent this is a terminological question, which arises because the traditional term usage has not been fully uniform. Here I propose that the distinction between (construction-)strategies and construction(-function)s made by Croft (2022) can throw light on the divergent usage. A construction-strategy is a formally defined comparative concept for a kind of construction, whereas a construction-function is a comparative concept for a construction defined in terms of meaning or discourse function.

The term "existential construction" has been widely used for cases like English *There is a new pencil on the table*, where there is a special prolocative form (*there*) which seems to be characteristic of such clauses. But are such special forms definitional for "existential constructions" cross-linguistically?

I will argue that the answer is that special ingredients such as English *there*, French *il y a*, or Hebrew *yeš* cannot be definitional for "existential construction" as a comparative concept (pace authos like McNally 2016), because different languages have very different kinds of special elements or constructional properties, but we still want to use this well-established term for these different languages (as a comparative concept). Thus, "existential construction" must be defined as a construction-function which can be expressed in all languages (Haspelmath 2022: §4: "a clause construction in which an indefinite and discourse-new nominal phrase is said to be in some location").

There are diverse types of construction-strategies expressing the existential function, and many languages have several. For example, English not only has *there* existentials but also allows (1), which lacks the element *there*. Likewise, "predlocative" is defined functionally, and if 'hover' is regarded as a posture verb, then (2) is included, because posture is merely a secondary meaning component conflated with the central meaning of locatedness.

I will also discuss Creissels' (2019) recent proposal to conceive of the traditional domain of existential clauses as "inverse-locational", which is defined in a mixed way, with respect to both functional and formal properties. As the formal properties can be different in different languages, I do not regard Creissels' proposal as a satisfactory solution to the conceptual problems he identifies.

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Understand in interaction: The rise of epistemic and evidential constructions based on *capire* in spoken Italian

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Keywords: spoken Italian; evidentiality; epistemic modality; language variation; emergent grammar.

The aim of this talk is to analyze the emergence of epistemic and evidential constructions involving the verb *capire* 'understand' in Spoken Italian ([KIParla corpus](#) – c.a. 1.000.000 words). The overt mention of the online process of comprehension during a conversational interaction is frequently aimed at intersubjective goals, more specifically epistemic (Boye 2012) and evidential (Aikhenvald 2004) goals. Example (1) shows the construction *va a capire* (lit. 'go to understand'), which is used to signal the speaker's perplexity and doubt regarding what she is saying with a meaning close to 'who knows', while in example (2) the impersonal construction *si capisce* (lit. 'it is understood') is employed with the evidential meaning 'of course'.

(1) TOR009:   ecco [com- com'era, il rapporto con=e:::h]
                 'well, how was the relationship with…'

    TOI071:   [perché noi, abbiamo::::::: usu]rpato, **va' a capire**, il loro::::::
                 because we usurped, **who knows**, their

    TOI071:   e::::h

    TOI071:   la loro città,
                 'their city'

(2) TOI018:   perché prima di partire, m'avevano fatto un'iniezione di calmante. e **si capisce e:h** [si era calmato], finché sono arrivata lì non aveva più male aveva ventiquattro anni
                 'because before leaving they gave me a sedative injection and, **of course**, I calmed down. Until I got there, I did not feel any pain, I was 24'

Through the extraction of all the occurrences of *capire* in the KIParla corpus and their annotation according to a number of linguistic and extra-linguistic parameters, we shed light on the behavior and functions of the relevant strategies. More specifically, we have selected a number of linguistic predictors (voice, person, TAM of *capire*, position within the intonational unit, occurrence within a particular valency schema, e.g. *va' a capire*, cooccurrence with negation and/or further additional markers, e.g. discourse markers) that can be considered construction-specific, and other extra-linguistic ones that are traditionally linked to language variation phenomena in spoken Italian (kind of interaction, asymmetry/symmetry of the relationship between speakers, geographic origin and educational level of the speaker, …), that concern both the communicative setting and the socio-demographic characteristics of the speakers. The analysis is carried out through statistical tools (i.e. inference tree and random forest, see Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012) that are useful in situations in which the dataset is unbalanced and quite small (which is typical when you deal with spoken corpora) while the number of predictors is large. The analysis allows us to see which parameters play a role and to rank their importance in the emergence of epistemic and evidential functions in spoken Italian, in order to understand the reasons that lead to the observed emergent changes.

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Constructional status and grammaticalisation of periphrastic verbal structures in Romance: An experimental approach

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Keywords: verbal periphrases; Romance languages; constructional status; grammaticalisation; experimental psycholinguistics

Verbal periphrases have been a prominent topic in (Romance) linguistics for a number of years, yielding many insightful publications from a variety of perspectives – be it formal or functional, synchronic or diachronic, language-specific or cross-linguistic (cf. e.g. Laca 2004, Olbertz 1998, Squartini 1998, and Pusch/Wesch 2003), inspired by theories of grammaticalisation, constructivism and many others (cf. e.g. Bres/Labeau 2013, Garachana 2020, Füreder 2021, and Garachana/Montserrat/Pusch 2022). Broadly defined as a combination of two (or more) verbs – sometimes joined by a preposition or conjunction – forming a single predicative unit, they are considered a central characteristic of all Romance languages, expressing temporal, aspectual, modal and diathetic values. Still, there is no consensus about the range of structures to include in this group nor their constructional status in terms of periphrasticity or auxiliarity (cf. e.g. Gómez Torrego 1999, Garachana 2017, and Fábregas 2019). The present paper thus sets out to shed light on these questions by providing data from experimental linguistics.

Building on the valuable contribution of cognition to studies on auxiliarisation and grammaticalisation as well as linguistic theory building (cf. e.g. Heine 1993, Detges 1999, Boye/Harder 2012, Boye/Bastiaanse 2018, and Füreder in prep.) – and given the scarcity of research on cognitive aspects regarding acquisition and processing of periphrastic verbal structures – a psycholinguistic approach was chosen for the present study. Methods such as self-paced reading, eye-tracking or ERPs have already proven useful in these fields, particularly with respect to multi-word units (cf. e.g. Siyanova-Chanturia 2013, Schmitt/Underwood 2004, and Siyanova-Chanturia/Van Lancker Sidtis 2019), of which verbal periphrases are also a part. In order to investigate how periphrastic constructions in Romance are processed by native and non-native speakers, a self-paced reading study is being administered to a L1 German experimental group and a L1 Romance control group. To this end, a selection of verbal periphrases in Spanish, French and Italian is presented in a non-cumulative reading paradigm on a computer screen, followed by an acceptability rating and a comprehension question.

First results from Spanish (12 participants, 80 experimental items) suggest a divide into three broad groups of periphrastic constructions: (i) highly grammaticalised units with rather low compositionality (such as compound tenses; e.g. sp. *ir a* + inf., *acabar de* + inf.); (ii) fairly free combinations with high compositionality (such as modal verb constructions; e.g. sp. *deber* + inf., *poder* + inf.); (iii) structures between the extreme 'poles' (i) and (ii) surfacing in constructions with position or motion verbs (e.g. sp. *estar* + ger., *ir/andar/venir* + ger.) and with semi-auxiliaries (e.g. sp. *ponerse a* + inf., *dejar de* + inf.). Highest acceptability ratings and lowest reaction times were found for constructions of type (i) and (ii), lower acceptability ratings and higher reaction times for the structures in between. Despite the preliminary character of these results, they might serve as an indicator for determining the constructional status as well as the degree of periphrasticity and grammaticalisation (by means of an

experimentally inspired approach), thus adding to a fuller picture of periphrastic verbal structures in Romance.

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We've only seen an emergent phenomenon ! A crosslinguistic study of mirative ONLYs

Contemporary colloquial British English seems to be witnessing the emergence of a usage of ONLY as a discourse marker indicating some form of mirativity or counter-to-expectations meaning, as in the following two examples:

1. Whinston you'll never believe it he's only done it again'
   https://twitter.com/John_Wood1/status/253207941103099904

2. Eh?! He's only decided to give the opposition a head start!!
   http://www.jottingsfromthejab.com/?p=648

In both cases, this use of ONLY seems *prima facie* to a further development in the subjectification of this marker, already underscored by Brinton 1998.

This paper will adduce evidence that indeed points in this direction, by comparison with other European languages in which a restrictive adverb comparable to English ONLY seems to have, in some contexts, an analogous mirative or counterexpectational reading, such as Norwegian *bare*, Portuguese *só* or Russian *tol'ko* :

3. Du vil aldri gjette hva han gjorde. Han bare vant løpet!

4. aramago é um escritor menor, **ele só ganhou** o prêmio Nobel de literatura, concedido pela primeira vez a um escritor de língua portugesa

5. Только его и видели!

Other languages seem to allow for some form of mirativity with restrictive temporal adverbs, such as Modern Greek:

6. Συνάντησε τον Mike Tyson στον δρόμο και ξέρεις τί έκανε; **Τον χτύπησε κιόλας**!

This paper will then go on to argue two points, which point not to the convergence the above examples might lead to suspect, but which instead hint at a degree of unicity.

Firstly, this development of ONLY in British English is complicated by the fact that it seems to go hand in hand with two other phenomena, namely hendiadic GO

AND +V, and the narrativisation of the Present Perfect. It is much more frequent to find mirative ONLY in constructions such as:

7. I've heard of PR disasters but this is quickly turning into a fecking Public Relatiocalypse! He's only gone and told they world that Woodward is working of the Fabregas deal!
http://www.redcafe.net/threads/im-so-embarrassing.374197/

8. When we got him back into the Pit, he's only turned round and said that the racing game wasn't what he thought it was, and he was jacking it in.
http://www.indyrs.co.uk/messageboard/viewtopic.php?f=2&t=8705

Second, the evidence shows that this is an overwhelmingly British phenomenon, which raises problems for grammaticalization theory in general, inasmuch as it seems to be leaving other dialects of English untouched.

The crosslinguistic question becomes, therefore, less one of the comparison between semantically similar adverbials, as in the first part of the take, as that of the interplay between the semantics of the adverbials AND particular constructions which contribute to the mirative reading. In the case of British English, these other factors are syntactic (the adverb must be pre-verbal for the mirative reading), prosodic (there is a specific intonational contour required for this reading to emerge) and potentially collustructional. Again, the comparative data hints at this. For instance, Spanish has a hendiadic mirative in solo provided that it appears in a hendiadic construction with *ocurrírsele* and that the verb appears in the present tense, as in:

9. Se cruzó con Mike Tyson en la calle y ¿sabes lo que hizo? Solo se le ocurre pegarle

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Possessive morphology with A/S/O-indexing functions in verbs: A cross-linguistic survey

Introduction. In various languages, possessor/possessee markers on nominals are used to index A, S, and/or O on verbs. Two cases in point are Mono (cf. (1)), where the same markers index A/S and possessors, and Tupí-Guaraní languages, where possessive morphology is employed to index O (Payne 1994). In some languages, this phenomenon is limited to specific voice or TMA-constructions (realis past in Mono, inverse in Tupí-Guaraní, past/habitual in Uyghur, cf. (3)), while in others it is less restricted (cf. (2)). Possessor/person indexes may show similarity to independent pronouns (cf. (2)), suggesting parallel processes of grammaticalization of the latter into the former, or may formally differ from them (cf. (3)), making this scenario less plausible.

Aim. The aim of this paper is to provide a cross-linguistic survey of this phenomenon based on a 250-language sample. The parameters of analysis include:
a) the type of possessor marking involved (alienable/inalienable);
b) the syntactic function involved (A/S/O);
c) the position of possessive marking within NPs and that of A/S/O-indexing morphology on the verb;
d) the semantics (TAM, voice, etc.) of verb constructions whose A/S/O-indexes coincide with possessive markers;
e) (dis)similarity to free forms.

Results. The survey shows that:
(i) the phenomenon is widespread, being frequently attested in South America, South-East Asia, and Oceania, but less so elsewhere (see Palmer 2011 and papers in Yap et al. 2011);
(ii) the coincidence pattern mostly involves inalienable possessive markers;
(iii) typically, the coincidence pattern follows the alignment pattern of the language (ergative vs. nominative), grouping together S/O or A/S, but there are cases in which A, S, and O are all indexed by possessive markers;
(iv) coincidence seems more frequent with some voice (inverse, passive) and TAM (irrealis, habitual, past) constructions;
(v) similarity to free forms is often just partial, making the aforementioned parallel development scenario questionable.

Discussion. The A/S/O-indexing function may have arisen in some cases from a preexisting possessor-indexing function, with a diachronic functional shift from nominal to verbal marking. In this scenario, a nominalized verb, with possessor indexes corresponding to A, S and/or O of the full verb, has been reinterpreted as a finite form. The mechanisms of this process can be reconstructed for at least some languages of the sample: for instance, habitual predications may be shown to derive from the generalization of existential predications ("there is my going" > "I (usually) go"); nominalizations without overt agents may be deployed to avoid mentioning A in passive ("its destruction (was)" > "it was destroyed"; Sansò 2016), or O in antipassive constructions ("he does hunting" > "he hunts"; Sansò 2017: 189-193).

Examples

(1)   Mono (Northwest Solomonic; Palmer 2011: 687)

e-na (AUX-3SG.SBJ) 'he was' / *sa-na* (HOST-3SG.POSSR) 'his'

(2)   Moskona (East Bird's Head; Gravelle 2010: 106, 186)

	A/S and inalienable possessor prefixes	Independent pronouns
1SG	*di-*	*dif*
2SG	*bi-*	*bua*
1PL	*mi-*	*mif*
2PL	*yi-*	*yua*

(3)   Lopnor Uyghur (Eastern Turkic; Abdurehim 2014: 154)

	A/S prefixes (past/habitual) and inalienable possessor prefixes	Independent pronouns
1SG	*-m*	*män*
2SG	*-ŋ*	*sän*
1PL	*-q*	*biz*
2PL	*-ŋla(r)*	*silä(r)*

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Discourse patterns of left dislocations in Middle High German

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Keywords: Left dislocation, Middle High German, orality, discourse, language change

Research question. "Left dislocations" (LD) like e.g. *My aunt, she used to play the guitar*. are crosslinguistically considered to be typical characteristics of spoken language (e.g. Chafe 1994: 67). As such, they are also considered to be evidence for a more "oral syntax" of historical stages of language, i.e. a syntax that is structured into information units and characterized by a stronger "aggregative" (versus "integrative") organization (e.g. Lötscher 1994: 48, Ágel & Hennig 2006). There are, however, open questions about how "oral" they really are, how they are affected by language change, and whether terms of traditional grammar can adequately describe the boundary between "peripheral" and "core" elements in older stages of language.

Data and method. To address these questions, the paper investigates LD in Middle High German (MHG) in two steps. First, the paper presents the comparative analysis of two MHG epics that are from the same period of time but are seen as differently influenced by the oral tradition (i.e. *Nibelungenlied* and *Tristan*, both ~1200 AD). LD are classified with respect to their syntactic features, discourse functions, and their distribution in different discourse modes. In a second step, this exemplary analysis is complemented by a broader investigation of LD in different text types in the "Referenzkorpus Mittelhochdeutsch" (https://www.linguistics.rub.de/rem/).

Results. The first analysis shows that the two verse epics display different distribution patterns. In the *Nibelungenlied*, LD are used more frequently in narrative than in dialogical passages. This at first sight unexpected result can be explained by the fact that LD contribute to the framing of protagonists and are thus refunctionalized in narrative discourse as part of a narrative syntax. The analysis of the *Tristan* reveals more varied textual functions and syntactic constellations, e.g. the nominal phrases are more complex and are also used in subordinate sentences. This indicates that the LD are not purely "oral" but conventionalized syntactic structures and used as a stylistic device. The second analysis reveals significant distinctions between prose and verse text types. It is, for example, shown, that the LD in MHG sermons are preferably used in argumentative contexts and display a different functional pattern than the MHG epics.

Discussion. The analysis shows that the discourse patterns of LD are strongly dependent on factors like text type, discourse mode, and the prose vs. verse distinction. This leads to new insights with respect to their diachronic development: While there is a general line of decrease of LD in the history of German which parallels the process of literalization, their micro-changes are much more complex. This will also shed new light on the discussion whether the boundary between "peripheral" and "core" elements can be uphold in case of older stages of language and whether they can be described more adequately in terms of "thetical grammar" (Kaltenböck, Heine & Kuteva 2011), i.e. not restricted by the rules of sentence grammar but rather shaped by the situation of discourse.

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Manner meanings and forms

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Keywords: adverb, Barbareño Chumash, Mohawk, Navajo, Yup'ik

Duplâtre and Duffley raise fundamental questions about the universality of the lexical category adverb, specifically for the expression of manner. While manner can of course be expressed in all languages, the formal characteristics of such expressions are far from uniform. The range of grammatical strategies available for this purpose is illustrated here with examples from four genealogically and areally unrelated languages: Barbareño (Chumash), Mohawk (Iroquoian), Central Alaskan Yup'ik (Inuit-Yupik-Unangan), and Navajo (Dene). Material is drawn from corpora of unscripted speech in a variety of genres. All of these languages lack a robust adverb word class, but all contain multiple constructions for indicating manner.

Manner may be expressed as part of the lexical semantics of verbs. Among the Barbareño verb stems, for example, are *waškay* 'carry (holding)', *helekeč* 'carry (pack basket)', *takʰuy* 'carry along', *nuxi'nan* 'carry away (of water)', and *sɨp* 'carry on back'.

Manner may be predicated with a verb. In Mohawk what would be expressed with an adverb in other languages is most often specified with a verb.

> *Ra-kar-a-**weiénh**-en.*
> he-story-LINKER-**know.how**-ST
> 'He tells stories **well.**'   Josephine Kaieríthon Horne, speaker

Frequently the verb constitutes a matrix clause whose complement is the modified clause.

> *Tóka'*   ***io-'shátst**-e'*   *en-hs-awénrie-' . . .*
> if   **N.PAT-be.strong**-ST   FUT-2SG.AGT-stir-PFV
> 'If you stir **too strongly . . .**'   Watshenní:ne' Sawyer, speaker

Manner may be expressed in a dependent clause, as in the Yup'ik below.

> ***Qamur-lu-ku***   *atra-uqur-la-put.*
> **drag**-SUBORDINATIVE-R>3SG   descend-repeatedly-OPT.1PL>3SG
> 'Let's **drag** it down. '   Elena Charles, speaker

Manner may also be expressed with verbal affixes, as in Navajo. Navajo prefix meanings range from relatively clear and concrete to abstract.

> *Ch'ééh*   *há-da-zh-**n**-tá-o.*
> futilely   for-DISTR-4.SBJ-**by.sight**-search.CONT.IPFV-SUBORDINATE
> 'They were trying to find it.'   Dolly Hermes Soule, speaker

Each of these languages contains multiple strategies for indicating manner. In addition to lexical options like those for 'carry' seen above, Barbareño Chumash speakers can specify manner in matrix verbs of complex sentences and verb prefixes.

> **S-ʰutówič**   *hi=s-**api**-alušpawat-un.*
> it-**be.quick** DEP=3SG-**by.burning**-ash-VBLZR
> 'It **quickly burns** to ashes.'   Mary Yee, speaker

Yup'ik contains not just the dependent clause construction seen above, but also a rich inventory of manner suffixes, many apparently descended from verbs.

> *Aya-**ngsi**-lli-a-mi . . .*
> go-**to.no.particular.end**-perhaps-CONSEQUENTIAL-3SG
> 'Because he was going along **leisurely** . . .'   George Charles, speaker

The alternatives available to speakers of each of the languages are selected for different semantic and discourse purposes.

Duplâtre and Duffley further question whether manner expressions might modify not just an action but also the agent. The languages under discussion here provide both scenarios. In the complement and the verb-affix constructions, it is the event that is directly modified, but in the dependent clause constructions, the subject of the dependent clause is in fact the agent.

Who are 'you'? The open (generic) use of 2nd person singular
in Estonian dialects

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The option to use singular 2nd person forms (either pronouns or verb forms) for referring to other entities than the canonical addressee of the speech situation is widely attested in many languages, esp. Slavic, Romance, and Germanic languages, although cross-linguistically, it is the third-person plural which is used impersonally most often (Siewierska 2004: 210-213). Such SG2 usages are typically called *generic*, *impersonal*, or *non-specific* (see e.g. DeCock & Kluge 2016), in Finnish tradition also *open reference* (Laitinen 2006, Helasvuo 2008). Moreover, it has been demonstrated that the SG2 forms can also be used for referring to the speaker (Auer & Stukenbrock 2018).

In Finnic languages, the open use of 'you' (OSG2) is relatively well studied in Finnish (e.g. Helasvuo 2008, Seppänen 2000, Suomalainen 2020, Forsberg & Uusitupa 2020), and Karelian dialects spoken in Finland (Uusitupa 2017). In spoken Finnish, for example, OSG2 is typically used for expressing personal experience which is mutually accessible to both participants (Suomalainen & Varjo 2020), although it is less frequent than the open SG3 (the 'zero person') construction (Varjo & Suomalainen 2018). In addition, the use of open 'you' is more characteristic of southeastern Finnish dialects (Forsberg & Uusitupa 2020) and Karelian dialects in Finland (Uusitupa 2017), which gives reason to suggest that contacts with Russian have an augmenting effect on the phenomenon.

The use of OSG2 has also been attested in Estonian (Jokela & Plado 2015: 89). However, the phenomenon, its spread, and usage conditions have not gained much attention in Estonian linguistics so far.

In the present paper, we use data from the Corpus of Estonian Dialects to examine the use of SG2 forms across the spoken regional varieties of Estonian. We analyze 500 randomly chosen observations of SG2 verb forms from each of the 10 dialects to answer the following research questions:

1. How common is the generic, impersonal use of the 2SG verb forms in spoken dialect data?
2. What characterizes the experiences that the speakers prefer to generalize?
3. How often and under which conditions are the 2SG verb forms accompanied by the (non-obligatory) subject pronoun?

According to our initial findings, the open use of SG2 is common in all Estonian dialects. However, it is most conspicuous in southeastern Estonia, in the contact area with Russian. In South Estonian Seto

and Võro, the SG2 forms of some modal verbs have even extended to other persons (*sa piä-t* 'you must', but also *ma piä-t* 'I must'). While both open and specific SG2 verb forms can occur with an explicit SG2 pronoun, its use is significantly less likely in OSG2. We also see that speakers tend to use the OSG2 in contexts where they talk about their own experience, often in detailed descriptions of everyday work and past customs, and when talking about standards and norms which they take as being generally accepted in the community.

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Transitivity prominence in Indo-European and beyond

This paper explores to what extent transitivity prominence represents a stable feature in archaic Indo-European languages. Transitivity prominence is a measure for comparing the relative pervasiveness of transitive encoding in the verbal lexicon across languages, transitive encoding being understood as the morphosyntactic encoding characteristic of so-called core transitive verbs like *break*, *build* or *kill* (Haspelmath 2015). One would expect that languages with typologically similar alignment and argument realization systems show roughly the same degree of transitivity prominence and that this also applies to genetically related languages. However, Seržant et. al (2022) demonstrate that that areal factors sometimes impact this dimension of grammar. It remains to be established how genetic and areal factors interact in determining how widespread transitive encoding is in the verbal lexicon of a language. This research question motivates this contribution. Its empirical scope comprises samples of ca. 100 verbal lexemes/idioms from Hittite, Vedic Sanskrit, Homeric Greek, and Early Latin, four genetically related languages with similar typological characteristics. The lexemes are classified according to three morphosyntactic parameters:

- Active vs. mediopassive voice
- Canonical/nominative subject case marking and verb agreement
- Canonical/accusative object case marking

Predicates selecting for active voice, nominative subject and consistently accusative object are classified as canonically transitive, whereas predicates differing from the transitive prototype regarding one or more parameters are classified as having non-canonical voice and/or argument marking. Preliminary results of comparison of some of the pertinent data from the four languages are given in Table 1 and visualized in Figure 1.[1] These figures indicate that Vedic and Greek pattern similarly and differently from Hittite and Latin. To establish whether these differences are statistically significant, the Fisher Exact test was employed, which, when applied to each cell in a table, calculates the probability of obtaining an even greater deviation from the expected value (cf. Janda et al. 2013:90-91).[2] Table 2 demonstrates that Hittite and Latin are significantly more strongly attracted towards canonical, transitive morphosyntax than Vedic Sanskrit and Homeric Greek, Greek in fact showing a significant repulsion against this argument realization pattern. Moreover, Hittite shows strong repulsion against middle voice

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[1] Non-canonical subject marking/impersonal constructions were not present in the samples and are therefore factored out in the following presentation.

[2] Results were obtained by employing the fisher.test() function in R (R core team 2022).

morphology, while Latin shows repulsion towards non-canonical object marking. The paper concludes with a discussion of these variation patterns and to what extent they reflect different stages of development (cf. Cotticelli and Dahl 2022), different types of areal pressure, or both.

Table 1: Transitivity prominence across four branches of Indo-European

	Hittite	Vedic Sanskrit	Homeric Greek	Early Latin
Canonically transitive morphosyntax	49	40	40	53
Middle voice marking	3	9	12	8
Non-canonical object marking	10	17	17	6
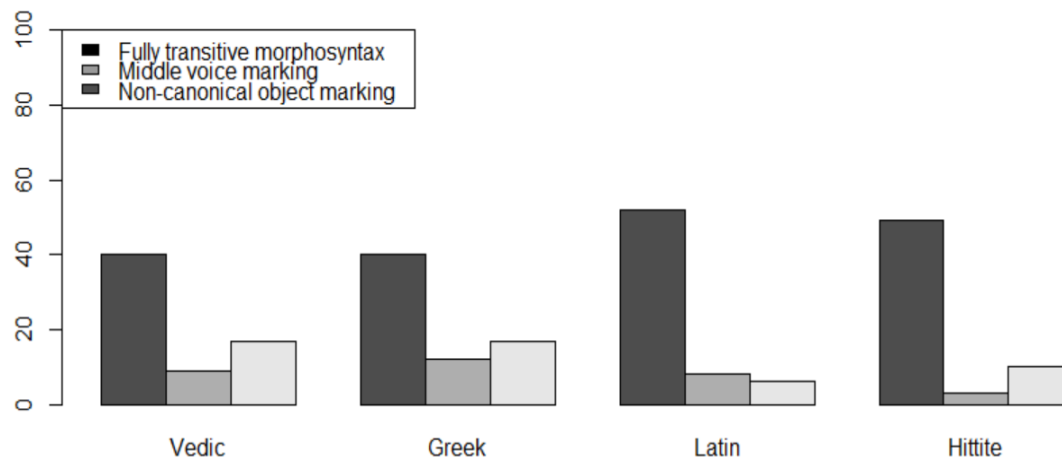
Table 2: Attraction and repulsion towards transitivity features.

	Vedic	Greek	Latin	Hittite
Canonically transitive morphosyntax	-0.06666	**-0.0183**	**+0.02895**	**+0.03146**
Middle Voice	+0.4089	+0.09409	-0.5911	**-0.02921**
Non-Canonical Object	+0.07828	+0.1147	**-0.01096**	-0.3228

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Noun-based similarity markers in Serbian: A survey

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The present study proposes a typology of (relatively) new similatives in Serbian that are based on nouns, and are a part of a nominal phrase, that is, that enter an [NP1 SIM NP2] construction, where SIM stands for 'similative'.

In Serbian, there are two semantic source domains for similatives at issue: taxonomic nouns and manner nouns.

As for Serbian taxonomic nouns, only one has developed similative uses: namely the noun *tip* 'type' in the genitive (*tipa*), in which case it must be regarded as preposition, as in (1):

(1)   *Ovaj tretman je potpuno bezopasan za sve tipove kože, ne ostavlja*

       tragove   **tipa**   **crvenila**. (srWaC)
       mark-Pl-ACC   type-Sg-GEN   redness-Sg-GEN

       'This treatment is perfectly safe for all skin types, it doesn't leave **marks such as red skin**'

Other taxonomic nouns, namely *rod* 'kin', *vrsta* 'kind' and *sorta* 'sort', do not appear in an [NP1 SIM NP2] construction.

As for manner nouns, (at least) three have developed similative uses: *stil* 'style', *fazon* 'trick, fashion' and *fora* 'trick' (the latter two being strictly confined to colloquial speech and writing), as members of fixed polylexical units that seem to be on their way of becoming grammaticalized as (complex) prepositions followed by a NP-GEN: *u stilu, u fazonu, na fazon, na foru*:

(2)   *Čak sam izustio* **nešto**   **u**   **stilu**   **izvinjenja**… (srWaC)
                   something   in-PREP style-LOC   excuse-Sg-GEN

       'I even said **something like an apology**…'

(3)   *Hoću da napravim*

       nešto   *(u fotošopu)*   **na**   **foru**   **zemljanog puta**. (srWaC)
       something   (in Photoshop) on-PREP   trick-Sg-LOC   earthen.road-Sg-GEN

       'I would like to photoshop **something like a dirt road**…'

The taxonomic noun *tip* in the genitive (*tipa*), the manner noun *fazon* – either in the nominative or as part of the constructions *u fazonu* (in-PREP fashion-Sg-LOC) and *na fazon* (on-PREP fashion-Sg-ACC), and the manner noun *stil* in the construction *u stilu* (in-PREP style-Sg-LOC) – can also function as particles, with a range of semantic and pragmatic functions, such as approximation (4), exemplification (5) and quotation (6):

(4)   *Došao je kući **tipa/ fazon/ u fazonu** u 5h*.

       'He came home at, **like**, 5 o'clock.'

(5)   *Uzmi i meni nešto. **Tipa/ Fazon** kafu ili čaj.*

       'Order something for me as well. **Like**, coffee or tea.'

(6)   *I kaže on meni, **tipa/ fazon/ u fazonu/ na fazon/ u stilu**, neću više da budem ovde.*

       'And he tells me, **like**, I don't wanna be here anymore'

The paper proposes a description of the nouns *tip, fazon, fora* and *stil* and the constructions they appear in in Serbian. The nouns are examined and compared in three types of usage, namely as nouns, as prepositions, and as particles, within a corpus-based approach. The analysis shows that only the noun *tip* in the genitive exhibits all the uses recognized in the relevant literature, and that it patterns almost completely with its Russian counterpart *typ* (see Davidse et al. 2013, Mihatsch 2016, Chauveau-Thoumelin, 2020, Kisiel & Kolyaseva, forthcoming, and Kolyaseva 2022).

The article is intended as a contribution to the typology of similatives in present-day Serbian in particular, and Slavic languages in general.

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Modeling the influence of nonlinguistic factors on word formation creativity. The case of name blending

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Keywords: word formation creativity, nonlinguistic factors, experimental study, personal names
name blends

In morphology, linguistic creativity is usually studied with respect to its relation to productivity and grammar rules (Chomsky 1966, Bauer 1983). However, recent approaches (Körtvélyessy et al. 2022) define linguistic creativity in more general terms, namely as the ability of speakers to create both innovative and useful linguistic units. Although the influence of individual factors on word formation creativity, such as the creative potential of speakers, has been investigated (cf. Körtvélyessy et al. 2022), it remains unclear how nonlinguistic factors influence the production and processing of creative (useful and innovative) units and how they interact with speakers' linguistic experience.

To bear on this issue, personal name blends comprising two first names, (e.g., *Brangelina* from Brad and Angelina) are used as a testbed phenomenon because personal names bear extralinguistic knowledge about name bearers. Furthermore, the creativity of name blending has not been investigated systematically although lexical blending is regarded as a creative process (cf. Lehrer 2007). Two groups of native speakers of German with experience with lexical and name blending participated in the production and the acceptability judgement task. The production task is based on 32 name pairs from familiar and unfamiliar first names selected from the list of 50 most familiar and most unfamiliar German first names and controlled for their syllable length (two- and trisyllabic names), and phonological properties of male and female first names cf. Nübling 2015). The results of the mixed-effects logistic regression suggest a strong influence of linguistic experience and familiarity since creative name blends (defined as blends that deviate from the canonical blend structure, cf. Plag 2018 and from the canonical constituent order with a familiar constituent in the first position, cf. Kelly 1998) are rarely produced.

In the second experiment, a new group of participants was required to rate the creativity of name blends from the production task on two separate 5-point scales (one for the aspect useful and one for the property innovative). The aim is to test whether familiarity (speakers´ knowledge about names), the blend structure, the order of constituents, and the syllable length of names influence the rating. The linear mixed-effects model shows that name blends with both familiar or unfamiliar constituents are rated as more innovative and useful than those with one familiar and one unfamiliar first name. Furthermore, blends with unfamiliar names in the first position received significantly higher ratings of innovativeness than those with familiar names in the first position. Contrary to the creativity of compounds (cf. Lynott & Keane 2005), both experiments suggest that familiarity influences not only the production but also the rating of the creativity of name blends.

In general, the paper contributes to the ongoing debate on the types of knowledge involved in the representation and processing of new words in the mental lexicon (cf. Emmorey & Fromkin: 2010: 143) and on the place of proper names in the mental lexicon (cf. Izaute 2004, Mignot and Manon 2022).

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Incorporating cognitive evidence in a computational model for persuasiveness

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A recent trend in computational approaches to discourse and argumentation is to identify and measure persuasiveness, i.e., determine automatically whether a span of text or argument is conveyed in a way that is likely to persuade the reader or hearer. In line with the majority of work in Natural Language Processing (NLP), the go-to methodology is to identify a large set of text-based features and then use mostly supervised methods to predict whether a span of text is. Features that are commonly extracted with rather shallow approaches range from simple n-gram counts to word-based sentiment scores, argumentative text spans and subjectivity scores (El Baff et al. 2020, and Xiao and Xiao 2020). Other approaches use theories of persuasion to identify lexical items and structures relevant for persuasion (Habernal and Gurevych 2016, and Yang et al. 2019), or rhetorical strategies that have some persuasive impact (Shaikh et al. 2020).

However, Persing and Ng (2017) correctly note that "argument persuasiveness can only be determined by understanding the discourse, not by the presence or absence of lexical cues". While a number of approaches have attempted to take into account argument structure to predict persuasiveness (Carlile et al. 2018, and Shaikh et al. 2020), we do see significant potential to incorporate cognitive and pragmatic evidence on how people perceive persuasiveness. For instance, Koszowy et al. (2022) show that speakers frequently use rephrases in argumentative context and they do so because it increases the persuasiveness of the message. Even when a rephrase is misused as in the case of a straw man, the pragmatic formulation can have an influence on the acceptability of said fallacy (Schumann 2022, and Schumann et al. 2019, 2021).

For our novel approach to model persuasiveness, we use as reference corpus QT30, the largest corpus of analysed dialogical argumentation ever created (19,842 utterances, 280,000 words) (Hautli-Janisz et al. 2022). The corpus contains 30 episodes of BBC's 'Question Time' from 2020 and 2021 analysed with Inference Anchoring Theory (IAT) (Budzynska et al. 2014), a framework for large-scale analysis of natural argumentation in dialogue. QT30 features highly argumentative language and combines well-versed political rhetoric with the direct, often combative, justification-seeking attitude of the general public.

For the purpose of this work, we extract all scheduled questions of the audience to the panel of political and societal figures. We also extract the responses and all pragmatic structures contained in them, i.e., speech acts and argument relations (inference, conflict and rephrase) used to respond to the question under discussion. We then conduct a two-fold cognitive study: one in which we establish those pragmatic structures that are most decisive in making the excerpt persuasive by getting judgements of minimal variations of the response. The second study will elicit persuasiveness scores

for the minimal variations. While the former study will enable us to weigh the pragmatic features in the computational model according to the structures people deem relevant for persuasion, the latter will provide us with a cognitively-motivated account of persuasion. The talk will report on the initial results of these two studies and their impact on model performance.

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Using the *Nouveaux Atlas Linguistiques de France* for the Study of Ancient Dialects

Walther von Wartburg's *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (FEW, 1922-) is an outstanding tool for the study of the ancient dialects of France. Wartburg exploited Jules Gilliéron's *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (ALF, 1902-1910) and hundreds of dialectal vocabularies to establish the etymology of words. However, the *Nouveaux Atlas Linguistiques de France* (NALF, published from 1954) was only partly exploited and most of its material has not yet been taken into account by historians of the French language and its dialects.

In my presentation, I would like to show empirically how to exploit the NALF to study ancient dialects and the regional diversification of French languages. From a lexicological point of view, they increase the lexical data of the FEW even in the case of words with few ancient occurrences, helping to clarify their meaning. Moreover, they provide more precise indications of the actual spatial spread, with a more detailed view of each individual region. This is the case, for instance, with the word *serron* (attested as *cerron* only in a document from Poitou of 1286): the various Old French dictionaries and the FEW ad difficulty identifying the correct meaning of the word, presumably defined as "scie à main"; the *Atlas linguistique de l'Ouest* (part of the NALF) offers a dozen occurrences of *serron* in the region with its correct meaning "le talon de la serpe".

From a phonetic point of view, the NALF provide elements otherwise unidentifiable through ancient written texts. One of the controversial discussion about Old French phonetic concerns the evolution of 'é[(< ē). The classical interpretation states that ē became [ei̯] in the 6th century; it quickly changed to [oi̯] at the end of the 12th century, then to [u̯e] > [u̯ɛ] during the 13th century. The dialects of western France had reduced from [ei̯] to [e]. Thanks to the *Atlas*, we have evidence of a certain correspondence between ancient *scriptae* and modern dialectal data, so that I can suppose that the [e] in western France never evolved to [ei̯], proving that this area formerly belonged to the Occitan diasystem (so we can call the poitevin region *Occitania sumbersa*).

The combination of the philological study of ancient texts with the exploitation of modern dialects, coupled with the use of new IT tools such as the GallRom database (based at the University of Zurich), the Thesoc database (based at the University of Nice) and the future digitisation of the FEW (based at the ATILF-CNRS in Nancy) opens up a new methodological approach to explain linguistic change and possible continuities between medieval languages in France.

Fog, dew, snow and other phenomena in French Sign Language

As has been largely argued (*cf.* Bouvet 1997, Cuxac 2000, Fusellier 2006 among others), lexical terms in sign languages are motivated: they originate in gestural representation of perceptible phenomena and employ depictive resources or deictic gestures. One can, thus, identify in their structure designation gestures, shape tracing, role play or moving forms in space. The link between the concept and the displayed shape can be direct, metonymical or metaphorical. Lexicalization processes (generalization, conceptualization, stabilization and articulatory economy) have resulted in standardized forms of tracing in the signing space, which can include or exclude the signer's bust. In discourse, these conventionalized signs (words in a sign language) are all motivated but their meaning is not always transparent. Lexical or inflexional derivation applied to such standardized signs restores original motivation to center-stage. Semantic families of signs, semantically and formally related, have thus been constituted (Millet 2019), such as, for example: rain-fall / snow-fall / smoke-rise (denoting masses of droplets falling or rising by a same kind of gestures).

Our presentation is an exploratory study of some weather terms in French Sign Language (FSL) expressing phenomena linked to humidity, *i.e.* clouds, fog, snow, hoarfrost or dew. We provide analysis of specific lexical items, their motivation, and the constructions in which they occur. Our aim is to investigate the polysemical potentiality of these meteorological terms (Paykin 2002). Our assumption is that the gestural configuration at the origin of these signs accounts for the fact that they are more or less involved in naming the natural element as well as in expressing events, states or processes. For example, the FSL term for the natural element 'snow' and that denoting the process and event 'snow-fall' do not belong to the same family, having different motivation origins. The former comes from the action linked to the element (making snowballs), while the latter is linked to the perceptible process (the fall of snowflakes).

Only certain phenomena are designated by terms available in FSL dictionaries. However, the only available dictionaries today are translation dictionaries providing FSL equivalents to French terms, far from containing the majority of FSL terms. The term 'dew', for instance, absent in French/FSL dictionaries, can be found exclusively in the form of paraphrase (*Spreadthesign*, multilingual dictionaries) or of definition (Elix).

For our study, therefore, we could not use FSL dictionaries, nor use annotated corpora, inexistent in FSL. We, thus, worked with native French Sign Language signers invited to communicate on their experience of weather phenomena, on the basis of their personal experiences and some photos showing the phenomena in question. We also used available videos where weather phenomena are described in FSL.

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Russian Verbs of Return Motion:
Designing a Lexical Domain

In Russian, like in other Slavic languages, motion verbs constitute a grammatical category of verbs characterized by particular specific semantics and syntax. Studies generally focus on their certain features (semantics, morphology, syntax, derivation, aspect, prefixation) and also relevant pedagogy and acquisition (among the latest, Janda 2010, Hasko 2009, Hasko and Perelmutter 2010). However, while focusing on this narrow grammatical group of motion verbs, studies often overlook verbs that by their semantics denote motion in a broader sense.

From the semantic point of view, motion in Slavic languages is morphologically carried by simple verbs as well as by prefixed or suffixed verbs, which form a particular lexical category denoting motion. Semantics of such a category largely crosses the boundaries of canonical motion (walking, running, swimming, flying, and so on) (e.g. verbs of rotation in Rakhilina 2010). In this regard, research is still insufficient, and Slavic motion verbs as a lexical category still require further investigation (some studies have to be mentioned: Šarić and Tchizmarova 2014, Hasko and Perelmutter 2010), which in the future would allow comparative studies on motion between languages (Talmy 2007/1985).

Here, we propose to focus on a specific motion in Russian, that of return. There are two perfective verbs in Russian that describe a return or coming back: *vozvratit'sja* and *vernut'sja* (with the same imperfective correlate for both - *vozvraščat'sja*), both of Slavic origin. These verbs are often viewed as synonymous. However, the two verbs are hardly interchangeable and their semantic differences are difficult to explain without deeper research involving big data.

The talk presents a comparative study of two Russian verbs *vozvratit'sja* and *vernut'sja* 'to return' based on the Russian National Corpus data (ruscorpora.ru) and examines the meaning and usage of hystorically close synonymical verbs both synchronically and diachronically. Quantitative analysis of the period beginning in the 1700 reveals that the use of each verb follows diametrically opposed trends: commonly used in the 18th century, *vozvratit'sja* had been losing frequency to represent only occasional usages in the 21st century, while *vernut'sja* had been gaining frequency and exceeds in the 21st century by almost five times the use of its counterpart.

While their frequencies are diametrically opposed, both verbs follow quite typical semantic shifts schemas. Like other motion verbs, their spatial usages are supported by other spatial arguments marking end and starting points, manner, and trajectory (*vozvratit'sja ~ vernut'sja domoj, iz Rossii, samolëtom, po pyl'noj doroge*); and they can be used as copula verb (*vozvratit'sja ~ vernut'sja geroem, grustnym, sorokaletnim*). At the same time, like for other motion verbs, semantic extension of both verbs covers temporal as well as more abstract domains (*vozvratit'sja ~ vernut'sja v detstvo, k mysli*).

Despite their similar patterns, the verb *vernut'sja* is overtly preferred to *vozvratit'sja* in modern Russian. The observed semantic specification on the instantaneousness of a return action expressed by *vernut'sja* has obviously phonological and morphological reasons. Moreover, the causes of a decline of *vozvratit'sja* have probably also to be sought in general usage of Slavic verbs in modern Russian, that we will try to investigate as well.

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Corpora

Google Books: https://books.google.com/ngrams

RNC, Russian National Corpus: www.ruscorpora.ru

RLC, Russian Learner Corpus: http://www.web-corpora.net/RLC/

Existential constructions in the weather domain:
plain existentials vs. impersonal FACERE in French, Italian and Spanish

For the encoding of the presence of some weather phenomena such as wind, French, Spanish and Italian make use of two competing impersonal structures combining weather nouns either with their respective plain existential verb, be it HABERE 'to have' or ESSERE 'to be' (*cf.* FR *il y a du vent* / ES *hay viento* / IT *c'è vento* 'there is wind'), or with the action verb FACERE 'to do' in its impersonal form (*cf.* FR *il fait vent* / ES *hace viento* / IT *fa vento*). According to Bauer (2000), these two structures have arisen as alternatives to the diminishing use of intransitive weather verbs (*cf.* FR *venter*) in Latin in order to conform to the spread of transitive SVO structures. In this light, the question arises as to whether and how dynamicity plays a role in the distribution of both constructions in existential weather utterances in contemporary Romance languages.

Our previous diachronic study for French revealed that up to Middle French, within the domain of weather, *il fait* tends to combine with dynamic phenomena such as thunderstorms (FR *il fait orage*), while *il y a* is reserved for more static phenomena such as fog (FR *il y a du brouillard*). From Pre-classical French (1550) onwards, however, this distribution is abandoned in favor of another functional division: *il fait* has specialized in the qualitative expression of atmospheric states (cf. *il fait grand vent* 'there is strong wind'), while *il y a* is used to quantify the presence of weather substances or phenomena (cf. *il n'y pas un brin de vent* 'there is no wind whatsoever').

In this contribution, we will confront this analysis with synchronic empirical data for Italian and European Spanish based on the Sketch Engine TenTen corpora, in order to verify the potential role of (a) dynamicity and (b) the difference between more qualitative and quantitative contexts. Therefore, we conduct a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the Italian and Spanish equivalents of the weather nouns 'rain', 'snow', 'fog', 'thunderstorm', 'storm', 'lightning' and 'wind' when they appear either with the respective Italian and Spanish plain existential verb or an impersonal form of FACERE.

Although the use of the plain existential verb is dominant in both languages, our data reveal that they feature very different trends in the use of FACERE. In European Spanish, the use of this verb is almost exclusively maintained with 'wind', while in Italian it can be found with almost all nouns, although more frequently with those denoting complex dynamic phenomena such as (thunder)storms, for which no specific weather verb is available in this language. In conclusion, the current distribution in Italian still largely corresponds to Bauer's hypothesis on the initial use of both verbs in Late Latin, while we only find some lexicalized relics of FACERE in European Spanish. Both Romance languages thus significantly differ from French with respect to the current distribution of existential constructions in weather utterances.

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Evaluating non-canonical paradigm cells in Czech

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A one-to-one correspondence is often assumed between grammatical function slots and word forms: a form occupies one slot (e.g. "3rd person singular present"), and a slot contains one form (e.g. -s or -es) for any lexeme. These assumptions underlie structuralist, functionalist, generativist and early cognitivist models of morphology (Blevins 2015).

In the world's languages, however, a grammatical function is often expressed by multiple forms of a lexeme (overabundance, per Thornton 2012) or a lexeme may have missing forms (defectivity). These are assumed to be distinct phenomena; studies of defectivity characterize it as anomalies outside the system or epiphenomena occasioned by clashes between independent generalizations (for a critique, see Sims 2015: 249), while studies of overabundance downplay structural reasons for competition between forms, and invoke the Principle of Contrast (Clark 1987: 2) to explain their distribution. And yet often the 'trigger' for diverse outcomes is similar, i.e. potential for multiple stems inherent in English strong verbs: strike has a participle struck, while strive has both strived and striven, and stride is said to lack a participle entirely.

Our talk examines why similar triggers lead to differing outcomes by investigating responses to defective and overabundant slots in Czech. Previously, we found that in the multi-stem paradigms typical of Czech verbal and nominal morphology, intra-cell variation is more widespread than typically posited. Bermel et al. (under review) presented Czech native speakers with gapped sentences: the respondents filled in forms expected to be unambiguously nonvariant; overabundant, where 2+ forms were possible; or defective, with a form typically felt to be best avoided. Even where no variation was anticipated, speakers created non-sanctioned forms from alternate stems and with alternate desinences. Cells posited as defective also had potential members: when prompted to fill a supposedly empty cell, speakers almost always completed the task, although this frequently resulted in avoidance techniques, including reformulation and near-synonymy. Speakers produced a significantly greater variety of forms for defective slots; the forms were significantly further from the 'closest expected' answer; and they took significantly longer to accomplish the tasks. Overabundant and nonvariant cells differed significantly from each other only in the overall dominance of the most popular answer.

The format of a production study does not give insight into the uncertainty (Nikolaev & Bermel 2022) that respondents might experience when presented with multiple plausible options in a forced-choice context. We thus contrast previous results with a follow-up experiment examining timed reactions: respondents choose between a variety of forms produced by the speakers in our previous experiment. Our hypothesis is that the amount of time respondents spend choosing will be significantly different between all three types of lexemes, and the dispersion of choices will be significant between the three types. Defective cells will have the longest decision time and will show the greatest dispersion;

Nonvariant cells will have the shortest decision time and will show the least dispersion. The three types will show the gradient property of speaker response to uncertainty, from defective through overabundant to non-variant.

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Modal hierarchies or argumentative patterns? A corpus-based study on the co-occurrence of modalities in Classical Latin

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This paper focuses on the co-occurrence of multiple modal expressions at the sentence level in a Classical Latin corpus.

The notion of modality and the categorisation adopted in this study draw on Dell'Oro (2022) —building on Nuyts (2016)—who defines modality as the association of the domains of possibility, necessity, probability and volition to a state of affairs. Several studies have focused on the Latin modal system (Bolkestein 1980; Núñez 1991; Fruyt and Moussy 2002; Bertocchi and Orlandini 2001; Fruyt and Orlandini 2003; Fruyt 2004; Magni 2005,2010), and some have addressed the co-occurrence of modal markers in different languages (Huot 1974; Coates 1983; Nuyts 2004; Narrog 2009; Kratochvílová 2018; Hütsch 2020). However, no study on this topic has been devoted specifically to Latin so far.

Yet, this phenomenon deserves specific attention for its implications on I) the application to Latin of the modal hierarchies and scopal differences observed in other languages (Dik 1997; Cinque 2006; Nuyts 2006 among others) II) the use of modality in argumentative patterns playing on opposite modal meanings, or different degrees of the same modal scale. Consider examples 1 and 2.

1. ***Certe*** *pugnare abdicatis **licet***. (Seneca the Elder, *Controversiae* I, VIII, 4)
   '**Certainly** the disinherited **are allowed** to fight'

2. *Etsi intellegebam vestro senatus consulto non modo **posse** me id facere sed etiam **debere***. (Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares* 105, 7)
   'Although I was aware that under your decree I **had** not only **a right** but also **a duty** to agree'

In example 1) *certe* embeds *licet* (and its scope *pugnare*) into its own scope. The co-occurrence establishes a modal hierarchy: the value of epistemic necessity expressed by the adverb *certe* is applied to the deontic value expressed by the verb *licet*. Conversely, in example 2) *posse* and *debere* share the same scope *id facere*, but they do not interfere with each other's modal value: their relation is established at the discourse level, building on the argumentative pattern *non solum X, sed etiam Y*.

Methodology. The co-occurrences are automatically extracted from the corpus and then manually annotated to specify e.g. the modal values expressed by the co-occurring markers; syntax of the co-occurrence; presence of hierarchical relations; semantic scope of each marker. The data is represented in co-occurrence matrices and the degree of attraction between pairs of specific markers or types of modality is calculated by using a symmetric independence quotient measure (see Egloff and Bavaud 2018).

Results. Co-occurrences of the type presented in example 1) represent the minority (9%) of the total number of co-occurrences retrieved in the corpus. The preliminary modal hierarchy for Classical Latin seems to show a certain overlap with previous studies on modal hierarchies in other languages (Nuyts 2004; Narrog 2009) in the cognitive-functional framework. Epistemic modality tends to be on a higher level of the hierarchy, followed by dynamic and deontic modality. However, the results obtained on the (few) co-occurrences of this type confirm that a less rigid model than those proposed in the literature for modal hierarchies is necessary (Narrog 2009, 177;236).
Co-occurrences like example 2) show a striking degree of attraction between the same modal categories (epistemic, dynamic and deontic). This result has helped drawing the attention on the use of co-occurrences that exploit different degrees of the same modal scale or opposite polar values (possible vs. not possible) for specific argumentative purposes.

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Gaps in conversion of verbs to nouns in Czech

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The present paper deals with conversion between nouns and verbs in Czech. It points out that in some morphological families conversion occurs repeatedly, while in others it occurs only once. The analysis, which is based on a dataset of more than 2,000 conversion pairs and related morphological families extracted from a 100-million corpus of written Czech, seeks to identify linguistic features that may underlie these differences.

Because in Czech the verb is marked overtly by a theme (conveying grammatical aspect) and inflectional endings, but none of these markers is found in the noun that results from verb-to-noun conversion (1) or is the input to noun-to-verb conversion (2), the noun and the verb only share the root and possibly the prefix. In addition to the conversion in (1), the prefixless verb *skočit* 'to jump' also gives rise to nearly twenty prefixed verbs, each of which again enters into conversion, resulting in a suffixless noun with the root *-skok-* and a prefix (see (3) for one of these nouns). The verb *zvonit* 'to ring the bell' in (2) also enters prefixation but, unlike the verbs derived from *skočit* 'to jump', none of the prefixed verbs converts to a noun, which is conceived of as a gap (cf. the formation marked with an asterisk in (4)).

(1)   *skoč-i-t*   →   *skok*
       jump-PFV-INF   jump
       'to jump'   'jump'
(2)   *zvon*   →   *zvon-i-t*
       bell   bell-IPFV-INF
       'bell'   'to ring the bell'
(3)   *skoč-i-t*   →   *vy-skoč-i-t*   →   *vý-skok*
       jump-PFV-INF   PREF-jump-PFV-INF   PREF-jump
       'to jump'   'to jump up'   'upward jump'
(4)   *zvon-i-t*   →   *od-zvon-i-t*   →   **odzvon*
       bell-IPFV-INF   PREF-bell-IPFV-INF
       'to ring the bell'   'to be over'

In the paper, the non-attestation of these formations, or the appearance of these gaps, is put in the context of the discussion of competition and blocking in word formation. Attention is paid particularly to established synonyms that would block the converted word (synonymy-based blocking; cf. Rainer 1988, 2012, Giegerich 2001, among others), but such an explanation accounts for only a few individual cases in the dataset.

Rather, the data suggest that the capacity of repeated conversion is related to the word class of the unmotivated item in the respective morphological family. Conversion reoccurs in the families that originate in a verb (like *skočit* 'to jump' above), but it is prevented in the families that are traced back to a noun (cf. *zvon* 'bell' in our example). The Czech data thus seem to contradict the hypothesis of the word-class neutrality of roots, which has been discussed across approaches with different

theoretical backgrounds (cf. Farrell 2001, Kastovsky 2005, or Borer 2014). The dividing line thus drawn is further refined with respect to a small group of verbs which exhibit the properties of denominals but which, after prefixation, are able to convert to nouns. These instances lend support to Mugdan's (2015) more general conclusion that "restrictions on the input to word-formation rules are primarily semantically based and not word-class based".

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The acquisition of the syntax-information structure interface: on the emergence of *c'est* 'it is' clefts in child French L1

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Keywords: cleft sentences, syntax, information structure, acquisition, French

INTRO

The linguistic literature on the syntax and information structure (henceforth IS) of *c'est*-clefts (1) in adult French is very rich (Doetjes et al. 2004; Destruel 2012). However, almost nothing is known on the first language acquisition of these structures in child French (but see Jourdain 2022), whether these are syntactically adult-like "full clefts" (1), "reduced clefts" (2) or "cleft attempts" (3).

(1)   *C'est*   *toi*   *qui*   *m(e)*   *fait*   *les*   *tortues*.
        it-is   you   who   to-me   does   the   turtles
        'It's you who (has to) do the turtles for me'
        (Marie, 2;9, corpus Lyon)

(2)   *C'est*   *Maya*
        it-is   Maya
        'It's Maya.'
        (Héloïse, 2;10.5, TCOF)

(3)   *Non!*   *C'est*   *moi*   *mets!*
        No!   it-is   me   put
        'No! It's me who puts!'
        (Anaïs, 2;5, corpus Lyon)

The aim of this talk is to analyze the formal development of child clefts and to determine if child clefts have the same IS as adult clefts and if these IS-functions are present at the onset of the development of syntax.

METHOD

Our corpus analysis is based on
- 303 cleft sentences (full clefts, cleft attempts and reduced clefts) produced by very young children (ages 1-3), from two corpora: the seminaturalistic cross-sectional TCOF corpus (subcorpus of ATILF 2018, www.ortolang.fr/market/corpora/tcof, André & Canut 2010) and the spontaneous longitudinal Lyon corpus (Demuth & Tremblay 2008, CHILDES).
- 178 cleft sentences (full clefts and cleft attempts, but no reduced clefts) produced by 10 children (ages 2;11 - 5;11) from the corpus Palasis (2009) (see Thonissen 2023).

(i) The developmental path of the syntax of clefts is (with only some months between the 1ˢᵗ occurrence of each type): *c'est X* clauses with referential *c'* ➔ *reduced clefts* of the type *c'est X* (2) ➔ *cleft attempts* (3): *c'est X* + an isolated word (infinitive, adjective, participle) and later a VP (with inflected verb, without complementizer) (see Lobo et al. 2016 on similar clefts in child Portuguese) ➔ clefts of the form *c'est* X + juxtaposed sentence (without complementizer) ➔ full clefts with a complete cleft relative clause (*c'est X qui/que* + clause) (1).

(ii) At age 2, reduced clefts are more frequent than cleft attempts and full clefts, but their proportion decreases between age 2 and 4. It is inside the cleft construction that the first relative clauses are produced in the corpus, confirming that relative clauses emerge in contexts with a "light" main verb (Diessel & Tomasello 2005). This argues in favor of an analysis of reduced clefts in child L1 as full clefts with an elided cleft relative clause (see Belletti 2005/2013's account for adult clefts) for processing reasons, rather than for discourse reasons.

(iii) In our dataset, all prototypical IS-interpretations of adult *c'est*-clefts occur in all syntactic types of child clefts, i.e. focus-background clefts in which the clefted element has a corrective / contrastive / new information interpretation. Hence, children have access to all discourse features of adult clefts before adult-like syntax is acquired. This indicates that syntax is not acquired earlier than IS in L1, confirming cognitive hypotheses (Levelt 1989, Lambrecht 1994) and syntactic approaches integrating IS in syntax (rather than assigning it post-syntactically), such as functional approaches and the cartographic approach à la Rizzi (1997 and subsequent work).

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Genre and *Style* in French: Interpretative types and formal correlations

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We aim to explore whether taxonomic versus approximative categorization can be readily associated with specific syntactic constructions based on the common assumption that interpretative types are coordinated to formal correlations (for French, see a.o., Rouget 1997, Rosier 2002, Vladimirska 2016, Haillet 2018). In order to do so, we will focus on two French markers, *genre* and *style*, entering binominal constructions as in the following examples:

1) J'aime **ce genre/ce style/ce type de** voitures.
'I like this kind/sort/type of cars.'

2) J'aime les voitures **du genre/style/type** Mercedes.
'I like the Mercedes type of cars / I like Mercedes cars.'

3) J'aime les voitures **de ce genre/de ce style/de ce type**.
'I like cars of this kind/sort/type.'

4) Il possède principalement des armes **style** (**type**) fusil laser. (frTenTen17, forumactif.org)
'It has mainly laser rifle style weapons.'

5) Il doit s'agir d'un petit linge **genre** (**type**) chaussette de bébé. (frTenTen17, bricovideo.com)
'It must be a small cloth like a baby sock.'

"*Genre/style*-preposition" or "*genre (style)* as qualifying particle(s)" (Davidse and Doyen 2009: 140) are generally considered to be approximative markers (4-5), whilst structures such as *ce/le/un/du genre/style de* (1-2) or in postmodifier position (3) are seen as categorizing ones. Yet, there is no approximation in (4)-(5): *fusil laser* ('laser rifle') and *chaussette de bébé* ('baby sock') are respectively *kinds of weapons* and *(small) cloth* or, to put it clearly, belong to the category of weapons and cloth. Moreover, we observe that *genre* and *style* can be replaced in all the examples above by *type*, which is exclusively taxonomic in French (Mihatsch 2007). In all the configurations studied, the nouns *genre*, *type*, *style* globally play their original role of inclusion markers, of "hierarchizers".

Starting from the structure *X {genre, style}* Y, where X is realized by an N or a NP and where *genre* and *style* are in bare use, considered to be the highly grammaticalized one, we will focus on the following aspects:
- Syntactic realizations of Y
- Semantic relations between X and Y
- Relationship established by the marker (see similarity, exemplification, focus, etc.; Voghera 2022)
- Individual specificities of the markers

Without denying that syntax may be one clue among others (see Keizer 2007, De Smedt *et al.* 2007, Brems & Davidse 2010, Mihatsch 2016, Kolyaseva & Davidse 2018, Masini & Mauri 2020, Vassiliadou *et al.* 2023), we will point out that it is not sufficient. Based on the results retrieved from three types of corpora and databases (the literary database *Frantext*, the *fra_mixed_2012* corpus available on the Leipzig Corpora Collection-*Wortschatz* and the *French Web 2017* Corpus on SketchEngine), we will show that there are indeed difficulties in defining the relevance of the proposed structural associations and their operational character, when interpretative types are coordinated to formal correlations either by applying a number of tests to a precise structure or by showing that a given interpretation is associated with a specific structure more often than with others (e.g. the distinction between binominal and qualifying constructions in type noun structures).

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Sound symbolism in Mankanya.

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This paper deals with the use of sound symbolism in Mankanya (BAK, Atlantic, Niger-Congo), a minority language, originally spoken in Guinea Bissau, now spread to Senegal and Gambia. Considering that sound symbolism occurs "when a sound unit such as a phoneme, syllable, feature, or tone is said to go beyond its linguistic function as a contrastive, nonmeaning-bearing unit, to directly express some kind of meaning" (Nuckolls 1999: 228), I identified three Mankanyan word categories (onomatopoeia, ideophones and depictive verbs) involving sound symbolism; each of them showing their own features regarding their morphology and shape, their syntactical behavior and their sound symbolic traits. Firstly, onomatopoeia consist in an imitation of natural sounds based on a specific phonological construction. Secondly, ideophones build a closed word category (containing 8 items) which occur in a well-defined syntactic and semantic context. Their morphological and phonological shapes put a specific emphasis on expressiveness. And lastly depictive verbs are fully integrated in the lexicon and behave like all other verbs, beside their particular morphological features (including reduplication) stressing iconicity. Considering these three categories, I will search for differences and commonalities in order to define the global coherence of sound symbolism in Mankanya. Based on data coming partly form published works on Mankanya (Trifkovič 1969, and Gaved 2020) and from a dedicated questionnaire, the aim of this study is to draw out the system of sound symbolism in Mankanya, addressing the two following main points: Sketch the features of sound symbolism in the language (how does it occur? Which role does it have? Does it appear differently in the three considered word categories, or in other word categories?). Study the sound-meaning correspondences (which are the possible phonesthemes? Are they occurring consistently in the three word categories or in the lexicon?).

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Numberless count nouns in Danish: Rejecting a non-contrastive zero

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In modern Danish, a substantial group of nouns that denote countable concepts exhibit no formal distinction between singular (SG) and plural (PL) in the indefinite form, e.g. *mus* 'mouse', in contrast to the majority of count nouns where SG is formally unmarked, i.e. expressed by a zero sign, and PL is expressed by a suffix (e.g. *bil-er* 'cars') or by stem change (e.g. *mænd* 'men'), cf. Table 1.

Table 1: Number inflection of Danish nouns; overt PL markers in boldface			
	Noun gloss	Indefinite	Definite
Singular	'mouse'	*mus*	*mus-en*
	'car'	*bil*	*bil-en*
	'man'	*mand*	*mand-en*
Plural	'mouse'	*mus*	*mus-en**e**
	'car'	*bil-**er***	*bil-**er**-n**e**
	'man'	*m**æ**nd*	*m**æ**nd-en**e**

The established interpretation of the morphology of the *mus* type is that it has a zero PL ending, which entails that *mus* exhibits a structural contrast between SG zero sign and PL zero sign (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 488; Nielsen 2016: 217-219, cf. Basbøll 2005: 369 who rejects zero as a PL expression element but assumes a semantic SG/PL distinction). In contrast, this paper argues that *mus* and similar nouns constitute a class of numberless count nouns that are essentially indeclinable (cf. Russian indeclinable nouns, Timberlake 2006: 148-150). The analysis is based on Mel'čuk's (2006: 470-471) criteria for positing zero signs, first of all the contrastiveness criterion, and the theoretical framework is structurally informed sign-based functionalism (Engberg-Pedersen et al. 1996, 2005; Harder 1996). The empirical data of the study are obtained from the OLAM-database of Danish word structure (Madsen et al. 2002).

The SG/PL contrast of the definite forms *musen-musene* (cf. Table 1) may appear to save number inflection of the *mus* class, but the definite ending should be disregarded in the analysis. Definiteness is a mandatory category of the NP (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 464) which is not mandatorily marked morphologically on the noun; it may be expressed syntactically by a determiner (1).

(1)   *den   lille   mus*
         ART   small   mouse
         'the small mouse'

Number is the core inflection bound to nouns (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 486), while the definiteness category is peripheral, which is reflected in the fact that only number (PL) can have a lexically specified unproductive

ending, while definiteness is always expressed by the fully productive non-integrated ending (*-en/-et/-ene*) (Basbøll 2005: 358, 368).

The morphological definite marker is a morpheme bundle that combines marking of definite form, gender and number (Heltoft 2001, Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 466). The contrast SG -Ø vs. PL -*e* in the morphologically definite noun forms is the definite ending's "own number inflection" which agrees with the true number inflection of the noun (if any), cf. agreement with the SG/PL stem alternation in *mand-en* vs. *mænd-ene* in Table 1. Thus, the marking of plural in the definite plural *musene* 'the mice' is not a number inflection of the noun stem.

The paper discusses further morphological and syntactic as well as semantic aspects of the numberlessness of the indeclinable nouns, including communicative ambiguity.

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Debitive constructions in Evenki as a consequence of language contact

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Keywords: Evenki language, Tungusic languages, language contact, debitive, necessity

Evenki, a Tungusic language spoken in Russia and China, has had contacts with Turkic, Mongolic, and Uralic languages as well as Russian and Chinese (Grenoble 2000, Helimski 2003, Khabtagaeva 2010, Pakendorf and Aralova 2020, Rudnitskaya 2020). I will use dialect corpora to demonstrate the effect of contacts on Evenki debitive constructions. The texts were collected during field trips to the Krasnoiarsk krai, the Irkutsk oblast, the Khabarovsk krai and the Sakha Republic in1996—2022.

In Evenki, necessity is expressed with *-ŋA:t*[1] or *-mAt͡ʃin* converbs (Bulatova and Grenoble 1999: 37). However, other strategies are also possible:

(1) *dʲəw-doː-n*   **iri-doː-s**   **nado**   *ətirkoːn-duː-ji*   *luhu*

    eat-CVB-3SG   **cook-CVB-2SG**   **it.is.necessary.R**   old.man-DAT-RFL

    all.the.time

'**It is necessary to** always **cook** for the husband to eat' (Ilimpeya ← Russian, Sakha)[2]

(2) *skoro*   **nado**   **kərəmiː-dʲə-kol**   *skoro*

    soon.R   **it.is.necessary**.R   **squirrel.VBLZ-IPFV-IMPER.2SG**   soon.R

'**It is necessary to hunt squirrels** soon' (Angara and Upper Lena ← Russian, Mongolian)

(3) *utə-l-bi*   **nado**   **uli-riː-duː**

    child-PL-ACC.RFL   **it.is.necessary**.R   **feed-PTCP-DAT**

'**It is necessary to feed** one's children' (Ayan-Maya ← Russian, Sakha, Negidal)

The question is what the source of these constructions is.

In (1), "*nado*" (borrowed from Russian "*надо*" *(nado)*, (Grenoble 2019), is used with the *–dA:* purpose converb. In (2), "*nado*" is used with the imperative *–kol* form, which has lost its vowel harmony and become an infinitive form in the Upper Lena dialects ((4)), cf. dictionaries compiled by native speakers (Khromov 2015, Shchapova 2016).

(4) *luːt͡ʃa-di-t*   **gun-dʲə-kol**   *mulli-dʲa-ra-n*

    Russian-ADJ-ADVZ   **say-IPFV-IMPER.2SG**   not.be.able-IPFV-NFUT-3SG

'He cannot **speak** Russian' (Upper Lena ← Russian, Mongolian)

Vasilevich mentions the Russian-Evenki trade "jargon", which existed in the Upper Lena region at least in 1930-s (Vasilevich 1948: 103) and made use "phrases containing both Evenki and Russian words". The extension of the imperative meaning may be the effect of this "trade language".

In (3), "*nado*" is accompanied with a *-ri*: participle, which is not used in this way in other dialects. Moreover, dative non-finite forms are not typical for Evenki but normal for Sakha, e. g. in purpose (Stapert

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[1]   *A* stands for the harmonizing vowel

[2]   I specify the dialect and list languages in contact after the ← sign

2013: 297, 299) or debitive constructions. Sakha has also borrowed "*nado*". Moreover, there exists a Sakha purposive -*AːrI* converb. I suppose that the "*nado*"+DAT construction is borrowed from Sakha, with the -*AːrI* converb being the source for the peculiar use of the -*riː* form. A similar -*wriː* form in the Negidal language (Khasanova and Pevnov 2003: 270) and in the Tugur dialect of Evenki ((5)) may also be due to contact and the Sakha -*AːrI* converb.

(5) *ullə-wə*   *oron*   *ullə-wə-n*   *tikaːr* *eːku-r-wa-n*

    meat-ACC   reindeer   meat-ACC-POSS3SG   so   what-PL-ACC-POSS3SG

    əmun-ma-n   *sʲeːn-ma-n*   **dʲigi-wri**

    lip-ACC-POSS3SG   ear-ACC-POSS3SG   **cut-PTCP**

'Meat, reindeer meat — **it is necessary to cut** so its whatchamacallit, its lip, its ear' (Tugur-Chumikan ← Russian, Sakha, Negidal)

Thus, Evenki debitive constructions exhibit high variation and are prone to borrowing. I will show other examples of such constructions and discuss the reasons for them being borrowed so frequently and diversely.

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Recurrent scenarios in the morpho-semantic evolution of onomatopoeias.
A case study for Latin and Ancient Greek

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A considerable number of modern words described as "of unknown / uncertain origin" in etymological dictionaries have sometimes been interpreted as words derived from onomatopoetic roots (cf. DCECH; LEI; FEW, etc.; exceptions – see Klimova 1986, Liberman 2010). Nonetheless, given the general skepticism towards linguistic motivation, these seldom hypotheses of onomatopoeic origin of such words are, more often than not, abandoned.

However, one should not exclude the possibility of onomatopoeic origin of a number of words generally considered to be "of uncertain origin" (see Georgescu 2021). There are two essential arguments in favor of such interpretation:
1. language possesses a natural capacity to represent, imitate extralinguistic elements (such as natural sounds), by using its phonetic resources;
2. language is constantly changing, and due to this change (phonological, morphological, and semantic) a word originated in an onomatopoeia preserves very few – if any – visible traits of its original nucleus, which makes it difficult to recognize it as onomatopoeic, especially from a semantic point of view (see Flaksman 2017).

We argue that just as sound changes generally follow certain regular paths, semantic shifts can also have specific recurrent patterns (and, therefore, meaning changes in onomatopoeia can also be traced back). As shown in Georgescu (2021), onomatopoeias are prone to rich semantic and – somewhat implicitly – morphological expansion. Far from being subject to chaotic expansions, onomatopoeias tend to evolve in a limited number of semantic directions (cf. Hilmer 1914, 1918, and Georgescu 2021).

For instance, a blow is intrinsically associated (from a cognitive point of view) with both its cause and its effect. Thus, a root expressing a blow (naturally verbalized through an onomatopoeia), besides providing a verb that expresses the movement in itself, can also be used for designating the instrument that provoked the movement, as well as for the results of such impulse: the fragments resulting from a collision, a prominence or its reverse, a cavity, as an effect of hitting a soft surface, or the features that can be identified as a result of any kind of impact, (morphologically concretized as adjectives: 'flattened', 'stuffed', 'short', 'thick', but also 'crippled', 'hornless', etc.). For example, the English word *dump*, originally an onomatopoeia expressing the sound of a falling object, becomes a verb meaning 'to throw', 'to fall', which, in its turn gives origin to the noun *dump* with several meanings such as 'pile of things thrown on the ground', as well as 'deep hole full of water'; moreover, it provides the adjective *dump* meaning, among other things, 'short and stocky' (cf. Hilmer 1918).

We aim to show that the same semantic patterns underlie the evolution of a significant number of words in Latin and Ancient Greek (e.g., Lat. *tuber* 'swelling', 'prominence' is related to *tubus* 'pipe', *tumba* 'grave', but also to *tufa* 'bush' – appearing as a 'prominence' in the field). This perspective, based on

empirical evidence and codified in a cognitive theory on language, can allow us to take steps forwards towards the explanation of long-standing etymological cruxes.

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Reflexes of GOAL bias in Permic languages

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GOAL bias (GOAL-over-SOURCE principle) is a well attested phenomenon in human language and cognition, and it can be seen to affect many aspects of grammar in typologically distinct languages (Ikegami 1987; Lakusta & Landau 2005). GOAL bias means the tendency of languages to code GOALS of motion events more thoroughly than SOURCES or PATHS. This tendency shows up e. g. in the greater number of GOAL markers in languages and the greater frequency of GOAL markers in text (e. g. Georgakopoulos 2018; Stefanowitsch & Rohde 2004; Verkerk 2017). In addition, GOAL markers tend to grammaticalize to cover more functions than SOURCE markers (Kabata 2013) and there is cross-linguistically a semantic asymmetry between GOAL and SOURCE markers (Kopecka & Vuillermet 2021: 8–10).

However, there is a bias towards studying GOAL bias in SAE languages, which has skewed the typology of GOAL bias itself (but see e.g. Moyse-Faurie 2021; Vuillermet 2021). For example, most of the studied languages use adpositions, and not cases, to code spatial relations. Cases, unlike adpositions, form paradigms, which can also exhibit the effects of GOAL bias. In this paper I will address the effects of the GOAL bias in Permic languages (Udmurt, Komi Zyrian, and Komi Permyak) of the Uralic family, a group of languages using a large number of spatial cases to express spatial relations. Their case systems systemically code more distinctions in GOAL expressions than in SOURCE or PATH expressions.

Moreover, these languages demonstrate the effect of GOAL bias not only in the number of existing cases, but also in development of new ones, i.e. when their case systems expand via grammaticalization. The common Permic case system includes three GOAL-cases, but only two SOURCE-cases, and one or two PATH-cases (Csúcs 2005: 184–193). The recently restructured spatial case system of Komi Permyak (Baker 1985: 175–191) includes in its newest layer two GOAL-cases, but only one SOURCE- and PATH-case. The GOAL-cases of Permic languages also tend to express more functions than SOURCE- or PATH-cases, in accordance to the cross-linguistically attested tendency (cf. Kabata 2013).

Permic languages also show a tendency to lexicalize GOAL-marked members of productive paradigms more frequently than other spatial cases to adverbs. An example of this is the Udmurt temporal adverb *ber-e* 'after (temp.)', which is originally the illative form of the relational noun *ber-* 'backside'.

As Kopecka and Vuillermet (2021: 16–17) state, study on the effects of language specific characteristics on the manifestation of GOAL-bias is necessary. This is the aim of this paper. I will show how the structure, semantics, and development of the spatial case systems of Permic languages reflect GOAL-bias. This is achieved by analyzing case systems and their diachronic development in the languages, as well as studying the different functions each spatial case can express. The study is based on corpus data from various available sources, e. g. Komi Zyrian corpus (Arkhangelskiy 2019), Udmurt corpus (Arkhangelskiy 2018), old text collections, and grammars. The results will give new information about the effects of GOAL bias on grammatical systems of languages.

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Last I checked: On the use of '*(the) last I* + Verb' expressions

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Recent decades have seen the rise of evidential extra-clausal fragments which so far have escaped attention in the literature. These typically take the form '*(the) last I/we +*[VERB-*ed*]' and involve a verb of cognition or perception, as illustrated in (1)–(3).

(1) and **last I saw** he's cute. (COHA, fiction)
(2) Water, **last I checked**, is an essential of life. (COCA, blog)
(3) Now the 16-year-old, Jason Gelroth, remains in critical condition **last – last we heard**. (COCA, spoken)

Drawing on data from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* and the *Corpus of Historical American English*, which reveal 1,397 and 427 instances respectively, this paper investigates their typical forms and discourse functions, recent development, and grammatical status.

It will be shown that their overall epistemic/evidential function, reducing the speaker's commitment to the truth of the host clause based on limited available evidence, is further shaped by a number of parameters, viz. their position with regard to the host clause (initial 82.2%, medial 8.9%, final 8.9% in COCA spoken), the specific verb used, and the semantic nature of the host clause. Thus, ironic use may arise with host clauses expressing unchangeable states-of-affairs or 'facts', as in (2). In left- and right-periphery these expressions also have important discourse-organisational and turn-taking/yielding function, with left-periphery being consistent with subjective use and right-periphery with intersubjective (e.g. Beeching & Detges 2014). Medial position, on the other hand, has information-structuring function.

It is argued that they are best analysed as constructions in their own right (e.g. Goldberg 2006) rather than cases of ellipsis, as they do not allow for unambiguous reconstruction of a 'complete', non-elliptical form (but have multiple parents, e.g. *The last time that I checked, When last I checked, The last thing I remember is that…*) and may exhibit their own formal and functional idiosyncrasies. It is these parent constructions that can also be identified as the historical source constructions out of which the expression has developed. The development itself is one from core, i.e. temporal adjunct (as in 4) or specificational construction (as in 5), to periphery, i.e. extra-clausal evidential marker (as in 1-3).

(4) **The last I saw you** you were crawling on your mother's floor. And look at you now. (COCA, movie)
(5) **The last I remember** I was lying in the snow with – (COHA, fiction)

The construction in (4) is temporal since it can be reconstructed with *time* as the head of its NP (i.e. *the last time I saw you*); it grounds an event in time. Example (5) may be reconstructed with *thing* (i.e. *the last thing I remember is…*) and is specificational. Examples (1-3), in contrast, fulfil an epistemic/evidential function. Overall, the development may involve a number of different parameters, such as loss of an NP head noun (e.g. *time, thing*), loss of the determiner, loss of a complement (*last I read [it]*) and increase in positional mobility.

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On the distinction between purpose and result adverbials: *So* and *so that*

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The old and frequent subordinators in English *so* and *so that* mark both purpose and result (see examples (1) and (2)), making this distinction fundamental. Previous research has proposed a number of criteria to distinguish between the two meanings: For purpose, i) the subordinate clause denotes the main clause agent's intended result, ii) the event in the subordinate clause is not yet realized and frequently marked with a modal verb, and iii) the subordinate clause can be fronted, clefted and negated. In contrast, result subordinate clauses i) are (usually) the unintentional result of the event in the main clause, ii) denote completed events, and iii) cannot be fronted, clefted or negated (e.g. Palmer 1987, Kortmann 1997, Verstraete 2007, 2008, and Schmidtke-Bode 2009). However, when looking at corpus data, it becomes clear that this distinction is not so straightforward.

(1)   *He promptly ordered loudspeakers mounted in certain sections of the ball park **so that** fans could go there...* (COHA;purpose)

(2)   *He touched his cheek in confusion, **so that** dabs of wet clay rubbed off...* (COHA;result)

The aim of this paper is to highlight the fuzzy boundary between the two meanings exhibited in the corpus data and propose a heuristic for operationalizing the distinction. Random samples of 200 instances of *so* and *so that* were extracted from the Corpus of Historical American English in five-year periods, and subsequently coded for purpose and result. The ambiguous examples were isolated and examined in more detail. Some examples of this last group are, for example, instances with an agent intention issue: In example (3), there is clearly no agent to ascribe intention, but *in the future* and *will* indicate future orientation and a modal verb in the subordinate clause signals potential. The subordinate clause can be fronted and negated. A second issue are imperatives. They encode speaker (not agent) intention by definition, but the subordinate clause signals an intended result in (4). In terms of event completion as a criterion, in (5), the past perfect indicates the painting is finished; however, the subordinate clause expresses the main clause agent's intended outcome, expressed with the modal auxiliary.

(3)   *In the future, nearly every engineering pursuit will use virtual-reality prototypes **so that** designs can be shared....* (COCA)

(4)   *Press right heel into ball and use hamstring to bend right knee **so** ball rolls toward hips...*(COCA)

(5)   *he had repainted the underside of the Japanese bridge from the rowboat **so that** green **<u>would</u>***
        ***<u>reflect</u>** in the water* (COHA)

This paper shows that in the case of *so* and *so that* the distinction between result and purpose is far from clear-cut and, particularly in the case of *so*, there has there been a recent shift toward more ambiguity. It argues that purpose and result are not binary notions, but form two ends on a cline, which can be captured by a number of intermediate categories (e.g. non-factive result, factive purpose, intentionality ascribed to narrator) and draws on the concept of construal. Ultimately, we will propose a way to operationalize the distinction between purpose and result that captures the interplay between context and linguistic information.

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Sharenting and identity construction:
New Greek migrant parents in social media

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Keywords: sharenting, identities, new Greek migrants, discourse analysis, social media

Sharenting, a blend of 'share' and 'parenting', refers to the practice of parents sharing information about their children online. To date, research has explored how parents engage in sharenting to bolster their creativity and voice; to document their lives for their children and the wider community; to advance particular political, religious, or cultural parenting practices and philosophies; to establish supportive communities; and to gain financial rewards (Blum-Ross & Livingstone 2017). However, there is as yet little research delving into the specificities of migrant parents' sharenting, especially from a discourse-analytical perspective. To redress this imbalance, and considering 1) the transformative impact of new media on the lives and experiences of migrants (Madianou & Miller 2012), and 2) the pivotal role of social media in identity construction processes (Leppänen et al. 2017), this study focuses on the ways in which new Greek migrants practice sharenting in their social media discourse.

Since the onset of the Greek crisis in 2010, thousands of highly educated and skilled Greeks have chosen or/and have been forced to migrate abroad in search of better career prospects and living standards. This recent migration wave has been termed 'new' Greek migration (Panagiotopoulou et al. 2019). Amongst the diverse motivations for which skilled Greeks have migrated, what is of particular interest here, is their drive to secure a better future for their children (Bartolini et al. 2017).

Based on a synergy between the social constructionist approach to identity, discourse studies and discourse-centred online ethnography (Androutsopoulos 2008), I present and discuss empirical data from two new Greek migrants, a mother settled in Germany and a father settled in the UK, who write about and capture parenting vis-à-vis their migration experiences on social media. These data include profile information, posts, comments (written by them and their social media audience) as well as photographs from their (non-profit) personal blogs and Instagram accounts. My dataset also includes extracts from the Skype interviews I conducted with the participants and field notes from my observation of their social media activities.

As shown in the analysis, their sharenting is realized through a complex of linguistic and multimodal means, including the use of personal deixis, constructed dialogues and narratives, stance-taking, and semiotic coupling. The findings showcase that, for their children, the two participants function as mediators between two cultures and two societies. This allows them to compare, choose, mix and create new norms for parenting (see also Zechner & Tiilikka 2020). In this fashion, sharenting appears to constitute part of their transnational identities. The study also points to the way in which acculturation in the host country and social media affordances can impact upon migrants' sharenting discourse practices.

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A phonology-driven account of Bulgarian verb inflection:
Implications for morphological theory

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Keywords: morphology, phonology, verb inflection, word-/ stem-/ root-based analysis, thematic suffixes

Language is a system and one expects all system's components to follow the same rules, cf. the role of syntax in Distributed Morphology (DM) (Halle & Marantz 1993, Bobaljik 2017). Nevertheless, verb and noun inflection in Slavic are traditionally accounted for differently. For nouns phonological rules based on the basic/citation form (singular indefinite in Bulgarian where nouns do not inflect for case) are postulated, e.g. nouns in -*a* get the definite article -*ta* and plural inflection -*i*: *žen-a* 'woman', *žen-a-ta*, *žen-i* (Manova 2003). By contrast, Bulgarian verb inflection, the richest among Slavic, has always been seen as stem-based. Some authors recognize three stems: present, aorist and imperfect. The imperfect stem, however, has the thematic vowel -*já*-, (1), unstressed -*ja*- > *e*, (1a), also -*já*- > *é* in the environment of *ž/č/š*, (1b,c). Thus, the imperfect stem is phonologically predictable and therefore most scholars recognize only two stems: present and aorist. Moreover, some verbs use aorist for imperfect (2).

(1) 1sg pres in -***ja***
   a. *mísl-**ja*** '(I) think'/ 3sg pres *mísl-**i*** / 1sg aorist *mísl-i-x* / 1sg imperfect *mísl-e-x,* 2sg *mísl-e-še*
   b. *vis-**já*** '(I) hang' / 3sg pres *vis-**í*** / 1sg aorist *vis-já-x /* 1sg imperfect *vis-já-x*, 2sg *vis-é-še*
   c. *stro-**já*** '(I) build'/ 3sg pres *stro-**í*** / 1sg aorist *stro-í-x* / 1sg imperfect *stro-já-x,* 2sg *stro-é-še*

According to the termination of the present stem (coincides with 3sg present), verbs are traditionally distributed into three conjugations: *e*-verbs (*čet-e* '(s/he) reads')*, i*-verbs, see (1), and *a*-verbs, see (2). Since my goal is to provide a unified analysis of the nominal and verbal inflection, I focus on the basic/citation form of the verb, 1sg present (Bulgarian verbs do not have infinitive forms). There are again only three possibilities for 1sg present: (i) -*a*; (ii) -*ja*, (1); and (iii) -*m* (this class encompasses secondary imperfectives, (2a), and -*ira*- verbs, (2b)).

(2) 1sg pres in -***m***
   a. *po-stro-jáva-**m*** '(I) build (completely)' / 3sg pres *po-stro-jáva* / 1sg aorist *po-stro-jáva-x* = 1sg imperfect
   b. *organiz-íra-**m*** '(I) organize' / 3sg pres *organiz-íra* / 1sg aorist *organiz-íra-x* = 1sg imperfect

The analysis also considers *phonological* properties of the verb such as: termination of the root (in -C, (1a,b), or in -V, (1c)), the number of the syllables of the root, stress pattern and so on.
   This approach straightforwardly derives all inflectional forms of Bulgarian verbs (with very few exceptions which are seen as listed). The following facts, among others, support the proposal:
   ● in the past 40 years or so, some Bulgarian verbs ending in -*ja* changed their conjugation, from *e*-verbs to *i*-verbs, Manova (2008);
   ● some verbs have two present stems, one with theme -*e*- and one with theme -*i*-;
   ● 1sg present is athematic, see (1);
   ● verbs in -*m* do not require addition of thematic vowels, see (2), whereas verbs in -*a* and -*ja*, (1), do;
   ● stems are morphomic (Aronoff 1994) and the same theme vowel may mark present and aorist.

I address the implications of these facts for morphological theory, with a focus on the status of roots, stems and thematic suffixes.

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The link between form and meaning in the P demotion domain

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Keywords: multivariate typology, syntactic P-demotion, P-realization, form-function relationship

Grammatical voice refers to a diathetic operation that maps the semantic roles of a verb (agent, patient) onto grammatical functions (subject, object) and is formally marked on a verb (Zúñiga and Kittilä 2019). This implies that morphosyntax and the argument structure of a verb remain in a close relationship (Kulikov 2011, Creissels 2016, and Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019).

To investigate this topic, we focus on the class of voice alternations that preserve the argument structure of a verb but modify its morphosyntactic structure through the syntactic demotion of the P (object) argument. Such 'P demotion' class may include but is not limited to antipassive (1), conative, transitivity discord, noun stripping, and object incorporation alternations.

(1)   a.   *ʔaaček-a*   *kimitʔ-ən*   *ne-nlʔetet-ən*   (Chukchi)
                youth-ERG   load-ABS   3PL.SBJ-carry-AOR.3SG.OBJ
                'The young men carried away the load.'
    b.   *ʔaacek-ət*   *ine-nlʔetet-gʔe-t*   *kimitʔ-e*
                youth-ABS   ANTIP-carry-AOR.3SG.SBJ-PL   load-INS
                'The young men carried away a load.'   (Kozinsky et al. 1988)

Even if some P demotion alternations may not contain a voice marker, they parallel functionally and syntactically to their voice counterparts. Hence, they are included in this study, simultaneously dispensing with the voice and diathesis distinction.

We will conduct our research in a functional-typological approach based on a representative sample of 60 genealogically unrelated languages from six macro-areas. The data collected through grammar mining will be analyzed within the framework of multivariate typology by Bickel (2010). Each P demotion construction will be thus decomposed into a system of formal and functional variables, focusing on the P objecthood properties. This will allow detecting the potential correlations. Two research questions will guide our analysis: Do the form and meaning correlate in the P demotion domain? What is the linguistic diversity of P demotion clauses in the world's languages based on their formal and functional characteristics?

The preliminary results show that P demotion comes in three guises: either P is demoted to a peripheral, adjunct status or ultimately demoted through verb incorporation or omission, and these three may occur in the same language (Mam, Chukchi). Significantly, P omission strongly correlates with its referential properties. Once omitted, P becomes non-referential with a generic interpretation (Niuean, Halkomelem, Comanche, Chukchi) or indefinite (Mam, Chukchi, Yupik). The results also reveal that additionally to common discourse/pragmatic reasons, P omission can be semantically driven by its animacy property (Comanche, Nez Perce) or a semantic class of verbs. For instance, in Chukchi, the P omission favors accomplishment verbs (Kozinsky et al. 1988). Incorporation also tends to correlate with the non-referential (i.e., generic) P argument (Comanche, Niuean). However, some unexpected results occur. In some languages, the incorporated P maintains its referentiality (Mapudungun,

Southern Tiwa). By contrast, a highly referential P with definite and indefinite reading systematically correlates with the adjunct case marking (Basque, Chukchi, Mam, Bezhta, Niuean, Yupik).

We expect that the cross-linguistic data on P demotion will further support the idea that human language's syntactic structure is not arbitrary but, in principle, iconically organized (Givón 1994, Vigus 2018).

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Is there a reanalyzed *o que* in Portuguese (semi)free relatives?

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Keywords: "o que", free relatives, semi-free relatives, reanalysis, European Portuguese

Besides an interrogative *o que* (1), European Portuguese (EP) has a non-interrogative (relative) *o que* (2)-(5). The behavior of this constituent shows that there are two non-interrogative *o que*: an invariable *o que* in free relatives (2) and in appositive relatives (3), a variable *o que,* introducing a semi-free relative (Rebuschi 2001) (4), and an "ambiguous" one (5). In semi-free relatives, the separation between *o* and *que* by a prep is grammatical because the determiner belongs to the head of the relative clause (6). With the invariable *o que* it is impossible the presence of a prep between the two parts of the constituent (7). Therefore, the invariable *o que* is a unity, a word (Medeiros Júnior (2016), the result of a reanalysis. In XVI century, the prep still may interfere between *o* and *que*, as in (8). The structure in (8) is (9a), common to semi-free relatives; in Contemporary EP there are two structures, (9a) and (9b); in (9b) the separation between *o* and *que* by a prep is impossible; with more detail, the reanalysis is described in (10). One of the questions related to this analysis is the nature of the relative *que*: Brito (1991) for SU and DO relatives argues that *que* is the complementizer, it is in C and there is the movement of an empty operator. Veloso (2013), Rinke and Assman (2017), Kato and Nunes (2009), propose that this SU and DO *que* is a relative determiner. Espírito Santo (2019) also argues that *que* has the feature [+DET] and emphasizes the underspecification of this relative morpheme, which we will adopt here. Medeiros Júnior argues that the *wh* phrase formed by reanalysis "reaches Spec CP via Spec DP in order to license the covert D" (p. 313); however, the motivation of such (supplementary) *wh* raising is not clear and seems not necessary. In French, *ce que* is obligatory in free relatives and subordinate interrogatives, as in (11) and (12)), what justifies the proposal by Konrad (2019) that are all basic DP. It is why Konrad considers that in French there is, basically, always a DP and that $D_{ce}+OP_{wh}+que$ turn into a phonologically reanalyzed element [skə]. If D is retained in the structure, it is a free relative; if it is not retained in the structure it is an indirect question, a solution that seems adequete for French. Differently from French, independent and subordinate interrogatives and FR are distinct in Portuguese. One of the differences is that the *wh* interrogative *o que* commutes with *que* (13) and (14), but in free relatives such commutation is impossible (15). Other difference is verb movement, obligatory in EP interrogatives with *wh* (*o) que* and with embedded *wh que* (16) and not necessary in free relatives (17). Matos and Brito (2018: 164) relate Verb movement to C to a strategy of labeling the structure as CP, developing Cecchetto and Donati (2010). However, the authors continue to assume that in subordinate interrogatives there is a CP and in FR there is a DP containing a CP. Also, comparing proper and improper subordinate interrogatives and free relatives, they show that the subordinate's CP or DP nature and its interrogative [+int] or declarative [+decl] feature does not dispense the selection features of the matrix predicate. The authors propose a reanalysis process for the interrogative *o que* but this seems to be an optional process, while in free relatives the reanalysis is syntactic with morphological consequences, "turning" the sequence "o" and "que" into a *wh* word. Also the different behavior as for commutation in free relatives and interrogatives (13), (14), (15) is an indication that the presence of "o", more than a labeling strategy, is a requirement for the content identification of *que*.

Examples:

(1)(a) O que fizeste? 'What have you done?

   (b)Pergunto o que fizeste. 'I ask what you have done.'

(2)Admiro o que tu fizeste. 'I admire what you have done.'

(3)O país foi invadido, o que surpreendeu os observadores.

   'The country was invaded, what surprised the observers.'

(4)Já li o / a / os / as me indicaste (speaking, for instance, about books / novels).

   'I already read the one / the ones about which you have spoken to me'.

(5)Já li o que me indicaste. 'I have read *what / the one* you indicated to me.'

(6) Já li o / a / os / as de que me falaste (speaking, for instance, about books / novels).

   'I already read the one / the ones about which you have spoken to me'.

(7) * Admiro o de que estás convencido. I admire the of that you are convinced

(8) "(…) nisto seguirei o de que sou notado entre eles." (Couto, XVIth century)

   thus shall follow the of that am seen amidst them

   'Thus I shall follow what makes me seen amidst them' (Medeiros Júnior 2016: 311).

(9) (a) [DP o [CP que]]

   (b) [DP o que [CP]]

(10) [DP [D'[D [D *o*][C *que*$_i$]] [CP [Op$_i$ [C' [C [-int]] [TP … t$_i$ …]]]]]

(11) J'aime ce que tu as cuisiné. / * J'aime que tu as cuisiné.

(12)Je me demande ce que ton frère a acheté / * Je me demande que ton frère a acheté.

(13)(a) O que fizeste? / (b) Que fizeste? 'What have you done'?

(14)(a) Pergunto o que fizeste. / (b) Pergunto que fizeste. 'I asked what you have done'.

(15)(a) Aprecio o que fizeste 'I appreciate what you have done' / (b) * Aprecio que fizeste /

   I appreciate that you have done.

(16)(a) (O) que fez a Maria? What did Mary / * (O) que a Maria fez? What Mary did

   (b) Pergunto que fez a Maria 'I ask what did mary' / * Pergunto que a Maria fez. I ask that

   Mary did.

(17)(a) Admiro o que fez a Maria / (b) Admiro o que a Maria fez. 'I admire what Mary did'.

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Left vs. right in discourse: Accounting for linear asymmetries in the interpretation of dislocation

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Keywords: *syntax*, *pragmatics*, *dislocation*, *peripheries*, *ellipsis*

The standard cartographic analysis of dislocation (1–3) as movement to dedicated positions within the clause (Villalba 2000, a.o.) has significant shortcomings. It fails to account for the extra-sentential qualities of *dislocated XPs* (Fernández-Sánchez & Ott 2020) and offers no explanation for the asymmetric nature of the peripheries (cf. López 2016): why is contrast exclusively found left-peripherally (1), whereas only the right periphery supports backgrounding (2) and focus (3)?

(1)   *den PETER*, den kenne ich gut   (German)
        'PETER, I know well.'
(2)   den kenne ich gut, *den Peter*
        'I know Peter well.'
(3)   ich habe wen gesehen: *den PETER*
        'I saw someone: PETER.'

While some languages permit such information-structural roles to be marked by purely prosodic means, others resort to dislocation for their expression, following the above pattern.

I adopt the parenthetical analysis pioneered by Ott (2014) and Ott & De Vries (2016), according to which dislocation configurations are discursive sequences of elliptical and non-elliptical <expressions>:

(4)   <~~ich kenne~~ *den Peter* ~~gut~~> <den kenne ich gut>
(5)   <den kenne ich gut> <~~ich kenne~~ *den Peter* ~~gut~~>

The analysis rationalizes both the parenthetical properties of dislocates *qua* independent expressions and apparent connectivity effects, e.g. case matching (through clausal ellipsis and requisite parallelism).

Extending this approach, I claim that the interpretive relation between dislocate and host is rhetorical rather than compositional, mediated by Implicit Questions (Roberts 2012; Onea 2016; Onea & Ott 2022). In a nutshell, right-dislocated XPs respond to IQs rendered salient (↝) by the host, yielding focus (6 = 3) or backgrounding (7 = 2):

(6)   <ich habe wen gesehen> ↝ *Who did you see?* ↝ <~~ich habe~~ *den PETER* ~~gesehen~~>

(7)   Q: Do you know Peter?
        A: <ich kenne den gut> ↝ *Who do you know well?* ↝ <~~ich kenne~~ *den Peter* ~~gut~~>

The IQ is considered unresolved in (6), resulting in focal marking of the fragment; by contrast, in (7) it is rendered salient by the use of a definite pronoun in need of resolution. The fact that, in each case, the relevant IQ is licensed by the host relegates its resolution to the right periphery: the question must be accommodated *before* being addressed.

Conversely, left-dislocated XPs indicate a shift from a question under discussion (8Q) to a sub-question, yielding a contrastive-topical interpretation in (8 = 1) (Büring 2003):

(8)   Q: Do you know any of these people?
         A: <s̶i̶c̶h̶ ̶k̶e̶n̶n̶e̶ *den PETER* g̶u̶t̶> ↝ *Do you know Peter?* ↝ <den kenne ich gut>

The shift to the sub-question must be indicated *prior* to its resolution by the subsequent host sentence, hence dislocated XPs used as contrastive topics universally precede their host clauses. Conversely, using a right-dislocated XP contrastively would mean addressing the intended sub-question before its being raised, yielding incoherence.

　　　On this novel approach, complex left and right peripheries arise via discursive juxtaposition of structurally independent expressions rather than syntactic composition. In addition to avoiding the problems that beset traditional analyses, the paratactic approach advances genuine explanation by reducing the asymmetric pragmatic import of the peripheries to the fundamental logic of discourse: answers follow the questions they address.

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Mind your manner: Thematic Session proposal on the concept of manner and
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Dual-type manner adverbs in Greek language

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Keywords: adverbs, dual-type manner, Greek language, parallel suffixes, gradation

The subject of this study is the research on five dual-type adverbs[1] in Greek, whose meaning varies according to the suffix in -*α* or in -*ως*. These adverbs correspond to the -*ment* form in French (Molinier & Levrier, 2000) or -*ly* in English (Guimier, 1998) and are derived from compound forms of an adjective and a noun. The Greek Grammar expert Papanastasiou has already isolated these very common adverbs of modern Greek, which can occur either with the suffix -*a* or with the suffix -*ως*, and has identified a semantic differentiation to them (2006: 292-293). Thus, if we compare the pair of sentences (1) and (2), we can see that the two adverbial forms of the same adjective do not have the same meaning: in the first example, *ευχάριστα-efcharista* means *pleasantly* and modifies the verb *περάσαμε* (perasame-past/we spent) near which it is placed; in the second example *ευχαρίστως/efcahritos* means *gladly-with good humour* and modifies the verb *επισκεφτώ* (*episkefto/visit*) near which it is placed.

(1) *Περάσαμε **ευχάριστα** στην εξοχή*

  Perasame efcharista stin eksochi

  [We spent] [pleasantly] [in the countryside]

  We had a pleasant time in the countryside

(2) *Θα σε επισκεφτώ **ευχαρίστως***

  Tha se episkefto efcharistos

  [I will visit you] [gladly]

  I will gladly visit you.

On the other hand, these forms are not interchangeable, for example: (3) by (4) and (4) by (3)

  (3) **Περάσαμε **ευχαρίστως** στην εξοχή*

  (4) **Θα σε επισκεφτώ **ευχάριστα***

A closer look at these dual-type adverbs has furthermore allowed us to see that this short list contains, on one hand, manner adverb pairs such as *άγρια-agria-agria, αγρίως-agrios/fiercely* whose semantic difference is minimal, as well as manner adverb pairs such as (*ιδιαίτερα-idietera, ιδιαιτέρως-idieteros/particularly*), whose difference in meaning is more significant. In the second example, the adverbs have moreover an unspecified relationship with the verb.

Faced with the existence of these adverbs with two parallel suffixes in Greek, this study examines the ways that manner is encoded: by the lexical meaning of the adverbs, by the verb that precedes them which is by far "the most widely studied when talking about the lexical coding of manner" (Stosic, 2020:13), by the syntax or the semantics? Finally, we investigate the idea of gradation of the concept of manner implied by these adverbs.

Mind your manner: Thematic Session proposal on the concept of manner and
its linguistic realizations
SLE Conference 2023 — National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

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Notes
[1] Άμεσα -αμέσως, τέλεια- τελείως, ευχάριστα - ευχαρίστως, ιδιαίτερα- ιδιαιτέρως, άγρια-αγρίως.

Monomodal iconicity: Onomatopoeias depicting impact with liquids and hard surfaces in Bulgarian and English

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With the advent of the study of sound symbolism after Hinton, Nichols and Ohala (1995), auditory, multi-modal iconicity (onomatopoeia proper) finally took center-stage in linguistic research. Taitz et al. (2018) formulate the hypothesis that "consonants communicate movement types (slide, hit or ring) mainly through the manner of articulation in the vocal tract" (Taitz et al. 2018: 1). They further maintain that statistical analyses of "over two-thirds of the world's languages" reveal that "unrelated languages use the same sounds for specific referents" (Taitz et al.: 2). Johansson et al. (2020) claim that in a large-scale cross-linguistic study they have confirmed near-universal 125 sound-meaning associations some of which fall within one of the central macro-concepts of sound-symbolism *"unimodal imitation (onomatopoeia)"* (Johansson et al. 2020: 253; emphasis in the original).

Testing the validity of the hypotheses, the current proposal reviews whether and how the onomatopoeic words depicting impact with liquids and hard surfaces in two genetically and typologically dissimilar languages, with significant differences in their phonemic inventories, phonotactics and morphology (Bulgarian and English) behave in relation to Taitz et al.'s hypothesis and Johansson's et al.'s claim. The two impact domains are chosen because their depiction involves at least the following dimensions: a type of motion (including speed and/or force), type of moving object and type of contact surface, for two of which testable crosslinguistic hypotheses have been formulated.

After analysing the phonemic makeup and the semantics (or parameters of felicitous use) of onomatopoeias for impact with hard surfaces and liquids, the results are first internally contrasted (between the two types of impact and the two linguistic systems) and then compared against the hypothesis of the specialization of particular phonemes or phonemic sequences for types of motion (Taitz et al. 2018) and the iconic correspondences in relation to type of object/surface are checked within the 125 sound-meaning associations (Johansson et al. 2020).

In Table 1 a sample of the analysed data is presented.

Table 1: A sample of English and Bulgarian contact onomatopoeia

	hard surface impact/contact	liquid impact/contact
English	*bang, bump, thud, clatter, whack, whang, twang, whomp, bong, tonk, clump, thunk, tramp, thump*	*plop, splash, splat, plonk*
Bulgarian	*бум* [bum], *бух* [buh], *фрас* [fras], *трас* [tras], *тряс* [tryas], *трак* [trak], *прас* [pras], <u>*цап*</u> [tsap], *друс* [drus], *чат* [čat]	*пльок* [plyok], *пляс* [plyas], *пльос* [plyos], *плиц* [plits], *плис* [plis], *цамбур* [tsmbur], *цоп* [tsop], <u>*цап*</u> [tsap], *къл-къл* [kâl- kâl], *гъл-гъл* [gâl-gâl]

The analysis reveals that the liquid /l/ is prominently used in both languages in onomatopoeia depicting contact of objects with liquids, and is disfavoured in onomatopoeias for hard surface contact. The dedicated phonemic sequence /pl/, associated with sudden and sharp contact of directed motion with liquids in both languages, stands out. In Bulgarian /ts/ is a favourite in depicting contact with liquids.

The domain of hard surfaces impact displays much greater divergence between the two languages, with /r/ significantly favoured in the domain in Bulgarian and revealingly lacking in English. In both a marked preference for plosives is detected, with a slight tendency for the opposition between voiced and voiceless plosives consistently specializing for hard objects contact and liquid contact, respectively. A consistent use of the voiceless plosives /t/ and /p/ with /r/ word-initially in Bulgarian is associated with hard object contact.

The phonemic diversity and lack of a dedicated phoneme sequence in onomatopoeia for hard object contact/impact is probably associated with the specificity of materials that make up hard objects. The nature and strength of the impact is captured in sound patterns, but the shape of the object does not seem to figure prominently in the meaning to form correspondence in the onomatopoeias in the two domains under investigation, while material is phonemically differentiated (*clatter* vs. *clank* vs. *slap*).

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CAN LANGUAGES LOSE ALL INFLECTIONAL AFFIXATION GRAMMAR-INTERNALLY?: AN ANOMALY IN NIGER-CONGO

In the Niger-Congo family, a certain few languages (possibly only about a dozen) are radically analytic, while the vast majority of the family's languages are either highly inflected (like Bantu) or at least robustly so. An example of the analytic type is Yoruba:

(1)   Mo mú ìwé wá   fún ẹ.
        I   take book come give you "I brought you a book."

The radically analytic few are spoken in one coastal area, comprising the Gbe and Yoruboid languages and some of the Nupoid.

It has traditionally been supposed that these languages' analyticity occurred via grammar-internal stepwise evolution. A notable proposal is Hyman's (2004) that alterations in templatic restrictions barred verbs of more than two syllables, thereby forcing analytic strategies to substitute for erstwhile inflectionally encoded ones. Overall, analysts would seem to consider the analyticity of these languages unremarkable, along the lines of the fact that Swedish and Norwegian are pitch-accent languages while their relative German is not.

However, no mechanism has been observed (as opposed to reconstructed, such as by Hyman) that all but eliminates inflectional affixation via grammar-internal processes A more economical proposal is that this handful of analytic languages on the African coast reached their state via second-language acquisition. In linguistic theory, it is well established (and observed) that second-language acquisition tends to abbreviate or eliminate inflectional affixation. Along these lines, studies such as Kusters (2003), McWhorter (2007) and Trudgill (2011) argue that the natural state of human language is robustly inflected, and that what interrupts this is various degrees of second-language acquisition.

The proposal here is that speakers of an early branch of Niger-Congo, migrating southward towards the coast, encountered other groups who acquired their language non-natively. Dimmendaal's (2011) disinclusion of various groups from Niger-Congo such as Mande and Ijoid provides possible descendants of these groups encountered. The result was radically analytic languages on the coast itself, likely the product of sequential waves of second-language acquisition, of the kind documented to have yielded colloquial Indonesian dialects and the creole language of Réunion.

Supporting this hypothesis is that the contrast between these few languages and their more inflected relatives parallels that between creole languages and their source languages, suggesting a particular process – second language acquisition – rather than the structured but random nature of mere "drift." This includes the eschewal of contextual rather than inherent inflection and the elimination rather than reanalysis or restructuring of morphological materials. The presentation will proceed upon reference to a wide range of data from all of the Niger-Congo subfamilies.

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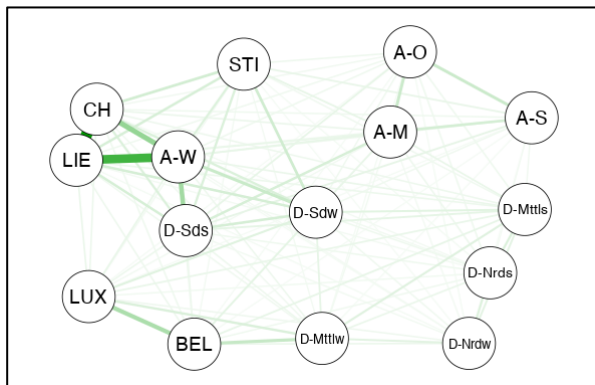
From linguistic to geographic distances and back

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Keywords: linguistic distance, geographic distance, quantitative corpus linguistics, variationist linguistics, German

While it is clear that a multitude of factors play a role in language change (including but not limited to effects of migration, prestige, cultural and communicative practices etc.), it is still an interesting question how well linguistic variation corresponds to geographic distances both in present day and in a historic context. We suggest exploring the predictions of interpreting differences between linguistic and geographic distances as (present or historic) barriers (borders, natural barriers) or facilitations (such as trade routes, high speed trains) of exchange between regions.

In our study, based on the z-transformed relative frequency per million tokens of 58 linguistic parameters (from the field of verbal/nominal inflection, word formation and valency) from the project *Handbook of Grammatical Variation in Standard German* (www.variantengrammatik.net, cf. Elspaß/Dürscheid/Ziegler 2019), we computed the Euclidian linguistic distance between 15 regions within the coherent German-speaking area. This distance matrix yields a complete undirected graph with regions as nodes and edges weighted by linguistic distance using the Fruchterman Reingold algorithm (Fruchterman & Reingold 1991), such that geometric closeness and edge thickness correspond to linguistic closeness. Repeating the same procedure using the road-travel distance between the population centers of these regions allows a compelling comparison between geographic (Figure A) and linguistic distances between regions (Figure B). Both figures were plotted using the qgraph R-package (Epskamp et al. 2012).
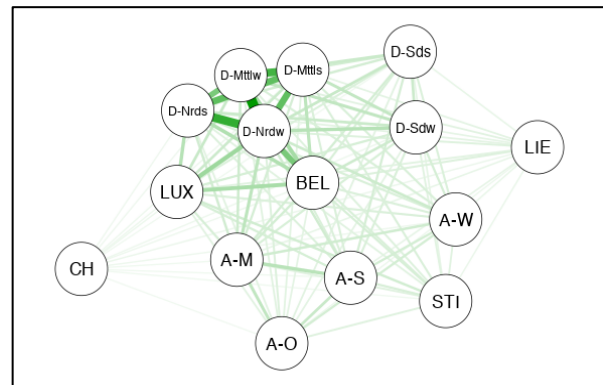
A Geographic distances   B Linguistic distances

The graphs show how in the linguistic sense regions from Germany exhibit smaller distances between each other than in the geographic sense and country borders can be interpreted as barriers virtually increasing the geographic distance. In the talk we will present an optimizing algorithm that finds linguistic features that are responsible for distorting geographic distances and explore whether we can find historic correlates to these linguistic findings (such as wars, building of bridges etc. that may have existed in the time at which these features spread particularly fast).

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Exploring the pragmatics of inclusion in examples of leadership and followership practices in a basketball team.

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Sports is a research site with rich resources of interactional data, and thus, for the study of contemporary social issues, such as the phenomena of inclusion and exclusion in (team) sports. However, only recently has the study of these phenomena from a sociolinguistic perspective reached scholarly attentions (File, 2018, File & Schnurr, 2019, Wolfers et al., 2017).

This paper aims to address how various players of a basketball team are included in decision-making episodes of a team due to the absence of an officially assigned coach, by critically examining the interactions in the microlevel. Drawing on more than 20 hours of video-recorded data collected from a university-level men's basketball team during their league games, the paper answers the following questions:

(i) What are the pragmatics of inclusion in and exclusion from leadership practices?
(ii) what discourse analytical tools players employ when making leadership claims and taking over leadership responsibilities?

Adopting an ethnographic design, the study follows the approach of Discursive Leadership (Fairhurst, 2007, 2008) in order to explore the how inclusion and exclusion are discursively accomplished in examples of leadership and followership performance. More specifically, the study utilises the methodological tools of Interactional Sociolinguistics (Goffman, 1974; Gumperz, 1982, 2001; Schiffrin, 1994) in order to unpack how various players are included in or excluded from decision-making episodes (mainly) during the team's time-outs.

As the example below indicates, two players (Alex and Derek) – none of them in a leadership role – step up and participate in the enactment of leadership when an argument arises between the referee and another player (Mark).

Lines	Player	Transcript
1	Mark:	okay (.)new team
2 →	Alex:	(3.0) ↑Jackson (.)↑you got four (.)↑you
3 →		wanna stop? you wanna stop for just a bit?
…		
10		(24.0) (an argument arises between the
11		referee and a player of the team)
12 →	Alex	(2.0) ↑I am the coach (.) yeah ((nods to the

```
13 →              referee while he talks to him))
14 →    Alex      (4.0) okay I got you ((nods)) sit down Mark
15 →              ((drags him to sit back to the bench)) sit
16 →              down yeah yeah,
17 →    Derek     (4.0) guys ((hand gesture which indicates
18 →              "let it go" – while playing))
```

Findings suggest that with the absence of a coach, various players step up and take over leadership responsibilities at different points during the games. By contrast to mainstream conceptualisations of leadership which tend to agree on one established leader involved in leadership practices, usually the coach or the team captain, the analysis of data illustrates that leadership in action can be a "muddy" practice as different players are involved in different instances. Consequently, the study questions traditional ideas about leadership and provides empirical data which shows that leadership and followership can be rather elusive concepts.

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Deictic expletives in southern Italo-Romance:
A case-study from some inner Cilento dialects

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In this talk we investigate the distribution of deictic expletives in some southern Italo-Romance varieties from inner Cilento, in Campania (Felitto, Laurino, Piaggine, Valle dell'Angelo), in the light of the current debate on expletives in Italo-Romance, their morphosyntax, semantics, pragmatics and diachrony (Benincà 1984; Manzini & Savoia 2005, I: 172-196; Bernini 2012; Parry 2013; Pescarini 2012, 2019; Bentley, Ciconte & Cruschina 2015; Poletto 2016, int.al, and references therein). A preliminary investigation (conducted through the recording of spontaneous speech and guided interviews), reveals the existence of two types of (optional) expletives, the deictic neuter singular pronoun *keru* 'that 'and the masculine singular deictic pronoun *kiru* 'that', displaying an interesting different syntactic distribution.

The neuter deictic expletive *keru* only occurs in (all types of) existential sentences with the copula HAVE (displaying lack of agreement with the pivot nominal) (Cennamo & Cerullo 2021: 270-271) (1), and in raising (2) and extraposition contexts (3):

(1)   [ˈkeru nu ˈavɛ ˈgas]
        EXPL not has gas
        'There is a shortage of gas'

(2)   [ˈkeru ˈparɛ ka nʤ ˈɛra]
        EXPL seems that there was
        'It seemed that he was there'

(3)   [ˈkeru ɛ bˈbwone ka ˈveni]
        EXPL is good that come.2SG
        'It's good that you come'

In contrast, the masculine singular deictic expletive *kiru* occurs with BE existentials (4) (always displaying agreement of the pivot with the copula), presentative constructions (with optionality of agreement with the postverbal nominal, i.e., ±subjectization) (5a-5b) and weather verbs (6):

(4)   a. [ˈkiru nʤ ɛ na ˈtɛmba ˈrenne]
            EXPL PF is a hill there
            'There is a hill there'

        b. [ˈkiru nʤi so ˈtanda kriˈstjani ka ˈvanu aŋgɔra ku li ˈmakinɛ]
            ESPL PF are many people who vanno still with the cars
            'There are still many people who go by car'

(5)   a. [ˈkiru a kaˈrutu paˈrekki dˈda] (-agr)
            EXPL has fallen.MSG many there
            'Many people have fallen down there (lit. that has fallen down many (sc. people)'

b. [ˈkiru ne ˈana kaˈruti ri kriˈstjani] (+agr)
   EXPL of-them have fallen.MSG of people
   'Many people have fallen down there '(lit. that of-them have fallen down of people)

c. [ˈkiru ˈana veˈnuti ˈfratiti] (+agr)
   EXPL have come.M.PL your-brothers
   'Your brothers have come (lit. that have come your brothers)

(6)   [ˈkiru kjuˈvia]
        EXPL rained
        'It rained'

The distribution of the neuter and masculine deictic expletives reflects their different functions.
Whereas the neuter form *keru* appears to have only a pragmatic function, realizing the 'silent argument of predication', an 'implicit spatio-temporal domain '(Cruschina 2016: 122) (1)-(3), the masculine deictic *kiru* signals not only the spatio-temporal frame of predication, as in its existential uses (albeit occurring only with the proform *ngi*, etymologically a locative adverb, 'there') (4), but it also conveys a syntactic function, 'flagging up a forthcoming informationally new element 'when the subject occurs post-verbally (Biberauer & van der Wal 2012: 2), as well as a semantic one, as with weather verbs, where the expletive has argument status (Levin & Krejci 2019: 5).
Thus, deictic expletives in the southern Italo-Romance varieties investigated appear to bring interesting new data and insights on the status, typology and function of expletives, showing a major division between a pragmatic only neuter expletive and a syntactico-semantic masculine expletive, whose pragmatic function is a more recent development.

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English Biblical Translations and Language Change: Mutual Impact

The long-term history of English Bibles poses a problem of the correlation of biblical translation and language change, which needs consideration from both points of view. Any translation is supposed to bear an imprint of its era; however, some translations are able to exercise influence on the evolution of the language.

Combining "classical" and modern theories of language change (Hock 1988, Labov 1994, 2001, 2010, Wardhaugh 2010, Bybee 2015) and theories of biblical translation (Nida, Waard 1986, Nida 2021) allows us to establish interdependence between the type of the biblical translation and its ability to display language change: thought-for-thought translations, being reader-oriented, are generally more open to language change as compared to source-oriented word-for-word ones.

Submitting to the analysis some thirty English Bibles of different periods (Old English fragmentary translations (Ælfric's Pentateuch, Gospels, psalms), later medieval Bible versions (Wycliffe), pre-Reformation and Reformation Bibles, from Tyndale to the Authorised Version, translations of the 18th -19th c. and particularly those of the 20th - 21st c., displaying all diversity of approaches and strategies), we suggest a typology of biblical translations which takes into consideration such criteria as 1) the character of equivalence displayed in the translation; 2) the kind of language change observed in it; 3) the ability of the translation either to reflect recent language change or to exercise influence on the language (or both); 4) circulation and social environment. These features, manifested and combined with each other differently, form a variety of biblical translations (e.g., Ælfric's Old Testament displaying, along with formal equivalence, linguistic innovations of the period (analytic tendencies, phonetic change, etc., identified as change from below), had, due to its limited usage, little influence on the language. On the other hand, the King James Bible, which, being rather a compilation of the previous versions, had become obsolete by the time it appeared, gave an example of formal equivalence and change from above (patterns introduced by Tyndale), but had a great impact on English due to its widespread).

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Clause linkage strategies in Ancient Greek:
The usage of *epeí* in documentary papyri

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Analyses of syntactic relations and clause linkage strategies are canonically based on the dichotomy between coordination and subordination regardless of whether one operates within the framework of traditional, structural, or generative grammar. Bi-clausal constructions are either intended as two main clauses in a coordinate relation or as a main clause, also called matrix clause, and a subordinate one, being embedded and dependent upon it. Recent linguistic research has pointed out that phenomena emerging from everyday spoken language often challenge the canonical dichotomy of syntactic hierarchies (Auer 2003, and Maschler *et al.* 2020). That is to say, these categories are often found lacking in describing the full range of usages emerging in actual spoken language, including the dependency of clauses beyond sentence-level syntax.

This issue has become more pervasive within linguistic research during the last decades, leading to the development of new key-notions and approaches, for example insubordination (Evans and Watanabe 2016, and Beijering *et al.* 2019), and the extension of dependency from sentence-level syntax into larger discourse and pragmatic domains (Mithun 2008, 2019). Their application is also encountered in investigations on ancient languages, for instance on Ancient Greek (Ruiz Yamuza 2020, and La Roi 2021).

This paper deals with Ancient Greek, addressing clauses introduced by *epeí* 'after that; since', usually found for expressing temporal or causal relation. Traditional Greek grammars and previous studies on the usage of *epeí* in Classical Greek (5th–4th cent. BCE) have already noted that this conjunction cannot be straightforwardly classified on the syntactic level (Muchnová 2011: 19–22). For example, it can introduce subordinated as well as coordinated clauses (Kühner & Gerth 1904: 460–462). The present analysis aims at investigating the function of *epeí* beyond the coordination vs. subordination dichotomy and in light of the linguistic approaches mentioned above. It addresses issues of syntactic and discourse dependency, considering whether *epeí*-clauses typify a case of insubordination and, if so, which are the processes behind the emergence of this usage. Therefore, it explores the usage of *epeí* as a discourse particle and the related linguistic factors which support this interpretation. In this respect, the occurrences of *epeí* in combination with other particles (e.g., *gár*) will also be considered. The investigation is based on data from documentary papyri. Private letters and petitions belong to this type of sources, reflecting language usages that are more oriented to every-day communication purposes instead of adhering to literary conventions and genre constraints (Dickey 2011).

Data from papyri of the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods (4th cent. BCE – 7th cent. CE) will be collected by using the *Trismegistos* data bank and the linguistically annotated corpus *PapyGreek*. Finally, the analysis draws a comparison with further ancient and modern Indo-European languages, for instance with the usage of *weil* in German (Günthner 1993, and Auer & Günthner 2005).

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States in Romance Progressive Verbal Periphrases

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Keywords: verbal periphrases, aspectuality, grammaticalization, states, Romance languages

Our contribution investigates the formal and semantic properties of Romance progressive verbal periphrases (PVP). It also looks at their contexts of use and restrictions on them – in particular, their (in)compatibility with *states* (on stative predicates, e.g., Carlson 1977, De Wit et al. 2020). We discuss our findings in terms of the degree of grammaticalization that these constructions have reached in each Romance language, since grammaticalization is not only determined by auxiliarization, but also by compatibility with Aktionsart types and the loss of morphosyntactic restrictions.

Our analysis focuses on (European and Argentinian) Spanish data collected in 2019/20 (within the SFB 833 project "Verbal and nominal aspectuality between lexicon and grammar") in several acceptability studies. These will be compared to acceptability data collected within the same project for French, Italian and (European and Brazilian) Portuguese.

The comparative analysis leads to surprising results: In contrast to common interpretations (Comrie 1976: 35, Bertinetto 1986: 95, 1994: 403f., Squartini 1998: 103f.), PVPs turn out to be compatible with different *states* and *state-types* to varying degrees within each Romance language (see ex. 1a and 1b). For example, in Argentinian Spanish, the acceptability judgments (on a rating scale from 1 'impossible' to 7 'perfect') show that the periphrasis with the verb *pesar* 'to weigh' is acceptable while that with the verb *ser* 'to be' is not. We assume that this is due to the semantics and world knowledge related to these state verbs:

(1a) *Gabriel controla su peso:* ***está pesando*** *80 kilos.* (ArgSpa: score 5.00)
lit. 'Gabriel controls his weight: He is weighing 80 kilos.'
(1b) *Eduardo dice: "****Estoy siendo**** abogado, ¿y tú?"* (ArgSpa: 1.20)
lit. 'Eduardo says: 'I am being a lawyer, and you?''

Additionally, we find considerable variation across the Romance languages: These differ in terms of the degree of acceptability of PVPs expressing *states*, which correlates with the degree to which the construction is integrated into the respective language system. Comparing Spanish and French, the acceptability judgments show for example that the periphrasis with the state verb *desear* 'to desire' is more acceptable in Argentinian and European Spanish than the corresponding PVP with *désirer* 'to desire' in French:

(2a) *Julia, llorando, a su mejor amiga: "****Estoy deseando**** un segundo hijo."* (EuSpa: 3.92; ArgSpa: 4.71)
(2b) *Julie, en larmes, s'adressant à sa meilleure amie : « ****Je suis en train de désirer**** un second enfant. »* (Fra: 2.13)
lit. 'Julia, crying, (saying) to her best friend: 'I am desiring a second child.''

From a theoretical perspective, the analysis presented here can be seen as an empirical verification of existing hypotheses concerning the degree of grammaticalization of Romance PVP (e.g. Torres Cacoullos 2000, 2012). With regard to the process of grammaticalization (Heine 1993; Hopper/Traugott 2003), we build on a distinction between two levels introduced by Dessì Schmid

(2021): the level of internal structure (i.e. the grammaticalization of the components of the construction) and the level of the system (i.e. of the integration of the construction as a whole into the verbal system of the respective language). By applying this theoretical framework to the analysis of states in PVP, this presentation also contributes to a deeper understanding of the complex relationship between the degree of grammaticalization of progressive markers and their obligatoriness or optionality in their respective verbal systems.

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On semantic change in grammaticalization: Why it is never metaphoric

We understand metaphor as a "conscious or voluntary shift in a word's meaning" (cp. Matisoff 1991: 384).

Researchers like Heine et al. (1991) and Matisoff (1991) argued that metaphor is a fundamental mechanism of semantic change in grammaticalization. This idea has however been contested from the very start. For instance, Bybee et al. (1994: 24-25) argued that if metaphor would be a relevant mechanism under grammaticalization, we would expect to see semantic leaps, but these are rarely if ever found. Semantic change in grammaticalization tends to progress gradually involving small-scale reanalyses (in the sense of Hansen 2021).

The marginal position of metaphor in grammaticalization is in sharp contrast to the fact that metaphor is often considered to be one of the most important mechanisms in lexical change (e.g., Geeraerts 2015: 422; Blank 1997: 157). This remarkable difference between semantic change of lexical and of grammatical elements has to our knowledge received little attention, and it calls for an explanation.

Juge (2007) argued that metaphor plays a marginal role in grammaticalization because (as opposed to for instance pragmatic inferencing) it presupposes a high degree of speaker awareness of the metaphorically employed unit. Awareness is incompatible with the mechanisms of grammaticalization, since these are subconscious, he argues. We do not disagree, but Juge's account begs the question why the mechanisms of grammaticalization are necessarily subconscious – or, at least, evade awareness – and why this is not the case with lexical semantic change. This question represents a fundamental challenge to linguistic change as both lexical semantic change and grammaticalization of lexical items have the same point of departure, namely lexical units.

In this paper, we offer an answer to the question. Our account takes its point of departure in a revised version of Boye & Harder's (2012: 21) definition of grammaticalization. According to the revised definition, grammaticalization consists in the conventionalization of attentionally backgrounded status. This crucially entails that the input to grammaticalization is attentionally backgrounded, and we argue that this restriction on the input is what makes grammaticalization incompatible with metaphorically employed expressions. From a speaker as well as a hearer perspective, metaphor demands attention or awareness (cp. Juge 2007: 45): for a source concept to structure a target concept, speaker and hearer must pay attention to the internal structure of the concepts at play. Furthermore, novel metaphors will typically attract attention in that they are atypical ways of expressing oneself for which there arguably must be a reason based on the relevance maxim.

We furthermore argue that based on our account, we can explain why also metonymy in a narrow sense (that is, as a conscious and voluntary process) seems to be marginal in grammaticalization. One of the consequences of our argument is thus that we should re-evaluate lumping pragmatic inferencing and metonymy narrowly defined together under the heading metonymy.

We argue that other approaches to grammaticalization are incapable to account for the same facts.

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Linguistic diversity is globally determined by sociocultural factors

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Keywords: Linguistic diversity, Language vitality, Ecological factors, Sociocultural factors

There are almost 7000 languages spoken worldwide (Hammarström et al 2022). These languages are distributed unevenly, as certain areas of the globe sustain more languages and linguistic families than others. The distribution of linguistic diversity has been addressed from multiple angles (Nichols 1997, Currie and Mace 2009, Derungs et al. 2018, Bentz et al. 2018, Hua et al. 2019), often from an ecological and deterministic perspective relating only climatic, topographic, and sometimes demographic variables. Nevertheless, few studies have explored how sociocultural and ecological variables considered simultaneously can actually explain linguistic diversity on a global scale. Here we explore three different dimensions of linguistic diversity: language richness (the number of languages in a given area), phylogenetic richness (the number of linguistic families in a given area), and the language vitality (of local languages within a given area). We compile existing databases such as D-place (Kirby et al. 2016) and Glottolog (Hammarström et al 2022) with environmental data. We use mixed models and path models to assess the effect of different ecological and sociocultural factors on the three different dimensions of linguistic diversity. We show that while both ecological and sociocultural factors considered together explains the most language richness and phylogenetic richness, language vitality is mostly explained by sociocultural factors. With regard to the effect of each variable, linguistically diverse areas are determined by demographic, political, economic and cultural variables, which have an impact on how groups create and sustain language boundaries and refrain from language loss. The main factors found to have a positive impact on linguistic diversity have to do with high population size, with politically more autonomous societies, with explicit ethnic markers relating to descent and marriage patterns, and with a relatively high dependence on agriculture. Our results also show that linguistic diversity is a holistic and multi-scalar phenomenon and reinforces approaches to the sustainability of linguistic diversity based on transversal actions relating the environment, economic security and self-governance of indigenous and minoritized populations worldwide.

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The interaction of evidentiality with mirativity, modality and intersubjectivity in Udmurt

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Keywords: Udmurt language, indirect evidentiality, mirativity, modality, past tenses

The presentation discusses the interaction of Udmurt (Uralic, Russian Federation) evidentiality with other epistemic categories. The research material consists of semi-structured interviews with native speakers conducted between 2019 and 2020, a questionnaire, texts from blog texts and corpus data (Arkhangelskiy 2019).

Udmurt has a small evidential system with the morphological marking of general indirect evidence. Morphological evidential specification is possible only in the past tenses and the indirect evidential marker is fused with the marking of the past tenses (Skribnik – Kehayov 2018).

Meanings encoded by the indirect evidential are highly context sensitive. In a de-contextualised sentence, an evidential form can primarily have the following interpretations: i) the speaker has indirect evidence about the state of affairs, i.e., evidential interpretation; ii) the information is unassimilated knowledge or does not correlate with previous expectations, i.e., mirative interpretation iii) the speaker has a lower degree of certainty about the truthfulness of the information, i.e., epistemic interpretation. While these interpretations have been acknowledged previously (cf. Siegl 2004, Winkler 2011, Skribnik – Kehayov 2018), a more pragmatic-oriented approach revealed that several factors can influence which interpretation prevails: the propositional content, the information status of the speaker, but possibly sociolinguistic factors too. In example 1 the propositional content assumes indirect evidence by default (i.e., it is unlikely that one could have direct evidence about the alcohol consumption in the whole Russian Federation), thus, the use of the indirect evidential was often interpreted by native speakers to mark a lower degree of certainty about the accuracy and reliability of the information.

(1) *Kyľem   ar   kuspyn   Rossi-yn   uliś-jos   8   miľľiard*
    last   year   PP   Russia-INE inhabitant-PL 8   billion
    ľitr   sur   jui-ľľam.
    litre   beer drink-EV.PST[3PL]
    'Last year 8 billion litres of beer were consumed by the inhabitants of Russia.'

In example 2 if the speaker did not expect the electricity to be switched off the evidential form rather conveys mirativity, even though the speaker might not have direct evidence either.

(2) *Tunne gurt-yn   tyl-ez   kysi-ľľam.*
    today village-INE   electricity-ACC switch.off-EV.PST[3PL]
    'Today electricity has been switched off in the village.'

Furthermore, data confirm that when the indirect evidential is used to encode unassimilated knowledge, a shift is possible from the speaker's to the addressee's perspective, This shows that indirect evidentiality in Udmurt has interactions with intersubjectivity as well. Such shifts with other interpretations have not yet been observed.

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An analysis of Japanese and French specificational sentences with a left-dislocation as a question and answer in solo performance monologue (500 words)

This study first shows that Japanese specificational sentences involving left-dislocation, like (1), express a special kind of monological question-answer, and next claims that the same is (although less clearly) true of French ones, as (2).

(1)   What I want to hand down to the 21st century, it is nature and peace. (Translation from Oe, Iseki & Suzuki 2022)

(2)   Notre espoir, c'est que nos enfants soient plus heureux que nous. (Abeillé & Godard 2021)

Oe, Iseki & Suzuki (2020, 2022) observe that Japanese left-dislocations are exclusively observed in "a genre that assumes an imbalanced relationship between the speaker and the listener", and which they call "solo performance monologue", exemplified by lectures, reports, explanations, etc. According to them, (1) is inappropriate as an answer to the question "What do you want to hand down to the 21st century?". (1) may thus be paraphrased by a monological question-answer in (3).

(3)   What do I want to hand down to the 21st century? – It is nature and peace.

These authors also point out that in this genre, although speaking unilaterally, the speaker is influenced by the presence of the listener to whom she is talking. In other words, the listeners of solo performance monologues are not simply *bystanders* (Eckardt & Disselkamp 2019).

As regards French specificational sentences, de Cat (2007) argues that "the predicative NP [ex. *notre espoir* in (2), analyzed by Frana (2017) as a concealed question] is obligatorily dislocated if it is the subject". However, my survey through ESLO corpus shows that among 46 specificational sentences whose subject is a determiner + *but* 'goal', fouras examples lack pronominal resumption. The dislocation therefore is optional, although the version without dislocation is stylistically marked. My hypothesis is that French specificational sentences with a dislocation are used, like Japanese ones, as monological question-answers as (4) in solo performance monologues.

(4)   What is our hope? – It is that our children would be happier than us.

Surely, in one example, the dislocated element directly repeats the interlocutor's question, unlike in Japanese. This example however is attested in an interview where the speaker one-sidely develops his idea. In effect, according to a native speaker, (2) isn't natural to answer the question "What is your hope?" but is appropriate as a reaction to the interlocutor's remark like "The actual political situation is very difficult to survive for the people of your country."

Most of 41 other examples are observed in dialogues and interviews and even in dialogues, when uttering a specificational sentence with left-dislocation, the speaker tends to monopolize the conversation. At the same time, some examples include expressions suggesting the speaker's attention to the presence of the listener, like *vous savez* 'you know', as well as the listener's reactions, like *hm, ouais* 'yeah'. I suggest that uttering specificational sentences with left-dislocation, the speaker forms a monological

question by anticipating the listener's wondering (Celle 2009). The better the anticipation corresponds to the questions the listener bears in her mind, the more relevant she finds the speaker's solo performance.

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Break it like this: what's the manner of change of state events?

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Keywords: Semantics, Action Verbs, Change of State events, Manner, lexicalization

Within the studies of manner, researchers have looked at adverbials or adjuncts as the prototypical carriers of manner (Virtanen 2008), while also finding that verbs lexicalize different manner components, within or across languages (Levin and Rapport Hovav 2011; Talmy 2000; Slobin et al. 2014). Considering that it has been shown that manner is more of a *cluster concept* (Stosic 2020, 2019) not restricted to a syntactic position, it is beneficial to look at how manner is distributed within a sentence in a cross-linguistic comparison.

This contribution presents a study on elicited written descriptions of causative Change of State (CoS) events in two Germanic and one Romance languages - English, Swedish and Italian. These languages have been shown to follow different preferential lexicalization patterns, most notably in motion events with satellite-framed and verb-framed dichotomy (Talmy 2000) and the way path of motion and manner of motion is expressed, while other action domains may display different patterns and deserve further investigation. Causative CoS considered in this study involve an irreversible modification in the state of an object as a consequence of an action operated by an agent (Majid et al. 2007; Majid, Boster, Bowerman 2008). Thus, they are particularly suitable for the investigation of manner, which is highly associated to quality of actions (Fellbaum 2002), while not thoroughly investigated in previous literature. In the study, 30 participants per language watched 38 video-clips depicting CoS events in a real-world setting, such as *opening, breaking, tearing,* and *cutting*, performed in conventional and unconventional ways. Participants were instructed to write one sentence, including the information that they considered necessary to describe the action: an agent, followed by a verb, patients and adverbials (e.g., *the guy breaks the eggs* or *the guy breaks the eggs into a bowl*).

Crucially, the visual mean provides a solid ground for action appreciation and the possibility to control for manners in the action display (as opposed to corpus occurrences, for example), allowing for a stronger contrastive analysis. The descriptions are coded with regards to i. whether manner is encoded (a description can only focus on the result, as with *he breaks the vase*) and ii. in which part/s of the sentence - lexicalized in the verb, in other components of the sentence, or both (e.g., *he broke the twig with his hands* vs *he snapped the twig*). Results show variation in the use of verbs and other sentence components cross-linguistically (e.g., Swedish speakers encoding manner in the verbs more often) and the individual differences within each language, such as the variability in manner vs result encoding (e.g., Swedish descriptions being more coherent and Italian descriptions showing higher degree of variation). Furthermore, it is discussed how qualities of actions and instruments (e.g., Swedish *klippa*, 'cut with scissors' and *kära*, 'cut with one-bladed instrument') interacts with the concept of manner and the different manners that are lexicalized in, or entailed by, verbs.

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Polarities in conflict – multilayered nature of the negative scope

Scope of negation, this is, which part of an utterance the negative has effect on, varies from wide (over the whole) to narrow (over some part of it) (Horn 1989: 479–518). Here, I will zoom inside the negative scope and show, based on the structure and contextual behavior of Finnish negative clauses, that is has a multilayered nature, reflected in the different effects negation may have on the clause structure (see Payne 1985: 228–231). In Finnish, besides the connegative form of the lexical verb (*tunne* in 1b), the negative auxiliary *e(i)* affects the case of objects and existential subjects (partitive vs. accusative), and the choice of polarity items (NPI *-kaan* vs. PPI *-kin* 'too, even') (Vilkuna 2015).

(1a) *Hän tunte-e   sinu-t-kin*
     (s)he know-3SG you-ACC-PPICL
     '(S)he knows you, too.'

(1b) *Hän **ei**   **tunne**   sinu-**a-kaan***
     (s)he neg.3SG   know.CNG you-PAR-NPICL
     '(S)he doesn't know even you.'

Both the partitive of negation (Miestamo 2014) and NPIs reflect the actual semantic-pragmatic scope of negation (Israel 2011), whereas the connegative is morpho-syntactically necessary – even with fixed use of negation in pragmatically affirmative utterances. Basically, the case marking and polarity items are polarly in alignment (see 1a and 1b). However, in some contexts these two conflict with each other. Such a mismatch arises when an PPI appears in a negative clause but in partitive because of negation:

(2) *Olen tällainen silloin, kun*

    *e-n   osaa   ratkais-ta   **jo-ta-in**   tilanne-**tta**.*
    neg-1SG   be.able.CNG   solve-INF   some-PAR-CL   situation-PAR
    'I am like this, when
    I cannot solve some situation.'

PPIs like *some* may, indeed, licitly appear in negative clauses, when they take wide scope over negation (Giannakidou 2012: 1665); for (2) 'there exists some situation, which I cannot solve'. However, the partitive shows that the object is still somehow in the scope of negation (Miestamo 2005; "affected by negation" VISK § 1617). Hence, instead of recognizing *if* a phrase is in the negative scope, in a case language we must also address the question of *to what extent*. Building on Horn (1989: 509–517), the object phrase *jotain tilannetta* 'some situation' is outside the pragmatic scope of negation (hence, PPI), but in the syntactic-semantic scope of negation (hence, partitive).

A reverse mismatch, an NPI accusative object *kene-t-kään* 'anyone,' further emphasizes the multifaceted nature of the negative scope and polarity. This item is barred from single negative clauses due to its accusative case (*En tunne *kene-t-kään ~ ke-**tä**-än* 'I don't know anyone-**par**'), but appears, even if relatively unfrequently, in other NPI contexts, such as complements of negative clauses:

(3) *– – älä   koskaan   ajattele,*
          NEG.IMP.3SG   ever   think.CNG

    *että halua-isi-n   **kene-t-kään**   muu-n   kuin juuri   sinu-t.*
    that want-COND-1SG anyone-ACC-NPICL   else-GEN   than exactly   you-ACC
    '[D]on't ever think that I would want anyone else than exactly you.'

The analysis of these two polarity conflict cases draws from actual internet discussion data (Suomi24, ex. 2 & 3). They clearly demonstrate that negative scope interacts with all the dimensions of grammar from morphology to pragmatics and occasionally affects only some of these.

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On the distinct syntactic status of the overt locative constituent in existential and locative sentences

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Keywords: <existential, locative, prepositional phrase, predicate, adjunct>

In this talk, I provide evidence from Greek supporting the hypothesis that the overt locative PPs (underlined in the examples below) are adjuncts in existentials and predicates in locatives.

This wide-spread view that originates in McNally (1997) is also advocated by Francez (2007), McCloskey (2014), and Myler (2018) i.a., primarily based on contrasts between English locatives (1a) and existentials (1b).

1.   a. The kids are <u>at the park</u>.
        b. There are kids <u>at the park</u>.

To enrich the set of diagnostics proposed by the authors, I study the corresponding Greek sentences. Specifically, I consider locative sentences employing the copula BE and existential sentences with HAVE as the most common in the language. Their behavior in regard to four phenomena supports the hypothesis that the locative constituent has a distinct status in each case.

First, I adopt Gehrke and Lekakou (2013) who argue that PPs drop their prepositions iff they are not adjuncts. Unlike locatives (2a), P-drop is disallowed in existentials (2b), suggesting that the PP is an adjunct in the latter case (2b), whereas it is not in the former (2a):

2.   a. Ta   pedja   ine   <u>(stin) platia</u>.
           the.PL.NOM kid.PL.NOM BE.3PL at.the square
           'The kids are at the square.'
        b. *Exi   pedja   <u>platia</u>.
            HAVE.3SG kid.PL.ACC square
            'There are kids at the square.'

Second, I consider the scopal behavior of *again.* The contrast in (3) suggests that PPs are adjuncts only in existentials because only in this case they can stay outside the scope of the adverb as evidenced by the fact that they can be denied (3b):

3.   a. Ta   pexnidja   ine   ksana *(ala oxi <u>sto   domatio tu   Petru)</u>.
           the.PL.NOM toy.PL.NOM BE.3PL again   but no   in.the room   the.SG.GEN Peter.GEN
           lit. The toys are again but not in Peter's room.
        b. Exi   ksana pexnidja   ala oxi <u>sto   domatio tu   Petru</u>.
           HAVE.3SG again   toy.PL.ACC but no in.the room   the.SG.GEN Peter.GEN
           'There are again toys somewhere, but not in Peter's room.'

Third, building on Cohen and Erteschik-Shir (2002), I claim that the PPs in locatives are predicates since they can act as stage topics, at least more easily than in existentials.

4.   a. Oso ja <u>to parti</u>, ta   pedja   ine   akoma <u>eki</u>.
           as   for the party the.PL.NOM kid.PL.NOM BE.3PL still   there
           'As for the party, the kids are still there.'
        b. ?? Oso ja <u>to parti</u>, exi   akoma pedja   <u>eki</u>.
             as   for the party, HAVE.3SG still   kid.PL.ACC there

'As for the party, there are kids still there.'

Fourth, I show that PPs in existentials, unlike locatives (5a), provide a binder for anaphors within the NPs (5b). This indicates not only the distinct status of the locative constituent but also that as an adjunct, the locative PP in existentials c-commands the NP. Hence, it must be assumed that it is introduced in a structurally higher position than the NP, whereas this is not the case in locatives.

5.   a. *Ta   komatja   [tu eaftu tu]$_i$ ine   <u>sta   vivlia [tu   Petru]$_i$</u>.
        the.PL.NOM part.PL.NOM [of himself]   BE.3PL in.the books [the.GEN Peter.GEN]
        lit. 'The parts of himself are in Peter's books.'

     b. Exi   komatja   [tu eaftu tu]$_i$ <u>sta   vivlia [tu   Petru]$_i$</u>.
        HAVE.3SG part.PL.ACC [of.himself]   in.the books [the.GEN Peter.GEN]
        'There are parts of himself in Peter's books.'

To conclude, P-drop, the interpretations of *again*-modifiers, the ability to act as stage topics, and binding effects point toward the conclusion that the PPs have a different syntactic status in each construction; they are predicates in locatives and adjuncts in existentials. Further, the binding effects add the assumption that the adjunct PP merges in a structurally higher position than the NP, whereas this is not true for locatives.

Abbreviations
3= third person, ACC=accusative, GEN=genitive, NOM=nominative, SG=singular, PL=plural

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Basque particle *bide*: Its meaning and use

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Basque is distinguished from its neighbouring languages, among other things, in having particles that indicate the speaker's source of knowledge —evidential element— and/or her stance towards the truth of the proposition expressed —modal element (epistemic or doxastic): especially *omen*, *ei*, *bide*, *ote* and *al*. In addition to having this semantic/pragmatic common feature, they share a syntactic property: in their canonical use, they all appear in the verbal complex. In fact, Basque particles have been mainly analysed from the syntactical point of view (inter alia, Mujika (1988), Etxepare (2010) and Monforte (2018)). In contrast, there are fewer works that analyse their meaning and use (among others, Korta & Zubeldia (2014), Garmendia (2014)).

In this work we study the meaning and use of the Basque particle *bide*, aiming to add to its semantic and pragmatic studies. In Basque linguistics, *bide* has been associated to two dimensions: (1) to an evidential dimension, as an inferential particle (Novia de Salcedo (1887) and de Rijk (2008), among others) and (2) to a doxastic dimension, namely, to the expression of a certain degree of belief or certainty on the truth of the proposition (see, for instance, van Eys (1873) and Euskaltzaindia (1987)). We think that both the evidential and the doxastic dimensions are present in a *bide*-sentence. We argue that, uttering a *bide*-sentence such as (1), the speaker asserts the proposition she would assert had she uttered a sentence without *bide*, but conveys additional evidential and doxastic information.

(1) Euri-a   ari   *bide*   d-u.
    rain-DET.SG.ABS PROG   PART   3SG.ABS.PRS-have
    'It's *omen/bide* raining.'

Specifically, she conveys that the evidence for the belief she expresses is indirect (the evidential aspect is not cancellable, so *bide* encodes this indirectness) and, generally, that she is not completely certain about its truth (*bide* is incompatible with the speaker's complete certainty on the truth of *p*).

In this paper, we propose a speech-act theoretic account of *bide*, according to which it is an illocutionary force indicator with no contribution to the propositional content of the utterance. On the one hand, the evidential aspect is part of its preparatory condition. Specifically, it presupposes that the speaker's evidence for the truth of her *bide*-assertion is indirect. On the other hand, the doxastic aspect combines two kinds of meaning. First, *bide*-assertions express the speaker's belief on the truth of its propositional content, as their bare counterparts do. And second, an expression of not absolute certainty is usually present. Usually, but not always, since there are some cases in which the speaker expresses her certainty towards the truth of her belief. We, then, propose two alternative accounts of the doxastic dimension: (a) it is a semantic non-truth-conditional meaning that constrains the degree of strength of the speaker's belief; or (b) it is a pragmatic aspect of meaning, a generalized

conversational implicature (GCI), cancellable in particular contexts. We suggest, in addition, that it is the evidential dimension which has some priority over the doxastic.

We supplement our conceptual discussion with corpus data and questionnaires.

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When onomatopoeia, ideophones, reported discourse and interjections form a general syntactico-functional class in Kafire (Senufo, Côte d'Ivoire): some grammatical evidence

Abstract

Linguistic catgories such as ideophones, onomatopoeia, interjections have long time been treated as marginal in the linguistic system (Akita & Dingemanse 2019: 2, Dingemanse 2017: 195). This is related to their marked phonetic / phonological, morphosyntactic and semantic features. Interestingly, a functional connection can be established between them, including reported speech. For instance, they are said to belong to the human communication mode called *expressive*, *demonstration*, *performance*, *showing*, *reenactment*, *mimesis*, *theticals*, *depiction* (Akita & Dingemanse 2019: 230–231). While the only grammatical evidence mentioned in many studies for such a connection is their ability to be introduced by the same linguistic items (Güldemann 2008: 285–286), this topic is not further investigated. However, in some African languages, particularly Kafire (Senufo, Côte d'Ivoire), ideophones, interjections, onomatopoeia and reported speech share some general syntactic features that cannot be accidental. For example, even if Kafire is a language where the predicate should not be dropped, they are the only categories whose occurrence allows the dropping of the predicate. This is illustrated in (1) where we have respectively ideophones (1-a), onomatopoeia (1-b), reported discourse (1-c) and an interjection (1-d) that occur without any predicate.

(1)   a.   à   ɟjɛ̀=ʔɛ̀   **pábáw gòrògòrò gòrògòrò**
                 à   ɟjɛ̀=gV   **pábáw gòrògòrò gòrògòrò**
                 CIPRT hyena=INDF2.SG **IDEO IDEO   IDEO**
                 "Hyena rushed out and escaped [lit. Hyena '**pabaw**, **gorogoro gorogoro**']."

(Kaf_Narr_Lion's-mother_01_SN_085)

b. á   wú   **kprò**   **kɔ̰̄kɔ̰̄kɔ̰̄kɔ̰̄kɔ̰̄kɔ̰̄** **kɔ̰̄kɔ̰̄**   **bàkprò**
    à   wí   **kprè**   **kɔ̰̄kɔ̰̄kɔ̰̄kɔ̰̄kɔ̰̄kɔ̰̄** **kɔ̰̄kɔ̰̄**   **bàkprò**
    CIPRT 3SG.G1 **ONOM ONOM   ONOM ONOM**
    "He: **[Sounds of the poro drumbeat]**"
    (Kaf_Narr_Lion's-mother_01_SN_202)

c. à   bé   **jè   wáā**   **lɔ̌=g**   **ká̰   dɛ̄**
    à   bé   **jè   wáā**   **lɔ̌ᴴ=gì**   **ká̰   dɛ̄**
    CIPRT 3PL.G1 **2PL 1PL.SBJV.AFF.IPFV water=DEF2.SG rake EXCL**
    "They [said] : **let us continue to rake the water !**"
    (Kaf_Narr_Origin-Cult-Of-Water_01_SN_104)

d. à   wú   **ʔéʔé**
    à   wí   **ʔéʔé**
    CIPRT 3SG.G1 **INTJ**
    "She [said] : **hehe !**"
    (Kaf_Narr_The_Old-Man's-Young-Wife_SN_216)

Therefore in this study, I am going to show with more syntactic evidence (combinatory evidence, targets of the same anaphoric and cataphoric pronoun, the same question word, interchangeable evidence, possibility of predicate dropping) that in Kafire, ideophones, onomatopoeia, interjections and reported discourse belong to a general syntactico-functional category whose function is to give a direct representation of a perceptual experience through language. This will be based on a mixed corpus of narratives and elicitation. The narratives are what I collected between 2019 and 2022 during my fieldworks in the community of Kafibele (speakers of Kafire). The elicitation data is a semi-spontaneous one in the sense that it is the narratives data with some modifications tested against the intuition of Kafire speakers.

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Left-dislocation in spoken Danish – a quantitative analysis

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The paper argues that two principles influence the occurrence of left-dislocation in declarative clauses in spoken Danish: (1) the number of words in the topicalized constituent, (2) the concept 'semantic weight'.

The paper considers as instances of left-dislocation those sentences where a clausal constituent is repeated with a resumptive light adverb or pronoun in the first position before the finite verb, e.g.:

	Left-dislocation	1st position			
(1)	*når hun ikke var der*	*så*	*ville*	*han*	*tale med mig*
	when she not was there	*then*	would	he	speak with me
(2)	*al vores liv*	*det*	*foregik*	*med fodbold*	
	all of our life	it	went on	with football	
(3)	*oppe på loftet*	*der*	*havde*	*jeg*	*to værelser*
	up on the ceiling	*there*	*had*	*I*	*two rooms*
(4)	*ellers*	*så*	*mindes*	*jeg*	*ikke situationen*
	otherwise	then	remember	I	not the situation

The data for the study consists of 1286 sentences, extracted from 7 socio-linguistic interviews, with a possible left-dislocation construction; 638 of these sentences (50%) are with left dislocation.

Previous research has proposed two conditioning factors for this type of left-dislocation in Danish: topicalization, or 'thematization', in running discourse (Hansen & Heltoft 2011, Hamann et al. 2011), and the 'weight' of the constituent, with pronouns categorically considered 'light' and NPs 'heavy', the latter triggering left-dislocation (Brøcker et al. 2012). This paper, in contrast, proposes a pattern based on the type of the constituent in left-dislocation position:

a) 91% of all *adverbial clauses* (1) (229 out of 250) occur in left-dislocation position;

b) 36% (164 out of 459) of all *subjects* (2), and 49% (128 out of 263) of all *circumstantial adverbials* (3) occur in left-dislocation position, and the more words they consist of, the more likely it is that they will occur as left-dislocation;

c) 45% (70 out of 157) of all one-word adverbials (4) occur in left-dislocation position but there is a clear semantic distinction: adversative adverbials like *ellers* 'otherwise' are inclined to occur as left-dislocation, whereas sentence adverbials like *selvfølgelig* 'of course' are not.

The weight principle suggested as indicative for left-dislocation seems to be supported by (b), and in principle by (a), as adverbial clauses are never very short. But this principle does not explain the relatively short constituents in (1)-(3), nor does it explain the preference for left extra-position observed for the adversative adverbials. For the latter type, this paper suggests a principle of semantic weight, as adversative adverbials in contrast to sentence adverbials incorporate the semantic content of what is being put in contrast, i.e., they have a coherence-related function; sentence adverbials, in contrast, have a modal function, expressing the speaker's perspective (Detges & Watereit 2014).

The paper will give an overview of the quantitative analysis and consider the findings from the perspective of previous research. The relatively short constituents in left-dislocation position in (1)-(3), will be discussed from the perspective of discursive functions (e.g., Hansen & Heltoft 2011, Beeching & Detges 2014, and Westbury 2016).

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The Stylistics and Structure of Greek Newspaper Headlines:
Synchronic and diachronic perspectives

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It is well known that newspaper headlines can constitute a special genre with their own style and their own linguistic structure (i.e., Aitchison, 2006; Dor, 2003). For example, function words such as articles are often omitted in American English headlines, and temporal reference is achieved through special means. Despite the existing literature on English-language newspaper headlines, there is almost no research for other languages (i.e., Greek). In the same vein, while the characteristics of headlines have been sufficiently studied (for English) at a synchronic level, research on the diachronic axis is lacking.

With the present contribution, we investigate the textual characteristics, including spelling, of the headlines of Greek newspapers at a synchronic and diachronic level. Specifically, we explore the following issues:

- What conventions (structural, formal, orthographic, etc.) govern headlines in (Greek) newspapers?
- Are these conventions sufficient to justify the characterization of headlines as a distinct textual genre?
- How, if at all, have these conventions changed from decade to decade in the 20th and 21st centuries?

To answer these questions, we studied 220 front-page headlines (~20 for each decade from 1922 to the present), which were selected in a systematically random way and transcribed into an electronic database. These titles were annotated for their linguistic and morphological characteristics. The particular characteristics governing the headlines per decade were studied comparatively between the decades. The recently digitized electronic historical archive of four Greek newspapers, http://premiumarchives.alteregomedia.org/Login.aspx, was used as the primary source of our research, as shown in Table 1, below.

Greek Newspaper	Period covered
Ελεύθερον Βήμα	1922-1944
Το Βήμα	1945-present
Αθηναϊκά Νέα	1931-1945
Τα Νέα	1945-present

Table 1: The newspapers studied and the periods covered by each

Through the analysis of the collected material, we argue that headlines in Greek should be considered an autonomous textual genre characterized by its own conventions. For example, in this headline from the front page of the newspaper "ΤΑ ΝΕΑ,"

ΠΙΣΩ ΑΠΟ ΤΙΣ ΕΘΝΙΚΕΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΕΣ (behind-(from) the national lines)

TO "ΒΑΡΥ ΥΔΩΡ" ΚΑΙ Ο ΜΥΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ (the "heavy water" and the secret war)
250 ΧΙΛΙΑΔΕΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΙ ΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΕΝΑ ΑΓΓΛΟΝ (250,000 Germans surrender to 1 Englishman'

[Τα ΝΕΑ, May 24, 1945]

we notice:

(a) the full title is written in capital letters, (b) there is a predominance of elliptical constructions, as in the second line with the verb (*βρίσκεται* 'is found') absent before το «βαρύ ύδωρ» ('heavy water'), (c) the change of sentence is indicated by a line break, (d) there is no punctuation, (e) there is variation in the use of the final -*n* in accusative forms, as it is absent from *ένα(ν)* 'one' while it is present in *Άγγλον* 'Englishman'.

Moreover, through the analysis of the collected material, we will show that these conventions do not remain constant over the decades; rather, they show change. We attribute this to the fact that headlines are a living textual genre that changes to adapt to new communicative needs and norms.

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Verb+Verb complex predicates in Northern Talyshi

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As was already noted by Miller (1953:186f.), the lexicon of Northern Talyshi, henceforth NT (Iranian; Azerbaijan) makes extensive use of specific *nonverb+verb* combinations such as *pəydo karde* [evident+do] 'find' and *resə karde* [package+do] 'tie up': this is a well-known and much-discussed areal feature shared notably by NT's principal superstrate languages, Azerbaijani and Persian (see e.g. Samvelian & Faghiri 2014 on Persian). It is generally taken as characteristic of these so-called *complex predicates* that argument-structure properties can be ascribed jointly to the predicate as a whole, rather than simply its verbal element.

In this paper I provide textual evidence for the existence in NT of a different type of complex predicate, likewise widespread and identifiable on the basis of its unified argument structure, but unaddressed in Miller (1953) and other existing treatments of the language. In this general syntactic phenomenon, a single set of arguments is shared across a combination *verb+verb*, each of which is able to take arguments directly in other circumstances. Two selecting verbs are involved: *zıne* 'know; can V' and *piye* 'like; want to V'.

To set the scene, a genuinely biclausal construction in NT is illustrated in (1): notice in particular that infinitive *harde* 'eat' assigns its own object within the subordinate clause, which appears in the oblique case as expected.

(1)   dəmand-e   [əçəy   qujd-i   qədə-qədə   hard-e]
        start-PRET.3SG   3SG.POSS meat-OBL little-little   eat-INF
        'he started [to eat its meat little by little]' (Əboszodə 2004:112)

Crucially, NT displays a split alignment system, whereby *only finite past perfective contexts* show ergative morphosyntax, i.e. the object of a transitive verb takes direct (= absolutive) case, and the (oblique-marked) subject is indexed not on the verb but by a floating pronominal clitic. Cf. constructed examples in the present (2) and perfect (2'):

(2)   az   qujd-i   hard-edə=m   vs.   (2')   mı   qujd=ım   hard-ə
        1SG.DIR meat-OBL eat-PROG=COP.1SG   1SG.OBL meat.DIR=1SG eat-PTCP
        'I'm eating the meat'   'I've eaten the meat'

In view of this, the details of (3) and (4) are revealing. Unlike in (1), here the transitivity of the – ostensibly subordinate – non-finite verb (*hıte* 'sleep', *bekarde* 'remove') in fact determines the morphosyntax of the whole, as is shown by both case-marking and verbal inflection. That is, [V+*zıne*] operates as a unit in terms of its argument structure, echoing the expected behaviour of standalone V. This invites a 'restructuring' analysis along the lines of e.g. Polinsky (2015:210-18) for Tsez, Wurmbrand (2015).

(3)   az   hıt-e   nı-znə-ym
        1SG.DIR sleep-INF NEG-know-PRET.1SG
        'I couldn't sleep' (Əboszodə 2004:31)

(4) lıǧmon-i… mor=ış bekard-e nı-znə-y
     healer-OBL snake.DIR=3SG remove-INF NEG-know-TR
     'the healer… couldn't remove the snake' (Əboszodə 2004:57f.)

Interestingly, *piye* as a selecting verb behaves slightly differently. Uniquely within NT, *piye* displays ergative alignment in *all* TAM contexts, and it is this – not the behaviour of V – that determines the morphosyntax required by the complex [V+*piye*]:

(5) lotiy-on əv=ışon dızdiy-e piy-edə
     bandit-PL 3SG.DIR=3PL steal-INF want-PROG
     'the bandits want to steal her' (Əboszodə 2004:87)

I discuss this difference, further evidence for monoclausality in these constructions, and the potential relevance of superstrate influence.

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Almost parallel translations as a comparative tool:
Baltic flagging in diachrony

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Earlier research shows that Latvian and Lithuanian case- and adposition-marking (henceforth — flagging, see Haspelmath 2019) demonstrates a relatively large number of discrepancies (Alfimova, accepted, Alfimova 2023, Perkova 2013). In particular, the flagging in contemporary Lithuanian is seen as more archaic (cases), whereas Latvian flagging strategies are more innovative (prepositions) and often converge with German ones, for example (1)-(3).

(1) Lithuanian
*Aš ilgiuo-si   Marij-**os**
I   miss-REFL Maria-**GEN**.SG
'I miss Maria.'

(2) Latvian
*Es ilgojo-s   **pēc** Marij-as* (p.k.)
I   miss-REFL **after** Maria-GEN.SG
'I miss Marija.'

(3) German
Ich sehne mich nach   Marie
I   miss REFL **after** Marie[DAT.SG]
'I miss Marie.'

The divergence in the grammar of Baltic languages is partially explained by a strong German influence on Latvian during the Christianization period in Livonia (see Vanags 2019, Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Dahl 2001). For instance, there is variation in spatial expressions in early translations from German to Latvian, cf. (4) and (5).

(4) Old Latvian, 1587 (Vanags 2019: 285)
Vnde stum   thös   exkan to   Beddr-e
and   pushed them inside DET.ACC.SG pit-ACC.SG
'and pushed them into the pit'

(5) Old Latvian, 1586 (Vanags 1992: 388)
Baſnicz-an   ne-gays

church-ILL.SG   NEG-went
'did not go to church'

Significant interference from German in the earliest Latvian texts in the matter of the usage of prepositions is discussed in the literature (see Vanags 2019: 290). However, there seem to be no studies trying to trace the change in Latvian flagging consistently.

The current paper compares Latvian and Lithuanian flagging in the oldest translations of Luther's Small Catechism (1529) into Latvian (1586, E1), and Lithuanian (1579, E2). Although these texts do not coincide entirely, they constitute a "natural" parallel corpus involving a homogeneous pragmatic context. Parallel translations are a rare and precious tool for language comparison, especially translations into closely related vernacular languages.

I compare the extent of dissimilarity of Latvian and Lithuanian flagging at two different stages by analyzing the earliest and contemporary translations of Luther's Small Catechism. The following questions are put forward for discussion: Are there the same percentage of dissimilarities in the Baltic flagging of the 16th century vs nowadays? Do early Biblical translations promote the change in Baltic flagging, or the discrepancies observed in Baltic languages today (primarily the Latvian innovations) should be explained by the permeation of imperfections of adult second-language learners? The latter is considered to be one of the main mechanisms of language change (i.a. see Seifart 2019).

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Unintentional implicit contents in public discourse: a manipulative strategy's recoil

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Linguistic implicit strategies are resources which allow for conciseness and politeness, and are accordingly quite frequent in languages. These include implicatures and vagueness on the one hand, which (following Lombardi Vallauri 2016, 2019) we consider as *content implicitness*, and presuppositions and topics on the other hand, which we consider as *responsibility implicitness*. Research has shown that they can be manipulatively exploited to successfully convey non *bona fide* true contents (e.g., blatantly false or not agreed upon), since they have the power of reducing the addressees' epistemic vigilance and take advantage of cognitive biases (Givón 1982; Ferreira et al. 2002; Sbisà 2007; Sperber et al. 2010; Reboul 2011; Schwarz 2015, 2016; Christiansen-Chater 2016; Maillat-Oswald 2009; Lombardi Vallauri 2016, 2019). Such manipulative use is particularly frequent in types of discourse where the argumentative function prevails, and in particular in public discourse, including political discourse and advertising (Lombardi Vallauri – Masia 2020). In such cases, sources use implicit strategies to their own convenience, to smuggle some belief into the addressees' mind.

Implicit strategies – although very effective – are not risk-free on the part of the source: addressees may in any case unveil the implicitly conveyed questionable content, thus exposing the source's manipulative attempt. In this paper we wish to show cases where a manipulative implicit strategy, although successful in itself, i.e. neither recognized nor challenged by addressees, appears to backfire against the source's own interest. This is particularly clear in examples found in political discourse and advertising where the implicit strategy perpetuates a stereotype which is contradictory to the intended message. In such cases, implicitness is not only dangerous, but also counterproductive, since the smuggled message is not the intended one. Accordingly, implicitly conveyed questionable contents which appear to be against the source's best interests can be supposed to have been produced *unintentionally*.

Let us consider an example from the advertising campaign of a lingerie brand, promoting the launch of larger sizes:

(1) Trova la tua forza, trova la tua bellezza, amati per quella che sei.
    Find your strength, find your beauty, love yourself for who you are.

The message in (1) presupposes that women wearing large sizes have not found their strength nor beauty and do not love themselves for who they are. The brand cannot be willing to perpetuate such a stereotype, which goes against their interests, and which exposes them to critics in case the implicitly conveyed contents were unveiled.

We suggest two hypotheses to be further substantiated, in that they are based just on qualitative observations, and, as we will suggest, it is not even easy to conceive a way to prove them experimentally. The first one is that such an attention drop on counterproductive contents happens because implicit strategies may have the power of reducing not just the addressees', but also the source's epistemic vigilance. The second is that this, besides being facilitated by implicitness, is more likely to happen when the speaker is very confident about their audience and the context in which they speak, i.e. when they can take it quite for granted that they don't risk to encounter any serious debate or cross-examination on what they say.

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Alternating predicates in Romanian:
An experimental pilot study

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Keywords: alternating predicates, oblique subjects, structural priming, verb bias, Romanian

This presentation deals with the Romanian construction in (1a–b) and (2a–b), in which certain predicates select for two alternating argument structures:

(1a) *Fetei   îi   place   istoria*
girl.DAT her.DAT pleases history.the.(NOM)
'The girl likes history'

(1b) *Istoria   îi   place   fetei*
history.the.(NOM)   her.DAT pleases   girl.DAT
'History pleases the girl'

(2a) *Pe Maria   o   interesează istoria*
PE Maria.ACC her.ACC interests   history.the.(NOM)
'Maria is interested in history'

(2b) *Istoria   o   interesează pe Maria*
history.the.(NOM)   her.ACC interests   PE Maria.ACC
'History interests Maria'

Recent studies show that this type of construction, called *alternating predicate construction*, is found in several old and modern Indo-European (IE) languages (Barðdal 2023, Somers & Barðdal 2022). The alternating predicate constructions are a type of oblique subject construction that selects for two distinct and opposed argument structures: DAT-NOM or ACC-NOM vs. NOM-DAT or NOM-ACC (Barðdal et al. 2019), of which DAT-NOM and ACC-NOM are often analyzed as cases of topicalization (Dobrovie-Sorin 1987). Remarkably, when the order of the arguments is DAT-NOM or ACC-NOM, the dative or the accusative takes on the subject role, while when the order is NOM-DAT or NOM-ACC, the nominative behaves as a subject, hence refuting the topicalization analysis. Among IE languages, This research is part of a larger project that investigates the productivity and the evolution of the alternating predicate construction in Romanian from a diachronic and synchronic perspective by means of corpus studies in combination with a series of psycholinguistic experiments aiming to unveil what triggers the choice for one argument structure or the other in the speaker's mind.

The pilot study discussed in this presentation consists of two psycholinguistic experiments meant to provide an answer to the following research questions: does structural priming influence the speaker's choice of one argument structure over the other? is there verb bias observed? does priming work across different constructions? *Verb bias* refers to a verb's preference for one argument structure (Bernolet et al. 2014). As for *structural priming*, this refers to the tendency of speakers to reuse structures from the immediately preceding (unrelated) discourse (Scheepers et al. 2017). When an alternating predicate shows a strong preference for one of the argument structures, its production is less influenced by the priming of the other argument structure. As for the locus of priming, it is an ongoing discussion: is it driven by thematic roles (Pappert & Pechmann 2014) or by event structure (Ziegler et al. 2018)?

By using a sentence generation task presented to a sample of 24 (Prolific) participants, the first experiment aims at verifying whether priming influences the choice of a certain argument structure over the other one, within the same construction, and whether any verb bias can be observed. As for the second experiment, presented to a comparable sample of participants, it aims at verifying whether priming works also across different constructions (e.g. can a DAT-NOM argument structure be obtained

when an ACC-NOM argument structure has been provided as priming?), what would bring more clarity to the discussion on the locus of priming: thematic roles or event structure (Pappert & Pechmann 2014, Ziegler et al. 2018). Preliminary results reveal that some predicates show verb bias. With respect to the influence of structural priming on the choice of the argument structure, the preliminary results confirm that speakers tend to reuse the primed argument structure from the preceding context but they do that to a lesser extent in contexts where verb bias is present. An inferential statistics analysis will be carried out to verify the validity and the significance of these preliminary conclusions.

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Superlatives without covert comparison classes

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Keywords: superlatives, comparison classes, degrees, ordinals, semantics

Problem. In the semantic literature on superlatives, there is disagreement wrt. the semantic type of the SUP operator and wrt. the existence of a covert comparison class argument (C):

(i) a family of analyses ('**e-analyses**') assume that one of the arguments is of **entity-type** (the first entry in Heim 1999; von Fintel 1999, Fitzgibbons et al. 2008, Hackl 2009; Krasikova 2012 for absolute readings; Bumford 2017, Bumford & Sharvit 2022); these analyses may have a covert C argument (Heim 1999, Fitzgibbons et al. 2008, Hackl 2009) or dispense with it (von Fintel 1999, Krasikova 2012)

(ii) '**d-analyses**' assume that the arguments of SUP are a **set of degree properties and a degree property**, no entity being involved (the second entry in Heim 1999; Krasikova 2012 for relative readings; Romero 2013, Howard 2014). In these analyses, a C argument is necessary.

Proposal.

Both types of analyses are correct, but for different environments. This does not mean that SUP is ambiguous, but its semantic entry *depends on the arguments it takes in syntax*:

(i) A d-analysis is only possible when SUP takes an *overt* degree-clause argument (the type discovered by Howard 2014 – *Mary sang the loudest **anyone ever sang**; probably also modal superlatives (*the largest **possible** present*), see Romero 2013).

(ii) An e-analysis applies to all other environments. In this analysis, we argue (*contra* Heim 1999) that no covert comparison class argument is needed: the domain of comparison follows from (a) the requirement that all compared entities satisfy the <d,et> relation R and (b) the existence of a situation argument, which is not specific to superlatives, but common to all predicates, and explains the contextual domain restrictions found with determiners and other quantifiers (Schwarz 2009).

(1) $[\![\text{-EST}]\!] = \lambda R_{<d,<e<s,t>>>} \lambda x. \lambda\textbf{s}. \exists d [R(d)(x)(s) \wedge \forall y [(y{\neq}x \wedge \exists \textbf{d}´ \ \textbf{R(d´)(y)(s)}) \rightarrow \neg R(d)(y)(s)]]$

=> There are no covert C arguments

Evidence:

(i) An e-analysis allows a way of obtaining compositionally the interpretation of plural superlatives (Fitzgibbons et al. 2008). As this type of interpretation also applies to DP-externally interpreted SUP (see the adverbial superlative in (2)), we conclude that the e-analysis is not restricted to DP-internally interpreted superlatives (*contra* Krasikova 2012)

(2)   Mary and Jane drove (the) fastest (possible reading: fast(Jane)>fast(Mary)>fast(any other))

(ii) An e analysis is required for the interpretation of superlatives in the scope of ordinals (*the second richest country*), for which an original semantic analysis will be proposed

(iii) Degree-property arguments are syntactically restricted and language specific. In English, they require a syntactic structure in which the degree is treated as a nominal, allowing relativization. Evidence: Howard-type relatives are only possible if THE is present:

(3)   a. Mary sang (the) loudest

b. Mary sang *(the) loudest that any soprano ever sang

Some languages such as Romanian lack this type of relatives completely. Under the d-analysis, this would mean that in Romanian the first argument of SUP is always covert, which is problematic for learnability reasons.

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Escaping defectivity: Overabundance and lack thereof in Palestinian Arabic

The study examines the correlation between defectivity and overabundance in Palestinian Arabic (PA). I will show that defectivity can both trigger and block doublet formation systematically.

Semitic word formation relies highly on non-concatenative morphology, namely the combination of root and pattern. Patterns determine the phonological shape of words, i.e., their vowels, prosodic structure and affixes (if any). In case of defective/weak verbs, the consonant *y/w* surfaces only in some forms (Holes 2004; Faust 2016). Consider the *CiCeC* verbs *kiber* 'become big' and *wiseʕ* 'become wide' (1). While *kiber* has three consonants, *wiseʕ* is a defective verb, since its initial stem consonant *w* does not surface in the imperfective.

(1) Regular vs. defective verbs

perfective	kiber	wiseʕ
imperfective	yikbar	**yu:saʕ** (*yiwsaʕ)

In order to avoid such defectivity, some *CiCeC* verbs have *tCaCCaC* doublets (Laks & Yousef 2021). The online examples in (2) consist of the third person fem. past form of *wiseʕ* (2a) and *twassaʕ* (2b). Both share the *w-s-ʕ* consonants, but are formed in *CiCeC* and *tCaCCaC*. The verbs share the same meaning and can be used in the same context. Examining more such cases of overabundance reveals that the change is mostly from *CiCeC* into *tCaCCaC* when the root is defective. This is because *tCaCCaC* allows all consonants to surface, e.g. *twassaʕ* (perfective) - *yitwasseʕ* (imperfective).

(2) a. **wesʕat** meʕedti wu-sˤirt ajwaʕ
  'My stomach became wide and I became hungrier' (http://www.vb.eqla3.com/archive/index.php/t-352623-p-5.html)
  b. maʕqu:l **twassaʕat** meʕedti?
  'Is it possible that my stomach became wide? (http://rashagh.com/forum/t18559.html)

There is also overabundance within adjectives, which take an additional form in the *CaCCan* pattern (3).

(3) a. **sˤaʕb** ʕala mwazˤzˤaf ratboh maħdud
  'it is difficult for a clerk whose salary is limited'
  (https://www.facebook.com/admitNajah/posts/3982978901762738)
  b. il-wadˤʕ **sˤaʕban** ʕale:ha
  'the situation is difficult her'
  (https://www.facebook.com/admitNajah/posts/2008009939259654)

Both *sˤaʕb* (3a) and *sˤaʕban* (3b) denote 'difficult', share the *sˤ-ʕ-b* root, and are formed *CaCC* and *CaCCan* respectively. In contrast, there are adjectives without *CaCCan* doublets. These include defective adjectives like *mufi:d* 'useful' with only two surface consonants, where *mu-* is a derivational prefix. The missing consonant is a middle *y* that could be traced back historically. However, it does not surface in other related forms, and as a result it is also inaccessible to doublet formation (*fayda:n). There

seems to be no other reason why only some adjectives have doublets and others do not, apart from defectivity.

Although PA defective verbs and adjectives are a closed set of items, where no new items are formed, they play an active role in language variation and change. The study shows that defectivity can both trigger overabundance, as attested in verb formation, and can also block it, as attested in the lack of doublets of some adjectives. Within verbs, the consonant *y/w* surfaces in some forms of the paradigm, and therefore it is accessible for doublet formation. Unlike the case of verbs, *w* or *y* do not surface in some adjectives at all, and consequently doublet formation is blocked.

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P'urhepecha numerals: A diachronic and synchronic study

Numeral systems can help us to examine processes of word formation and language change. In this paper, we use the numeral system of P'urhepecha, a language isolate spoken in Michoacán, Mexico to reach two goals: (i) to describe the cardinal and ordinal forms from diachronic and synchronic perspectives, and (ii) to use these forms to explore and better understand word formation processes in the language.

For instance, Gilberti (2018: 369-371 [1558]) states that there were two ways of counting up to twenty: the first was for animate things or clothes, ropes, etc., and the second for loads or piles of things, shoes, rivers, fields, etc. (see also Bellamy, 2022), as in Table 1.

Numeral	First counting system	Second counting system
one	ma	maro
two	tziman	tzimoro
three	tanimu	taniporo
four	thamu	thaporo
five	yumu	yuporo
six	cuimu	cuiporo
seven	yun tziman	yun tzimoro
eight	yun tanimu	yun taniporo
nine	yun thamu	yun thaporo
ten	temben	temboro
twenty	ma equatze, ma catari	ma catari

Table 1: The two counting systems of 16th century P'urhepecha (following Gilberti, 2018 [1558])

According to Gilberti, the two words for twenty are in complementary distribution, suggesting that two parallel counting systems co-existed. Nowadays, only the first system is used for cardinal numerals and *ma catari* has fallen out of use (cf. Beals & Carrasco, 1944). Nevertheless, the suffix -*poro*/-*puru*/-*poru* found in Gilberti's second set can still be found in numeral expressions meaning 'in groups of' (Foster, 1969: 158-159), such as *tsimúpuru* (*tsima-* +-*puru*) 'two groups'. Friedrich (unpublished), however, presents a very different reading of *tsimóporu*, namely, 'in two places'. We will discuss this discrepancy, and other examples, as possible evidence for language variation and change in P'urhepecha.

Thus, we will build on existing analyses of the P'urhepecha numeral system, to better understand its composition and evolution.

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Ossetic preposition *зd* as a holistic comitative marker

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The paper deals with the preposition *зd* in Ossetic (Iron dialect). I will propose an analysis of its semantics, comparing it to the basic comitative affix *-imз*, relying on my field data collected in Vladikavkaz (The Republic of North Ossetia–Alania, Russia) in 2022. At the moment, the only information on the semantics of comitative markers in Ossetic is in the form of brief descriptions in the grammars (e.g., Bagaev 1965: 394–395); Erschler (2019) describes only their syntactic features.

As opposed to *-imз*, which is the neutral, unmarked means of conveying the comitative meaning, *зd* has a special, restricted semantic function which I propose to call "holistic comitative" (1). *зd* is typical in contexts where two objects are inherently related – kinship (1), part – whole (2) – or when they form a single whole in a particular situation (3), (4). I claim that the two objects in a construction with *зd* must form a "set" whose integrity is not affected in the course of the action (e.g., in (4) Zalina could have thrown the fridge away after taking out the bathrobe, but she did not separate the two objects, which formed a "situational set" and threw them both away together).

(1)   Mad   šəvзllon-**imз** /   [#]**зd**   šəvзllon   зrba-səd-i.
        mother child-COM   with   child   PV-go-PST.3SG
        'A mother came with her child (#the child is small, she brought him/her in her arms).'

(2)   Alan   bзlaš   **зd**   widзg-tз   š-tət:-a.
        Alan   tree   with   root-PL   PV-tear-PST.3SG
        'Alan uprooted a tree.'

(3)   Balk'on   **зd**   adзm   зr-xawd-i.
        balcony   **with**   people   PV-fall-PST.3SG
        'The balcony fell along with the people.'

(4)   Zзlinз   xolodil^jnik   **зd**   xalat   a-ppзršt-a.
        Zalina   fridge   with   bathrobe   PV-throw-PST.3SG
        'Zalina threw away the fridge along with the bathrobe (it was in the fridge).'

Note that this semantics is not reducible to a general expression of togetherness, as in English 'together/along with' (even though it can often be the translation counterpart of *зd*). For instance, in the situation of singing (5) *-imз* is preferable in contrast to the situations (1)–(4), since it is a coordinated action (cf. Moltmann 2004 on the semantics of *together*), which does not have any natural "set" interpretation.

(5) Mad šəvɜllon-**imɜ** / [??]**ɜd** šəvɜllon žar-ə.
     mother child-COM with child sing-PRS.3SG
     'The mother is singing (together) with her child.'

This "holistic" kind of comitative meaning has not been discussed in typological works (Stolz et al. 2006; Arkhipov 2009). I will show that, in fact, a similar opposition of comitative markers is present in several other languages and thus is typologically recurrent: Uralic (e.g., Hungarian (Fekete 2013), Mansi (Saynakhova 1966: 136–137)), Chukotko-Kamchantkan (Itelmen (Volodin 1976: 152), Chukchi (Dunn 1999: 116–117), Koryak (Zhukova 1972: 119–121)), Quechuan (Huánuco Quechua (Weber 1983: 47–50)).

To sum up, the Ossetic data are of interest from both theoretical and typological points of view. In the talk I will elaborate more on the semantics of holistic comitativity in general, discussing how it is different from the notion of togetherness, as well as on properties of *ɜd* also comparing it with the existing description of holistic comitative markers in other languages.

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This could be the end. How to make texts interesting.

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Keywords: QUD; strategy; discourse structure; reader engagement; inquiry termination;

The hierarchical structure of monological discourse can be made transparent using implicit or explicit questions under discussion (Riester et al. 2018, Onea 2019, Westera et al. 2020). Thereby, it is useful to distinguish between expository and exploratory texts. The former involve subquestions (Roberts 1996) and evoked questions (Wisniewski 1995, Onea 2016) as an erotetic strategy in structuring the information under inquiry (e.g.: *What happened*?). The latter involve a search for the required information (e.g.: *Who done it?*) often using dependent questions (Ciardelli 2015, Ciardelli et al. 2019). Here we focus on the former.

Subquestion-based strategies are illustrated in (1). The main question, q1, can be addressed using several strategies, e.g., s1 and s2. Any of the strategic subquestions can become the macro-question of further recursive strategies, e.g., q1.1 addressed by s1.1.

(1) q1: Who was where?
   s1: q1.1: Where was Ali? q1.2: Where was Skylar? q1.3: Where was Kim? …
   s1.1: q1.1.1: Was Ali at the party? q1.1.2: Was Ali at the university? …
   s2: q2.1: Who was at the University? q2.2: Who was at the party? q2.3: Who was at home? …

This brings us to our main theoretical point: Some subquestions in principle allow their answers to answer the superquestion as well, such as q1.1.1 for q1.1: If we know that Ali was at the party, we know where Ali was. (While others do not, as evidenced by q1.1 for q1). A less obvious case is q2.1. for q.1. Here, *Everybody was at the university* would close the entire inquiry. We call those questions: potentially inquiry terminating questions (PITQs), building on terminology from Velleman et al. (2012). We define PITQs formally in (2), with standard Hamblin (1973) semantics and ⊨ standing for exhaustive answers in context:

(2) Q is a PITQ of Q' iff $\exists a, a'. a, a' \in Q \land a \vDash Q' \land \neg(a' \vDash Q')$

While the existence of PITQs is not surprising for Roberts (1996), we suggest that PITQs should be treated as a separate discourse pragmatic category with specific discourse-structuring functions. In particular, PITQs maximize reader-engagement with texts. PITQs involve the possibility (but no guarantee) of an imminent answer to a macro-question, which is usually taken to be the readers' goal, thus being correlated to the possibility of success.

Such a psychological effect can only obtain if the reader is aware of this possibility – e.g., q2.1 is not understood as a PITQ in a neutral context by potential readers of a text with the respective erotetic structure because the possibility that everyone is at the same place is not salient. To achieve high engagement, texts, thus, must maximize the recognizability of the PITQ-status of subquestions used.

In the talk, we show a narrative text annotated for PITQs, achieving high correlation with experimentally ascertained low granularity (line-wise) narrative suspense ratings and examples from various genres illustrating the way in which PITQs can be used to structure discourse to increase engagement with the text.

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The special use of the general sortal classifier in the domain of impoliteness in a Mandarin dialect: A case study of Baoding

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Key words: general classifier, impoliteness, Mandarin dialect, Baoding

Impoliteness is a negative attitude towards specific behaviours, which have emotional consequences or cause offence for the participant (Culpeper 2011: 23). It has not received much attention, especially for Sinitic languages, although a couple of discourse or pragmatic descriptions are found in Standard Mandarin (Only Kadar 2018, Mao 2014). In Standard Mandarin, the fact of referring to a human via different classifiers expresses diverse levels of respect toward the referent. However, in Baoding, a Mandarin dialect spoken in the north of China, the fact that the inventory is limited to a single, general classifier restricts the function of ascribing properties to different classifiers (Song 2021). This paper provides a preliminary investigation on a grammatical expressions of impoliteness in Baoding. One of the functions of sortal classifiers is to express the speaker's subjective attitude (Contini-Morava & Kilarski 2013: 277). In Baoding, the structure of a copulaless sentence with a general classifier, which directly follows the subject, can be employed in an insult for the second person or third person singular as subject (2SG/3SG + CLF + NP):

(1) Baoding (Jilu Mandarin, Sinitic)

a. ni^{213} **$k\gamma$** $\varsigma i\mathfrak{d}^{213}$ $v\tilde{a}^{22}pa$ $k\mathfrak{d}^{45\text{-}35}ts\iota$
          2SG   **CLF**   small   tortoise   pup
          'You, son of bitch/ you, bastard!'

Compare (a) to the following example (b) which does not have a pejorative connotation:

b. ni^{213} **$\c{s}l^{51}$** $(k\gamma)$ $x\mathfrak{d}^{213}$ $l\mathfrak{d}^{213}\c{s}l^{45}$
          2SG   **COP**   (CLF)   good   teacher
          'You are a good teacher.'

With the same referent, using the copulaless structure reflects the attitude of the speaker with regard to the referent, that is, an insult-like, ironic reading.

(2) a. ni^{213} $t\c{s}\tilde{\varepsilon}^{45}$ $\c{s}l^{51}$ $(k\gamma)$ $t\varsigma i^{45\text{-}35}l\tilde{\gamma}$ $\dddot{z}\gamma^{\,22}$
          2SG   really   COP   (CLF)   smart   person
          'You are really smart!'

b. $(x\mathfrak{d}^{213})$ ni^{213} $k\gamma$ $t\varsigma i^{45\text{-}35}l\tilde{\gamma}$ $\dddot{z}\gamma^{\,22}$
          (good)   2SG   CLF   smart   person
          'Damn you, you are such a 'smart' person!? (Ironic reading) ' Intended meaning: 'You are stupid.'

The lexical content of the two clauses (2a) and (2b) is identical. It is indeed the use of the copulaless structure that forces an insult-like reading.

The case of Baoding shows that the general classifier can be used as a grammatical expression of impoliteness. The possible sources of the grammatical expressions of impoliteness in Baoding will also be investigated. This study is likely to shed light on understudied domain of grammatical expressions of impoliteness in Sinitic languages.

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The difference between pinko and foody

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Forms such as *saddo*, *thicko* and *weirdo* not only share a pejorative meaning but also a common final *-o*, possibly a suffix, and all belong to an informal impolite register (Parkvall 1998, Hamans 2021). This paper wants to explore whether this derogatory aspect is inextricably linked to the suffix or whether it is a coincidence. To this end, the origin of the suffix will first be outlined and then it will be compared to the suffix *-ie/-y* that occurs in comparable contexts but does not show a pejorative meaning. It usually exhibits an endearment or familiarity meaning.

The (American and Australian) English data discussed in this presentation mainly come from the literature on clipped and embellished forms. In addition, examples were found through targeted internet searches. All data have been verified in standard dictionaries (OED, Webster, Collins, Partridge), where relevant indications for first attestation were also searched.

The first attestations of forms with final *-o* show that the origin of the suffix *-o* started with clipped forms such as *alco* (1913), *dipso* (1880), *psycho* (1910) where final *-o* descends from the unclipped full words *alcoholic*, *dipsomaniac* and *psychopath*. A next step appears to be clipping + *-o*, as in *journo* (1940), *lesbo* (1931) and *reffo* (1941). In these last forms *-o* is not part of the original full forms *journalist*, *lesbian* and *refugee*, but behaves like a suffix. In the examples *saddo* (1992), *thicko* (1976) and *weirdo* (1955) there is no more clipping but only suffixation of *sad*, *thick* and *weird*.

The suffix *-ie/-y* appears in similar contexts with and without clipping (Lappe 2007, Alber & Arndt-Lappe 2012). Clipped examples are: *bevvy* (1889), *ciggie* (1960) and *pressie* (1933) from *beverage*, *cigarette* and *present*; unclipped forms are: *foody* (2011), *chappy* (1815) and *smarty* (1847) from *food, chap* and *smart*. This suffix *-ie/-y* originates from the diminutive suffix *-ie/-y* , although the new suffix lost the diminutive aspect completely, see *Chevrolet-Chevy*.
The original diminutive and the new familiarity suffix share a formal condition: both can be put after monosyllabic words or after clipped monosyllables in the case of hypocoristic use, see *dog-doggie* and *Andrew-Andy*.
As the first attestations show there is a difference between the emergence of *-o* and that of the new *-ie/-y* suffix: the latter shows no chronological order.

From the data presented here one may conclude that the meaning of *-o* goes back to the first attested and therefore most standard data, which are all pejorative. The naïve language user subsequently transferred this semantic aspect to the suffix (cf. Mattiello 2022: 41). In the case of *-ie/-y* the endearment interpretation also goes back to the most standard examples: diminutives and hypocoristics. Subsequently, the language user again transferred this interpretation to the new *-ie/-y* suffix.

Forms such as *sissie*, *nellie* and *fairy* 'gay', which share a derogatory meaning, seem to contradict the conclusion presented above. However, the pejorative interpretation is a result of metaphoric

extension. Originally, these forms had a endearment (*sissie*), hypocoristic (*nellie*) or even neutral (*fairy*) meaning.

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Expressivity in sound imitation and faithfulness to the sound source:
The case of *click* and *knock*

The nature of onomatopoeias is still not adequately understood even though they are cross-linguistically attested. This may be due to the varying degree and representation of imitation of the same sound source that appears completely arbitrary across languages. Interestingly, preliminary observations from the Onomatopoeia Project (Körtvélyessy & Stekauer, 2022) echo others (Sapir, 1929; Thorndike, 1945; Shinohara & Kawahara, 2010; Elsen, 2017) in suggesting that some phonemic segments exhibit relative consistency in representing aspects of word meanings, e.g., big sound sources for onomatopoeias with /a, o/ in contrast to those with /i/.

However, while we have identified phonemic segments relative to their sound-meaning associations, we still do not know how these key phonemic segments behave in emotive or expressive contexts (Braver, Dresher, & Kawahara, 2014)—the notion of *expressivity*, and how coarticulation contributes to the representation of the sound source in onomatopoeias—the notion of *faithfulness*. Both notions have not been well-explored in the literature especially the latter even though it is obvious that most onomatopoeias are not made up of a single phonemic segment only (Yeni-Komshian & Soli, 1981; Farnetani & Recasens, 2010).

In the proposed study, we will explore the structure of expressivity and faithfulness of onomatopoeias relative to their sound source using an underrepresented Austronesian language: Cebuano (Philippines; three vowels: /i, a, u/). Specifically, it asks:

RQ1: What sub-phonemic details of vocalic segments are construed between normal and expressive production of *click* and *knock* onomatopoeias in Cebuano?

RQ2: How well can Cebuano speakers associate the co-articulated final segments of *click* and *knock* onomatopoeias from their respective sound source?

We will pursue two experiments to answer the research questions above. Each experiment will have a unique group of adult participants (seven each; *n*=14) who are native Cebuano speakers.

Experiment 1 focuses on the final vocalic segment of *hatik* and *hatuk*, i.e., /i, u/. Participants, via production task, will produce the onomatopoeias based on the size of the objects involved, i.e., objects with regular, smaller, and bigger sizes. In connection to RQ1, we predict that the vocalic quality (duration, F0-F2) will correspond distinctly to each respective object size (Winter & Perlman, 2021).

Experiment 2 focuses on the coarticulation of the final vocalic segment and /k/, i.e., /ik, uk/. Participants, via perception task, will evaluate the similarity of the onomatopoeias to the sound source based on that final segments that bear the closest acoustics to *click* and *knock* sounds. In connection to RQ2, we predict that participants will correctly match *click* and *knock* sounds to the Cebuano onomatopoeias (Assaneo, Nichols, & Trevisan, 2011).

Chomsky and colleagues (Hauser et al., 2002) observed that humans' sound imitation through speech is somehow overlooked. As such, our findings will contribute to the systematic understanding of sound-meaning associations more broadly and, particularly, to the characterization of expressive and coarticulatory realizations of onomatopoeias. Finally, Cebuano typologically resembles some of the structural makeup of many Philippines languages. Our findings may then further provide a general prediction to the sound-meaning association of other Philippine-type languages (e.g., Rubino, 2001: Ilokano).

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Two functions of nominalizations in Amguema Chukchi: Shift to uncommon

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Deverbal nominalizations in Amguema Chukchi (< Chukotko-Kamchatkan) formed by the suffix *-ɣərɣ / -wərɣ* are productively used in two functions: as a complement clause (1) or as a predicate (2) of an independent clause (henceforth, argument and predicative nominalizations).

(1) *ɣəm-nan ɫəɣi   ŋewʔenjərʔ-in ənn-əpat-ɣərɣə-n*
      I-ERG   known women-POSS   fish-boil-NMLZ-ABS.SG

      'I know that the women boiled fish.'

(2) *ɣəmə-k qətsera-ɣərɣə-tore*
      I-LOC   annoy-NMLZ-NP.2PL

      'You annoy me.'

Despite being morphologically equal, nominalizations in two constructions differ in several respects (Starchenko 2020). Most prominently, they assign different sets of cases to their arguments and show different restrictions on what stems can be used in constructions: argument nominalizations are derived from almost any stem, while predicative constructions are only compatible with physical and mental states.

The aims of the study are twofold. Firstly, I will describe in more detail the constructions and their difference from their functional counterparts: other types of sentential complements, finite clauses and periphrastic constructions with the copula *ɫəŋək* 'consider'. Secondly, I will show that the diachronic shift in use of two constructions happens and characterize the origins of this shift.

Most of fluent speakers of Amguema Chukchi are familiar with both usages of nominalizations. It is however not the case for younger speakers of Chukchi who show attrition and are insecure about their knowledge of Chukchi.

Asked to recall or create a word with the part *-ɣərɣ*, the latter group of speakers comes up with either words of physical or mental state, typically occurring in the predicative construction, or lexicalized words with no eventive meaning, like *wakʔo-ɣərɣə-n* 'seat'. These speakers easily form sentences with suggested words similar to (2). When exposed to an argument nominalization, younger speakers do not recognize the word itself, let alone produce a sentence with it.

Thus, insecure speakers of Chukchi are not able to produce argument nominalizations or use them in a sentence, but freely handle predicative nominalizations. No speaker showed a reversed pattern: argument nominalizations preserved and predicative nominalizations lost.

Noticeably, the preserved option — predicative usage with no overt copula (and a non-modal-like interpretation) — is not typical for nominalizations. Predicative nominalizations are often encountered in Tibeto-Burman languages (Noonan 1997, Bickel 1999, Watters 2008, among others),

but rarely described for other families (one example is Aguaruna < Chimcham, South America, Overall 2018).

The shift towards the uncommon function cannot be explained by the influence of Russian, which is a native language of younger Chukchi speakers. Unlike Chukchi, Russian has argument nominalizations which show syntax similar to that in (1), but no constructions like (2).

Russian predicative forms, formed from qualitative adjectival / adverbial stems, only partially resemble Chukchi predicative nominalizations. While one could view Chukchi *pənnak-wərɣə-n* 'sadness' and Russian *grustno* 'sad' as functional counterparts, there is no predicative counterpart in Russian to *qətsera-ɣərɣə-n* 'annoyance' from (2). Russian and Chukchi constructions syntactically differ in that the latter must have two arguments (Experiencer and Stimulus) and cannot be used with impersonal states like in (3)–(4).

RUSSIAN
(3) *temn-o*
    dark-PRED
    'It is dark.'

CHUKCHI
(4) a. *wusqəmsəku-rʔu-ɣʔ-i*
      darkness-DISTR.S-TH-2/3SG.S
   b. **wosqəmsəko-rʔo-ɣərɣə-n*
      darkness-DISTR.S-NMLZ-ABS.SG
      'It is dark.'

In the talk, I will discuss in more detail arguments for analyzing the described shift as a continuation of a preexisted trend in Chukchi, rather than from the influence of Russian.

Acknowledgements

List of abbreviations

2, 3 —2, 3 person; ABS — absolutive; DISTR — distributive; ERG — ergative; LOC — locative; NMLZ — nominalization; NP — noun phrase; PL — plural; POSS — possessive; PRED — predicative, S — subject of an intransitive clause; SG — singular; TH — thematic element

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Interlingual identification in contact-induced grammatical change:
Evidence from northwest New Guinea

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While contact has long been recognised as a common trigger for language change, the underlying theoretical mechanisms are still poorly understood. A model proposed by Gast & van der Auwera (2012) identifies two orthogonal triggers for pattern replication in contact-induced change: (1) the interlingual identification of linguistic signs, i.e. bilinguals identify form-meaning pairs with similar functions in two languages; and (2) the interlingual identification of linguistic categories, i.e. bilinguals identify functionally similar but organisationally distinct categories. According to this model, the introduction of a novel category value in interlingual identification of category necessarily implies that material will be grammaticalized in the Replica language (see also Heine & Kuteva 2003). In this talk, I present evidence to the contrary, showing that the developments in response to interlingual identification of category need not involve grammaticalization.

This evidence comes from the innovation of Split Inalienable Coding (SIC) in several languages of northwest New Guinea (NWNG). In languages with SIC, there are at least three formally distinct possessive constructions: one expresses alienable possession, the other two inalienable possession (Arnold forthcoming). The two inalienable constructions are semantically conditioned, such that one is used when the possessed noun is a body part, the other when it is a kin term. This split is exemplified with data from Hatam. In the alienable construction (1a), possession is marked with an inflected prenominal particle. Prefixes are used to mark possession in inalienable constructions; different forms of the prefix are used for body parts (1b) and kin terms (1c).

1. Hatam (Reesink 1999)

a)	a-de	singau	b)	a-ndab	c)	at-nem
	2SG-POSS	knife		2SG.BODY-hand		2SG.KIN-wife
	'your knife'			'your hand'		'your wife'

SIC is rare worldwide, but is attested in 11 languages from three unrelated families in NWNG. This distribution strongly suggests that contact has played a role in its development. The mechanism triggering the innovation is interlingual identification of category: speakers bilingual in the Replica (R) and Model (M) languages equate a functionally similar category in both ('inalienable nouns'), then re-organise the values of the category in R to align with those in M (i.e., the category is split into 'inalienable: body parts' and 'inalienable: kin terms').

As Gast & van der Auwera (2012) hypothesise, most of the NWNG languages with SIC have achieved this categorial re-organisation by grammaticalizing material to mark one of the two new categories. In some, however, different processes were involved. For example, in Irarutu the same markers are used for both categories: however, while the markers are circumfixal for body parts (2a), they are double-prefixing for kin terms (2b).

2.   Irarutu (van den Berg & Matsumura 2008)
        a)   a-fa-g   b)   a-g-fut
                1SG-leg-1SG   1SG-1SG-sibling
                'my leg'   'my sibling'

Such a change does not involve processes associated with grammaticalization (e.g. desemanticization, decategorialization, erosion; Heine & Kuteva 2002). Instead, the Irarutu development is better understood from an areal perspective: it is linked to a regional drift from suffixing to prefixing possessive marking (van den Berg 2009). Irarutu thus provides a neat example of interlingual identification of category without grammaticalization.

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Abstract

Russian and the Permic languages in the process of building a common language of Communism in the Soviet Union

In the paper I study the language processes which took place in the Soviet Union in the period 1920–1950 and I investigate what kind of relationships these processes formed between Russian and the Permic languages.

The Permic languages, a branch of the Finno-Ugric language family, include Udmurt, Komi and Komi-Permyak. These languages are spoken in the eastern part of Central Russia and they have specific sociolinguistic situations. Their literary-language traditions were formed during the Soviet era and underwent dramatic changes during Stalin's totalitarian regime in the 1930s through the 1950s.

Non-Russian languages, including the Permic languages, played an important role in 1930–1950 in the formation of specific narratives and practices about the Russian language which still exist in modern Russian society, for example, the idea of a leading and special role for the Russian language. The main statement of the study is that glorification of the Russian language appeared as part of propaganda, namely the idea of *building a common language of Communism*, which was intended to russify non-Russian languages in order to distribute propaganda also in these languages. However, later this discourse lost its connection to the context of non-Russian peoples and was actively supported by institutions for Russian language and culture. Thus, a propaganda idea from the 1930s became, by the end of the Soviet Union, universal and institutionalized. In the study I investigate this process of *building a common language of Communism* and analyze its manifestations in Soviet linguistic literature, in Permian-language media, and in scientific and ideological publications about Russian, Udmurt, and Komi languages.

I use the method of discourse analysis to research theoretical literature about Soviet linguistics from the period 1920–1950. I also study practical grammars and handbooks of Russian, Udmurt, and Komi, scientific publications, and ideological brochures with language prescriptions for Russian and the Permic languages published between 1920–1950. I analyze the contents of newspapers and literary journals.

The present study represents a contribution to discussions and a better understanding of societal problems in modern Russia. The role of the so-called small languages of Russia have never been seriously discussed on the academic level in the context of Russian language and culture. However,

non-Russian languages, including Udmurt, were directly involved in the process by which Soviet society formed, a society which became the ground for the modern Russian society.

Demonstratives and epistemic authority in Komnzo

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Demonstratives in Komnzo form a neat paradigmatic set that can be subdivided based on the first consonant. The four rows in Table 1 show initial /z/ for proximal, /b/ for medial, /f/ for distal, and /m/ for ignorative, all of which can be used pronominally (*zane* 'this one'), adnominally (*zane kabe* 'this man') and adverbially (*zä* 'here'). More- over, there is a proclitic which can attach to inflected verbs forming a presentational construction (*z=ykogr* 'He is standing here.').

	Pronoun	Adverbial (to/from)	Verb clitic
PROX	*zane*	*zä (zbo/zba)*	*z=*
	'this'	'here'	'here'
MED	*bäne*	*bä (bobo/boba)*	*b=*
	'that'	'there'	'there'
DIST		*fä (fobo/foba)*	*f=*
		'yonder'	'yonder'
IGNO	*mane*	*mä (mobo/moba)*	*m=*
	'which'	'where'	'where'

The view that demonstratives primarily make reference to space, and only secondarily refer in other ways, has been contested by a number of authors (Himmelmann 1996, Enfield 2003a, Merlan 2016, Evans, Bergqvist, and San Roque 2018). Following from this, I will make a similar claim about the Komnzo and relate the demonstrative system to epistemic authority. Not only are the forms in the table used for this, but there are deictics in the language which lack any spatial reference, despite them being formally or historically related to the demonstratives. For example, there is the particle *zf*, which historically developed from the /z/ initial proximal. This particle is used to redirect the hearer's attention to some referent or action on which the speaker claims epistemic authority. Olsson (2019) has recently coined the term 'absconditive' for this function. A second example is the pronoun *baf /bäne*, which is formally related to the /b/ initial medial. *Baf/bäne* is used for recognitional deixis (Enfield 2003b) as a placeholder like English 'whatchamacallit', i.e. the speaker is rejecting (or rather 'seeking for') epistemic authority.

In this paper, I will argue that the forms categorized as proximal and medial in the table are in fact better conceptualized in terms of epistemic authority. I will show that (1) the proximal demonstratives are most often used to claim epistemic authority, while (2) the medial is used to flag that the speaker has no epistemic authority.

I will employ a mixed method. The paper is descriptive in the first part, especially when addressing (2). In the second part, the argumentation is based on two video recordings of the family problems picture task from the SCOPIC project (Carroll, Evans, Hoenigman, and San Roque 2009, Barth and Evans 2017), in which two speakers are jointly constructing a narrative from a set of stimuli picture cards.

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Selectional restrictions for suffixes: Base- or suffix-driven?

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Keywords: suffix ordering, levels of derivation, formal morphological analysis, correlation analysis, selectional restrictions

A considerable body of literature on derivation is devoted to the problem of suffix ordering, whose exploration has started with Level-Ordering Morphology in generative grammar (e.g., Kiparsky 1982, and Giegerich 1995). One aspect of this problem is whether the combinations of suffixes are driven by word bases or suffixes. Fabb (1988) suggests that selectional restrictions of affix combinations are determined by affixes which are involved in word-formation processes. In contrast, Plag (1996, 1999) maintains that English suffixation is a result of base-driven selectional restrictions, paradigmatic and morphological processes, and independent principles and constraints of English derivation. In my paper, Plag's (1996) base-driven hypothesis of selectional restrictions of suffixes (in nouns and adjectives) is put to the test with the data from a sample of 32,000 lexemes (Krykoniuk 2022), created on the basis of the Oxford Etymological Dictionary.

To answer my research question, captured by the title of this paper, different methodologies are used: the formalization of lexemes and their systematization are performed with the help of formal morphological analysis (e.g., Tyschenko 2003), and hypothesis testing is conducted with the Spearman correlation test. To inform my view of suffix combinations, I have collected the type frequency of the final suffixes in their combinations with different word bases, found in my sample.

The design of the study, presented in this paper, is as follows. On the first level of derivation, comprising two morphemes—a root and a suffix—suffixes attach to roots/words, whereas combinations of suffixes emerge on the higher levels of word formation which allow for three or more morphemes in a word. If the combinations of suffixes are driven by bases, then we would expect to observe a correlation between the word-formation patterns with the same final suffixes on the first level of derivation and those on the higher levels, due to the similarity of the attachment patterns of bases on different levels of derivation. By way of illustration, for -*ness* which in the sample has been registered as a polyvalent suffix (e.g., attaching to different types of word bases), adjectives are dominant bases on the first level of noun formation (e.g., Aj+ness as in *activeness*). This dominance is also preserved on the higher derivational levels, where various combinations of suffixes emerge (e.g., Aj'+ness as in *addictedness* and *unkindliness*). Therefore, the assumption is that a statistically significant correlation between word bases of different suffixes on the first level of derivation and those on higher levels provides evidence in support of the base-driven hypothesis (Plag 1996).

The Spearman correlation test suggests that there is a very strong, statistically significant association between the final suffixes on different levels of derivation (r = 0.82, p < 0.05 for nouns; r = 0.79, p < 0.05 for adjectives), which allows us to conclude that the combinations of suffixes are base-driven to the degree of the association between variables. Adjectives display a lower rho coefficient, as compared to nouns, which can possibly be explained by the slightly weaker role of adjectival suffixes as final suffixes.

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Sound symbolism in Nivkh

In Nivkh (Paleosiberian), sound symbolism, which suggests a non-arbitrary association between speech sound(s) and meaning, is manifested in several types of phenomena. Typologically, they fall under the categories of gestalt, relative, circumstantial, and imitative sound symbolism, see e.g. (Johansson et al. 2020).

Reduplication is a common sound symbolic strategy, which reflects the correlation between event structures and word structures (= gestalt sound symbolism). In Nivkh, stem reduplication is synchronically used for plural formation in distributive contexts. Nominal reduplication marks the distribution of instrument participants, cf. *paχ~vaχ-kis* <stone~RED-DAT> 'with stones' or places, cf. *eri~eri-jn* <river~RED-ABL> 'in rivers', whereas the distribution of other participants is marked by the reduplication of the verbal stem, cf. *ruk~ruk-* 'bite (one person after another)'.

Expressive vowel lengthening typically indicate(s) the intensification of a property (quality, temporal duration or spatial distance) named by the corresponding word, cf. *pilkar* 'big' > *pilka:r* 'very big', *vifke* 'going' > *vifke:* 'going for a long time', *aɟ* 'distant' > *a:ɟ* 'very distant'. Intensification can be also achieved by raising of vowel *a* to *ə* or *i* and its further lengthening, cf. *macka* 'small' > *mə:cka* 'very small', as well as by voicing of an initial plosive of a qualitative verb, possibly in combination with other means, cf. *pi-la-* 'be big' > *bi-la-* > *bi-lə-* 'be very big'. These phenomena can be typologized as a relative sound symbolism and compared to the cross-linguistic size symbolic patterns, which support the idea that high and front vowels are associated with smaller size, whereas voiced obstruents are correlated with larger images.

Nivkh ideophones express aspects of events which are based on auditory, visual, tactile or intellectual experience (Panfilov 1965). Most of ideophones are onomatopoeic in origin, tend to be monosyllabic and to be used in repetitive sequences, which brings in a sense of multiplicity. Ideophones connected with a round shape comprise the same sound sequences, i.e. the rounded vowels in combination with labial or uvular stops, cf. *qol qol*, *qor qor*, *pulx pulx* 'sound of water boiling', *poj voj* 'image of smoke swirling', *pol vol* 'image of a rolling object'. These examples of circumstantial sound symbolism are in line with the view that sound symbolism is often based on physical properties of referents, which are associated with different sounds.

The imitative sound symbolism is most obviously attested in: (1) onomatopoeias expressing the sounds of water, which begin with the palatal aspirated stop, contain the low vowel and the lateral liquid, cf. *cʰval cʰvalχ, cʰall cʰall* 'splashing of water', *cʰal cʰal, cʰalf cʰalvs* 'falling of water drops'; (2) onomatopoeias expressing the sounds of creaking, which contain the trill and often begin with the velar stop: *kaur kaur* 'creaking of snow underfoot', cf. *kʰudr kʰudr* 'creaking of snow under the sled', *kear kear* 'creaking of wood', *odr odr* 'creaking of a swaying tree'; (3) onomatopoeias referring to the sounds of signalling equipment, which begin with the voiced stops, cf. *durin durin* 'sound of dinging', *goŋ goŋ* 'sound of bell ringing'.

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A constructionist approach to language attrition: The case of dative loss in Blumenau German

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Minority language enclaves are an ideal "laboratory" for studying the dynamics of language taking social, cultural, and cognitive factors into account. This is why German language enclaves have received much attention in research on multilingualism (see e.g. Riehl 2015, Plewnia & Riehl [eds.] 2018, Rosenberg & Schroeder 2018). In particular, the phenomenon of language attrition – both in individuals and in entire communities – has been studied extensively based on data from German language islands abroad (see e.g. Riehl 2019). The loss of case marking is a particularly salient example of the "simplification" processes that are often characteristic of the development of language island varieties, and has therefore been studied quite extensively for different language enclaves of German (e.g. Boas 2009 for Texas German, Riehl 2018 for German in Barossa, Canada, and Blumenau, Brazil, among others). In this paper, we draw on data collected by Riehl (e.g. 2018) in Blumenau, Brazil, across three generations of heritage speakers of German. Specifically, we investigate dative case marking in Blumenau German. Previous research has already shown that dative case marking is already rare in the first generation of speakers, and continues to become less frequent in subsequent generations, e.g. *wir haben Ferien in die Schule* 'we have holidays at school-NOM/ACC' instead of *in der Schule* 'at school-DAT'. But which factors lead to the loss or maintenance of dative case marking, and what are the commonalities and differences between patterns of dative marking across individual speakers? So far, these questions have only been addressed in preliminary pilot studies (see e.g. Riehl 2018). This paper sets out to tackle these questions based on a systematic quantitative analysis of the Blumenau data, taking the token frequency and inflection class of individual lexemes into account while also considering individual variation. A first analysis of the data using CART Trees and Random Forests (see e.g. Levshina 2020) indicates that the generational effects are negligible, while other factors, such as the morphological features of the lexeme, play a much larger role. A qualitative follow-up analysis of the data suggests that the phenomena of loss and maintenance of case marking that can be observed in the data can partly be explained via frequency and chunking effects: For instance, the frequent use of so-called mixed prepositions like *in* (which can take both accusative and dative, depending on the context) with accusative complements, along with the fact that there is already a considerable amount of case syncretism between accusative and dative in German, gives rise to patterns like [*in der/die/das* N] that are used irrespective of whether the accusative or the dative would be used in this context in standard German. In cliticized preposition-noun combinations like *beim* (< *bei dem*), by contrast, we often see that the dative is retained, which points to the conserving effect of chunking. These observations are in line with the predictions of usage-based linguistics (e.g. Bybee 2007), and we argue that an account of case loss in the framework of Construction Grammar (e.g. Hoffmann 2022) can prove highly insightful for explaining the complex phenomenon of language attrition.

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On the subject – and topic-hood of the Finnic expletive elements

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Expletive pronouns are generally seen as semantically vacuous elements, i.e. dummies that may or may not have the relevant agreement properties. For example, the expletive-verb agreement is present in Germanic languages but not always in Finnish (Booth 2018, Holmberg and Nikanne 2002). In non-configurational languages with freer word order and syntactically unexpressed subjects, one might not expect to find the expletive pronouns (cf. É. Kiss 2002). Nevertheless, uses of expletive pronouns have been attested in Finnish, a non-configurational language, where they are analysed as topic-, rather than subject pronouns (Holmberg and Nikanne 2002). This paper shows that the same analysis can, in broad lines, be applied to the Estonian dialectal expletive pronoun.

We examine the expletive pronouns used in two largest Finnic languages representing the Northern and Southern branch respectively - Finnish and Estonian. Although the main features of the syntax are similar and both languages use the SVO order in unmarked clauses, more grammatical devices seem to be in use in Finnish (Metslang 2009). Both languages exhibit a word order that is mostly dependent of the discourse configurational properties of the information structure and have thus been classed as topic -prominent. In topic-prominent languages the logical subject of predication does not always coincide with the grammatical subject (cf. É. Kiss 1995, 2002).

In Finnish, the expletive pronouns in colloquial use are the 3rd person inanimate pronoun *se* (this, it) in its nominative and partitive form (Example 1a). Holmberg and Nikanne (2002) classed this element as a topic expletive due to their morpho-syntactic they are formally caseless, and they do not control verb agreement or binding. In Standard and colloquial Estonian, however, such use of the 3rd person inanimate pronoun is infelicitous and non-attested (Hiietam 2022). The only environment where a non-referential pronoun occurs grammatically is with extraposition. Yet, there are dialectal examples of a 3rd person singular animate pronoun that is used in a similar way to the Finnish expletive pronoun - *se/sitä* (Example 1b).

1. a.   Nyt   (**se**)   taas   sataa.
       Now   EXPL.NOM   again   rain.3.SG
       'Now it's raining again'

   b.   **tä**   see   suvel   õli   vähäne   einiäkasv

       3.SG.NOM   this.NOM   summer.ADE   be.PAST.SG.   poor   hay growth.NOM

         'EXPL this summer (there) was poor hay growth'

The paper delineates the referential properties of both the Finnish *se* (it) and the Estonian *see* (it) and *tä* (he/se) and offers an tentative account that classes the Estonian expletive elements as a topic expletive much in the vein of Holmberg and Nikanne (2002). In conclusion, this paper shows support for analysing the expletive elements in the two languages mentioned above as topic-pronouns that introduce the topic of the predication rather than grammatical, albeit semantically empty subjects regardless of their degree of grammaticalisation.

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Vedic *śīyate* 'falls': An atmospheric verb among verbs of spontaneous events

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The topic of the present paper is the morphosyntax of a Vedic Sanskrit verb attested in meteorological expressions, *śīyate*, which was not the subject of a systematic study. The present tense formation with the suffix -*ya*- and middle inflection, *śīyate* (root *śī*), exhibits a particular meaning 'fall (congealing)' (contra Insler 1987: 61), said of precipitations, such as snow, hail, dew etc.

This study is based on the corpus of Early/Middle Vedic texts (800-500 BCE). The methods include systematic scrutiny of the morphosyntactic features of the verbs under study supported by modern typological analysis of the relevant verbal categories (foremost, voice and transitivity) as well as text-critical and philological analysis of texts.

The meteorological expressions in question are documented for the occurrences of the type

(1) *himó   yác   ca   **śī-yá-te**;   nīhāró   yác   ca   **śīyáte**;*
    snow:NOM   which and   falls-PR-3SG.MID   mist:NOM which and   falls-PR-3SG.MID
    *hrādúnīr   yác   ca   **śīyáte**…   (TaitBr. 3.12.7.2-3)*
    hail   which and   falls-PR-3SG.MID
'…and [water] which **falls** [as] snow; and which **falls** [as] mist; and which **falls** [as] hail.'

The same verb is attested with the subject of tears considered as rain (see Gerow 1973):

(2) *sò   'rodīd; yád   áśrv   **áśīya-ta**   tád   rajatáṁ híraṇyam abhavat* (TaitSaṃh. 1.5.1.1-2)
    he   wept   which tear   fall:IMPF-3SG.MID that silvery   gold   became
'He (Agni) wept; the tear that **fell** became silver.'

The position of *śīyate* among middle -*ya*-presents is quite peculiar. On the one hand, it shares some features with such root-accented -*ya*-presents as *pádyate* 'falls', fitting into the semantic class of verbs of (spontaneous) motion. On the other hand, its variable accentuation (on the root or suffix) points to the tendency to be grouped with the middle -*ya*-presents with fluctuating accentuation (´-*yá*-presents). The type of accentuation serves as a salient formal feature of a semantically homogenous class of verbs referring to spontaneous events, typically resulting in decay and/or destruction (or, put more generally, to entropy increase; see e.g. Howard 2001 for a discussion of this class and its semantics). This latter analysis is supported by the use of *śīyate* to refer to a variety of processes of decay and erosion, such as falling out of hair or teeth.

The main result of this study is an explanation of the peculiar features of *śīyate* and, more generally, the special status of the meteorological expressions with *śīyate* within the system of Vedic morphosyntactic patterns. The phonologically, morphologically and semantically homogenous group of middle ´-*yá*-presents, such as *kṣíyáte* 'disappear' or *mīyáte* 'perish', could favour the assimilation of *śīyate* to other members of this class (verbs of destruction or decay), thus eventually giving rise to fluctuating accentuation – in contrast to other verbs of motion/falling, such as *pádyate*. This also implies that the atmospheric phenomena, such as precipitations (snow, rain), were conceptualized in the Vedic dictionary as coming about spontaneously, and even as contributing to the overall increase of entropy. This furnishes important evidence for a general study of the verbs of weather phenomena, demonstrating their peculiar status within verbal dictionaries of individual languages.

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'Hide-and-seek': Towards the typology of underspecified verbs

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So far, cross-linguistic studies of verbal lexicon have largely concentrated on predicates denoting physical action, as verbs of giving (Newman 1998), cutting and breaking (Majid & Bowerman 2007), eating and drinking (Newman 2009), putting and taking (Kopecka & Narasimhan 2012), aqua-motion (Lander et al. 2012), among others. In all such cases, the parameters of attested variation correlate primarily with the set and type of core participants. While cutting is performed with an instrument and into a specified number of fragments, breaking usually occurs without instruments and results in an unpredictable number of fragments, tearing involves a flexible material as an object and hands as an instrument, etc.

This paper considers other types of verbs, represented by the predicates with the meaning 'hide' and 'seek'. We call them ***underspecified***: they have a well-determined goal (intended result), but the actions directed towards this goal are not specified. Both hiding and seeking usually involve some kind of physical actions, but their exact nature can vary greatly: to find a lost key, one can either walk around the rooms, or crawl on the floor, or else gaze at the surface of the table, fumble in one's bag, etc.

The purpose of our study is to find out how underspecification affects the patterns of lexicalization and the parameters of cross-linguistic variation for these predicates. We use data from 28 languages for 'hide' and from 35 languages, for 'seek'. The material was collected and analyzed according to the methodology of the frame approach to lexical typology (Rakhilina & Reznikova 2016).

Our data show that at the synchronous level the typology basically follows "standard" patterns, when the cross-linguistic variation is determined by the parameters of one or another participant in the situation. So, for example, many languages lexically oppose looking for a specific vs. non-specific ***object*** (Mandarin *zhǎo* vs. *wùsè* or Aghul *arucas* vs. *ǯikʼarqʼas*); or require special verbs for non-human animate ***subject*** (Japanese *sagasu* vs. *asaru*), etc.

The peculiarity of underspecified verbs lies mainly in their diachronic development. At the diachronic level, the verbs of seeking and hiding almost always appear to be derived from some verbs of physical activities. Notably, the set of their semantic sources is limited to those basic situations which cover typical actions associated with seeking or hiding. Here, the cross-linguistic difference is most striking and can serve as a good base for typological classifications. For example, possible lexical sources for 'seek' can be found among perception verbs (cf. English *look for*, Japanese *saguru* 'feel', Kazakh *timiskilew* 'smell, sniff'), verbs of walking (cf. French *chercher*, Italian *cercare* from late Latin *circare* 'walk around', Serbian *tražiti* from 'trail'), and some others.

We will show that this kind of derivation can be considered not only as a special property of underspecified verbs, but also as a manifestation of a more general effect of the semantic contiguity between different lexical fields when, for example, falling verbs are colexified with verbs of turning, jumping, hitting, etc. (Rakhilina et al. 2022).

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Translations as diagnostics

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Keywords: translation, Septuagint, New Testament, Greek, Latin

Translation forces speakers/writers to make decisions. These may vary diachronically, e.g., the decision to try to translate more "de verbo" or "de sensu", as can be seen in the various Syriac Bible translations (the Old Syriac version, the Peshitta and the Harqlean version, each tending to be more literal than the preceding one, cf. Brock et al. 2011: 74-76). On the synchronic level, translations may help in discerning differences in the target language that might otherwise remain covert, e.g., when the Latin Vulgate differentiates between *testes* for the apostles and those who were witnesses of the resurrected Christ on the one hand and *martyri* for those who died for their (Christian) faith on the other - both terms translate Greek *mártur*, cf.

(1) Acta 1.8 Gr. *lḗmpsesthe dúnamin epelthóntos toũ hagíou pneúmatos eph´ humãs, kaì ésesthé mou <u>mártures</u> én te Ierousalḗm*

Lat. *accipietis virtutem supervenientis Spiritus Sancti in vos, et eritis mihi <u>testes</u> in Jerusalem*

"You will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes upon you, and then you will be my *witnesses* in Jerusalem."

(2) Apoc 17.6 Gr. *eĩdon tḕn gunaĩka methúousan ek toũ haímatos tōn hagíōn kaì ek toũ haímatos tōn <u>martúrōn</u> Iēsoũ*.

Lat. *Vidi mulierem ebriam de sanguine sanctorum, et de sanguine <u>martyrum</u> Jesu.*

"I noticed that the woman was drunk with the blood of the saints and the blood of those *who had borne witness* to Jesus."

A similar case is that of the Septuagint translating the Hebrew verb for 'to rain' (*mṭr*) both with *hýō* and *brékhō* depending on whether God is both speaker and subject or not (cf. Lee 1983: 124):

(3) Ex 9.18 *idoù egṑ <u>húō</u>* (Hebr. *mamṭīr*) *tḕn hṓran aúrion khálazan pollḕn sphódra*

"Behold, about this time tomorrow *I will cause* very heavy hail *to fall*."

(4) Ex 16.4 *eĩpen dè kúrios pròs Mōusēn Idoù egṑ <u>húō</u>* (Hebr. *mamtīr*) *humĩn ártous ek toũ ouranoũ*

"Then the Lord said to Moses, 'Behold, *I am about to rain* bread from heaven for you.'"

(5) Ex 9.23 *kaì <u>ébrexen</u>* (Hebr. *wayyamṭēr*) *kúrios khálazan epì pãsan gẽn Aigúptou*

"The Lord *made* hail *rain down* upon the land of Egypt."

The source language and text may leave their imprint on the target, e.g., in the form of calques like Lat. *seminiverbius* 'gossiper' for Greek *spermológos* [sow-word], and both in- and decrease the frequency of features in the target present or absent in the source, e.g. when the Armenian historian Movsēs Xorenac'i apparently avoids the use of serial verb constructions common in other non-translated Classical Armenian texts – probably due to the Greek model of historiography.

Using mostly the Septuagint, the Greek New Testament and the Latin Vulgate as corpus, this paper will present instances of translations making differences in contrast to the respective source texts and discuss how they may be instrumental in gaining insights about features of the respective target languages. Beyond cases of lexical semantics, it will discuss features of verbal morphosyntax such as the developing suppletive

paradigm of Lat. *vado*/*eo* 'go' and the behaviour of *(com-)edo* 'eat'. In the latter case it seems that the process of replacement of the simplex *edo* by either the compound *comedo* or the different lexeme *manduco* targets its core function of referring to the moment of speech, cf. the habitual present *edunt* in (6) vs *manducatis* in (7):

(6) Lk 5.33 Lat. *At illi dixerunt ad eum: "Discipuli Ioannis ieiunant frequenter et obsecrationes faciunt, similiter et pharisaeorum; tui autem <u>edunt et bibunt</u>"*. (Greek: *esthíousin kaì pínousin*) "They said to him, 'John's disciples often fast and pray, and so do the disciples of the Pharisees, but yours go on *eating and drinking*.'"

(7) Lk 5.30 Lat. *Et murmurabant pharisaei et scribae eorum adversus discipulos eius dicentes: "Quare cum publicanis et peccatoribus <u>manducatis et bibitis</u>?"* (Greek: *esthíete kaì pínete*)
"Their scribes and the Pharisees murmured against his disciples, saying, "Why do you *eat and drink* with the tax collectors and sinners?""

If so, the development looks like a case of *hypoanalysis* (Croft 2000: 126–127) of a present restricted to non-core functions such as future and habitual (cf. Haspelmath 1998).

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To what rhetorical effects? Experimental evidence on the rhetorical advantages of rephrase

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Keywords: rephrase, experiments, rhetorical effects, persuasiveness, trustworthiness

Speakers rephrase their own (or someone else's) contribution frequently in argumentative settings. Indeed, there is empirical evidence that rephrase has a high frequency in corpora of argumentative discourse (De San Martino et al., 2019; Konat et al., 2016; Koszowy et al., 2022). It is therefore far from unimportant to investigate to what rhetorical effects speakers rephrase. In this paper, we present experimental evidence that sheds light on the complex perlocutionary effects of this phenomenon. Previous experimental research found that rephrasing a contribution positively affects the perceived persuasiveness of the message, when compared to a non-rephrased statement (Koszowy et al., 2022). Our new set of experiments further explores the rhetorical advantages of rephrase. Experiment 1 and 2 establish whether the two rephrase types of specification and generalization affect the perceived persuasiveness of the message and the perceived trustworthiness of the speaker differently. Experiment 3 explores whether rephrase affects perceived persuasiveness in manifestly argumentative contexts.

Our results indicate that rephrasing a contribution can indeed positively affect both the perceived persuasiveness of the message and the perceived trustworthiness of the speaker. These findings prompted us to design a further experiment using a more indirect measure (Experiment 4), in order to collect evidence on the actual (and not merely perceived) persuasive effect of this phenomenon in argumentative dialogues. Moreover, our results led us to investigate whether the effects of rephrase on speaker ethos vary across contexts that differ in terms of pre-discursive ethos, i.e., in terms of what participants know about the speaker whose rephrase they are asked to evaluate (Experiment 5). The evidence collected so far (and expected to emerge from our latest set of experiments) gives us valuable insight into the persuasive power of rephrase in argumentation.

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'Memory' as an evidential category

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Keywords: Evidentiality, memory, inferentiality, hearsay, experienced

A corpus investigation of the Dutch mental state verb *geloven* 'believe' has revealed a use of the type in (1) (Janssens 2015):

(1)   Jij voelde meer voor zo'n kat op hoge poten geloof ik hè.
        'You were more inclined towards that kind of cat with long legs I believe, right?'

The speaker of (1) expresses that she seems to recollect that the hearer had a preference for a cat with long legs. The verb here marks that the speaker is recalling this information from memory.

The corpus study was diachronic, featuring data for *geloven* from four different time periods: Old Dutch, Early Middle Dutch, Early New Dutch and Present Day Dutch. For each period a random sample of 200 instances of the verb was used, and for Present Day Dutch there were separate sets of written and of spoken language. The 'memory' meaning only emerged in the samples for Present Day Dutch, though. It was entirely absent in the data for the older stages of the language. It is not very common in the written present day sample (1.5%). But it is highly frequent in the spoken sample, accounting for more than 50% of the instances of the (quite common) verb.

On the basis of the cases in the Present Day Dutch data, this paper inquires into the semantic status of this meaning. 'Memory' is mentioned occasionally in the literature, e.g. by Jakobson (1957), Ifantidou (2001) and Schneider (2007), and these authors all consider it evidential, yet without offering a thorough analysis or being specific in terms of what type of evidentiality would be at stake. Otherwise, the category is by and large absent in the evidentiality literature. It is, for instance, not mentioned as a separate category in reference works on evidentiality such as Willett (1988) or Aikhenvald (2004).

The present paper supports the view that 'memory' may be considered a type of evidentiality, and it offers an analysis of its status in terms of the view on the evidential categories proposed in Nuyts (2017). The bottom line is that it has properties situating it close to the traditional evidential categories of 'experienced' and 'hearsay', as dimensions naming the source from which the information provided in the utterance is drawn. This is unlike the third traditional evidential category, 'inferentiality', which does not name an information source but signals that the information has been obtained through a process of reasoning (including the degree of reliability of this process). The nature of the information source in 'memory' is different from that in 'experienced' and 'hearsay', however: the latter two mark external sources, but the former refers to an internal source, as a mediator of information obtained from external sources. This lends 'memory' somewhat unique characteristics, giving it a special position among the evidential categories.

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Aspectual Correlations in Multi-Verbal Structures: A Case Study of Polish

Semantic properties of a verb can determine the strength of semantic and syntactic integration of the dependent State of Affair (SoA; cf. Givón 2001 or Wurmbrand & Lohninger 2020). Relevant verb classes, which can be hierarchically ordered according to the degree of semantic and syntactic integration, include modal verbs, phasal verbs, manipulative verbs, desiderative verbs, perceptual verbs, knowledge verbs, propositional verbs, and utterance verbs (cf. Noonan 1985, Givón 2001, Cristofaro 2003). The individual verb classes can determine the semantic features of dependent SoAs such as temporal reference, aspectual properties, mood, or participant reference. At the syntactic level, they can select finite, infinite, or nounish (verbal nouns / gerunds, participles) structures. This study approaches the issue of semantic and syntactic integration by examining the distribution of aspectual properties (perfective or imperfective) of embedding verbs and dependent SoAs in a Polish corpus (a sub-corpus of the parallel corpus InterCorp annotated with Universal Dependencies; Bańczyk at al. 2021) and taking into account the form of embedded SoAs (finite, infinite, verbal noun/gerund, participle) and the frequency of lemmas embedding SoAs (for a recent overview of the literature on the Polish aspect, see Łaziński 2020).

The results of the present study show a number of statistically significant associations: (i) an overrepresentation of structures with **perfective** verbs embedding **perfective** finite verbs, verbal nouns and participles, while infinitives are underrepresented, (ii) an overrepresentation of structures with **imperfective** verbs embedding **imperfective** finite verbs and participles, while infinitives and verbal nouns are underrepresented, (iii) an overrepresentation of structures with **imperfective** verbs embedding **perfective** infinitives, verbal nouns, and participles, while perfective embedded verbs are underrepresented, (iv) an overrepresentation of structures with **perfective** verbs embedding **imperfective** finite verbs and participles, while infinitives and verbal nouns are underrepresented. The greatest asymmetry between the structures with finite embedded verbs and structures with non-finite embedded verbs can be observed in aspectual agreement (both perfective and imperfective) and in the selection of imperfective forms by perfective ones on the one hand, and, on the other hand, in the selection of perfective forms by imperfective ones. The most frequent lemma licensing both (i) and (iv) is *powiedzieć* 'say' (verb class utterance) and the most frequent lemma licensing (ii) and (iii) is *móc* 'can' (modal). These results correlate with the typological assumptions about semantic and syntactic integration discussed in the literature, and provide deeper insights into aspectual dependencies (associated with verb classes and verb forms) within complex structures based on corpus evidence from Polish.

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The face and bottom of an utterance: Speaking of meaning in Supyire

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Keywords: semantics, metaphor, metonymy, body-parts, Niger-Congo,

As the history of philosophy and the study of languages show, meaning is in many respects an elusive concept (see Cassedy 2022,*What do we mean when we talk about meaning?* for an entertaining history of the meaning of *meaning* in English). Speakers of most if not all languages use figurative resources to think and speak about meaning. For this task, Supyire (Senufo, Gur, Niger-Congo) makes extensive use of two body part terms: *yyaha* 'face' and *ǹwɔhɔ* 'bottom'. How did two terms referring to opposite ends of the human body both come to be used to think and speak about meaning in a single language? This paper proposes a plausible story.

Unsurprisingly, given the ubiquitous metonymic and metaphorical use of body part concepts in the world's languages (Kraska-Szlenk 2014, 2020; Kuteva et al. 2019), both words are highly polysemous in Supyire. As in very many languages, they are used metonymically to refer to locative concepts, as in 1, and metaphorically to refer to analogous parts of other objects, as in 2.

(1) a. *yyaha-na* 'in front of, ahead of'   b. *ǹwɔhi-i*   'under, underneath, behind'
        face-at   bottom-in

(2) a. *baga yyáhá* 'the front of a house'   b. *baga ɲwɔhɔ* 'the foundation of a house'
        house face   house bottom

Both body part concepts have come to be extended to refer to utterance meaning in the sense of 'what the speaker wants to say', but they have converged on this conceptualization via different routes, starting from different "primary scenes" and hence different metonymies, incorporated in different primary metaphors (for these notions, see Littlemore 2015: 133ff; Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 45ff; Dancygier & Sweetser 2014: 25ff; Kövecses 2020: 43ff, and the references therein).

This paper shows how *yyaha* 'face' came to mean 'communicative intention' via the primary experience of facing in the direction of movement to reach a desired locative goal. Similarly, *ǹwɔhɔ* 'bottom' came to mean 'reason for speaking' via the primary experience of building something from the ground up, where the foundation at the bottom is the point of origin. The two different paths have resulted in two different perspectives on speaker intention, demonstrated in a variety of linguistic expressions described in detail in this paper.

Morever, each of these body parts is "good for thinking" about meaning in an additional way. Just as a person's bottom is kept concealed, the meaning of an utterance such as a proverb or riddle may be "hidden" and difficult to "discover". Just as one can often see the importance or value of a person from their face, the value of a well-constructed utterance can be thought of as its face. Thus although both *yyaha-cé* lit. 'face-know' and *ǹwɔhɔ-cé* lit. 'bottom-know' can be translated 'understand', the first implies understanding the value or importance of what is said, while the latter implies understanding the 'real' reason for saying what has been said.

This paper traces these meaning developments through extensive lexical and discourse data.

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Measuring geographical variation on macro and micro scales: Italian loanwords in South American Spanish

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This talk presents a study on the spatial distribution of lexical variation on various geographic levels: country level, city level and sub-city level (Kellert & Matlis 2022a/b, Kellert 2023a/b). The data source of this study is a corpus of all geolocated tweets produced between 2017 to 2021 and the method applied to quantify differences in distributions of linguistic variation in geographic space is Differential Distribution (Kellert & Matlis 2022a/b). Geolocated tweets provide information about the exact location from which the text message or the tweet was posted by a social media user, which is encoded in coordinates (latitude and longitude). The data and method are evaluated on a case study of lexical variation in Spanish, namely the spatial distribution of Italian loanwords in South American Spanish such as the words *laburo* 'work'. Most of these words were brought to Argentina and surrounding countries by Italian immigrants in late 19th and early 20th centuries and are now very common in the sociolect called *lunfardo*. Lunfardo is an argot that originated in the lower classes in the city of Buenos Aires (Kailuweit 2016, Würth 2019). The results show that the spatial distribution of Italian loanwords in South America correlates with the settlements of Italian immigrants on a country, city and even sub-city level. I conclude that geolocated data from Twitter can reflect the historical origin of linguistic variation as in the case of Italian loanwords in Argentina.

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Achievement verbs across languages

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Keywords: linguistic typology, actionality, aspectual class, grammatical aspect, achievements

This talk presents a typological exploratory investigation of the actional (Aktionsart, aspectual) class of achievements with the goal of capturing its crosslinguistically salient properties. Achievement verbs (e.g., *reach*, *notice* in English) are arguably the most controversial of the four Vendlerian actional classes (Vendler 1967). Usually described in the literature as punctual or "all culmination" (Binnick 1991), achievements are sometimes claimed to lack a consistent set of properties and are seen by some as a contextually determined interpretation of accomplishments (Verkuyl 1989). This talk, however, posits that the class of achievements is distinct from accomplishments.

The previous crosslinguistic studies examine this class only in passing (e.g., Tatevosov 2002; Tatevosov 2016). This investigation is based on the sample of about 20 genetically diverse languages, all of which also obligatorily express the category of verbal aspect, in most cases either the perfective-imperfective (e.g., Italian) or the progressive-nonprogressive contrast (e.g., English).

The investigation benefits from the theoretical, formally oriented work on achievements (see below) but is descriptive and typological in nature. As a consequence, the survey adopts the view that for the purposes of crosslinguistic comparison, actional classes such as achievements need to be established as comparative concepts with clear and consistent criteria for their identification across languages (Haspelmath 2010, Stassen 2010). The two relevant criteria with crosslinguistic applicability employed here are the interpretation of the verb in the progressive aspect and its interpretation in the imperfective aspect. In contrast, in previous typological work (Botne 2003), achievements were seen as a natural class, which once established in one language (e.g., in English) can be identified in other languages using unrelated language-specific tests.

The investigation corroborates the need to view achievements as two distinct but related classes: strict achievements and extendable achievements (these terms are adopted from Huddleston & Pullum 2002). This distinction is based on earlier work on English (e.g., Filip 1999, Rothstein 2004).

Strict achievements roughly correspond to achievements in the Vendlerian conception. They are characterized crosslinguistically by their incompatibility with the progressive (**Mary is losing her pen*) and their inability to refer to the ongoing-episodic ("progressive") meaning when used with the imperfective (Breu 1994, among many others). For instance, in Karachay-Balkar (Turkic), the verb *tap-* 'find' can only express the habitual meaning with the imperfective. Other than habitual, imperfective strict achievements can also convey prospective, futurate, and irealis meanings. Interestingly, the membership of this class is normally very small in the examined languages (cf. Tatevosov 2016: 176).

In contrast, extendable achievements are compatible with both the progressive (*The plane is landing*) and the ongoing-episodic reading of the imperfective. They are similar to accomplishments with respect to this property, but the two can be distinguished by several tests: e.g., in English, extendable

achievements cannot be modified by *somewhat*. More research is needed to corroborate the crosslinguistic validity of the contrast between extendable achievements and accomplishments since most of the sources consulted here do not examine it, even though some evidence for its existence can still be cited for several languages of the sample.

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Language interaction in border region:
Relative markers *koji* and *който* in Torlak dialects

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This paper discusses relativizing strategies in Torlak dialects with a focus on relative markers *кojу* (Serbian) and *който* (Bulgarian) 'what/which'. The term Torlak refers to a group of South Slavic dialects spoken mainly in southeastern Serbia. According to Vuković (2020), Torlak is both geographically and typologically situated between East South Slavic (Bulgarian, Macedonian) and West South Slavic (Slovene, Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, Serbian) languages. It demonstrates a tendency toward analyticity, which brings Torlak closer to Bulgarian and Macedonian language. On the other hand, Torlak retains some archaic features typical of Western part of South Slavic. The number of Torlak speakers is diminishing, and it is estimated to be 1.5 million. Torlak is classified as a vulnerable language on the UNESCO scale of endangered languages (Salminen 2010: 37). My main areal focus will be on dialects spoken in southeastern Serbia where ethnic Bulgarians, the so-called Shopi, form a majority (Hristov 2004: 67-83).

In contrast to Bulgarian language, Torlak tendency toward syntactic analyticity is on-going, which is a unique opportunity to study a language shift and language change in progress. With my research I wish to describe previously unanalyzed relativization phenomenon in Torlak. According to Murelli (2011: 97 and 99), there are several relativization strategies in the European languages, including the strategy with inflected relative pronouns, general relativizer and gap strategy. Even though relative strategies and markers are often discussed, Torlak relative clause formation is previously unanalyzed.

In this paper, I will examine linguistic factors such as the syntactical position relativized, and semantics of the head noun which can influence the choice of relativizer. My hypothesis is that variable relative markers *кojу* and *който* would be replaced with an invariable relativizer *što*, partially as a general tendency observed in the spoken language, and partially as a common contact induced feature observed within Balkan Linguistic Area. For this purpose, two datasets will be examined: the first from semi-structured interviews and the second from questionnaires filled out by the Torlak speakers. Below is an example from an interview I recorded during fieldwork in 2018:

(1) ono   bi-lo   žalatic-a   <u>što</u> e
    It.3SG.N.NOM   be-PST.3SG.N   ducat-ACC.SG.F <u>that</u> be.PRS.3SG.F
    ušije-n-a   bi-la
    sew-PTCP.3SG.F be-PST.3SG
    'It was a ducat that was sewn.'

On a broad scale, my aim is to determine how these dialects can be used as a case study to better understand the processes of language interaction and relativization in other language pairs.

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The mirative values of Italian *altro che*

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Keywords: <Grammaticalization, Pragmatics, Romance languages, Semantics, Mirativity>

The Italian construction *altro che X!* (lit. 'other than X', also attested as *altroché X!*) is used to express a twofold value in exclamatory contexts. On the one hand it encodes negative correction, conveying rejection of X, often followed by an element opposite to X (cf. 'no, forget boredom, excitement' in (1)). On the other hand, it can express a positive reinforcement of X, and in these cases it is followed by an element confirming X on a higher degree (cf. 'yes, even more than cute, makes my heart swell' in (2)). Both uses are characterized by a mirative function with respect to some previously expressed information, which surprises the speaker (DeLancey 1997).

(1) ***Altro che*** noia,　　la　vela　entusiasma　　　i　giovani
　　 Altro che boredom,　DEF　sailing　excite:PRS:3SG　　DEF　young.people
　　 '**Forget** boredom, sailing excites young people' (ItTenTen20)

(2) ***Altro che***　pucciosa....questa　　　fa　　　　gonfiare　il　mio　cuoricino
　　 Altro che　cute....　this:F　make:PRS:3SG　swell:INF　DEF my little.heart"
　　 '**More than** cute....this one makes my little heart swell' (ItTenTen20)

Our aim is to show how these two values, which seem to be opposite to each other, are in fact the outcome of a single diachronic path, in which dialogicity plays a central role. Based on a diachronic sample of Italian texts from the 13th century to the present day, we will show how the presence of these structures in interactional contexts has influenced the development of the mirative value and will identify the successive stages that led from the meaning of 'other than' (Gianollo & Mauri 2020), to the value of mirative correction and, recently, to positive reinforcement. Moreover, we will integrate the diachronic study with the synchronic analysis of this construction in contemporary use, based on the KIParla corpus of Spoken Italian (Mauri et al. 2019), to identify the discourse contexts associated to the two functions.

An initial investigation of the data shows that in a first phase (16th-17th centuries), *altro che* appeared as an argument of the verb to indicate "things different from X" and only later it started to be used in dialogical contexts with corrective value, yet always requiring the resumption of a previous element with a clear pattern. The increasingly frequent occurrence of this construction in exclamative contexts has favored the development of the mirative value, associated to independent occurrences (i.e. not as a verb argument) at the beginning or end of the utterances (cf. (1)). At the beginning of the 19th century, when the corrective value is conventionalized, *altro che* begins to be used in contexts where the two opposing elements are part of the same semantic field and are located at different degrees along the same scale, thus acquiring a positive reinforcing value. Eventually, we will show that the construction acquires more and more autonomy in expressing mirativity: by assuming a formulaic value (Calaresu 2018), it ends up occurring alone as a confirmation marker: *altroché!* is nowadays used to mean 'Sure!'.

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The reduction of indicative past tense categories in Meglen Vlach verbs 'be' and 'have'

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Meglen Vlach, also known as Megleno-Romanian, is a severely endangered Balkan Romance language spoken mainly in Greece and North Macedonia. In this paper, I present evidence for the reduced number of indicative past tense categories in the Meglen Vlach verbs *sam* 'I am' and *am* 'I have', as well as for the recent loss of preterite forms for these two verbs, and I propose that this development is due to language contact with Macedonian and Greek.

Meglen Vlach verbs generally distinguish four past tenses in the indicative: imperfect, preterite, perfect, and pluperfect, of which the last two are built with an auxiliary and the participle. Data from my recent fieldwork in Archángelos (Óșiń) in Northern Greece shows that, while the four past tenses are all in widespread use, in the case of *sam* and *am* only the imperfect is used. Early works on Meglen Vlach grammar (Weigand 1892: 43–44 and Capidan 1925: 172, 175) give full preterite paradigms as well as participle forms, and the preterite forms are attested, for instance, in folk tales published by Papahagi (1900). However, during my fieldwork in 2021–22 consultants did not actually use, understand or even recognize preterite, perfect, and pluperfect forms of *sam* and *am*. Instead, they use the imperfect even in temporally bounded contexts such as (1), where for example standard Romanian would normally use the compound perfect.

(1) *Ʋaltăr*   *vę*   *pănăǵir*   *ʋa.*
     the.other.day   have.IPFV.3SG   fair   here
     "The other day there was a fair here."

The verbs *sam* and *am* form a distinct category due to being the ones used in non-verbal predicates (in the sense of Dryer 2007). The fact that they differ even from other stative verbs is evinced by the existence of preterite forms such as *stătuį* 'I stayed'. Typologically, it is not surprising that *sam* and *am* should be defective: "the categorial inventory of verbal copulas, as compared to that of verbs proper, tends to show more or less pronounced reductions" (Pustet 2003: 40; for further examples see e.g. Turunen 2011 and Gibson et al. 2019: 228–229).

What makes the case of Meglen Vlach special is the fact that the cognates of *sam* and *am* are not defective in other Romance languages and that their defectivity appears to be due to language contact. Meglen Vlach has been under strong influence from Macedonian – borrowing, for instance, verbal aspectual prefixes – and, more recently, Greek. Macedonian and Greek have similarly rich tense systems while at the same time, their respective verbs 'be' and 'have' are defective in ways similar to Meglen Vlach (Friedman 2001: 37–38; Holton et al. 2012: 139, 170–171), for which see Table 1.

		present	**imperfect**	**preterite/aorist**	**perfect**	**pluperfect**
Meglen Vlach	'be'	*sam*	*ram*	†*fuį*	—	—
	'find'	*aflăm*	*flăįam*	*flaį*	*am flat*	*vęm flat*
	'be'	*sum*	*bev*	—	?*imam bideno*	?*imav bideno*

		present	imperfect	preterite/aorist	perfect	pluperfect
Macedonian	'find'	*naoǵam*	*naoǵav*	*najdov*	*imam najdeno*	*imav najdeno*
Modern Greek	'be'	*íme*	*ímun*	—	—	—
	'find'	*vrísko*	*évriska*	*vríka*	*éxo vri*	*íxa vri*

Table 1. All forms are 1st person singular; [†] = historical, [?] = only in southwestern dialects (cf. Graves 2000: 489).

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Contact-induced patterns in direct object marking in Dolgan

The study investigates direct object marking (DOM) in Dolgan, comparing it with marking variance in Evenki and Yakut and considering object-level and clause-level semantic and pragmatic properties. The Dolgan data were obtained through elicitation with the lower Dolgans living in the villages of Popigay, Syndassko and Khatanga, as the most vital Dolgan language community to date.

Däbritz [2022: 353] stresses that the exact patterns of DOM in Dolgan are not fully understood yet. Possible competing cases include accusative, partitive and non-overt in possessive and non-possessive declensions (1).

(1) Et-te   / et   [et-i   / *et-im   / et-pin
     meat-PART   / meat   [meat-ACC   / *meat-1SG   / meat-ACC.1SG

     / *et-pine]   hie-tek-pine   biar-im   iald'-ia.
     / *meat-PART.1SG]   eat-TEMP-1SG   stomach-1SG   be.sick-FUT.[3SG]

If I eat [the] meat, I will have a stomach ache.

Among three main morphological interferences of the Evenki language on Yakut, Ubryatova [2011: 27] singles out a partitive in Yakut. Seržant [2021: 147] points out that the partitive case of Yakut and Tofa (both contacted with Evenki) is only used with imperatives, while in Dolgan with future events as well. Likewise, Kazama [2012: 144–145] states that the partitive-like indefinite accusative of Evenki clearly shows a preference for future tense and imperative. Nevertheless, the present research allows expanding this list for Dolgan with some nonfactual modalities, such as desiderative, probabilitive, necessitative and conditional as in (1).

The consideration of DOM requires a multifactorial approach. The factors controlling the particular choice of the DO encoding in Dolgan include parameters for DO (referential status, closely related to topicalization and discourse prominence; definiteness and specificity; quantification; animacy) and for predicate (polarity, TAM). Affectedness and word order, which are factors of DOM in some other Transeurasian languages [Cetinoglu & Butt 2008; Serdobolskaya & Toldova 2012], were also tested but did not show alternation.

The study showed that the ternary case alternation on DO correlates with its referential status: definite (2a), specific indefinite (2b), non-specific indefinite (2c), as it can be seen in necessitative context. However, the interaction of TAM of verb and pragmatic factors impose restrictions on semantic-referential interpretations of DO and its marking possibilities.

(2) a. D'ie-ni   atiːlah-iah-taːk-pin.
         house-ACC   buy-PTCP.FUT-NEC-1SG

         I must buy [this] house.

     b. D'ie-te   atiːlah-iah-taːk-pin.
         house-PART   buy-PTCP.FUT-NEC-1SG

         I must buy [a] house [but I am not sure if my wife will like it].

c. D'ie aṭiːlah-ɨah-taːk-pɨn.
house buy-PTCP.FUT-NEC-1SG

I have to buy [some] house.

The combination of different factors depending on DOM in Dolgan gives rise to a variety of strategies, some of which are closer to Yakut, others to Evenki. The hypothesis put forward is that, taking into account the origin of Dolgans and their further close interaction with Evenki, Dolgan shares more common features in direct object marking with Evenki and demonstrates wider use of partitive than Yakut does.

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A typological investigation of introverted and extroverted verb distinction in reflexive constructions

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The object of this research is the "introverted" and "extroverted" verb distinction in reflexive constructions. While the former describes an action generally performed upon oneself (e.g. 'wash'), the latter refers to an action typically performed towards somebody else (e.g. 'kick') (Haiman 1983). This opposition has been variously debated, particularly about language economic motivation (Haiman 1983), form-frequency correspondence (Haspelmath 2008), or differential coding (Haspelmath 2021), leading to the formulation of Universal 1.

(1)   If a language uses different constructions for agent-patient coreference for different verb types, it uses shorter coding for introverted verbs than for extroverted verbs (König & Vezzosi 2004, Haspelmath 2008: 44, 2023).

In the literature, Universal 1 has not been substantially investigated at a larger crosslinguistic level (cf. Smith 2004). This research fills this gap. We will test Universal 1 on a representative language sample, using primary data from fieldwork experts from 28 genealogically unrelated languages from six macroareas. This will allow us to verify whether the coding of intro-/extroverted verbs is neatly organized as implied in (1) or whether it displays language-internal variations, additionally shaped by culture-specific factors. We will carry our analysis within a functional-typological approach, thereby contributing to an increasing body of available literature dedicated to this topic (e.g. Faltz 1985, Geniušiene 1987, Kemmer 1993, König & Siemund 2000, Dixon 2012).

The preliminary results have confirmed Universal 1 so far. For instance, Bangime (isolate), which has two reflexivizers (REFLs), uses a longer one (*ǹ=dēgè*) with extroverted verbs (2a) and a shorter one (*mī̀*) with introverted verbs (2b) (Hantgan 2023).

(2a)   ń   jùrà   ǹ=dēgè
         3SG.A   kill.3SG.PFV   1SG.B=head.3SG.POSS
         'S/he killed her/himself.'

(2b)   à   bɔ̀w   dà   mīì   ǹ=tūrā
         2SG.A   father.2SG.POSS   3SG.IPFV   3SG.D   3SG.B=bathe.3SG.IPFV
         'Your father is bathing.'

Some languages maintain a coding distinction of intro-/extroverted verbs even if they have only one REFL by adding additional material. This is the case for Thulung (Sino-Tibetan), in which both verb types can be encoded by the same reflexive voice marker *-siʈ*, but the emphatic nominal *twap* can be additionally used to encode extroverted verbs (Lahaussois 2023).

In some cases, however, the intro-/extroverted verb distinction does not correspond to the long/short REFL distribution, revealing language-internal variations. For instance, Abaza (Abkhaz-Adyge) uses the same shorter REFL čə- with both verb types, but when the longer REFL POSS+'head' is used, it often implies an introverted, body-part reading (Arkadiev & Durneva 2023). Moreover, some variations in encoding intro-/extroverted verbs are driven by culture. For instance, Chini (Lower Sepik-Ramu) does not accept socially antagonistic verbs like 'hate' in reflexive constructions. Hence, eliciting extroverted verbs with the REFL is impossible (Brooks 2023).

Finally, some unexpected results emerged. In Warlpiri (Pama-Nyungan), the generally assumed introverted verb 'wash' implies an extroverted meaning when used without an object argument (Laughren 2023). Yet, Khanty (Kazym-Khanty) uses a special marking with introverted verbs (the detransitivizing -əs- or -ijλ- affix) but not, as expected, with extroverted verbs. The latter use the 3rd person pronoun λʉw instead (Volkova & Toldova 2023).

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Overabundance and overgeneralisation in 5-year-olds: A cross-linguistic study of morphological acquisition in Croatian and Estonian

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This study investigates how children acquire inflectional systems with morphological overabundance (Thornton 2019), meaning paradigm cells which can be realised by more than a single lexical form, e.g. the word 'puddle' is overabundant in Croatian (lokva-NOM.SG, lokava ~ lokva ~ lokvi for GENITIVE.PL, Bošnjak Botica & Hržica, 2016) and in Estonian (e.g., loik-NOM.SG, loikusid ~ loike for PARTITIVE.PL; Kaalep, 2010). In the course of language development, children are known to produce variable forms for a single target. These may be considered erroneous (e.g., omission of morphological marking) or overgeneralized (e.g. 'goed' *pro* 'went'). However, to our knowledge, no studies have investigated how children acquire morphological overabundance. Overabundance itself has rarely been studied by observing comparable phenomena in two languages.

We report on an elicitation study which aimed to investigate how children navigate the parallel forms and whether overgeneralisations show similar patterns, directly comparing acquisition of this phenomenon in the two languages. Five-year-old children acquiring either language, both of which exhibit much overabundance, were tested on noun forms with and without overabundance in the target language. We use an identical design in both languages, with 60 test items (30 overabundant, 30 non-overabundant) and 60 fillers. The overabundant items are all attested with at least two different forms for the plural form of the target case (Croatian: genitive plural, Estonian: partitive plural) in the respective corpora for the target language.

We expected 5-year-old children, as a group, to produce two (or three, for Croatian) forms for overabundant nouns, i.e. to reproduce the variability attested in the adult language. We also expected children to produce multiple forms for non-overabundant nouns: i.e. that they would produce target-like forms as well as overgeneralized forms. We found effects of age, differences between item type (with greater accuracy for overabundant than non-overabundant nouns) and language. We thus found effects of both the structure of the system and properties of the input, but not all effects were found across both languages. We will discuss the findings and their implications both methodologically and theoretically.

Keywords: first language acquisition, morphological development, overabundance, Estonian, Croatian

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Two paradigms for imperfective future tense in contemporary Czech

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Czech is a highly inflected Slavic language, but the prototypical future tense of Czech imperfective verbs is analytic (called "Slavic copular construction"' in Dahl 2000: 324), e.g.:

[1] *budou číst* 'they will read'.

A small group of imperfective determinate verbs of motion (e.g., *jít* 'to go on foot'; cf. Mrhačová 1993) and some individual other imperfective verbs (e.g., *kvést* 'to blossom') use the prefix *po-/pů-* to form a synthetic future tense (henceforth the *po-/pů-* future), e.g.:

[2] *půjdou* 'they will go (on foot)';

[3] *pokvetou* 'they will blossom'.

In some cases, both forms are possible, e.g.:

[4] *povládnou* 'they will rule';

[5] *budou vládnout* 'they will rule'.

The prefix *po-/pů-* has been discussed repeatedly in the scientific literature (e.g., Němec 2009/1954; Kopečný 1973; Šlosar 1981; Ševčíková and Panevová 2018), but the *po-/pů-* future is often treated as "an exception" because the two forms of the future seem to be redundant.

In my research, I treat the two types of future forms as overabundance, i.e. a situation when one paradigm cell is filled by several cell-mates (Thornton 2012). I focus on semantic factors related to this phenomenon and I investigate the following questions:

a) How is the ability to form the *po-/pů-* future related to lexical meanings of the verbs?

b) How is the ability to form the *po-/pů-* future related to semantic and pragmatic properties of the context?

c) What are the "dynamics" of the two types of future forms in contemporary Czech? Is there any "expansion" or "retreat" of either of the two forms in contemporary usage in comparison with previous research?

Data for the research are retrieved from large corpora of contemporary Czech, primarily from the representative *SYN* series (e.g., Křen et al. 2020) and *Araneum Bohemicum Maximum* (Benko 2014).

The research is qualitative and combines the cognitive approach to meaning, categorization, and prototypes (e.g., Croft and Cruse 2004) with the functional-structural approach to form and function (e.g., Vachek et al. 2003; cf. Janda 2013/1993). I retrieve future forms of verbs that have been described in scientific literature as having the *po-/pů-* future from the corpora, with special attention being paid to cases where both forms are possible. Then I focus on lexical meanings of verbs with and without the *po-/pů-* future and on contexts where each of the forms is used. I analyse lexical meanings of the verbs (e.g., whether the *po-/pů-* future is limited to certain sub-meanings) and relate them to basic properties of the context (e.g., repeated action, modality, negation).

The results indicate that the analytic future is expanding within the group of determinate verbs of motion, making the verbs more similar to typical Czech imperfective verbs. However, *jít* 'to go on foot', the central member of the group, uses the *pů-* future only and some other verbs tend to prefer

the *po-* form when referring to physical motion. Contrary to this, the group of other-than-motion verbs that can use both forms of future seems to be expanding (probably for centuries, Šlosar 1981: 79).

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The sky and the clouds in Melanesia

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Abstract: Weather phenomena have been studied in linguistics for decades. Their focus, however, has been overwhelmingly on some domains such as morphosyntax (Eriksen et al. 2010), and not so much on semantics, and on some word classes such as verbs (Ruwet 1986), and not so much on nouns. The notions of colexification (François 2008) and metonymy (Barcelona 2011) are central in my study. In the first part of this talk, I explore the semantic underpinnings of lexemes which colexify the senses 'sky' and 'cloud' in a set of 241 languages of Melanesia, both Papuan (136 languages) and Austronesian (105 languages). These results are contrasted with those obtained in a similar search in a set of 66 languages from Australia. Data from a total of 307 languages are used in this study. The analysis evinces three main points. First, the colexification of 'sky' and 'cloud' is more frequent in Papuan languages than in Austronesian languages of Melanesia. While a 25,7% of Papuan languages in my database have this colexification, only a 6,6% of Austronesian languages have it. The difference between them is statistically significant and is based on a weak association. These results can be interpreted as suggesting that the sky-cloud colexification may be characteristic of Papuan languages, providing a clue to the areal semantic makeup of these languages. Second, the sky-cloud colexification pattern is more frequent in Melanesia overall, with a 17,4% of languages in my database that have it, than in Australia, with only a 10,6% of languages that have it. The difference between them is not statistically significant in this case. Third, some languages that do not colexify 'sky' and 'cloud' colexify 'cloud' and 'fog'. For example, Reta (Timor-Alor-Pantar) has the word *burang* for 'sky', but the word *bano* colexifies the senses 'cloud' and 'fog' (Willemsen 2021). While the colexification of 'cloud' and 'sky' is motivated by dimension and shape (the sky is larger than clouds and they have different shapes), that of 'cloud' and 'fog' is motivated by texture (both are made of water droplets).

In the second part of this talk, I argue for the metonymic basis of the lexeme *nangə* 'sky, cloud' in Srenge (ISO: lsr). The metonymically-motivated semantic extension of the word *nangə* 'sky, cloud' is evinced in the examples below. In (1), *nangə* can only mean 'sky', since the moon is not only located on or over the cloud. In (2), *nangə* only means 'cloud', since it is the cloud specifically that becomes pretty, according to the speaker, and not the entire sky.

(1) Ainə   l-tɨkr   l-a   nangə wusur.
moon   3SG.N-shine   3SG.N-be.at sky   above
'The moon is shining in the sky.'

(2) O   tiri   nangə tondu   walai   yɨngə tu.
oh   see   cloud DEM.DIST   become   good   completely
'Look, that cloud has become pretty.'

The example in (3) offers a bridging context between the two senses of the word *nangə* 'sky, cloud'. There, what is black is the clouds and, by extension, the sky. Clouds are part of the sky, at least from a human perspective. I hypothesize that sentences such as (3) evince the ambiguous stage at which the word *nangə* may have started to colexify the senses 'cloud' and 'sky' by metonymically extending the denotation of the word from one sense to the other one.

(3) Nangə   ymbreti   nendi suku ma   l-ewi.
    sky/cloud black   for   water FUT 3SG.N-come.IRR
    'The dark clouds mean that the rain is going to come.'

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Sirenikski's place on the Eskaleut language family tree

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Sirenikski is a mysterious language within the Eskaleut language family: current consensus holds that it is a relic language representing a distinct branch on the tree. In this paper, I argue that Sirenikski is a divergent member of the Yupik language family, based on new analyses at multiple levels of grammar, and that its long history of intense language contact, particularly with the closely related Siberian Yupik and Inuit languages, has obscured its Yupik identity.

Sireniksi was first described in the 1890s, when it was already highly endangered, and the last speaker died just 100 years later. Excellent analyses of the language were made by linguists such as Menovshchikov (1964), Krauss (1985), Vakhtin and Golovko (1987), etc., who concluded that Sirenikski was a relic language, forming its own branch of Eskaleut. Arguments in support of this are based mainly on phonological and lexical features. For example, Sirenikski maintains the assumed Proto-Yupik/Inuit (=Proto-Eskimo, PE) intervocalic consonants lost in the other languages (1). Furthermore, some features of Sirenikski are shared only with Yupik, e.g. /#n/ $\rightarrow$ 0 (2), while others appear to be shared only with Inuit, e.g. the retention of a postconsonantal glide (3).

	PE	Sirenikski	Siberian Yupik	Alaskan Yupik	Inuit
(1)	*aðuɣ 'blood'	acəɣ	aakʷ	auk	auk
(2)	*niʁu 'leg'	iʁu	iʁu	iʁu	niu
(3)	*sipjaʁ 'hip'	sipĵaχ 'pelvis'	sipsaq	sipsaq	sipjaq

This determination was made before the publication of extensive comparative data (Fortescue et al., 1994, 2nd ed. 2010) and of the collected texts (Vakhtin 2000), and before important advances in historical linguistics, comparative syntax, language contact, and the archaeology and genetics of the Bering Strait region. Recent archaeological studies show that the florescence of the cultures ancestral to the Yupik and Inuit cultures occurred around 2000-800 BP, and that these cultures were in constant contact, with contemporaneous and overlapping territories (Mason 2016, Grebenyuk et al. 2022). Consequently, the linguistic splits occurred much later and were less distinctive than previously assumed (Berge 2018). More recently, Sirenikski had extensive contact with CSY, Chukchi, and Russian. Sirenikski, therefore, has never been isolated. Some Sirenikski features previously analyzed as evidence of PE relics, e.g. dual inflectional morphology in some parts of the verbal paradigm (Fortescue 2022), are in fact borrowed from CSY (Berge 2022).

While Sirenikski preserves some conservative features, it overwhelmingly resembles Yupik languages. For example, lexically, a comparison of Swadesh-list vocabulary between the languages shows a majority of Sirenikski words conforming to Yupik rather than Inuit phonological developments. The resemblance to Inuit *sipjaq* 'hip' (3) is deceptive: Inuit *sipjaq* is from Seward Peninsula, an area at the crossroads of Yupik-Inuit contact. Other Inuit dialects have *sivviaq* 'hip,' with a glide but with additional

fricativization. Morphosyntactically, Sirenikski shares Yupik features, e.g. the intransitive participial mood forms (Sir *-ɬəʁəχ*, Yupik *-ɬʁia*, Inuit *-ju-/-tu-*); many shared features postdate the Yupik-Inuit split, e.g. the specifically Yupik connective mood (Sir *-ʁə-*, CSY *-aqŋa-*, CAY *–(ɣ)aqa-*) (Berge, forthcoming).

Sirenikski looks like a Yupik language that underwent multiple periods of extensive contacts over the past 2000 years.

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Expletiveness as a consequence of the head status of negation in the left periphery: the Italian negative system

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In this article I will focus on the system of Modern Italian negative structures showing that most of its negative system is a consequence of a crucial change that occurred in Archaic Latin: the Latin negative morpheme *nōn* ("not"), which initially displayed a maximal projection status (Gianollo, 2016-2017), became a syntactic (negative) head ('*Spec-to-head principle / Head Preference Principle*', cfr. van Gelderen, 2004). I will argue that such a change caused the shift from a double negation system (1a) to a negative concord one (1b), which affects the colloquial Latin and many Romance languages (Ledgeway, 2012).

(1) a. **nemo non** *videt* (Cic., Laelius de Amicitia 99.6. In Ernout & Thomas, 2001)
nobody not sees
'Everyone sees"

 b. *Iura* *te* **non** *nociturum* *esse* **homini** *(…)* **nemini…**
swear.Imp.2nd you.Cl not to.hurt.Fut. to.be human-being.Dat. nobody.Dat.
 'Swear that you won't harm anyone…' (Plauto, Miles Gloriosus, 1411. In Ernout & Thomas, 2001)

Moreover, I will also propose that the shifting in the syntactic nature of the morpheme *nōn*, which has been inherited by Italian as well as by many romance languages, also determines the availability of the expletive reading of negation (Bernini and Ramat, 1996). More specifically, I will suggest a new generalization: only languages (and structures) displaying a negative head can allow the expletive interpretation of negation. Consider, for example, Italian, English and French:

(2) a. Rimarrò alla festa finché non arriva Gianni
stay.1stSG.FUT to-the party until neg arrives John
'I will stay at the party until John arrives'
 b. I will stay at the party until John (*not) arrives
 c. Je ne nie pas [que je n' aie ètè bien reçu] (in Muller 1978)
I NEG deny NEG that I neg have been well receive
'I do not deny that I was received well.'

As is well known (Merchant 2001, Zeijlstra 2004), Italian *non* ("not") is the head of a NegP and it allows expletive negation. On the other hand, English *not* is a maximal projection and, therefore, it does not allow expletive negation. French displays both a negative head (*ne*) and a maximal projection (*pas*), both constituting a single instance of negation by being generated in the same NegP (Kayne 1989). Crucially, expletive negation in the subordinate clause '*je n'ai ètè bien reçu*' only displays the negative head *ne*, excluding the element with the maximal projection status *pas*. To take into consideration the differences between standard and expletive negation I assume a twofold derivation of negation: when the negative marker *not* is merged in the TP-domain, as it is generally assumed (Belletti 1990; Zanuttini 1997; Poletto 2008), it gives the standard negation reading; when it is merged in a higher position, i.e.

the CP-domain (*à la* Laka 1990), it gives the expletive negation reading since the v*P-phase has already been closed – (phases are underlined):

(5)   a. [CP ... [v*P [X° non] ...]
        b. [CP ... [X° non] ... [v*P ...]

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From relatives to quantifiers. The case of *qualque* in Catalan

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Clauses with indefinite relatives are one of the usual sources in the formation of nominal quantifiers (Haspelmath 1997), and the creation of quantifiers from relatives presents, in different cases, a cyclic or spiral character (Lehmann 1995). This is what we find, for example, in the formation of the Catalan quantifiers *qualque* (or its Occitan and French parallels) and *qualsevol* (or its Spanish and Portuguese parallels). The former follow the pattern of Latin quantifiers of the QUISQUE type and were formed from an indefinite relative with the subordinate *que* (Ernout and Meillet 1932: 555). The latter, in turn, follow the pattern of Latin quantifiers of the QUIVIS type, which contain an indefinite relative with the verb *voler* ('to want').

In this work, we will focus on the formation of quantifiers of either type and on the subsequent evolution of the *qualque* type quantifier in Catalan, which was frequent in Old Catalan but has gradually lost its vitality and has been reduced to two dialects: the Northern Catalan and the Balearic. Regarding the origin of this quantifier, we will give an account of the process of grammaticalization (Traugott and Dasher 2002) experienced by indefinite relatives of the type *qual (N) que...* 'any (N) that...' which explains the formation of *qualque*. In this grammaticalization process, we will distinguish three evolutive stages: in a first stage we have *qual loch que sia* (lit. 'which place that is') (or *de qualque loch sia*, lit. 'from which-that place is'); in a second stage, there is *qualque loch que sia* (lit. 'which-that place that is'); and, in the third and final stage, *qualque loch* (lit. 'any place').

With regard to the second topic, we will start from the distribution within Romania of the quantifiers of the type *qualque* and *qualsevol* and the fact that Catalan, located in a lateral area of Gallo-Romania, presents the characteristic quantifier of this area (*qualque*), but also that of Ibero-Romania (*qualsevol*). The competition of the two quantifiers and the reorientation of Catalan towards Ibero-Romania from the 15th century onwards caused the progressive loss of vitality of *qualque* and its maintenance in the dialect closest to Occitan (the northern one) and in one of the most conservative dialects (the Balearic) (Veny and Massanell 2015).

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A new proposal to approach the study of
border sociolinguistic profiles in Artigas (Uruguay)

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Is the linguistic behaviour of speakers within a language speaking community defined by their origin, i.e. their linguistic education or their mother tongue, or is it mainly determined by the (un)conscious choices that speakers make during the act of interaction with other speakers? Is it both of them? Kabatek (2017) raises these questions and makes a distinction between speakers' "stemming" (= "origin") and "heading" (= "current objectives"), claiming that the speaker's intention when interacting may not be disregarded. We generally rely on macro-social categories when studying the linguistic production of speakers, like class, gender, ethnicity, but sometimes these categories are (just) the tip of the iceberg when it comes to understanding the linguistic behaviour speakers exhibit (cf. Eckert 2016: 70-71). By not only focussing on the classical categories above mentioned, it is possible to obtain a clearer picture of the choice speakers make, especially in language contact situations like the case of the border between Uruguay and Brazil. Therefore, the aim is to present a new method that makes it possible to contrast whether origins or interactions are more relevant for understanding the speaker's behaviour of a rural and urban part of the northern department of Uruguay, Artigas.

The border area at issue is characterized by a diglossic situation where Spanish, among other functions, constitutes the language of the educational system, while the northern varieties of Portuguese are typically spoken in situations of communicative immediacy (cf. Koch / Oesterreicher 2007), i.e. mainly between family members and friends. The method proposed here relies on a model in the form of a genealogical tree that considers the paternal and maternal origins of the members of the Artigas corpus (collected during the months of November and December 2021 and composed of thirty speakers), as well as their descendants and their relationship with other interlocutors is proposed. Therefore, the mother tongue of each of the subjects is considered, as well as the language they use when interacting with each of their relatives. The qualitative analysis of each of the subjects offers the possibility to create groups of "types of speakers" with the aim of using each of these groups as a social variable. In short, it is a methodological proposal that arises from the need to establish variables that are more adapted to those of a specific speech community.

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The Strategic Use of Questions in American Presidential Campaign Discourse

This paper analyses the strategic use of questions in American political discourse, focusing in particular on U.S. presidential campaign speeches.

Based on a corpus of speeches from the 2020 presidential election campaigns of Joe Biden and Donald Trump, the paper aims at 1) establishing a typology of presidential campaign questions (based on Ilie 2025) and 2) identifying the discursive functions associated with the different types of questions fond in U.S. presidential campaign speeches.

The analysis starts from the assumption that questions in political discourse in general and in presidential campaign speeches in particular play a central role in creating dialogicity in an otherwise monologic type of discourse and heightening the ideological tension existing between the speaker's positions and those of the opposition (Bakhtin 1981). We expect questions to pursue affirmative strategies similar to those of quotations and other types of allusions, but also expect questions, especially "response eliciting questions" (Ilie 2015), to play a significant subversive and agitative role and hence a have a clear argumentative function.

The analysis is informed by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and its interest in the construction of identities and the establishment of political power relationships (see, for example, Fairclough 1992; van Dijk 2008). The study also relies on Corpus Linguistics (CL) and is both corpus-based and corpus-driven, combining quantitative and qualitative forms of computer-assisted analysis aimed at identifying of specific types of questions and their quantitative distribution throughout the corpora with the close reading of selected campaign speeches (see Baker et al. 2008).

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What grammatical doubts can tell us about the relationship between overabundance and defectivity

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Research on grammatical doubts (in German) until now has only focused on cases of overabundance causing supra-individual uncertainties within a language community as to which form is correct or appropriate in a given situation and should be used (cf. the definition by Klein 2003, but also e.g. Schmitt, Szczepaniak and Vieregge 2019). However, gaps (defectiveness, ineffability etc.) can lead to doubts as well (cf. Strobel 2023). While multiple competing forms or structures mostly can be explained by language change in progress and/or language (variety) contact (examples from contemporary German are nominal plural formation and gender assignment, the genitive singular allomorphy of strong masculine/neuter nouns, the inflectional variation of weak masculine nouns, strong/weak verb forms, perfect auxiliary selection, linking elements in compounds, pseudo-partitive constructions, prepositional case government etc.), defectivity is more difficult to explain. This concerns, for instance, gaps in the inflectional paradigms of adjectives (cf. Swedish adjectives such as *lat* 'lazy', *rädd* 'afraid', *rigid* 'rigid', which lack neuter singular forms) or with respect to the attributive or predicative use of certain adjectives (adcopulas such as Dutch *stuk* 'broken' and non-predicative adjectives such as *huidig* 'today's/present'). Furthermore, some phenomena/domains exhibit both overabundance and defectivity. For example, when it comes to the separability and inflection of certain German and Dutch complex verbs, we find (partial) doublet forms (e.g. German *schlussfolgern* 'conclude') as well as incomplete paradigms (finite forms in V2/V1 contexts and sometimes even non-finite forms are avoided or blocked for a long list of verbs such as German *bergsteigen* 'mountaineer' and Dutch *schoonschrijven* 'write neatly').

Taking a cross-linguistic typology of grammatical instabilities and their explanations as a starting point – based on the largest collections of cases of doubt (e.g. by the Duden Editorial Office, *Taaladvies.net*, *Språkriktighetsboken* etc.) –, the talk will discuss several uncertainties caused by overabundance (multiple forms) or defectivity (no forms) from different Germanic languages (German, Dutch, Swedish) and will thereby make an important contribution to the goal of finding out more about the relationship between these two phenomena. The characteristics and various types of overabundance (along the lines of, i.a., Thornton 2019) and of defectiveness (cf. Sims 2015 as well as, recently, Nikolaev and Bermel 2022 with reference to uncertainty) will be examined more closely, providing contrastive evidence from further languages than the ones hitherto mainly focused on (Romance, Slavonic, Finno-Ugric etc.), in order to explore the similarities and differences of these two instances of a form-function mismatch, especially with respect to the question of how they are treated by language users. It will be debated, for example, whether speakers' doubts are only the consequence or also a cause of gaps. Uncertainty can be a feasible explanation for defectivity, whenever there are multiple possible (but not necessarily attested) competing forms (i.e. overabundance of – potential – forms), creating clashes and leading to paradigmatic gaps (cf. e.g. Hudson 2000). On the other hand, overabundance can be a

result of defectivity, when a gap is filled with an expected, synonymous, periphrastic, or novel word form by language users, as a consequence of (collective) uncertainty (for the competition between these routes and the associated inhibition effects, see Nikolaev and Bermel 2022).

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Rapid linguistic change in Tundra Yukaghir and language contact

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Keywords: Yukaghiric, Tundra Yukaghir, language change, language contact, language death

The paper deals with the recent changes that have taken place in Tundra Yukaghir (TY), a Yukaghiric language spoken in the Lower Kolyma tundra in north-eastern Siberia, interpreting them against their historical and sociolinguistic settings. A comparison between the earlier recordings of TY as spoken by people born between the 1880s and the 1920s (e.g., Krejnovich 1958; Kurilov 2005) and our fielddata, which mostly reflect the language of the speakers born after 1940, reveals that TY has undergone a number of important transformations in the course of only three generations. These historical processes can be observed at all linguistic levels (see Kurilova 2020 & 2022 on lexicon and phonology). We only concentrate on morphosyntax, since this topic has never been studied before.

We demonstrate that some of the changes involve the loss of linguistic structures. For instance, the reflexivisation strategy of cliticising personal pronouns to the verb has all but disappeared in modern TY; it has been replaced by a specialised reflexive item *kedel*, originally meaning 'body'. In other cases, new categories have developed, such as e.g. the converb of the generic verb of saying grammaticalised as a multi-purpose grammatical item, whose most frequent use is to introduce finite complement and adjunct clauses. A number of new modal and evaluative categories, not attested in either earlier TY or related linguistic varieties, have also emerged. The third type of change has to do with altering the conditions of the use of existent structures. For instance, the grammar of TY appears to have undergone an important transformation as far as differential argument marking is concerned. In particular, the grammatical cases indicating core arguments, the accusative and predicative, have two morphological realizations each (*-γənə* vs. *-lə* and *-lə* vs. *-k*, respectively). The conditions on the choice of one of the two variants, which were based on the structural properties of the respective NP in earlier TY , have changed towards a more semantically based sets of rules.

We propose that this rapid linguistic change in TY has to do with the situation of extreme language contact in which TY has been since the 1940s, mostly with Russian and Yakut, as well as with the resulting incipient language death. Some of the changes in the TY grammar are clear instances of structure copying from Yakut and Russian, while others indicate the gradual loss of full proficiency of the remaining TY speakers. We will investigate the sources of each of the changes and discuss the ramifications of our findings for the theory of language contact, focussing on the analysis of the ways speakers adapt their grammars to intense linguistic pressure.

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Onomatopoeia and sound symbolism in Abui

This paper discusses onomatopoeia and sound symbolism in Abui (Papuan, Timor-Alor-Pantar family), examining the degree of interconnectedness of both. Abui onomatopoeia is restricted to representing human speech, animal vocalisation, and sounds made by human and animal bodies. Much rarer are onomatopoeic expressions for natural sounds, although various sounds of water, for example, are attested.

The sound symbolic system on the other hand, is relevant in several domains of the Abui grammar and lexicon. Firstly, various onomatopoeic or sound-symbolic expressions serve as a derivation base for predicates describing more abstract concepts, typically emotional states or processes. An example is the verb *hedik-dikda*, derived from the sound-symbolic root *dik-dik*, which refers to a jerking motion of one's head or forehead and describes an emotional state i through the bodily appraisal (here headache, i.e. worries or stress).

(1)   *ne-pikaai   he-dik-dik-da*
        1SG.AL-head 3.LOC-jerk-INCP
        'I have got headache/worries/stress from it, lit. my head is jerking (*dik-dik* is the imagined accompanying jerking felt in the forehead)'

When we change the root *dik-dik* in (1) into *leek-leek*, the construction will mean 'dizzy, head spinning, fainting'. The appraisal of fear is shallow breath and increased heartbeat, rendered as *ading-ading* in (2), illustrating a widespread pattern.

(2)   *ha-rai hiyeng   ading-adin-ra*
        3.AL-chest   palpitate-INCP
        'I am scared, lit. my chest is pounding *ading-ading*'

Instances of phonetic iconicity can be found in the aspectual system where the coda of perfective verb stems correlates with the mouth constriction (high vowels, labials and alveolars) while the imperfective stem codas correlate with an open mouth (open vowels, velars) (citation omitted) and generally in verb root formation, where certain verbs join derivational networks distinguished by vowel grading and consonant changes (citation omitted).

Abui possesses root clusters distinguished by small segmental changes, such as the Abui morph *tu-* common to the below stems:

(3)   Abui verb stems sharing the morph *tu-*
        tu-ng   'perforate, pierce'
        tun-r-   'make a hole, inject'
        tu-l   'stick out, give out'
        tu-k   'stick out, measure'
        tuk-u   'cut off'
        tuko-ng   'cut at something'
        tukola   'a hole'
        tukol-r-   'make a hole'
        tukola-d-   'leak, have a hole'

These groups resemble what is called sign-families in sign languages, or the well-known

instances of structural analogies (Bolinger 1950), such as the English *gl-* verbs, *-ash* verbs, or *-ag* verbs, or the Austronesian roots (Blust 1988), known in the general theory as (paradigmatic) resonance (Hockett 1987; Bickel 1995; and Bickel & Nichols 2007).

In our paper we will outline the details of the three systems described above (ideophones, aspect, and root families), and examine the question whether they do form an interconnected system or segmented local systems with their own arbitrary make-up, addressing the ongoing debate about the status of ideophones in grammar (cf. Dingemanse et al. 2016) and the sound-symbolic relationships encapsulated in Abui onomatopoeia and ideophones, which do point to an auditory reality behind the sound-symbolic association (cf. Assaneo et al. 2011; Lemaitre et al. 2016; Sidhu and Pexman 2018).

(488 words)

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