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## The more specific, the less evidential? On sense-related adverbs in English and their treatment in a database of 'Evidential markers in European Languages'.

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Compared to the vast literature on epistemic modality in English, research on potential evidential markers has been scarce, the focus being mainly on adverbs that interface with epistemic modality, such as *apparently*, *evidently*, *obviously*, *clearly* (cf. Simon-Vandenberg & Aijmer 2007) or on verbs of appearance (cf. Gisborne & Holmes 2007, Aijmer 2009). As to the 'evidential' adverbs mentioned, they all have vision as their home domain, but, as historical evidence clearly shows, the reference to vision has been bleached out, though to different degrees. Of the five perceptual senses (seeing, hearing, touching, tasting, smelling), the auditory and the tactile senses are not so readily used as lexical evidential in English, and the gustatory and olfactory senses are not tapped at all (in accord to what is the case in most languages). Thus, the class of English de-adjectival adverbs referring to the respective senses (*audibly*, *tangibly*, *palpably*, *gustatorily*, *olfactorily*, but, interestingly, also *visibly*) are generally *not* used as evidentials. As evidence obtained from large corpora (BNC, COCA) reveals, these adverbs are comparatively infrequent or even non-attested, and if used at all, only so as manner or degree adverbs, mostly adjacent to verbs that likewise relate to the sense in question (*sigh*, *sniff*, *mumble*, *breathe audibly*, for instance). Though very occasional functional extensions into the domain of evidentiality can be observed in large corpora and especially on the Web, a bleaching of their specific perceptual reference does not obtain; correspondingly, in their syntax, a position at the periphery of clauses is not found, and they are only occasionally used parenthetically in medial position with a concomitant widening of scope. A general widening of scope, which is observable for prototypical evidential adverbs, does also not obtain. Thus, in general, there are no signs for evidential lexicalization (in the sense of Wiemer 2008, to appear).

From a cognitive semantics point of view (cf. Talmy, n.d.), a first descriptive generalization is predictable: it is indeed not coincidental that there is little overlap between inferential evidentiality and other sensory modalities apart from vision—human beings are, at least in western cultures, first and foremost visual beings.

What is more intriguing, though, and meriting closer inspection, is the finding that sense-denoting expressions obviously reject their potential functionalization as evidential markers. This is line with a general observation that also pertains to hearsay markers (see Author/Co-Author, to appear): the more specific the values for the relevant parameters of evidentiality in the envisaged database are (like source, mode and evidence in the immediate context), the less likely is the tendency for lexical items to become re-categorized as 'true' evidential markers (in contradistinction to very 'unspecific' prototypical markers such as *seem* or *it is said*). The paper will discuss the consequences that such observations may have for the compilation of a comprehensive database of evidential markers in European languages.

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### English Quotatives and/or vs. Reportatives in the Euro-Evid Database?

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Elaborating on and exemplifying the suggestions on criteria to delineate evidentiality and its subfunctions forwarded in Co-author & Author (to appear), this paper is meant to probe into a set of linguistic representations from report(at)ive evidentiality. The test cases, quotative *be like*, *say* and reportative *is said to*, *it is said*, for different (structural and distributional) reasons, pose problems for the database: The canonical reporting verb *say*, though obligatorily specifying both the source and the mode of evidence (Squartini 2008) is probably excluded for want of lexicalization (Wiemer 2008), while *be like*, a newcomer to the quotative system in English largely sharing *say*'s semantics and discourse functions (cf. Author, forthcoming), would be included on just this criterion. *is said to* and *it is said*, in contrast, are seldom called into question as members of lexical evidentiality, though they regularly lack reference to a source of evidence (in the immediate context). While *say* and *be like* are found to owe their (potential) evidential function to an argumentative context, not necessarily within a proposition of clausal scope (see Author, forthcoming), *it is said* is predominantly used parenthetically with a concomitant widening of scope, and *is said to* is syntactically integrated, disallowing a position at the periphery of clauses.

From this perspective, it remains to be determined whether the functionality of a conceptual domain should be constrained by criteria like lexicalization or by a specific reading of ‘propositional scope.’

The paper’s focus will thus be on the treatment of report(at)ives and quotatives in the database, with special reference to evidential subfunction layer 2rep and potential further differentiations in layer 3: While the structure of the database prescribes inclusion by a candidate’s default meaning (layer 1), the associated components activated in specific contexts count only as secondary criteria for category membership. A current study by Author (*on be like*) provides ample evidence that to ignore the context will result in a skewed account for candidate members of evidentiality, since the discourse context may well provide a criterial parameter for inclusion in the category: Quotatives, specifying both the source and the mode of evidence called on for whether speakers present a quote as the legitimate source of evidence for their assertion in a specific discourse context, would then also meet Wiemer’s (2008) ‘justification’ requirement. This paper, then, will, on the basis of corpus data, submit an initial suggestion as to how and where such contextual effects may be treated in the database.

As a first result, a general tendency appears to be feasible: The more specific the values for relevant parameters of evidentiality in the items analyzed are (indicating both source and mode of evidence) and the more systematically the evidence surfaces in the immediate context, the less likely a lexical marker will be included as a member of evidentiality as proposed in the framework of Euro-Evid. Whether or not this is a desirable, or the desired, consequence may be subject to discussion at the conference.

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## Non-canonical case marking in diachrony and the role of voice: evidence from Greek.

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The aim of this paper is to examine the role that voice plays in non-canonical case marking in a diachronic perspective. Non-canonically case marked subjects have been assumed to be the result of a development from syntactic objects to subjects (Hewson and Bubenik 2006), or to be syntactic subjects already in Proto-Indo-European (Eythórsson and Barðdal 2005; Barðdal and Eythórsson 2009). Diachronic data from the Greek language show a link between the development of voice and some tendencies in subject marking. Of special interest is the frequent marking of subjects of finite verbs with accusative case in papyri of the Byzantine period (Kapsomenakis 1938).

- (1) ala ke tus Persus ilthen  
 but and the.ACC Persians.ACC come.ACT.PAST.PERFVE.3SG  
 ‘but also the Persians came’ (Russ-Georg IV Anhang S.100 (619/29p), 3-4)

In most of these cases, the specific verbs bear medio-passive voice morphology. The paper will explore the relationship of this tendency in subject marking with other changes in (non-)active voice and transitivity.

- (2) esfrajsthi tinkelan aftu  
 seal.NACT.PAST.PERFVE.3SG the.ACC cell.ACC he.GEN  
 ‘his cell was sealed’ (Oxy VII 1067, 12/3)

Indicative of the instability of the period is also the presence of the opposite phenomenon, in other words the use of nominative instead of accusative case for the objects of finite verbs. Also in this instance, examples of verbs with non-active voice morphology are very frequent:

- (3) ke pros sin asfalian pepiime i apoxi  
 and to your safety do.NACT.PERF.1SG the.NOM abstinence.NOM  
 ‘and I did the abstinence for your safety’ (PKF 309, 2 (VIp))

The above phenomena are connected to more general changes in the system of voice morphology, and mainly to the change of absorption of the accusative case by the non-active voice: in Ancient but not in Medieval Greek, the structure non-active type + NP-in accusative was grammatical. The differences in voice morphology between these two periods can be summarised as follows: (a) in Ancient Greek: (i) the structure non-active type + NP-in accusative as direct object is

grammatical, (ii) presence of active passives and non-active anticausatives is in evidence; (b) from the Byzantine period: (i) the structure non-active + NP-in accusative as direct object is not productive (the non-active blocks/absorbs the accusative case), (ii) the presence of non-active passives and active anticausatives is very systematic (Lavidas 2006). On the other hand, these tendencies are also connected with the loss of the infinitives which take subjects in accusative case (for the cross-linguistic evolution of case systems, cf. Kulikov 2006, 2009). Finally, we argue that linked to this phenomenon is (a) the homonymy of the nominative and accusative endings for the nouns of the first declension and the impossibility of distinguishing between these two cases; and (b) the re-organisation of the tense-aspect system during that period.

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### Causation and Transitivity in East Slavic Impersonals.

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**Background.** The functional head *v* is assumed in recent generative syntax to exhibit both an argument-projecting property (the licensing of canonical subjects) and a transitivity property (the licensing of accusative). The virtue of this analysis is that it provides a phrase-structural implementation of Burzio's Generalization, which seeks to unify these two properties. However, it has been suggested widely in recent work that the argument-projecting property of *v* is potentially distinct from *v*'s function as an accusative case assigner (Bowers 2002; Pykkänen 2008, a.o.). The most straightforward way to distinguish these functions of *v* is to consider predicates in which *v*, if present, is not argument-projecting, as in the case of the Transitive Impersonal construction in Ukrainian (non-agreeing, passive in form). Unaccusative Transitive Impersonals, such as those in (1-2), freely allow accusative to occur, so long as the predicate is dyadic and the non-Theme argument asserts causation (a causative sub-event). Crucially, accusative in such constructions is ungrammatical in the case of Experiencer predicates, which are also dyadic unaccusatives, but stative, rather than eventive (3-4). I will show that accusative is consistent only with the eventive interpretation. I argue that the eventuality denoted by the verb, and more specifically, how the property of causation is syntactically packaged, directly reflects the predicate's internal case possibilities.

**Proposal.** Experiencer impersonals project only a state—the eventive extended projection (*v*) is not constructed. In the terms developed here, the non-Experiencer argument, as a Theme, fails to identify a causative sub-event (i.e., initiate causation when put in motion)—it is "inert" with respect to event structure (Ramchand 2008). On the analysis of Pykkänen 2008, *v* comes in an argument-projecting variety with causative semantics (*v*-VOICE + *v*-CAUSE) and in a non-argument projecting variety with only the latter property (*v*-CAUSE). In the case of Transitive Impersonals, *v*-CAUSE enters the syntax "unbundled" with VOICE via identification with an internal argument with causative semantics (the instrumental NP in (1a, 2a). That is, *v*-CAUSE enters the syntax (with the accusative-case-assigning property) when identified by an internal argument that asserts a causing event, in the same way that other object DPs, perfective prefixes, and verbal particles identify a telic event (also with well known morphosyntactic consequences, particularly with respect to case) (see, a.o., Borer 2005). The fact that stative predicates in the Transitive Impersonal construction are infelicitous is further demonstrated by the examples in (5), where nominative is strongly preferred. Accusative is ruled out in (5a) because there is no person or cause (even abstract and covert) that can concentrate the meaning of a word into its root (see the sentence gloss).

The same distribution with respect to case and event-semantics is found in an analogous *non-cognate* construction in Russian, in (6). Note further that the diachronic source for the Ukrainian construction, the Polish *-no/-to* passive, is Voice-bundling, in contrast with the Ukrainian structure—that is, the Polish expression contains a causative *v* that requires an agentive, sentient participant, though silent, giving rise to ungrammatical (7b). This micro-variation between closely-related languages provides strong evidence for the idea that differences in the syntactic expression of causation are directly related to the expression of transitivity and associated case possibilities, suggesting an augmented role for internal arguments in identifying the functional projections necessary to construct events.

#### Ukrainian Transitive Impersonals: "Causative Unaccusatives"

- (1) a. Dim            bulo spaleno            blyskavkoju.            [dyadic]  
          house:ACC was            burned-down:[-AGR]            lightning:INST  
          'The house was burned down by a strike of lightning.'

- b. \* Dim zhoreno. [monadic]  
house:ACC burned-down:[-AGR]  
[Intended: 'The house burned down.']
- (2) a. Kulju rozirvano cvjaxom. [dyadic]  
balloon:ACC pierced:[-AGR] nail:INST  
'The balloon was pierced by a nail.'
- b. \* Kulju trisnuto. [monadic]  
balloon:ACC burst:[-AGR]  
[Intended: 'The balloon burst.']

Ukrainian Experiencer Impersonals: "Stative Unaccusatives"

- (3) \*Ivana bulo zdyyovano ihraškoju. [stative]  
Ivan:ACC was surprised:[-AGR] toy:INST  
[Intended: 'Ivan was surprised at the toy.']
- (4) \*Ivana bulo vtišeno novynoju. [stative]  
Ivan:ACC was consoled:[-AGR] news:INST  
[Intended: 'Ivan was consoled at/by the news.']

Ukrainian Stative Impersonals:

- (5) a. ???Osnovne značennja slova zoseredženo v koreni.  
basic meaning:ACC of-word concentrated:[-AGR] in root
- b. Osnovne značennja slova zoseredžene v koreni.  
basic meaning:NOM.N.SG of-word concentrated:N.SG in root  
'The basic meaning of the word is concentrated in its root.' [Shevelov 1963: 142]

**Russian Transitive Impersonal: "Causative Unaccusative"**

- (6) Šarik protknulo bulavkoj. [cf. (2a)]  
ballon:ACC pierced:[-AGR] pin:INST  
'The balloon was pierced by a pin.'

Polish -no/-to Passive [+Agentive, +Sentient]

- (7) a. Wzięto żołnierzy do wojska.  
taken:[-TO] soldiers:ACC to army  
'They drafted soldiers into the army.'
- b. \*Spalono książkę słońcem. [cf. (1a)]  
burned:[-NO] book:ACC sun:INST  
[Intended: 'The book was warped by the sun.']

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**The Evidentiality Marker *de(i)* in the History of Russian.**

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The evidentiality marker *de(i)* arose in the Old Russian written in the chancelleries on the territory of Moscovy at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> ct. It had explicitly regional character as in the northern and in the western parts of Rus' these markers were not used. It is noticeable that *de(i)* regularly appeared in particular business genres which tended to transfer spoken words into their written forms, namely: court reportings (*sudnye gramoty*), questioning reportings (*skazki*), business letters (mostly *gramoty* or *gramotki*), and petitions (*čelobitnye*). It was used in two variants - *de* and *dei-*, the application of which might have depended on the writer's preference.

Due to its etymological origin from the verb *dějati*, which developed its meaning "to speak" simultaneously with the common ie. "to do, to act" only in some Slavic languages, *de(i)* (3<sup>rd</sup> P. Present of *dějati*) seems to have been borrowed by the Old Russian during the 2<sup>nd</sup> Church Slavonic influence. This hypothesis explains the absence of *de(i)* e.g. in the Novgorodian written tradition.

The fact of its usage only in particular genres predefined the lexical and syntactic context of the marker. Indirect speech was often introduced by *verbi dicendi* or *verbi sentiendi* combined with the conjunction *čto* (*that/which*), and in

embedded contribution occurred to be refocused through transferring direct speech into reported one. In 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> ct. the marker *de(i)* was mostly used to highlight reported speech in the midst of a matrix construction and possessed only an evidential function, since in those written in minuscule texts (*skoropis'*) the limits of words and punctuation were rarely set if at all.

*De(i)* was the most frequent marker of reported speech, which was actively used during the whole period (15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> ct.) in the Old Russian and was spread in the whole area of its use. On the one hand it developed evidential connotations (first of all the reduced reliance) known in the modern Russian, which were not regular, though. The contrasting contexts show the opposition of null manifestation of the marker by quoting the documents and the usage of *de(i)* by quoting the utterances. The other reason for omitting *de(i)* was the need to stress the contrast between utterances of a master and the ones of his servant. On the other hand there could be traced a differentiation between the more prestigious form *jakoby* versus the neutral *de(i)*, which probably goes back to the genesis of *jakoby* as a form borrowed from the Russian Church Slavonic (cf. Molotkov 1962, 188-190)), which was actively used in the clerical texts while in the Codex Supraslensis only several examples of *de(i)* are found.

Towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> ct. the tendency to omit evidentiality markers settled. The tendency seemed to have been predetermined by the smooth transition to another writing praxis in *graždanica* (civil alphabet), which introduced the rules of constituency of a text and its interpunctoric marking. As a result, the lexical markers highlighting reported speech were not actual any more. This process activated the usage of relative clauses and thus supported the hypotaxis tendency, which had expanded by that time owing to borrowings from French. The use of the evidential markers in written texts is therefore connected with their conceptual informality.

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## How to determine the borders of inferential zone (based on Russian data).

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The inferential zone of evidentiality is the most difficult to distinguish from the other ones. This is very relevant for the database on evidential markers in European languages: full description of inferential markers in a given language is a separate problem. This difficulty of analysis results from the fact that the inferential meaning (the speaker draws a conclusion from some perceptual or non-perceptual evidence) is very probable to be expressed together with the epistemic meaning. This functional proximity let Plungjan (2001) say that inferential markers almost always comprise an epistemic component.

In my talk, I will try to determine the borders of inferential zone for Russian, based on some Russian lexical units, to show whether they can be included into the database and whether they contain a conventionalized epistemic component:

1. *vidimo* 'apparently, evidently' and *vidno* 'seemingly'. *Vidno* is obviously an evidential unit, because it is used in contexts like (1):

(1) *Jego vskore uvoli-l-i. Vidno, on mnogix kritikova-l.*  
 he.ACC soon discharged-PST-PL seemingly he.NOM many.ACC.PL criticize-PST.M  
 'He was soon discharged. It seems [INFERENTIAL] that he criticized a lot of people [and this was the reason he was discharged]'

Therefore, *vidno* should be considered as an evidential unit with a conventionalized epistemic component.

The case with *vidimo* is more difficult. It can express the epistemic meaning in contexts like (2):

(2) *Zavtra ja, vidimo, prid-u domoj pozdno*  
tomorrow.I.NOM apparently come-1SG.PRS home late  
'It seems that tomorrow I will come home late.'

However, it is possible that this meaning can also be regarded as inferential. The speaker not only says that the given event ('coming home late') is probable; he must have an evidence to draw a conclusion. On the other hand, following this logic, any unit with a conventionalized epistemic component of high probability can be regarded as evidential: the speaker must have some reason to say that the probability of an event is high.

2. *kaže-t-sja* 'it seems' [\$seem\$-3SG.PRS-REFL]. The unit has an apparently inferential use, for instance:

(3) *Kažetsja, Vasj-a upa-l.*  
it.seem Vasja-NOM fall-PST.M  
'It seems that Vasja fell.'

There exists another use where *kažetsja* denotes that the speaker cannot remember something: *On, kažetsja, rabotal na zavode* 'It seems to me / As I remember, he worked in a factory'. We could in principle regard this use as non-evidential. However, it is more plausible to regard it as inferential-modal (inferential with a conventionalized epistemic component): *kažetsja* is not used in purely modal contexts as (2). As a result, the following scheme emerges:

- (1) purely inferential *kažetsja*, as in (3);
- (2) inferential-modal *kažetsja* which includes two components: (a) rather high degree of probability ('it is probable that he worked in a factory'); (b) non-standard piece of non-perceptual evidence (speaker's memory).

I will show that the solution can be to postulate several subtypes of inferential, in addition to the perceptual vs. non-perceptual classification contained in the database.

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### Modelling the Outcome of Language Contact in the Speech of Bilingual Children and Adults in Monolingual and Bilingual Environments.

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Variables conditioning the outcome of language contact are numerous, and must be divided in internal and external ones. Internal variables (markedness, frequency, complexity, feature economy, uniformity or lack of variation) emerge more clearly in early childhood, whereas later on external variables (age, school, family language, language of the peer-group, prestige, sex, etc.) take the lead. The weight of various variables is determined both in family bilingualism in a widely monolingual community (children growing up bilingual in Hamburg) and in family monolingualism and bilingualism in a widely bilingual community (children and adults living in Barcelona). From the external variables, school seems to be relevant in childhood, too, as those children who attend a bilingual school develop a better command of the non-dominant language.

Our study focuses on phono-prosodic aspects of bilingualism and includes two approaches: internal linguistic and sociolinguistic. It comprises three parts. First, through spontaneous data we analyze and try to model the contact-language situation of young bilingual children within family bilingualism and societal monolingualism (Spanish from the mother and German from the father as well as from the broad German-speaking community in Hamburg). Such cases of individual bilingualism at a very early age only receive the impact of internal variables, which can be weighted to one another. In fact, such a situation is an ideal one to establish a hierarchy of internal variables, among which we have found the following ordering from those having more to less impact: frequency > complexity > uniformity > feature economy > markedness. The resulting picture is converging results between the two languages in several areas, especially in prosody (rhythm and intonation), and uniform production of morphemes at the segmental level (avoidance of spirantization and of nasal assimilation in Spanish, avoidance of final devoicing in German).

Second, through the elicitation of target words we analyze the speech of bilingual children in a bilingual society (with Catalan and Spanish in Barcelona, in families that are dominant Catalan or dominant Spanish). Here, too, mainly internal factors are relevant. Although we could not check all internal variables, it seems that frequency is also the most powerful one and that markedness does not have much strength. Again, school and the concomitant peer-group seem to play an important role, as it has more predictive power than the language spoken at home.

Third, through further elicitation tasks we analyze the speech of Catalan-Spanish adults from Barcelona between 32 and 40 years of age, who started having Catalan lessons at some point in primary school, and from a group of youngsters, aged between 19 and 23, who have had all their schooling in Catalan. The focus is on sounds that belong to the Catalan sound system, but are absent from the Spanish sound system. Results show that age and school are among the most predictive variables. For the younger group, school is also related to the peer-group and the district where they live, which are strongly predictive variables.

### The Semantics and Distribution of Reflexive Verbs in Latvian.

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Investigation of Latvian reflexive verbs (e.g., *mazgāties* 'to wash [oneself]', *celties* 'to get [oneself] up', *ģērbties* 'to dress [oneself]) proves that they function as a heterogeneous semantically and grammatically unclear group in Latvian. Reflexive verbs are considered as a part of the active voice in Modern Latvian.

Historically, reflexive verbs are the part of **active voice** – **middle voice** opposition. Transition from **active** – **middle voice** paradigm to **active** – **passive voice** paradigm and the development of special passive voice forms in Latvian (*auxiliary verb* *tikt* + *past passive participle*, e.g., *nams tiek celts* 'the house is being built') have caused the change of the semantic and grammatical status of reflexive verbs. These verbs via grammaticalization and lexicalization have developed the meanings of both active and passive voice. At the same time, a significant part of reflexive verbs have still kept the old middle voice meanings (in details see Geniušienē 1983; Holvoet 2001).

In terms of semantic roles, the scope covered by reflexive verbs can be characterized as follows (Plungian 2000):

**reflexive** → **reciprocal** → **medio-passive** → **passive**

The so-called prototypical reflexive, where the agent and the patient of the action are coreferential (Wierzbicka 1996; Enger & Nessel 1999), has developed into reciprocal, where doubling of semantic roles has taken place – two or more participants are agents and patients at the same time. The next step is medio-passive, where one of the participants – the agent – is eliminated from the situation and there is only one participant in the speaker's field of vision. Passive meaning is the most recent – it is concentrated rather on the final state or the result of the action than the dynamic process itself. In fact, we can observe some kind of blending of semantic roles on each step (except passive).

The semantic changes are illustrated also by changes in distribution of reflexive verbs. The agent gradually loses its outstanding position of syntactic subject, instead, the position of subject is occupied by the patient.

- Reflexives with patient as object:  
syntactic subject = agent [+anim]  
*Viņš mazgājas* 'He washes himself'
- Reflexives with recipient as object: (transitive)  
syntactic subject = agent [+anim]  
syntactic object = patient [-anim]  
*Viņš apāvēs zābakus* 'He put on his boots'
- Reciprocals:  
syntactic subject (plural) = agents [+anim]  
*Viņi sarunājas* 'They are talking to each other'
- Medio-passives:  
1) syntactic subject = patient [-anim]  
*Durvis atvērās* 'The door opened'
- 2) syntactic subject = experiencer [+anim]  
*Es saaukstējos* 'I caught a cold'

If the process is felt by a person, a dative experiencer is common. The subject is either the patient or there is no grammatical subject at all:

*Man veicas darbs* 'I succeed in my job'

The dative experiencer stresses the uncontrolled nature of the process. The model with dative experiencer can even be extended to situations with an animate agent. The role of grammatical subject is fulfilled by patient:

*Man apēdās visi cepumi* 'I accidentally ate all the cookies'

- Passives  
Syntactic subject = patient [-anim]  
*Paraugi nepārdodas* ‘Samples are not being sold’

The borderline between these semantic groups is not clear-cut. The same process can be viewed or conceptualized as somebody’s action upon himself or as a process experienced by somebody: *sagatavoties* ‘to get ready’ – either ‘to get oneself to the state of readiness’ or ‘to reach the state of readiness’ (Plungian 2000).

Language material is taken from the Corpus of Latvian ([www.korpuss.lv](http://www.korpuss.lv)) and other sources (mass media texts, fiction etc.).

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### From clause to pragmatic marker: Developments in evidential complement constructions in Contemporary English.

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Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 895) define parentheticals like *I think, I believe, it seems* as “expressions which can be appended parenthetically to an anchor clause but which also have a non-parenthetical use in which they take a declarative content clause as complement” (for a wider definition of the term parenthetical, see Dehé and Kavalova 2007). In the parenthetical use of such constructions the matrix-subordinate relation is reversed, the parenthetical clause becomes syntactically more independent, is intonationally detached from its anchor or host clause, and shows greater positional mobility. Since they frequently express a comment, usually the speaker’s opinion on the truth-value of their anchor, parentheticals are also commonly known as ‘comment clauses’ (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1112-1118; Brinton 2008).

It is widely acknowledged that parenthetical clauses constitute an intermediate stage in one of the possible trajectories in the development of pragmatic markers, namely *matrix clause > parenthetical disjunct > pragmatic marker* (cf. Brinton 2008: 35-47). A classic example is the development of *I think* (cf. Thompson and Mulac 1991).

In this paper we provide further examples of this developmental path by focusing on parentheticals emerging in complementation structures with the high-frequency evidential predicates *seem, appear, look and sound*. These predicates occur very frequently in impersonal constructions, such as that in example (1). With the verbs *seem* and *appear* the complementizers *that* and zero enter into variation with the comparative links *as if, as though* and *like*, while these comparative complementizers are the only possibility available with the predicates *look* and *sound* (cf. Bender and Flickinger 1999; López-Couso and Méndez-Naya 2008, 2009), as in (2).

(1) It seems that (as if/as though/like), in some sense, men fantasise much more than women or have more visual fantasies. (FLOB G 55)

(2) It looks as if (as though/like/\*that) the three of you will have a very cosy evening. (FLOB P29)

In our presentation we will describe the different parenthetical types available for the four evidential predicates under study (e.g. *(so/as) it seems/appears/looks/sounds; (it) seems/looks/sounds like*), paying attention, among other issues, to (i) the presence/absence of the pronoun *it*; (ii) the presence/absence of adverbial/relative *so/as*; (iii) the position of the evidential clause in relation to its anchor; (iv) the tense of the evidential verb; and (v) the presence/absence of the complementizer in the parenthetical clause, since there seems to be a clear difference in behaviour between the complementizers *that/as if/as though*, on the one hand, and *like*, on the other. Moreover, we will also explore the possibility of whether the strings *looks/seems/sounds like*, as in (3), can be said to be moving a step further and developing into non-clausal evidential markers in Contemporary English.

(3) “And in hibernation?” “**Looks like.**” (COCA)

Since only a small proportion of examples of these high-frequency evidential predicates appear in parentheticals, our study calls for the use of large corpora such as BYU-BNC (100 million words) and COCA (ca. 400 million words). Additional data will be provided by the Brown family of corpora.

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## Subject clitics offshore: the pronominal progressive construction in Pantiscu.

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Subject clitics are a much-debated issue in Romance comparative syntax. In the extensive literature on the topic (e.g. Poletto 1993, Manzini & Savoia 2005, I: 69-196, Diémoz 2007 etc.), their occurrence is documented in a dialect area spanning from Bordeaux to Istria to Florence (cf. e.g. Heap's 2000 charts). Applying classic tests for clitichood (e.g. Kayne 1975, Zwicky 1977), this paper demonstrates that Pantiscu, the variety of Sicilian spoken on the island of Pantelleria (some 60 miles off the coast of Sicily, and half so distant from that of Tunisia), also possesses subject clitics, as exemplified in (1):

- (1)    *je*            *Je*            *chianci-u*  
      1SG        1SG.CLIT    cry.PRES-1SG  
      'I'm crying'

The data discussed in this study are drawn from fieldwork conducted on the island in the summer of 2009. (The first mention of the occurrence of pronominal strings of the kind exemplified in (1) occurs in Tropea 1975:241, 1988:xlii, which offers a small amount of data and yet remained the only study of Pantiscu morphosyntax based on first-hand data until the present one.)

Not only are Pantiscu clitics exceptional in a geolinguistic perspective, they also are structurally unprecedented. In fact, contrary to all Central Romance subject clitics described so far, they are not semantically empty but convey progressive meaning: as will be shown, their occurrence is subject to morphological, aspectual and Aktionsart restrictions on progressives familiar from the typological literature (like the non-occurrence with imperatives or permanent statives; cf. e.g. Comrie 1981<sup>3</sup>:35-38, Bertinetto 1994:66-67) as well as restrictions constraining the grammaticality of progressive periphrases in Italo-Romance (like the non-acceptability with passive and with perfective verb tenses: cf. Bertinetto 1986:138, Squartini 1998:ch. 2). The progressive function they fulfil makes them interesting in a typological perspective too, since (progressive) aspect is usually not marked *through* pronouns (though in some languages it is marked within syntactic constituents including pronominal elements, some cases in point being Hausa and Australian languages like Warlpiri, Gurindji Kriol, etc.; cf. respectively Jaggard 2001:148, Hale et al. 1995, O'Shanessy 2005:37, Meakins 2009).

Occasionally, Arabic influence has been invoked (Sgroi 1986:130-132) to explain this syntactic property of Pantiscu, whose morphosyntax indeed has attracted interest especially because of its long history of contact with Arabic. For instance, this is the only Romance variety in which the pluperfect is calqued on Arabic: e.g. *era scrissi* 'I had written', comparable to e.g. Maltese *kont ktibt* (cf. Lüdtko 1978:217, Pellegrini 1989:47-48, Brincat 2004:104). In the case of subject clitics, however, the contact explanation does not seem to stand closer examination, as argued in the present paper.

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### **The Middle Construction in Chinese: The Descriptive V-de Construction.**

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Based on the criteria developed for the West Germanic languages (e.g. Ackema and Schoorlemmer 2005; Lekakou 2006; Stroik 2006), this study examines the Chinese descriptive V-*de* constructions and argues that they are in the range of middle constructions. Following Rappaport Hovav and Levin's (2001) diagnostics for event structure, we claim that the construction has a simple event structure, which explains on one hand why only one argument is realised in middles and on the other hand how the stativity of middles is established. The stativity (i.e. non-eventivity) has further to do with the Agent-demoting. Adopting Davidson's (1967) and Larson's (2004) analyses of adverbs, we propose that the adverb is an event predicate taking the event denoted by the verb as its argument and determines also the aspectual class of the event. Syntactically, the adverb is base generated in the complement position of the verb and form a state denoting complex predicate with the verb. The necessity of the sentence final adverb thus follows naturally and why they cannot appear in the preverbal position can be straightforwardly accounted for.

The paper proceeds in the following order: after a representation of the characteristics of the middle construction basically found in German and English, we raise evidences with respect to the syntactic behaviours, semantic features and also the event structure to support the analysis that the Chinese descriptive V-*de* constructions are middles. Finally, we apply Larson's (2004) semanto-syntactic mapping model to analyse the construction and propose how the middle construction is derived.

### **Partitives, transitivity, and non-canonical marking of core arguments.**

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Non-canonical marking of core arguments often involves markers usually associated with a semantic role different from agent or patient: e.g. in various Romance varieties the preposition associated with recipient/beneficiary is a possible marker of non-canonical subjects/objects:

- (1) *Giovanni ha dato il libro a Maria*  
*Juan le dió el libro a Maria*  
John gave the book A Mary(=recipient)
- (2) *A Giovanni piace la pasta*  
A John(=subj.) like pasta
- (3) *Juan vió a Maria*  
John saw A Mary(=obj.)

In many languages, the partitive can also mark subjects/objects. The Romance languages are a case in point: however, the Romance partitive (in origin a preposition) shares the distribution of determiners rather than case markers:

- (4) *E' venuto l'amico di Giovanni / E' venuto un amico di Giovanni*  
is come the friend of John / is come a friend of John  
"John's friend / a friend of John's came"
- (5) *Sono venuti gli amici di Giovanni / Sono venuti degli amici di Giovanni*  
are come the friends of John / are come PART friends of John  
"John's friends / some friends of John's came"
- (6) *E' venuto Giovanni con gli amici / E' venuto Giovanni con degli amici*  
is come John with the friends / is come John with PART friends  
"John came with his / some friends"

Clearly, the partitive is not associated with any semantic role or grammatical relation (it can also occur with prepositions): this is also true of partitives cross-linguistically. Thus, partitives do not share the distribution of other case marking devices (Moravcsik 1978), and are close to determiners (e.g. Laka 1993, Luraghi 2009). In principle, this is not a reason for not considering partitives a possible device for non-canonical marking: both partitive subjects and objects are connected with low transitivity (Conti forthcoming on Greek; in Basque, partitive subjects are limited to intransitives, in Finnish their appearance with action verbs is limited, Huumo 2003; partitive objects are partially affected or at least indefinite). However the Romance data raise the question whether it would be preferable to draw a distinction between non-canonical marking and determination; note further the different distribution of the partitive between languages where partitives are (a) articles (Italian, French) (b) 'dedicated' cases (Finnish, Basque), (c) cases that also have other functions (most Indo-European languages), which goes along with different degrees of grammaticalization. The paper addresses the issue of the relation between partitives and other devices for non-canonical marking. Corpus-based investigation on modern Italian will indicate whether partitive subjects/objects appear with specific verbs. Comparison with partitives in other languages will point to a scale between case marking and determination for different manifestations of the partitive across languages, also in connection with historical developments (Carlier 2007, Rijk 1996). As expected result, a difference will emerge between partitive and other types of non-canonical marking of core arguments: while partitives focus on degrees of transitivity and involvement, and for this reason can end up indicating indefiniteness, other types of differential marking focus on non-prototypicality of semantic roles, and do not undergo such development.

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## Word order V(O)S in Spanish. Focus, prosodic prominence and information structure.

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From a purely theoretical point of view, it has been stated that V(O)S word order in Spanish is a strategy for marking the subject of the sentence as focus (Zubizarreta 1998, among others):

Porque no era otra cosa el jefe del ejecutivo local  
BECAUSE NOT WAS ANOTHER THING THE CHIEF OF.THE EXECUTIVE LOCAL

No puede tener el apoyo social esa huelga<sup>1</sup>  
NOT CAN-3SG HAVE THE SUPPORT SOCIAL THAT STRIKE

The basis for such statement is double. In one hand, when subject comes after the verb, it would match up the nuclear accent of the intonational phrase. In the other hand, subjects following the verb would contribute new information to the information structure of the sentence. That is, it would be an *informative focus* (Kiss, 1998). However, such statements rarely have empirical support, like acoustic instrumental studies which confirm the prosodic prominence given by nuclear accent. Furthermore, examples of subjects as focalized constituents in sentence are commonly given without any discursive context. That makes difficult the identification of the subject as a *new* information constituent bearer.

In the present study, two aspects of V(O)S structures are under empirical analysis. The first is the prosodic prominence itself, that is, the alignment between final subjects and nuclear accent. The second is the quality of the information brought by the final subjects. The analyzed corpus is constituted by ten hours of spontaneous speech recorded with six speakers from Mexico City. Thirty segments of three minutes each were randomly chosen (five per speaker). An amount of 42 sentences with V(O)S structure were founded.

A preliminary analysis of corpora shows several patterns of prosodic structuring in V(O)S sentences. First, the sentence and/or the subject can become split in more than one intonational phrase. For that reason, the alignment of the final subject with the nuclear accent is not always easy to find. Second, the tonal configuration at the end of the intonational phrases shows at least five different patterns (H\* H%, H\* L, H\* H+L%, L\* L%, L\* L+H%). This fact reveals that the nuclear accent is not always the most prominent one, at least in acoustic terms (absolute frequency), especially when the nuclear accent is associated with a low tone (L\*). Only in less of fifty per cent of the cases nuclear accent was the most prominent of the intonational phrase containing the final subject.

The informative structure of the sentences found in corpus doesn't achieve either the expected results about the focal quality of the final subjects. Only in twenty per cent of the cases the final subject really brought *new* information to the discursive context. In most of the cases (eighty per cent) was possible to find an antecedent of the final subjects inside the discursive context. This represents a challenge for the common statements about the information structure of clauses.

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## The Common Balkan lexical evidential markers.

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While preparing the Balkan (Bulgarian, Macedonian and Albanian) data for the Database of European evidential markers it became clear that some significant part of the markers list is common, both due to genetic relations between the languages (e.g. Bulg. and Maced. *spored*) and to areal factors (e.g. Turk. word *güya/güya* was loaned into Bulg. dialectal *gyoa*, Maced. *goa* and Alb. *gjoja*; this marker also exists in Serb.). The data (the examples are taken from three language corpora designed on the basis of belles-lettres) shows that the common markers generally have similar meanings. In my report I am going to demonstrate it using the conceptual design of the Database.

In the lists of lexical evidential markers of the languages under analysis the following items can be described as common: *demek* 'it means; as they say' (Bulg. dial. and popular, Maced. and Alb.); *gyoa/goa/gjoja* 'allegedly; sort of' (Bulg. dial., Maced. and Alb.); *spored* 'according to' (Bulg. and Maced.).

The first evidential subfunction of these three markers is reportive and they generally refer to the content of the utterance. They can also convey inferential meaning (which is less represented in texts for Bulg. *spored* and Alb. *gjoja*). The epistemic component in *demek* and *gyoa/goa/gjoja* is conventionalized (but sometimes the epistemic degree can be lowered because of the context). Quite interesting is that *spored* is very often connected to the category of stance (in sentences where

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<sup>1</sup> Examples extracted from the analyzed corpus in the present work.

*spored* is used to present the speaker's viewpoint). It can be stated that as for this marker, its evidential values might have emerged from the stance meaning.

In spite of the clear morphological format and morphotactic status of the markers (free, one-word items), there is little or no correspondence between the dictionaries as how to treat them as syntactic classes (the clearest is the case of *spored*, which is treated as preposition in the majority of dictionaries; the other two markers are sometimes called adverbs, conjunctions or particles).

The distribution of these markers can vary. Thus, mainly these markers can have any constituent in their scope, but some speakers of literary Albanian from Tirana reject that there can be an NP in scope of *gjoja* and *demek* (which is normal in the texts from both Southern Albania and Northern Albania and Kosovo). Only *spored* cannot be used parenthetically, and the reason is quite clear, as it is a preposition.

*Demek* and *gyoa/goa/gjoja* are loaned from Turkish *demek* 'say, speak; mean' and *güya/güya* 'als ob; gleichsam, vielleicht'. The second marker is a loan in Turkish as well and it was taken from Persian *gū* 'say, speak'. The primary meaning of *spored* is that of accordance to something, its stance meaning emerged later and became the base for its evidential usage.

As Bulgarian, Macedonian and Albanian have grammatical evidential systems as well, there is a question as to how the lexical evidential markers interact with evidential forms. Here the distinction between analytic and holistic reading can be quite helpful, as it clarifies the role of each of the components in constructions. In my report I will analyze it on the basis of translations between the Balkan languages.

### Objective and Subjective Reference Points in Spanish: *aquí/acá* 'here'.

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In Spanish there are two deictic locative markers of proximity that contrast in subtle ways. *Aquí* / *acá* 'here' both refer to elements located near the deictic center as in (1), however there is a basic contrast between them in that only *acá* profiles a path toward the speaker as in (2):

- |    |    |   |                                                    |
|----|----|---|----------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | a  |   | <i>Aquí</i> hace mucho frío 'Here it is very cold' |
|    | b. |   | <i>Acá</i> hace mucho frío 'Here it is very cold'  |
| 2. | a. |   | Venga para <i>acá</i> 'Come here'                  |
|    | b. | * | Venga para <i>aquí</i>                             |

Based on oral and written data from Mexican current Spanish this paper shows that only *acá* develops a wide variety of pragmatic extensions that involve the speaker's involvement in the event. It is shown first that *acá* provides representations where the located element is consistently closer to the speaker than the representation provided by *aquí*. Then it is shown that the contrast extends to more abstract domains in predictable ways. The more objective representations of the referent point are provided by *aquí* (3) while in those representing the speaker's interests *acá* constitutes the norm. The contrast correlates with a variety of syntactic constructions reflecting different degrees of speaker's involvement as in (4a) where the use of *aquí* takes the impersonal *se* construction while *acá* is best represented with the first person:

- |    |    |    |                                                     |
|----|----|----|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 3. | a. |    | ¿Vives por <i>aquí</i> ? 'Do you live around here?' |
|    | b. | ?? | ¿Vives por <i>acá</i> ? 'Do you live around here?'  |
| 4. | a. |    | <i>Aquí</i> no se hace eso 'This is not done here'  |
|    | b. |    | <i>Acá</i> no hacemos eso 'We don't do that here'   |

The paper explores an ample variety of pragmatic developments of *acá* that are not available for *aquí* as in (5):

- |    |    |   |                                                           |
|----|----|---|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| 5. | a  |   | Ana viste muy <i>acá</i> 'Ana wears trendy/chick clothes' |
|    | b. | * | Ana viste muy <i>aquí</i>                                 |

The more the speaker is involved in the event the more *acá* is accepted in detriment of *aquí*. The development of pragmatic meanings is accounted for as a subjectification process that develops from the schematic representation of the trajectory towards the deictic center only found in *acá*. I propose that the locative path towards the speaker is further developed as a schema operating in abstract domains to represent first speaker's affectedness, then the speaker's interests and finally the speaker's involvement in the event (which also activates a variety of empathy relations). These changes correspond to general subjectification and grammaticalization patterns (Langacker 1985, 1991; Traugott 1982) where meanings located in the referential world move to the realm of the speaker. It also conforms to general patterns of subjectification (Langacker 1991) where the representation of the event involves the speaker's presence in the event's onstage region. I will also show the parallelisms between *acá* and the abstract "paths towards a goal" developed in subjective datives (Maldonado 1992) where affectedness and speaker's involvement are profiled to different degrees. However, the fact that the path is oriented towards the deictic center licenses degrees of speaker's subjective involvement not to be found in subjective datives.

## Speaker accountability as metadiscourse?

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There is some fear that evidentiality (Chafe & Nichols, 1986; Aikhenvald, 2004) is becoming too much of a catch-all linguistic category, especially when it is claimed to exist in languages without morphological coding of evidentiality such as English.

Drawing on data in the form of so-called knowledge statements (e.g. *We would argue that... Smith argues that... It is suggested by Smith that...*) from a corpus of research journals in literary studies (*Shakespeare Quarterly* and *English Literary Renaissance*) and linguistics (*Brain and Language* and *Language*) (Malmström, 2007), this paper considers the discourse phenomenon of accountability. The argument is that accountability should not be confused with evidentiality as such, even though it is intimately associated with evidentiality (and with epistemic modality, Palmer, 2001), and even if some people would be inclined to say that knowledge statements like those above are *par excellence* candidates for non-grammaticalised evidentials in English. Instead it sets out to investigate whether accountability is more appropriately described as a metadiscourse phenomenon (Hyland, 2005).

Several reasons to support such a view are discussed; for example, accountability, but not evidentiality, can be graded as “more or less”. Moreover, the fact that accountability sometimes involves a substantial element of self-manifestation (e.g. *I argue that...*), is also a problem for scholars of evidentiality since it has been claimed that “evidentiality may not always be allowed in 1<sup>st</sup> person contexts” (Aikhenvald, 2004). Aikhenvald (2004) also says that “evidentiality relates only marginally to the speaker-hearer contract”. This paper will argue that accountability can be said to highlight an interpersonal dimension in communication since its manifestation acknowledges the existence of a mental representation, shared by the communicator as well as the audience, pertaining to what is socially expected or acceptable at that point in discourse. This interpersonal aspect of accountability is yet another piece of evidence in favour of a distinction between accountability and evidentiality.

Based on ideas from research into metadiscourse (Hyland, 2005; Vande Kopple, 2002) and social epidemiology (Sperber, 1996), the reasoning about accountability in this paper also leads me to propose a layered model of metadiscourse, incorporating both lower-level and higher-level kinds of metadiscourse, which is a rather new take on metadiscourse, but still very relevant to a discussion about accountability and evidentiality since both can thus be called metadiscourse phenomena.

The proposals and conclusions from this paper are potentially very important for the work on the database being set up in connection with the project “Towards a unified account of evidentiality markers in the languages of Europe” – if knowledge statements highlight accountability and not evidentiality, then it should be discussed whether linguistic structures characteristic of knowledge statements should be included in the database. However, the conclusions are also of interest to the continued debate on the relationship between evidentiality and epistemic modality.

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## Colour Terms and Language Contact between Japanese and Chinese in 7th-10th Centuries.

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### Abstract:

In Old (12<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.-1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.) and Middle Chinese (2<sup>nd</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> cc. A.D.) the five basic colour terms (*qing*, ‘blue/green’, *chi*, ‘red’, *bai*, ‘white’, *hei*, ‘black’, *huang*, ‘yellow’) are related to the doctrine of the Five Phases (Ch. *wuxing*). It has its first attestation in *Shujing* (Classic of Documents, 6<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.), even if the first correspondence between five phases and five colours (Ch. *wuse*) occurs only in *Huangdi neijing* (The Inner Canon of Yellow Emperor, 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.). In addition to this, *huang* (‘yellow’) is regarded as a major colour term, since in the Doctrine of the Five Phases it is linked to the concepts for Earth, Centre, and China itself (Ch. *Zhongguo*, lit. ‘Middle-Country’).

On the other hand, in Old Japanese (5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> cen.) there exist only four basic colour terms (*awo*, ‘blue/green’, *ake/aka*, ‘red’, *shiro/shira*, ‘white’, *kuro/kura*, ‘black’) and there is no term for ‘yellow’.

In the 6<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries, thank to the continuous exchanges between Japan and the Continent, a strong linguistic and cultural contact among people of East Asia takes place. Following the ‘book road’, Japanese come in acquaintance with the Chinese doctrine of colours and use of Chinese colour terms. In Japanese literature written in Chinese, colour terms occur in the same context of use of Continental Chinese. In addition to this, sinographs for colours are used to write Japanese-origin words in no actual semantic relation with colour terms. For example, in *Man’yōshū* (5<sup>th</sup> cen.-759), there is found a word as *panipu* (‘earth’, ‘clay’), which has no morpheme for colour, but it is written using a Chinese compound where a morpheme for RED or YELLOW occurs. In particular, it is first attested the use of the semantograph *huang* to indicate a new colour, ‘yellow’, autonomous from the RED macro-category expressed by *aka/ake*.

Therefore, Japanese are certainly influenced in their chromatic view of the world, and from the late tenth century onward, the term *ki*, referring to the chromatic area of ‘yellow’ occurs also in Japanese.

In this paper, focusing on Japanese sources and comparing them with sources in Chinese, I will deal with some cases which lead to a new categorization of RED chromatic area in the passage from Old (6<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> c.) to Classical Japanese (9<sup>th</sup> -13<sup>th</sup> c.). I will argue that the lexical change in colour denomination has to be considered a crucial result of the linguistic and cultural contact between Chinese and Japanese in the 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries.

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## The evidential nature of the Italian future.

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### 1. Issue and claim

This paper focuses on the epistemic (1b) and temporal (1a) interpretations of the Italian future. It investigates whether the future is primarily a tense (e.g. Kissine, 2008) or a modal (e.g. Copley, 2002; Condoravdi, 2003). It argues that it is a tense that provides an anchor for indirect evidence and thus gets its inferential meaning (we thus disagree with Bonomi and del Prete’s view (2008) that the future codes settledness).

- (1) a. Domani, Gianni sarà malato / Tomorrow Gianni will be sick  
 Gianni arriverà domani / John will arrive tomorrow  
 b. Gianni sarà malato / John will be sick  
 Gianni mangerà da due ore Gianni will eat since two hours ago

Our starting assumption is the standard decompositional analysis (Copley, 2002; Condoravdi, 2003; Kissine, 2008):

- (2) a. Piero sarà malato / Piero will be sick  
 b. F UT ( AS P ( P ) ) The event argument of P is closed at AS P and AS P ( P ) provides a proposition p

### 2. Empirical issues

2.1. The criterion for locating the eventuality. We show that Italian simple future and the anterior future are compatible with eventualities whose left boundary is located either in the past (1b)-(3b) or in the future (1a)-(3a) w.r.t. tu (the utterance time), and this no matter whether the property is eventive or stative (vs. Condoravdi, 2003). Consequently, the future fails to locate the event in time.

- (3) a. Sarà arrivato per domani / He will have arrived by tomorrow  
 Domani sarà malato / Tomorrow he will be sick  
 b. Ieri avrà perso il suo orologio / Yesterday, he will have lost his watch  
 Ieri sarà stato malato / Yesterday he will have been sick

2.2 *The evidential nature.* Like epistemic must (von Fintel and Gillies, 2007), the future signals that indirect evidence (of a special kind see Dendale, 2001; Squartini, 2004) is available to the speaker in the context of utterance (We follow \*\*\* in assuming that the modal force of the future is unspecified).

Compositionally, assuming that evidence provides a modal basis (i.e. all the accessible worlds compatible with the evidence; Kratzer (1991, 2009) and that modal basis requires anchors (i.e. a world argument for accessibility functions) we claim that the future tense provides an anchor for indirect evidence (i.e. a world in which the evidence holds and from which alternatives are projected).

The explanation relies on the new distinction between two types of evidence: indexical (bearing an index to the context of utterance (Papafragou, 2006) and non-indexical (e.g. plans, see Copley, 2002).

### 3. Analysis

3.1 Four temporal intervals. With theoreticians of epistemic modality we distinguish between four temporal intervals (see e.g. Laca, 2008; Kratzer, 2009):

- i. the time of the modal evaluation
- ii. the time of the occurrence of the event
- iii. time of the availability of the evidence
- iv. the time of assessment (McFarlane, 2006)

We argue that indexical and non-indexical knowledge differently set the time of assessment. The aspect on P set the time of the event w.r.t. the time of assessment.

We show that (1) and (3) correspond to four different configurations of these four temporal intervals.

3.2. Formal implementation. In the paper we provide a formal analysis of the four configurations in (1) and (3), starting with the underspecified representation in (4). In particular we will show how AT is differently specified according to different types of evidence (hence of modal bases) and of the imperfective and perfective aspect on P.

- (4) F UT ( AS P ( P ) ) is true with respect to a modal base B and w0 at tu iff  

$$\exists W [W \subseteq B(w_0, t_u) \wedge W \neq \emptyset \wedge \exists e \forall w' \in W (P(e)(w') \& AT(P, w', t))]$$

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### A contrastive analysis of Spanish Evidential adverbs in *-mente* and their English cognates.

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This paper presents a corpus-based (CREA, BNC) contrastive analysis of Spanish evidential fusional adverbs in *-mente* (*aparentemente, claramente, evidentemente, obviamente, presumiblemente* and *supuestamente*), and their English cognates in

–ly (apparently, clearly, evidently, obviously, presumably and supposedly). Regarding preferences in usage, the study focuses on the use of these evidential markers in written language (press, fiction, socio-economic and political texts, etc.), in the standard variety of Spanish from Spain and in British English. The analysis includes the identification of the basic evidential functions and other meaning components as well as their distribution in terms of scope and position, their lexical restrictions, and their discourse functions. The analysis will show that despite the formal similarity between these adverbs in both languages, no narrow one-to-one equivalences can be established, due to the interplay of the semantic meaning with pragmatic and discourse factors.

### **Asymmetry in Votic-Ingrian Language Contacts.**

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This presentation focuses on Votic and Ingrian – two highly endangered Finnic languages located in Ingria. These languages share many similar features; however, their social status is not the same. The aim of this study is to analyze the causes of this inequality using areal-typological approach.

A major part of the data comes from field work. The authors of the presentation conducted extensive research in Ingria and investigated both the grammar and the sociolinguistic background of both languages.

From the sociolinguistic point of view, Votic and Ingrian have much in common: neither of them is a written language (the attempts to introduce an Ingrian written language in the beginning of the 1930-ies and to teach Ingrian at schools were suppressed in 1937). Both languages never had an administrative status. Both Votic and Ingrian people are Orthodox and had close contacts with the Russian culture that greatly influenced their native languages. Both nations faced severe times during and after World War II (people were deported to Finland, then scattered over central Russia and since then the communication in their native languages was often persecuted). Both languages had close contacts with each other; there were many villages with mixed population, especially in the Lower Luga area.

Despite similar history, the status of the discussed languages was not the same. On the one hand, the Lower Luga Ingrian variety borrowed many grammatical and phonetic features from Votic (the "voiced-unvoiced" and "single-geminated" opposition for stop consonants; the phonological status of the mid central vowel; the Comitative marker -ka/-kä; preservation of the vowel in the Active Participle marker -nnu(d)/-nnü(d) in most sub-dialects; the replacement of 3PI verbal forms with impersonal forms, etc.). The Ingrian influence is less noticeable in Votic and mostly limited to some minor examples (probably the only systematic feature borrowed from Ingrian is the development of secondary gemination, compare, for example: *kala* 'fish (Nominative)' – *калла* 'fish (Partitive)', *kuza* 'where' – *kuzza* 'nowhere'). On the other hand, Votic people often switched to Ingrian language, but not vice versa. It is noted in [Tsvetkov 1925: 43] that the communication between a Votic man and his Ingrian wife would always be in Ingrian, and even the older generation in their family often switched into Ingrian. Probably this process can explain why there were 18489 Ingrians and 5148 Votians in 1848, but already in 1926 (before the repressions and the deportation) there were 16137 Ingrians and only 705 Votians left [Köppen 1867], [Vsesojuznaja perepisj 1928], [Ermits 2007]). By now there are about 10 speakers of Votic and 150-200 speakers of Ingrian.

Thus, in spite of a similar background, Ingrian appeared to be more socially prestigious. Several reasons for this situation could be named, but none of them is enough to explain the inequality of the discussed languages.

Considering the facts listed above, the borrowing of Votic grammatical and phonetic features into Ingrian confirms the following observation [Pevnov 2007]: when two languages are rivals, the adaptation of one language to the other demonstrates its ability to resist the language shift. On the contrary, when a language is unable to adopt itself to the influence from a neighbor, it is on the way to extinction.

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### **The pervivence of Germanic *ga-*: fading, grammaticalization and loss of Old English *ge-*.**

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The aim of this paper is to examine the pervivence of the Germanic prefix *ga-* in Old English, both in the inflectional and derivational morphology of the latter language. Old English *ge-* marks the past participle of weak verbs and, on the derivational side, it represents the most type-frequent prefix in the language.

The methodology adopted in this study involves the analysis of the lexical distribution of *ge-* as well as the scrutiny of the morphological processes in which the prefix partakes. Beginning with lexical distribution, the evidence retrieved from the lexical database of Old English *Nerthus* ([www.nerthusproject.com](http://www.nerthusproject.com)) shows that *ge-* can be prefixed to 2,616 predicates, including 877 nouns, 468 adjectives, 131 adverbs, 1,136 verbs and 4 predicates of minor grammatical categories. No adposition is preceded by *ge-*. The prefix is distinctive in 1,270 predicates, of which 532 are nouns, 359 adjectives, 84 adverbs, 293 verbs, and 2 belong to minor grammatical categories. The prefix is non-distinctive in 1,346, derivatives, out of which 345 are nouns, 109 adjectives, 47 adverbs, 843 verbs, and 2 belong to minor grammatical categories. *Ge-* is not attached to adpositions. Example (1) illustrates, respectively, distinctive and non-distinctive *ge-*:

- (1)
- a. *hlid* 'lid'~*gehlid* 'roof', *lang* 'long'~*gelang* 'dependent', *spræ:dan* 'to spread'~*gespræ:dan* 'to stretch forth', *hwæ:r* 'where'~*gehwa:r* 'everywhere'
  - b. *eardung* 'tabernacle'~*geardung* 'tabernacle', *gylden* 'golden'~*gegylden* 'golden', *warian* 'to pass by'~*gewarian* 'to pass by', *hle:owe* 'in a sheltered manner'~*gehle:owe* 'in a sheltered manner'

As for the morphological processes of word-formation in which *ge-* takes part, this prefix appears both in variable base morphology and invariable base morphology, as can be seen, respectively, in (2a) and (2b):

- (2)
- a. *bæc* 'back'~*gebæcu* 'back part', *clibbor* 'clinging'~*geclibs* 'clamour',
  - b. *fre:o* 'freedom'~*gefrefe:ogend* 'liberator', *glo:f* 'glove'~*geglo:fed* 'gloved'

Conclusions are expected along the following lines. In the first place, *ge-* spreads through the derivation based on the strong verb, which is going through a process of semantic fading with the consequence of the alternation of *ge-* vs.  $\emptyset$  without change of meaning. The alternation is reflected all the way down the derivation, as (3) shows:

- (3)
- a. *bindan/gebindan* 'to bind': *binde* 'headband', *bindele* 'binding', *bindere* 'binder', *binding* 'binding', *una:bindendlic* 'indissoluble', *gebind* 'binding'
  - b. *dre:fan/gedrefan* 'to trouble', *dre:fre* 'disturber', *dre:fung* 'disturbance', *gedre:fedlic* 'oppressive', *dre:fednes* 'trouble', *gedre:fnes* 'confusion'

In the second place, the function of Germanic *ga-* is kept in examples like (4a), while the nominal aspectualizer illustrated by (4b) and the analogical adjectival formation exemplified by (4c) represent new functions developed in Old English:

- (4)
- a. *ri:nan* 'to rain'~*geri:nan* 'to wet with rain', *sadian* 'to be sated'~*gesadian* 'to satiate'
  - b. *ba:n* 'bone'~*geba:n* 'bones', *mann* 'man'~*gema:na* 'community'
  - c. *byrd* 'burden'~*gebyrd* 'burdened', *byrst* 'bristle'~*gebyrst* 'furnished with bristles'

In general, the evidence gathered points in the direction of a process of grammaticalization starting from the Germanic derivational verbal prefix *ga-*, which spreads through word-formation based on the strong verb in Old English, while undergoing semantic fading that eventually results in the disappearance from derivational morphology and survival into the inflectional morphology of the Middle English period.

### The origin of the Basque ergative.

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Basque is unique, among the languages of Western Europe, in marking subjects of transitive sentences as ergative: *gizon-a-k* (stem-artic.-erg.) *ume-a ikusi du* 'the man has seen the child'. It is also remarkable, among ergative languages, for having no split system at all: intra-clausal marking is of the absolutive-ergative type in all cases.

The ergative mark proper is *-k*, accompanied by the article *-a-* in the sg. declension (*zaldi-a-k* 'the horse (erg.)', *gizon-a-k* 'the man (erg.)'). That the pure mark is *-k* is clear from proper names (*Peru-k ikusi nau* 'Peru has seen me') as well as from the indef. of the normal declension (*edozein zaldi-k irrintzi egin dezake* 'any horse can whinny'). Up to recently, there had never been speculation as to where this morpheme *-k* may come from or be related to. But Lakarra (2005: 442-444) has derived *-k* from *\*-ga*. This derivation is proposed on phonotactic grounds (according to him all autochthonous morphemes ending in *-T* (voiceless stop) derive from *-DV* (corresponding voiced stop + vowel)), but sparks a series of interesting possible relations among several morphemes. What Lakarra proposes is to relate *\*-ga* to a particle which, in the

Basque declension, is necessary to form the local cases of animate nouns. For instance, the ablative sg. form of *etxe* ‘house’ is *etxe-tik* ‘to the house’, but the ablative of *ume* ‘child’ cannot be *\*ume-tik*, but *ume-a-ga-n-dik* ‘from the child’. That is, unlike inanimate nouns, the abl. suffix is not attached directly to the stem, but to a particle *gan*, which in addition needs the article to be attached to the stem. What Lakarra suggests is that this *gan* is to be split into an animate marker *ga* (in origin the same mark as the ergative *\*-ga > -k*), plus a binding *-n*, with parallels in the morphology. This mark *\*-ga* came probably to be used to mark also the subject in ambiguous sentences like ‘John saw Mary’ and eventually morphologised as an ergative mark (*\*-ga > -k*).

Another interesting point is the fact that the Basque plural suffix is also *-k*, hence homophonous with the erg. Moreover, this pl. mark *-k* is probably in historical relationship with a suffix *-ga* which, attached to the stem-article form, is present in many place and family names and seems to indicate ‘abundance of’: *Arri-a-ga* ‘place with plenty of stones’, *Etxe-zarr-a-ga* ‘place with plenty of old houses’, and so on. Now if we consider the fact that in many languages ergative marks derive from oblique cases and local markers (see Trask 1979), one might propose that perhaps an original *\*-ga* had a wide semantic scope covering ideas like ‘abundance of’, ‘place with’ (from which the ergative suffix arose) and also ‘plurality’.

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### **Binominal constructions in Italian of the N-di-N type: towards a typology of light noun constructions.**

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Although a number of works have investigated binominal constructions in English of the N-of-N type (e.g. Kay 1997, Denison 2002, 2005, Traugott 2007), very little attention has been paid to the corresponding constructions in Romance languages, and especially in Italian.

The variety of functions covered by binominal constructions in Italian is pretty large. If we concentrate on the binominal syntactic construction with the preposition *di* ‘of’ as a linking element (N-di-N), we can enumerate at least the following functions:

(1)	APPROXIMATION <i>una specie di casa</i>	lit. a species of house	‘a sort of house’
(2)	ASPECT <i>un colpo di telefono</i>	lit. a blow of telephone	‘a ring’
(3)	IDENTIFICATION <i>un tipo di carta</i>	lit. a type of paper	‘a type of paper’
(4)	POSSESSION <i>il gatto di Maria</i>	lit. the cat of Mary	‘Mary’s cat’
(5)	QUALIFICATION <i>una bellezza di ragazza</i>	lit. a beauty of girl	‘a beautiful girl’
(6)	QUANTIFICATION a. <i>una bottiglia di vino</i> b. <i>un chilo di mele</i>	lit. a bottle of wine lit. a kilo of apples	‘a bottle of wine’ ‘a kilo of apples’
(7)	SPECIFICATION <i>la giacca di cotone</i>	lit. the jacket of cotton	‘the cotton jacket’

Most of these functions are well known and can be found in corresponding constructions in other European languages (e.g. possession, specification, and so on). However, the aspectual function is not generally taken into consideration. Simone & Masini (2009) define binominal constructions with an aspectual function as “support noun constructions”: the first noun (N1: *colpo* ‘blow’ in (2)) is analysed not as a fully referential noun but as a “support noun” that acts as an aspectualiser, i.e. an element that turns a noun describing generic and indefinite events or states (N2) into a noun describing a definite event or state (especially short and abrupt).

The low referentiality of N1 is common to other binominal constructions, such as approximating and quantifying constructions. This leads to the identification of a class of “light nouns” occurring in N1 position within N-di-N constructions. These light nouns take on different grammatical meanings and present different degrees of referentiality. A different analysis might be required for the qualifying type (5): here N1 may belong to a larger class of nouns with respect to the above mentioned types, although there are of course restrictions on the construction (e.g. *una meraviglia di tavolo* lit. a wonderfulness of table ‘a wonderful table’ vs. *\*una larghezza di tavolo* lit. a largeness of table ‘a large table’).

To sum up, the paper will provide a first typology of N-*di*-N binominal constructions in Italian, as well as a formal and semantic description of these constructions (including tests for determining head status). Special attention will be paid to the support noun construction. Moreover, in the paper we will explore the possibility of analysing Italian N-*di*-N constructions in a constructional network in which a general schema becomes more specific by means of the instantiation of the N1 slot.

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### Non-Canonical Marking of Subjects and Objects in Sentences with Lexical Converses as Predicates in the Baltic Languages.

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This presentation addresses the little-studied phenomenon of lexical converses (LCs) in two East Baltic languages: Latvian and Lithuanian. An inquiry into this category has revealed that LCs, i.e. pairs of words of the type *buy-sell, give-take, pirkti-parduoti, atspindėti-atsispindėti*, etc. that describe one and the same denotative situation but from the perspective of its different participants, are by far more heterogeneous than conventionally presented in works on lexical semantics, and that determining their scope in different languages is problematic not only because there exist no uniform definitional criteria, but also because languages use different means to express the converse relationship.

A comparison of LCs in a number of languages shows that where Lithuanian and Latvian LCs do not allow passive constructions (see Wiemer 2006 on constrains concerning passivization of Lithuanian reflexive converses), in other languages a converse transformation is possible only through a respective passive, cf.: Lith. *Ežeras atspindi medžius – Medžiai atsispindi ežere / \*Medžiai atspindimi ežero* and Engl. *The lake reflects the trees – The trees are reflected in the lake / \*The trees reflect themselves in the lake*.

In my presentation I aim to show how these constrains are reflected in the diathesis of converse pairs (in line with the diathesis theory developed by Geniušienė for the analysis of reflexives (1987: 53ff) and what effect they have on the canonical subject-object relationship (expressed by nominative-accusative in the surface structure) in LCs in the Baltic languages. I argue that the base member of the LC opposition in converse constructions is usually represented by canonical forms of NPs, while non-canonical forms are more characteristic of their syntactic converses.

Furthermore, a comparison of LCs in East Baltic languages with LCs in Russian and Polish shows that instances of non-canonical forms of NPs are restricted to certain morphological types of LCs, namely those that are related as the base form and its derivative (directional morphological derivation) and those with non-directional morphological derivation (see Nedjalkov and Sil'nickij 1969), e.g. Lith. *Aš matau mišką* ‘I see the forest’ (canonical Nom, Acc) – *Man matosi miškas* ‘To me the forest is seen’ (non-canonical Dat, Nom, where the Subject is marked by the Dative.) and *Purvas aplipo batus* ‘Mud has stuck to the shoes’ – *Batai aplipo purvu* ‘The shoes have been caked with mud’ (where canonical Nom, Acc is changed into non-canonical Nom, Instr). It is proposed that LCs in the above sentences should be regarded as semantic derivatives; the syntactic realization of their arguments reflects the obliqueness hierarchy proposed by Keenan&Comrie (1977).

Finally, I intend to show that instances of LCs with non-canonical marking of subjects and objects in reflexive derivatives are scarce and are restricted to a specific semantic class of verb. The nominative-instrumental correlation is quite a productive pattern, especially in modern Lithuanian, even though, according to Ambrasas (2006:182), it is historically less common and manifests itself mainly through metaphorical extension.

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**An endangered Japanese contact variety in multilingual Republic of Palau:  
A new expanded function of sentence tag *-desho*.**

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Much research on endangered languages has focused upon “exotic” languages whose loss means the loss of “unique” and “unusual” linguistic features that cannot be found anywhere else in the world. This paper, however, is a progress report on how a contact variety of one of the world’s major languages is dying. In this case, I examine how a Pacific variety of Japanese is decaying in the multilingual Palauan Islands, a former Japanese territory in the Western Pacific.

Palau was occupied by Japan between 1914 and 1945, and subsequently by the United States between 1945 and 1994. Japanese rule led both to mass migration to the Palauan islands by Japanese workers and considerable Japanese-Palauan bilingualism on the part of the native islanders. The arrival of American colonisers in 1945, however, halted the expansion of a Japanese speech community, and introduced English as the ‘high’ language of colonial administration.

In this paper, I explore a new function of sentence tag *-desho* in Palauan Japanese (i.e., cognitive request for new information), which is also widely observed in other contact varieties of Japanese in former Japanese territories, such as Japanese Creole in Taiwan, Japanese variety in Saipan and Sakhalin as well as in Tokyo, the metropolitan city where different dialects and languages are in contact. I will argue that similar to High Rising Terminals and ‘eh?’ in New Zealand English, the function of *-desho* might have expanded as a result of contact with non-native speakers, since in such a contact situation shared knowledge is less taken-for-granted than in more stable homogeneous communities. Thus, it is expected to find this new function more in post-colonial contexts and in fluid urban cities.

Furthermore, given the distinction made in the literature on language death studies (e.g. Wolfram 2002) between “dissipation models” (which claim that dying languages go through structural and stylistic reduction and attrition) and “concentration models” (suggesting that the final speakers of a language retain full competence and trigger divergent changes leading to dialect ‘intensification’), this paper will address which one accounts best for my Palauan Japanese data.

This research forms part of a broader investigation into multilingualism, cultural and linguistic hegemony, language obsolescence, dialect contact in Palau. For this analysis, therefore, I will select relevant data from a variety of data gathered in the former Palauan capital, Koror involving nearly a year of participant observation; 121 ethnographic interviews; 233 ethnographic questionnaires; and over 100 hours of recorded spontaneous conversation, as well as many hours of informal discussions.

**Subjecthood of the Russian *u* + genitive oblique possessor: a diachronic account.**

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Oblique dative subject constructions, particularly dative experiencers and dative + infinitive constructions, have received much attention in linguistics literature, especially using Icelandic as a point of comparison with German and Russian (see e.g. Moore & Perlmutter 2000, Perlmutter & Moore 2002, Sigurðsson 2002, Barðdal 2006). Less attention, however, has been paid to oblique possessors in constructions for predicative possession, such as the locative existential construction found in Russian (‘I have a book’: *u menja est’ knig-a*, lit. ‘at me.GEN is book-NOM.SG’) and Finnish (*minu-lla on kirja*, lit. ‘at\_me-ADES is book.NOM.SG’). But as I show in this paper, the Russian *u* + genitive predicative possessive construction exhibits as many subjecthood properties as dative experiencer constructions. While the Russian nominative possessum (*kniga* in the example above) controls verb agreement in the *u* + genitive construction, the oblique *u* + genitive possessor controls reflexivization, adverbial participles, and occupies the first position in declarative clauses with an intonation contour paralleling transitive, *not* intransitive, Russian verbs. The Russian construction for predicative possession cannot be said to have one monolithic subject, rather it has different subjects for different syntactic processes.

I argue that the increase in subjecthood properties of the oblique *u* + genitive possessor is primarily the result of three circumstances in the history of Russian: 1) increased entrenchment of the possessive *u* + genitive PP in the grammar as a result of its occurrence in a wider range of semantic contexts (e.g. with inanimate possessors), and subsequently syntactic contexts; 2) the concomitant increase in objecthood properties of the nominative possessum (*kniga* above), which is partially attributable to unrelated historical changes in the verb ‘be’, i.e. *byti* (*byt’*) ‘be’ ceased to decline in the present tense retaining only the frozen form *est’* ‘is’; and 3) contact with Finnic languages (primarily substratal), which have a comparable construction for predicative possession and an oblique possessor that exhibits similar syntactic control properties. Thus the

current subjecthood status of oblique *u* + genitive possessor in Russian can be explained by a combination of internal and external historical linguistic factors.

### **Interlanguage Strata in L2 Phonology.**

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This paper aims at providing insight into the stages French learners of English go through in order to master L2 pronunciation. These phonological interlanguage strata are shown to follow fairly predictable patterns, at least on a segmental level, ranging from the acquisition of specific L2 phonemes (e.g. /ð/ and /θ/ for consonants, and diphthongs for vowels) to phonemes seemingly common to both L1 and L2 (e.g. /t/ and /d/ for consonants, and for vowels, English /ʊ/ and /u:/ as opposed to French /u/).

Most of the findings concur with Flege's Speech Learning Model (SLM), which states that "the greater the perceived dissimilarity of an L2 sound from the closest L1 sound, the more likely a new category will be formed for the L2 sound" (Flege, 2005). The reverse proposition is even found to be true. Yet the article also aims at challenging one of the few remaining common points between SLM and the older contrastive analysis. It is often implied that the phonological systems of both L1 and L2, especially in the case of French and English, share many common features.

One proof of such presupposition may well be found in the use of similar phonemic symbols for sounds actually realized in different manners in the two languages : /e/ in "bed", transcribed /bed/, is not the same as in "été", yet also transcribed /ete/. Likewise, /ɔ/ in "door" or "homme", or /d/ and /t/ in "dental". This paper therefore argues the case for a more phonetic approach to interlanguage phonology, by trying to establish a connection between the time of acquisition and the phonetic distance separating sets of given phonemes from L1 and L2.

The material used consists in existing corpora of advanced learners of English at various levels, i.e. recordings of English first-year students for the Longdale project, of intermediary students in L2 and L3 and of very advanced students (competitors for the agrégation, the highly selective national examinations for teachers of English).

The final section of the paper confronts the findings and the reality of second language acquisition with the requirements of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR) for phonetic performance and its longitudinal mapping onto phonological competence.

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### **Non-canonical 'subjects' in Spanish: Contexts of emergence and paths of evolution.**

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Among the modern Indo-European languages, Spanish is known to possess a series of constructions with peculiar characteristics that seem to suggest a phenomenon of non-canonical subject marking (Masullo 1993, Fernández Soriano 1999a,b, Rivero 2004, among others). Most of these constructions did not exist in the early stages of the language, but developed over time, gradually, and along a variety of paths dependent on the types of verbs involved in the change. In all cases, the process of change amounted to the introduction, in certain clausal environments, of a new DAT-V-NOM pattern, which signified a movement away from the language's canonical transitive syntax (Melis & Flores 2009).

In this paper, we intend to focus on the mechanisms by which some of these dative-subject constructions came into being. Specifically, we will be looking at 1) *gustar* ( $Me_{\text{DAT}} \text{ gusta esta novela}_{\text{NOM}}$  'I like this novel') – the most discussed example of the Spanish dative-subject verbs, whose origin goes back to a more or less regular experiencer-subject verb (Melis 1998, Vázquez Rozas & Rivas 2007) –, 2) some members of the causative emotional class (*A Juan\_{\text{DAT}} le preocupa la*

*salud*<sub>NOM</sub> *de María* ‘Mary’s health worries John / John worries about Mary’s health’), 3) the “sufficiency” verbs (*Te*<sub>DAT</sub> *sobra dinero*<sub>NOM</sub> ‘You have more than enough money’), 4) the reflexive passive (*Se le*<sub>DAT</sub> *dio una propina*<sub>NOM</sub> ‘He was given a tip’), and 5) the accidental event construction (*Se me*<sub>DAT</sub> *rompió el vaso*<sub>NOM</sub> ‘I broke the vase [accidentally]’). Our corpus-based analysis will highlight formal properties, semantic features, and pragmatic motivations, which, at one point or another, to varying degrees, and sometimes conjointly, played an essential role in the rise, spread, and increasing entrenchment of the non-canonical case assignment phenomenon.

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### **The Linguistic Influence of Spanish on P’urhepecha: Language Contact in Central Western Mexico.**

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Spanish has been in contact with numerous Mexican indigenous languages since Spanish Conquistadors arrived in Mexico in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Such is the case of P’urhepecha (also known as Tarascan), one of the 56 indigenous languages still spoken in Mexican territory. It is the language of the P’urhepecha people, who originally inhabited an area covering large portions of the states of Michoacán, Jalisco, Estado de México, and Colima in central western Mexico. P’urhepecha represents a language isolate and, even though it is still spoken today by perhaps as many as 200,000 people—mostly in the state of Michoacán—P’urhepecha has not been sufficiently researched, and the contact between this intriguing indigenous language and Spanish, more specifically the Spanish of Michoacán, has largely been ignored.

To be sure, both Spanish and P’urhepecha have been influenced by each other in the five hundred years since the Spanish Conquest. Centuries of close contact have modified the linguistic landscape of each of these two languages. However, in this exchange Spanish, as a global language and the dominant language in Mexico, has exerted by far the greatest impact on P’urhepecha, which has experienced lexical as well as grammatical influences as a result of this contact, while Spanish has been mostly altered with respect to its lexicon. The present descriptive study explores the history and current state of the contact between the two languages and, drawing from sources such as folk tales, songs, and the author’s own notes, provides an analysis of the major lexical and grammatical features that have been borrowed from Spanish into P’urhepecha, as well as some considerations on the possible future that this situation of close linguistic contact may bring for the minority language, all this with the intention of shedding light upon issues of language contact between Spanish and the indigenous languages of Mesoamerica.

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### Morphological irregularity in Russian and Byelorussian.

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In the history of Common Slavic several sound changes appeared that caused palatalization of velar plosives to palatal affricates and / or fricatives (mainly) when preceding front vowels. This resulted in allomorphy of consonantal stems according to the phonological shape of the inflection markers: cf. *bogb*<sub>nominative sg.</sub> ‚god‘, *boga*<sub>genitive sg.</sub> (back vowels) vs. *bože*<sub>vocative sg.</sub>, *bo(d)zě*<sub>locative sg.</sub> (front vowels). Reflexes of these historical sound changes can be found as morphological rules up to now in all Slavic languages, but with interesting differences in their distribution. E.g., in Serbian / Croatian the morphological alternation of stem final velars is fully productive in noun inflection, but it has been reduced in the inflection of verbs. During the 13th-14th century the phonological rule turned into a morphological rule in Russian, too. In fact, allomorphy in stems with velar plosives does not appear in the noun inflection of contemporary Russian (with the one archaism *Bože!* ‚oh God!‘ as an exception). But allomorphic stems have been preserved in verb inflection and derivation. Finite verb forms in the present / perfective future tense show morphological palatalization very regularly, cf. *moč'* ‚to can‘: *mogu*<sub>1st pers. sg.</sub>, *možeš'*<sub>2nd pers. sg.</sub>.

In the neighbouring and genetically related language Byelorussian the distribution of alternating verbal stems in velar plosives is similar to the situation in Russian, but noun allomorphy behaves differently in several respects. First, stem allomorphy with front vowels has not only been preserved in Byelorussian nouns, but also expanded to dental plosives (cf. *horad* ‚town‘, *horadzě*<sub>locative sg.</sub>). Second, masculine nouns on velar plosives developed a tendency to avoid stem allomorphy by introducing a marker on a back vowel *-u*<sub>locative sg.</sub> which is assigned by formal criteria in Byelorussian (cf. *u voku* ‚in the eye‘). The corresponding marker *-u* in Russian nouns, instead, is assigned on functional criteria only (a ‚locative‘ marker in the strict sense, in contrast with the more abstract concept of the ‚prepositional case‘ on the front vowel marker *-e*: cf. *les* ‚forest‘, *v lesu*<sub>locative sg.</sub> ‚in the forest‘ vs. *o lese*<sub>prepositive sg.</sub> ‚about the forest‘). Thus, the distribution of allomorphic stems in the two languages shows considerable differences in detail, which can be interpreted as differences in markedness / naturalness of the forms under discussion.

Actually the language situation in Byelarus is determined by Russian-Byelorussian bilingualism and by a high social prestige of using Russian. In informal contexts different degrees of mixture between the two languages can be observed. A 175 000 word forms corpus of spoken texts is at our disposal, which attests the strategies of mixing on the lexical, morphological and phonological level. This corpus will be consulted to examine the actual usage of the mentioned inflectional forms in the non-standard varieties spoken in Byelarus. The theory to be tested is: Do speakers chose in any case the more regular (less allomorphic, unmarked) of two varying forms? Or do they show some kind of allegiance to one of the competing grammatical systems? And what are the criteria (social or linguistic) that decide about the speakers' preferences for allomorphic or non-allomorphic forms in their ‚mixed‘ speech?

### How close are the Estonian partitive subjects to partitive objects?

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In the Baltic language area differential subject and object marking are wide-spread phenomena but they are conditioned by different factors. Differential subject marking (especially in existential clauses) is often more characteristic of subjects with fewer properties of a prototypical subject, to subjects closer to the objects. The subjects of existential clauses alternate between nominative and partitive/genitive. The latter is automatically accompanied by the unagreement of the predicate. (Wälchli and Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: 656, 665.) E.g. in Estonian:

Peenral kasva-b lilli.  
On the flowerbed grow+3sg flowers.prtv.pl  
'There are *some* flowers growing on the flowerbed.'

Wälchli and Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001) have described these non-canonical grammatical relations as a grey area between typical objects and subjects that permit different sub-divisions. Hiietam (2003: 239-240, 249) illustrates that Hopper and Thompson's Transitivity Hypothesis is in broad terms able to account for the case variation of Estonian subjects and objects, but also that the hypothesis needs to make a more subtle distinction of possible noun phrases constituting the subject relation in terms of Individuation (properties like concrete – abstract, singular – plural, etc. that have been assigned to object arguments only in Hopper and Thompson's theory).

This talk takes a typological approach to differential subject and object marking in Estonian. It compares the phenomena and rules triggering partitive subject marking with the ones triggering partitive object marking (clause type, verb type, meaning of the situation, semantics of the referent of the NP, pragmatic factors) in different clause types. The talk discusses whether the nature of Estonian subject marking can be accounted for in terms of split-S system (cf. Dixon 1994, Nichols 2008) and will place the Estonian data in the typological context (gradient of various split-S languages at Nichols 2008). To test Wälchli's and Koptjevskaja-Tamm's view the results of the case study measuring the distances of partitive and nominative subjects from partitive and total case objects will be presented. In my talk I also present a case study which tests how well Hiietam's suggestions work on broader data of various existential sentences.

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### Gradualness of grammaticalization: a comparative approach of existential constructions in three Romance languages.

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It is widely assumed that grammaticalization is a gradual process and that languages are grammaticalized to different extents. For the Romance languages it has often been claimed that French is far more grammaticalized than Spanish and that Italian occupies an intermediate position between French and Spanish. The existing evidence for this claim comes from several areas, such as auxiliaries (Kuteva 2001), prepositions (Lamiroy 2001) and word order (Marchello-Nizia 2006). The aim of this contribution is to investigate whether and to what extent this hypothesis also applies to existential constructions in the three languages under consideration.

In French, Italian and Spanish the most frequent existential construction is respectively *il y a* (1), *c'è* (2) and *hay* (3) :

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

Interestingly, these existential constructions are highly grammaticalized in the three languages. Firstly, they contain a locative morpheme: *y* in French, *ci* in Italian and enclitic *-y* in Spanish (Blasco Ferrer 2004). Secondly, the verb used in French and Spanish has a possessive origin, which is desemantized in its existential use (Heine et Kuteva 2005). Finally, all three languages manifest either lack of flexion or a tendency towards its loss (it is the case of *c'è* in certain variants of informal Italian), which are both considered to be characteristic of a process of decategorialization (Traugott & Heine 1991).

The purpose of this contribution is to offer a comparative approach of the gradualness of grammaticalization of existentials in French, Spanish and Italian drawing on empirical evidence. The analysis will be based on a systematic corpus study of written newspaper articles of “Le Monde” for French, “Il Corriere della Sera” for Italian and “El País” for Spanish. The analysis will apply the six parameters of grammaticalization as defined by Lehmann (1985 and 1995), i.e. attrition, paradigmaticization, obligatorification, condensation, coalescence and fixation. These parameters are particularly useful for our purpose as they are “characteristic of grammaticalization which has already attained a fairly advanced stage” (Hopper 1991 : 21).

The discussion of Lehmann's six parameters of grammaticalization suggests that - as expected - French existential constructions display several signs of a very advanced grammaticalization process, which their Spanish and Italian correspondants lack. However, it shows that - at least for the case of existential constructions - it is not Spanish but Italian which is least grammaticalized of the three Romance languages under consideration.

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### Transitivity and the diachronic development of impersonals with indefinite agents in West Slavic.

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Impersonals with indefinite agents in West Slavic form a mixed bag, including clauses with 3rd person plural verbs (1-b), reflexive verbs (1-a, 1-c), and the Polish (Pl) *-no /-to* construction (2). These have been analyzed repeatedly synchronically (Růžička 1986, Siewierska 1988 and references therein), but only rarely in diachrony. According to existing analyses, Old Czech (OCz) had indefinite impersonals with *non-reflexive* verbs (Trávníček 1951), which were replaced by reflexive constructions in the 16th century. Agreeing reflexive impersonals (traditionally viewed as passive) were formed from transitive verbs in OCz (Havránek 1928) and spread to intransitives after the 15th century (Schäfer 1982, Gebauer 1929 [2007]). In (modern) Polish (Pl), agreeing reflexive impersonals are restricted to mediopassive use (Wilczewska 1966, Szymańska 2000). Pisarkowa (1984) views them as remnants of a change towards non-agreeing forms since 17th century. In Pl, but not in Cz, the non-agreeing variant shows binding and control properties which indicate the presence of a zero [+human] syntactic subject (Dyła 1983, Siewierska 1988, Růžička 1986), and allows for accusative objects. So does the Pl *-no /-to* construction, which allegedly arose in 17th century (Oesterreicher 1926, Shevelov 1968, Lavine 2005). All the relevant constructions in Pl and Cz semantically imply [+human] first arguments which cannot be realized overtly as "by-phrases".

The paper scrutinizes the history of the mentioned impersonals on the basis of diachronic corpora (Institute of Polish language, Kraków, and several others; Czech National Corpus; Czech Academy corpus), taking into account qualitative and quantitative developments. Random samples of 1000 reflexive constructions per language and half century, along with about 2200 *-no /-to* cases have been analyzed. Both in Cz and in Pl, the basic development runs from agreeing to non-agreeing, gradually extending over larger verb classes. Accusative objects in Pl non-agreeing reflexives were clearly established after the respective cases of *-no /-to* constructions (a fact unnoticed in the literature), which may explain the lack of transitivity in Cz reflexive impersonals. This point is confronted with the development of the impersonal perfect in North Russian (Serzhants 2009). Synchronic analyses argue that Pl *-no /-to* is an instance of degrammaticalization (violation of unidirectionality), namely, the "freeing" of a passive suffix to become an auxiliary (Lavine 2005). Others assume a semantically bleached zero subject (Szucsich 2008). Lavine's analysis predicts a constraint rate of change (cf. Kroch 2000) for the loss of the copula and the rise of transitivity. We argue that the decisive factor distinguishing Pl from Cz indefinite impersonals was the introduction of an empty indefinite which could be assigned an external theta role. The increase in transitivity was thus related to a fixation of subject properties.

#### Examples

- (1) a. Hovorí sa, že tu v Pásme niekto žije, nejakí ľudia.  
say-3SG REFL.ACC that here in zone someone-NOM live-PRS.3SG some-NOM.PL people  
,It is said that someone lives here in the zone, some people.' (Strugackie: Picknick, Slovak translation)
- b. Opowiadają podobno, że w Strefie ktoś mieszka.  
say-3PL allegedly that ... (Polish trl.)
- c. Ono se říká, že v Pásmu nějací lidé žijí.  
EXPL REFL.ACC say-3SG that ... (Czech trl.)
- (2) Przykazał, aby łódkę uczyniono z rokitnicy.  
order-PT.M.SG that-SBJ boat-F.ACC.SG make-NTF from wicker-F.GEN.SG

,He ordered that a boat be made of wicker.' [1510; Brajerski 1979, cit. after Lavine 2005]

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## Partitives and negation, a cross-linguistic survey.

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Negation affects case marking in some European languages (Finnic, Baltic, Slavic and Basque): NPs in the scope of negation are marked with a case that has a partitive-marking function (partitive or genitive), either obligatorily or as a matter of preference. The following examples illustrate the case alternations in Finnish:

### (1) Finnish (constructed examples)

- |                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                           |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. <i>söin banaani-n</i><br>eat.PST.1SG banana-GEN<br>'I ate {a/the} banana.'                                            | b. <i>söin banaani-t</i><br>eat.PST.1SG banana-PL.NOM<br>'I ate the bananas.'                                             |
| c. <i>söin banaani-a</i><br>eat.PST.1SG banana-PART<br>'I {ate some / was eating {a/the}}<br>banana.'                    | d. <i>söin banaane-j-a</i><br>eat.PST.1SG banana-PL-PART<br>'I {ate (some) / was eating {(some)/the}}<br>bananas.'        |
| e. <i>en syönyt banaani-a</i><br>NEG.1SG eat.PST.PTCP banana-PART<br>'I {didn't eat / wasn't eating} {a/the}<br>banana.' | f. <i>en syönyt banaane-j-a</i><br>NEG.1SG eat.PST.PTCP banana-PL-PART<br>'I {didn't eat / wasn't eating} (the) bananas.' |

In these examples, the object of the affirmative may be, on the one hand, in the genitive or nominative depending on the morphosyntactic environment (1a-b), or, on the other, in the partitive (1c-d). In the negative, only the partitive is possible (1e-f). Related case asymmetries between affirmatives and negatives are also found in some existential sentences where subjects can be either nominative or partitive in affirmatives but negatives have to use the partitive.

The tendency for NPs to receive partitive marking in the scope of negation is not limited to morphologically bound case marking. French negatives show a similar pattern with free determiners. The partitive marker *de* occurs instead of indefinite articles in most contexts: *Je mange une pomme* 'I eat / am eating an apple' vs. *Je ne mange pas de pomme* 'I do not eat / am not eating an apple'.

Although the link between partitives and negation is relatively well-studied in European languages, it has not been systematically addressed in typological research. Similar phenomena have been reported in some language groups outside Europe, e.g., in some Oceanic languages, but their cross-linguistic distribution is not known. The present papers aims to fill

this gap. It will report the results of a large-scale typological survey of the link between partitives and negation.

To situate the phenomenon in a larger context, attention will be paid to other effects that negation has on the marking of grammatical categories within NPs, e.g. on the marking of referentiality and focus. In a yet larger context, the effects on NPs are one of the many ways in which negation can affect the structure of clauses, or in Miestamo's (2005) terms, one of the many ways in which negatives can show asymmetry vis-à-vis affirmatives.

These larger contexts become relevant when we start looking for explanations for the link between partitives and negation. In the literature, it has been attributed to different semantic and pragmatic factors, including aspect and referentiality. The typological evidence suggests that aspect does not play a role, but referentiality is an important factor in explaining the link.

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### The syntax and semantics of kind of/sort of-binominals in Romance languages.

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While there are now a number of detailed syntactic and semantic analyses of the English *kind of/sort* binominals (see, for instance, Brems/Davidse/De Smedt 2007 and 2008, Denison (in preparation) and Keizer 2007), systematic studies in Romance languages are still rather scarce. The aim of this paper is to analyze the equivalent *kind of/sort of*-binominals in French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish based on both spoken and written corpus data and by combining the synchronic and the diachronic perspective. The paper by Brems/Davidse/De Smedt (2008) will serve as a starting point for a comparison of Romance languages and English as well as the different Romance languages, which, however, share important properties which distinguish them from English. In a first step the ungrammaticalized taxonomic nouns and their various discourse uses will be discussed, in particular the differences between uses and functions in learned contexts, where these nouns originated, and colloquial uses will be analyzed. The particular colloquial functions of nouns referring to subclasses such as French *espèce* and its cognates in the other Romance languages pointing to new or marginal category members will be shown to be crucial for the emergence of anaphoric uses as well as emphatic quantifier uses with universal quantifiers, negative quantifiers and free-choice determiners. These uses can lead to further grammaticalization processes as in the case of the Catalan negative particle *gens*. As shown in Mihatsch (2007) a parallel strand of development based on peripheral category membership leads to approximator uses, which in turn are the source of a series of derived discourse marker functions such as quotative markers, attenuating devices and numeric approximation in English, not, however, in the analyzed Romance languages. Here, we observe a different, although related construction type, namely taxonomic nouns either used attributively or post-nominally and which refer to superordinate categories. This explains why a different set of taxonomic nouns is recruited for this function in the Romance languages, i.e. French *genre*, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish *tipo*, while English *kind* and *sort* may express both sub- and superordination. As in English all the new functions are accompanied by the loss of reference and trigger grammatical changes which lead to the loss of nouniness of the taxonomic noun, as can be seen, for instance, in the loss of the possibility to get modified by adjectives. However, unlike the English *kind of/sort of*-construction the Romance equivalents show number concord with the following noun rather than the loss of number marking, and, invisible in English, the most grammaticalized forms show gender concord.

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## Exuberant Complexity: The Interplay of Morphology, Syntax, and Prosody in Central Alaskan Yup'ik.

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In many European languages, written language shows greater syntactic complexity than spoken varieties. Writing lacks the prosodic cues to structure available to listeners, necessitating greater exploitation of segmental marking. Writers also have more time to create complex structures. It has thus been hypothesized that unwritten languages will have less developed grammatical machinery for expressing relations among ideas. A number of unwritten languages of the Americas appear to confirm the hypothesis.

One set of American languages provides striking counter-evidence. The Eskimo-Aleut languages show elaborate marking of syntactic complexity. (Examples here are drawn from Central Alaskan Yup'ik spontaneous speech, primarily conversation.) All verbs carry an inflectional 'mood' suffix which distinguishes independent from dependent clauses. There are three independent moods: indicative, interrogative (for content questions), and optative (for requests). There are ten dependent moods: subordinative, participial, past contemporative ('when in the past'), overlapping contemporative ('while'), simultaneous contemporative ('at the same time that'), precessive ('before'), concessive ('although, even if'), contingent ('whenever'), consequential ('because'), and conditional ('if', 'when in the future'). These constructions show more advanced grammaticalization than most European counterparts: they are marked by bound morphology. Furthermore, some ideas expressible in European languages only with complex sentences can be conveyed in a single Yup'ik word, like *Tangvagnia* 'He says that someone is watching her'. Individual components can even be negated or tensed. A past suffix can be added after the root *tangvag-* 'watch' to yield 'He says that someone was watching her', or after the suffix *-ni-* 'say' to yield 'He said that someone was watching her', or after both, for 'He said that someone had been watching her'.

Such elaboration might seem redundant for spoken language, where prosodic structuring is always available. In fact the two kinds of structuring are not always the same. They often run in parallel. Most clauses are spoken in a separate intonation unit (or more). Simple sentences typically begin with a pitch reset then descend to a terminal fall. Complex sentences are also typically spoken under a single prosodic envelope but with internal structure; each sub-phrase begins with a smaller reset and descends to a non-terminal fall, until the last. But speakers have choices in clause combining. Sequences of events can be expressed in series of independent sentences, perhaps related by a discourse particle. These portray events perceived as quite distinct. They can also be conveyed by complex sentences, where sub-events are more closely associated. There is a third option. They can be conveyed by series of grammatically dependent clauses, each pronounced as a complete intonation unit in itself. The prosody reflects their distinctness, but the grammar reflects their discourse-level relatedness. Additional prosodic constructions convey aspects of semantic, discourse, and information structure not available from the syntax alone.

The syntactic complexity of these languages is not the result of contact with European languages. The markers and structures can be traced back to Proto-Eskimo-Aleut (Fortescue, Jacobson, Kaplan 1994). But the complexity does not mean that literacy can have no effect on the development of complex syntax. It simply shows that complexity can arise on its own in unwritten languages.

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## Properties of the progressive aspect in Chechen.

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This paper deals with the properties of the progressive aspect in Chechen (Nakh, Nakh-Daghestanian). Chechen has very complex aspectual system which has not been described before. Chechen has four basic aspectual distinctions: perfective, imperfective, habitual, and progressive. This paper also gives an overview of Chechen aspectual system (Chechen has an equipollent aspectual system), but the attention is paid mostly to the aspectual properties of the progressive aspect.

In some languages, the use of the progressive forms is obligatory (e.g. in English), i.e. requiring progressive form, a non-progressive form cannot be used. In others languages, the use of the progressive is optional (e.g. in Spanish, Italian), i.e. a non-progressive form can also have a progressive reading (Comrie 1976:33). Chechen also belongs to the languages characterized by the obligatory use of progressive forms. It distinguishes two kinds of progressive aspect: *durative* and *focalized* progressive (these terms are adopted from Bertinetto et al. 2000:527).

First, this paper shows how Chechen progressive aspect relates to the imperfective, and how progressive differs from imperfective. According to Dahl (1985:92), 'in languages with a perfective-imperfective distinction, the prototypical progressive contexts would be imperfective.' The imperfective and progressive are often treated as 'partially or wholly identified' (ibid.). The aspectual distinction expressed by stem form alternation is perfective and imperfective. The progressives are marked as imperfective. The progressives (focalized and durative) are marked periphrastically, i.e. the

combination of the simultaneous converb *-(u)sh* (which is marked as imperfective) and auxiliary *du* forms the durative progressive (ex. 1) and *doall* for the focalized progressive (ex. 2).

Second, this paper also investigates the interaction of the focalized and durative progressives with the iterative habitual aspects and its compatibility with Aktionsarten. While the focalized progressive is compatible only with activity and accomplishments verbs, the durative progressive is compatible with many Aktionsart categories, for instance, it can occur with the stative verbs. The focalized progressive indicates a certain frame of time where the activity is in progress at the moment of speech. In addition, there is a full-fledged iterative aspect, which can be marked as perfective, imperfective, habitual, and progressive as well.

Finally, the restrictions on using animate and inanimate subjects in the progressive tenses are discussed. The progressive constructions (durative and focalized) can be used with the subject in nominative or in ergative case (most preferable subject in nominative case). The focalized progressive allows only human subjects in the nominative case, whereas the durative progressive allows human and animate subject. The subject in both progressive constructions must be in the ergative case, hence, with nominative subject, is ungrammatical (Table 1).

Table 1.

	Human subject	Non-human subject	Inanimate subject
Focalized Progressive	+	-	-
Durative Progressive	+	+	-
Focalized and durative progressive with the subject in the ergative case	+	+	+

#### Durative progressive

1. *naana xudar d-ie-sh j-u*  
 mother.NOM(J) porridge.NOM(D) D-make:IPFV-CVBsim J-be.PRS  
 'Mother is cooking some porridge.'

#### Focalized Progressive

2. *naana xudar d-ie-sh j-oall*  
 mother.NOM(J) porridge.NOM(D) D-make:IPFV-CVBsim J-be.PROG.PRS  
 'Mother is cooking some porridge (at this moment).'

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### Atypical ergative marking in Hindi and related languages.

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The ergative case is said to be the case for agents in specific languages and under specific conditions (split ergativity according to aspect (Hindi/Urdu) or salience or both (Panjabi/Marathi)) (Pandharipande 1991; 1997). However it occurs with non-agentive intransitive subjects that have been attested: a) with so called 'anti-impersonal' verbs - a well documented chapter of the relevant literature (Lazard 1985; Montaut 2004); b) in modal constructions such as potential or obligatory ones - not so well documented chapter (Pandharipande 1997, Montaut 2009). The ergative case marks also transitive non-agentive (experiential) subjects in Hindi (which constitute again a less documented chapter, dealing predominantly with ergative construction of predicates such as 'feel').

There are two main working questions posed in the paper. Is there a link between these two categories of the agent in accomplished transitive action predicates and non-agents marked with the ergative case? Do we have to analyze the postposition *ne/ni* (or *le/la* in Himalayan speeches) as one marker or two distinct markers?

In order to answer the above questions I will examine the data from Hindi/Urdu and other Indo-Aryan tongues (Marathi, Punjabi, Pahari dialects etc.). It appears that, although the canonical construction involving ergative case is required essentially by transitive verbs which in Hindi, and generally in Indo-Aryan, are predominantly agentive, the *ne/ni* marker was not originally a marker for source (agent), but for location. This original meaning is still perceptible in the non-canonical ergative patterns such as potential or obligative structures of Marathi, which resemble 'experiential' structures in Hindi (dative/locative/genitive main argument). What is common to these patterns, viewed in terms of cognitive trajectory (Langacker 1999) is that they profile a predicative relation of an intransitive type in the foreground, and background the source (or the locator). What is specific to ergative patterns will be investigated in contrast to nominative (aspectual

semantics) and to other locational case markers (semantic roles) with reference to predicative notions displaying dative/ergative, or locative/ergative, alternation in their construction.

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## Verb Movement: The Contrast between English and Lithuanian.

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This paper discusses V features, nominative case checking, and V movement in Chomsky's (1995) minimalist program, explains the facets of the English subjunctive and imperative, and contrasts the difference of V movement between English and Lithuanian.

I propose that V movement can be accounted for in the unitary Infl system where I is a bundle of features. The feature matrices [-Tense, +Agr] and [+Tense, -Agr] will be argued for the subjunctive and imperative respectively; the auxiliary *do*, a dummy tense carrier, can be inserted into [+Tense] of imperatives, while untensed I cannot accommodate *do* in subjunctives, e.g.:

- (1) Imperative: Do not be lenient.
- (2) Subjunctive: I insist that you (\*do) not be lenient.

The imperative *do* never inflects for agreement even if its overt subject is either third person singular or archaic *thou*, hence [-Agr]:

- (3) Present-day: Everybody do/\*does sit down.
- (4) Shakespeare: Now do/\*dost thou watch, for I can stay no longer.

On the other hand, [+Agr] is a dependent case checker which must be activated by another head under head-to-head adjacency (Raposo 1987); the complementizer *that* is necessary for subjunctives to connect to the chain of Agr activation and check off the nominative case, e.g.:

- (5) Subjunctive: I asked [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>C</sub> that] [<sub>IP</sub> he [<sub>I</sub> +Agr] take the medicine]].
- 

head-to-head activation

Cf. \*I asked he take the medicine.

Furthermore, finite V carries [+Tense, +Agr] in present-day English, but [+Tense, +Agr, +Mood] in earlier English, due to the fact that mood was morphologically realized on the surface of the Old English verb form by the subjunctive morpheme *e*, which disappeared in the period of Middle English. The claim is that V movement can be accounted for in terms of the numerical strength of V features: *The more, the stronger*. Thus all Vs used to raise over *not* with three positive features in older English, e.g.:

- (6) Obsolete: I know not *t*.

In present-day English, main verbs remain in situ, with two positive features, e.g.:

- (7) Indicative with main V: John often kisses Mary.  
Cf. \*John kisses often *t* Mary.
- (8) Indicative with *be*: You are always *t* lenient.

But no Vs move with only one positive feature in subjunctives and imperatives, e.g.:

(9) Subjunctive: I insist that you not be lenient.

Cf. \*I insist that you be not *t* lenient. (archaic)

(10) Imperative: Do not be lenient.

Cf. \*Be not *t* lenient. (archaic)

This hypothesis highlights the difference of V movement between English and other European languages. As long as mood is morphologically specified in the verb, the hypothesis functions even in the case of Dutch (Cf. Vikner 1997).

In Lithuanian as well, there are three morphological moods: the indicative, subjunctive, and imperative. As a Baltic language, it reflects archaic characteristics of the Proto-Indo-European (Sakurai 2007). I will examine sufficient Lithuanian data and reach the conclusion that all finite Lithuanian verbs raise from V to I (and then to C) due to the existence of mood morphology, regardless of the mood to which they belong.

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### Double government in Polish: semantic and pragmatic motivation for the use of genetivus partitivus.

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Polish does not use a separate case or a specialized case marking for partitives; within the rich case system of contemporary Polish, the "partitive meaning" is considered as an extension of the prototypical meaning of the Genitive (reference-point constructions).

In my presentation, I will consider a particular instance of the use of *genetivus partitivus* in contemporary Polish: following my earlier research (Tabakowska 2001a, b and in print), I will focus upon what Polish linguists call "double government", i.e. the alteration between the Accusative and the Genitive as the marker of direct object in constructions with transitive verbs. A corpus-illustrated analysis will be carried out to demonstrate that the opposition, which traditional Polish linguistics often classifies as a case of free variation, is in fact clearly motivated by semantic and pragmatic factors.

In contemporary Polish cases of *dwojaki rząd* ("double government") are attested, but motivation underlying the opposition is often unclear for both the theorists and the native speakers of the language. In grammar books, the difference between the two structures is described in general terms as the opposition between the "holistic" meaning of the Accusative case and the "part-of-the-whole" meaning of the *genetivus partitivus*. However, analysis of actual data points to the need of a more subtle description. Such an attempt was actually made about 30 years ago – in what would be today called the cognitivist vein – by Zdzisław Kempf (2007), who postulated two subcategories, which he called "the *partitivus* of a weakened activity" and "the temporal *partitivus*". The two types are used to convey, respectively, the meaning of a low extent of involvement of the object in the event described (cf. Moravcsik 1978) or its short duration.

A corpus-illustrated analysis will reveal some pragmatic factors that restrict the use of either of the two types of partitives, thus pointing out discursive motivation for their use in opposition to structures with the Accusative. In conclusion, I will present some general observations on the "conspiracy" between verbal aspect and case.

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## Gradability and events: past participles inflected as superlatives in Italian.

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From a typological point of view, participles may have adjectival properties (cf. Levin and Rappaport 1986), and may be gradable. In Italian past participles (PPs) may allow an inflectional superlative, derived by adding the suffix *-issimo*. This paper focuses on the gradability issue with regard to Italian PPs inflected as superlatives, through a corpus-based analysis of written Italian (see References). Two issues are investigated: (i) the semantic readings available with the superlative of PPs, (ii) the constraints on the use of PPs as superlatives.

The discussion will show that the use of a past participle as a superlative in Italian may give rise to two different entailments, depending on the adjectival or verbal nature of the derived form. In the first case the participle is used as an adjective and denotes a property at its highest degree, as is proper with the superlative (Cuzzolin & Lehmann 2004: 1213). This is extended to a form like *morto* “dead” (ex. 1), generally taken as a paradigmatic case of non-gradable adjective (cf. Paradis 2001: 52):

- (1) *gli* *avevamo detto* *che era* *morto*, *mortissimo*  
him have.we told that be.he dead dead: PP-superlative  
“we had told him that he was dead, \*very dead”.

However, the superlative of the PP may imply the same reading(s) as the degree modifier *molto* “much”, i.e. it occurs with an adverbial value, as in ex. (2):

- (2) *è* *bevitissimo* *il* *caffè* *d'orzo*  
is drunk: PP-superlative the coffee burley  
“Burley coffee is \*much drunk (interpretable as ‘drunk by many people’)”.

In order to account for this specific case, confirming that gradability is not a distinctive property of adjectives (as in Jackendoff 1977 and Croft 2001), but is common to all categories (cf. Sapir 1944, Kennedy and McNally 2005), I will first consider both the use of PPs as superlatives and their modification by “much”, through a comparison of the scope characteristics of the two constructions.

I examine the Italian data starting from the approach put forward in Kennedy (1999), Kennedy and McNally (2005), and Doetjes (2008), according to which adjectives should be characterized in terms of scales, distinguished on the basis of their being *closed* or *open* (the scale has minimal and/or maximal elements, or lacks them): in particular, Kennedy and McNally assumed that “the scale structure of deverbal adjectives can be predicted based on the event structure associated with the source verb” (2005: 361).

I seek to determine whether this approach can throw new light onto the parameters determining the semantics and the distribution of the inflectional superlative with PPs in Italian. More specifically, I will try to explain how the interplay of the different aspectual properties of predicates and their specific semantic contents may influence the behaviour of the PP with respect to gradability.

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### Corpora:

Corpus *La Repubblica* (380 million words): <http://sslmit.unibo.it/repubblica>  
Corpus *ItWac* (2 thousand million words): [www.sketchengine.co.uk](http://www.sketchengine.co.uk)

## System-defining principles as a tool for describing areal-typological relatedness.

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The three Eastern Baltic languages Latvian, Latgalian and Lithuanian offer a vast array of structural properties that are interesting to study from an areal-typological perspective. With some of these properties Eastern Baltic as a whole displays areal relatedness to neighboring languages, while other features distinguish individual languages or dialects, bringing them closer to genetically non-related or not closely related neighbors. This is reflected in the literature on linguistic areas where Baltic languages have been taken into account: Where a large linguistic area is constructed, all three languages belong there – they are Circum-Baltic languages (Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001; Nau 1996), they belong to the large North East European area (Christen, Locher & Wälchli 1996) or the medium-sized Eastern Baltic area (Mathiassen 1986). On the other hand, groupings of languages into smaller areas with more common features cut through the Eastern Baltic branch: Latvian shows significant similarities with Finnic languages of the area and local varieties of German, while Latgalian and Lithuanian display closer areal relatedness to Belarusian and regional Polish (cf. Déczy 1973; Haarman 1976; Stolz 1991; Nau forthcoming).

While the geographic spread of linguistic structures has interested linguists for a considerable time, there are quite different views on goals and methods of their investigation. From the perspective of historical linguistics, parallels in languages are interesting only as results of certain processes of language change, and the main goal of areal linguistics consequently is to describe these processes, thus to answer the question "What happened?" (Campbell 2006b: 21-22). Other linguists understand areal linguistics and the construction of linguistic areas in a more general way as a special perspective within comparative (synchronic as well as diachronic) and descriptive linguistics (Muysken 2008: 2). It is this latter perspective that will be adopted here.

Linguistic areas are commonly constructed by a set of features shared by the respective languages. Quite often these sets look random: there is one phonological feature, one from verbal morphology, a third concerning word-order, and so on (see, for example, the lists given in Campbell 2006a). However, if our goal is to show that areal relatedness is reflected in a common profile of languages, more satisfying than a listing of isolated parallels is the exploration of parallels in subsystems of languages, as case marking, tense and aspect systems etc. This approach is reflected in the organization of the comprehensive overview on Circum-Baltic languages by Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli (2001).

Structural properties characteristic for a linguistic subsystem may be described in the form of statements. For example, the expression of modality in Latgalian is characterized by statements as "Epistemic and non-epistemic modality are expressed by different linguistic means", "Non-epistemic modality is expressed by verbs", "In constructions expressing non-epistemic necessity, the actor is marked with the dative". Such statements will be called system-defining principles, and the paper attempts to show how this concept can be used for the synchronic description of areal relatedness, focusing on Latvian and Latgalian.

The first field chosen to exemplify the method is modality. Here, both the large-scale and the closer areal relationships outlined above can be modeled by system-defining principles shared (completely or partially) among neighboring languages, which in turn favors parallel grammaticalization and material borrowing. The second example will show how the proposed method can also help comprehend the areal connection of structural parallels in non-neighboring, but still areally related languages: logophoric pronouns are found in Latgalian and Finnish dialects (Nau 2006), but not in Low Latvian and Estonian.

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### **The central Eurasian personal pronouns.**

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A number of language families originating in central Eurasia have personal pronouns and pronominal affixes (verb agreement, possession) with first person /m/ and second person T (an apical or palatal obstruent) (henceforth: m-T pronominals). The fairly sparse cross-family survey in WALS (Nichols & Peterson 2005) shows that, although a few isolated tokens of m-T patterns can be found elsewhere in the world, the large cluster of language families displaying it in northern Eurasia is a conspicuous singularity. As such, it has a history and that history merits study.

This paper reports on a much denser survey of pronominals in many daughter languages in all families in Eurasia and a fairly dense worldwide survey. Surveyed are the first and second root consonants in these paradigms: independent pronouns (nominative/absolute stem, oblique stem), possessive affixes, verb subject agreement affixes (the two main allomorphs), and verb object agreement affixes (the two main allomorphs), for first and second persons in all numbers (plus inclusives if any). Unlike any previous study, this one asks questions about retention and survival rates: Which paradigm type (independent pronouns, possessive affixes, etc.) is most conservative in preserving the m-T pattern where it is inherited? Which paradigm type is most consistent in displaying m-T (whether inherited or secondary)? What is the survival rate for m-T and for just /m/? Survival rates are measured in three ways: (i) average longevity across daughter languages, from protolanguage to modern daughter languages (used where there is fair scholarly consensus on the age of the branch or family); (ii) percent of daughter languages retaining m-T (counted within subgroups and within whole families); (iii) total number and percent of arcs, from most recent subgroup protolanguage to attested daughter or from higher to lower subgroup, that retain the m-T pattern. They are measured within strict person-number categories (1sg, etc.) and looser categories (any first person, etc.)

The survey is still underway. Tentative findings so far: There is no single universal paradigm type where the m-T pattern (or any other pattern) is most stable; it depends on which parts of speech are most basic and which are derived in the given family. E. g. where independent pronouns are basic they tenaciously retain m-T patterns; where pronouns are derived, affixes retain m-T better. The m-T pattern is not ancient in all the families that display it, but is secondary, or at least enhanced, in some, so even if all those families are ultimately related the m-T pattern is unlikely to be a simple inheritance from the ancient macroancestor. Independent innovation of an m-T pattern is rare enough worldwide that the Eurasian cluster must be contact-based in part.

The survival rate of m-T and other pronoun consonantism patterns is much greater than that for inclusive/exclusive oppositions and comparable to that for gender (Matasović 2007), but is unlikely to be retained in detectable frequencies for more than about three times the age of the oldest reconstructable families.

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### **Observing communication. A systems theoretical model of language.**

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In a recent survey of linguistic theory, O'Grady (2008) has pointed to the existence of two major paradigms of linguistic theory: *nativism* and *emergentism*. However, it seems to me that a more fundamental divide exists between, on the one hand, theories which like all of nativism and most of emergentism accept mental or representationalist descriptions and

explanations of linguistic phenomena, and, on the other, those relatively few approaches which deny the need for (or even the legitimacy of) bringing in mental concepts when describing or explaining language. Although advocated by one of the founders of emergentism (Hopper 1998), and supported by philosophical arguments (Quine 1960, 1969, 1972; Devitt 2006) and neuro-physiological research (Maturana & Varela 1987), the latter stance (called *eliminativism* by O'Grady 2008, *anti-representationalism* by Varela 1990) has not as yet been as successful as its mental or representationalist analogue. The reasons for this bias are too numerous to be fully examined in this context. Most of them, I think, have to do with our 'innate' incapacity for imagining how language could *not* primarily be about mental representations (as illustrated by the Quine-Chomsky controversy). However, since I do not intend with this paper to launch a philosophical argument, I shall concentrate on a more specific or technical reason for the lack of interest in linguistic theories shunning mental (or semantic) concepts. I think it is only fair to say that anti-representationalist theory, of whatever strand, has not moved very far beyond a mere sketching of its positions (Maturana 1978; Maturana & Varela 1980; Winograd & Flores 1986; Hopper 1988, 1998; Becker 1991; Hartung 1997; Nielsen 2005, 2006; Kravchenko 2006, 2007). There is a serious lack of precise modellings, both with regard to the processes shaping language (explanation) and with regard to what language may look like when described from an anti-representationalist perspective (an exception to the latter is Nielsen 2008). The former problem may, I believe, to some extent be solved by modelling the processes of grammaticalization along the lines of structural coupling. As for the second problem, I shall argue that the relatively well-developed conceptual tools of communication systems theory (Luhmann 1985, 1997) may prove helpful. Both solutions stem from the framework of *autopoietic theory* largely due to the Chilean biologists Maturana and Varela. I leave aside both the task of explaining the central concept of *autopoiesis* and what the solution of the former problem may amount to. Instead, I shall, in my presentation, concentrate on indicating what an anti-representationalist view of language may amount to when modelled by means of the conceptual resources of Luhmann's *systems theory of communication*. There are two sets of concepts relevant to linguistics in Luhmann's theory: (1) those pertaining to the observer, and (2) those pertaining to the events of communication. By *observation* Luhmann understands the twofold event of making a differentiating and designating (referring to) one of the poles of the differentiation. If the object of the observation is not itself an observation, the observation is of first order, otherwise of second order. By the *communicative event* Luhmann understands a triad consisting of message, information and understanding. I show, in some detail, how to make these two sets of concepts yield an anti-representationalist modelling of language (language use) and conclude my presentation by intimating the relevance of anti-representationalism to *decidability theory* (Quine 1960, Nielsen 2003).

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### On the origin(s) of the possessor doubling construction in Norwegian.

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Scandinavian languages and their dialects boast a wide array of possessive constructions, both prenominal and postnominal (see e.g. Delsing 2003a-b; Julien 2005). This paper focuses on the so-called possessor doubling construction in Norwegian, in which the possessor is followed by a ‘pleonastic’ reflexive possessive pronoun, as exemplified in (1a). Other possessive constructions in Norwegian varieties include, among others, the s-genitive in (1b), a postnominal possessor involving non-reflexive possessive pronouns in (1c), and, in older Norwegian, a prenominal possessor doubling construction involving non-reflexive possessive pronouns in (1d):

(1)	a.	<i>Kari</i>	<i>sitt</i>	<i>hus</i>		Modern Norwegian	
		Kari	REFL.NEUT	house			
		‘Kari’s house’					
	b.	<i>Karis</i>		<i>hus</i>		Modern Norwegian	
		Kari=GEN		house			
		‘Kari’s house’					
	c.	<i>Huset</i>	<i>hennes</i>	<i>Kari</i>		Modern Norwegian	
		House-DEF	her	Kari			
		‘Kari’s house’					
	d.	<i>myn</i>	<i>herres</i>	<i>tenere</i>	<i>hanss</i>	<i>hand</i>	1521
		my	lord~GEN	servant	his	hand	
		‘the hand of my lord’s servant’					

In Norwegian, the construction is commonly referred to as *garpegenitiv*, *garp* (Old Norse *garpr*) ‘tough guy; big mouth’ being a common term of abuse for German merchants that lived in Norway in the days of the Hanseatic League (Torp 1992: 151). It is of controversial origin. The very name of the construction seems to suggest that the construction was borrowed from Low German. This view is corroborated by the geographical spread of the construction – it originates in coastal regions (with the city of Bergen as its epicentre) where contact with Middle Low German was at its most intensive. A second argument in favour of the claim that the construction is not of native origin is the reflexive form *sin* which some consider ‘ungrammatical’ in this context (e.g. Knudsen 1967: 65), not least because other Scandinavian varieties use non-reflexive possessive pronouns in possessor doubling constructions. Middle Low German, on the other hand, does not distinguish between reflexive and non-reflexive possessive pronouns and has *sīn* for both. On the other hand, possessor doubling is very common in most Germanic languages and their dialects (Allen 2008: 186ff.), so (1a) may very well have been the result an internal development (e.g. Lødrup 1989). A third possibility is that (1a) was modelled, in part, on one or more of the other possessive constructions in (1) (e.g. Overton 1967).

The purpose of this paper will be to assess earlier claims about the emergence of possessor doubling in Norwegian, both as a single-source development (either external or internal) and as a multiple-source development, building on theoretical analyses of various persuasions (e.g. Fiva 1987, Lødrup 1989, Julien 2005), as well as current theorizing about contact-induced grammatical change (e.g. Heine & Kuteva 2005). Data will be drawn from synchronic dialect syntax studies (e.g. Delsing 2003a-b) and historical studies (e.g. Nesse 2002), and supplemented with own corpus data.

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### Language norm changes: success or failure?

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A number of examples from different languages show that it has been possible to alter language and language use, although it is still unclear how far and under which conditions languages can be influenced by language planning programmes and political decisions.

A standard language reform may after some time either be accepted by the language community and practised by the language users, or it may fail. Another possibility is that the reform is only being accepted and practised by a part of the population and thus becomes a source of language conflict, or it may even stop half-way.

In Norway, some of the general spelling reforms in the first part of the 20th century were successful. The same applies to the 'Norwegianized' spelling of a number of imported words, like *sjåfør* (chauffeur), *filosof* (philosoph), *basseng* (bassin), *nasjon* (nation), *toalett* (toilet) – while for example *departement* (not departemang), *bacon* (not beiken), and *pub* (not pøbb) remain unchanged.

However, another reform of a special kind has turned out to be only a partial success: In 1951 the Norwegian Parliament decided to adopt a new numerical system, i.e. *femtien* 'fifty-one' (as in English and Swedish) instead of *enogfemti* 'one-and-fifty' (as in German). When this reform was discussed, nearly all authorities claimed that this new numerical system would after a short period of time be used by most Norwegians, as people soon would be convinced of its simplicity and rationality. Today, nearly six decades later, this 'new' system is mostly used in contexts where greater clarity is required, for example in the media, while the traditional system is still very much alive. Instead of a new counting system there are now two systems in use, and so far the greater clarity expected has not yet been achieved. It turns out that the two counting systems favour separate 'domains' for counting, i.e. age or telephone numbers, and these differences are part of a new (interesting, but complicated) sociolinguistic situation.

Knowing of the uncertainty involved in language control and change, one should be careful when language reform is being planned. Otherwise language planners might have to redo and undo language planning reforms (cf. the title of Clyne 1997).

When planning language reforms, language planners have often been too optimistic, and they have not always considered all the different factors involved. Therefore – according to Crystal (1987, 364) – «it is hardly surprising that those who study this subject have not yet reached the stage when they can explain why some planning proposals succeed, whereas others fail».

In my paper I will present some examples of language and spelling reforms in Norway in the 20th century and discuss whether it is possible to identify factors which might have promoted, as well as factors which might have delayed, the implementation of language change.

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### Factivity and indirect question: the case of Russian *bespokoit'sja* 'worry'.

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Zeno Vendler (Vendler 1980) associated factivity of the predicate (i.e. truth presupposition of the embedded clause) with its co-occurrence with indirect question (IQ). Subsequent investigations suggested that what is relevant is not exactly factivity but the component 'know' (also 'don't know', 'want to know', etc) in the semantic decomposition of the predicate. Hence the importance of the difference between predicates of **knowledge** (*know, understand, forget, ...*), which co-occur with IQ, and predicates of **belief** (*believe, suppose, ...*), which usually don't (Karttunen, Zaenen 2005).

An interesting case is represented by the Russian verb *bespokoit'sja* 'worry', which dominates IQ, contradicting all common knowledge about the contexts of accepted IQ: i) *bespokoit'sja* is a verb of emotion, and emotions do not dominate IQ; ii) dividing mental verbs into verbs of knowledge and verbs of belief we'd rather attribute *bespokoit'sja* to verbs of belief, which are assumed not to dominate IQ.

Explanation of this phenomenon is put forward, stemming from this verb's semantic decomposition (suggested by Ju.D. Apresjan, NOSS-2004): it contains a component 'don't know', famous for its predisposition to IQ (Bulygina, Shmelev 1997, Paducheva 2004). In this paper the semantics of *bespokoit'sja* is further explored, with the help of the Russian National Corpus, <http://www.ruscorpora.ru/>.

#### The verb *bespokoit'sja* in the context of a dependent IQ

Construction with a general question: *X bəspokoitsja*, *V li* = 1) 'X doesn't know whether **situation V takes place**; 2) X wants V to take place; 3) X feels trouble'.

(a) Igor *bəspokoilsja*, *spravitsja li Andrej s rol'ju* 'Igor worried whether Andrej would cope with the role'

Construction with WH-question: *X bəspokoitsja WH-V* = 1) X is unaware of some **parameter of situation V** and doesn't exclude that V is negative; 2) 'X wants V to be positive; 3) X feels trouble'.

(c) Vladimir *bəspokoilsja – kto*, *v sluchae ego smerti, budet prodolzhat' ego delo?* 'Vladimir worried who would, in case of his death, continue his task'.

#### The verb *bəspokoit'sja* in the context of *that*-clause

Explication for the present or past tense in the dependent clause. *X bəspokoitsja* that *V* = '1) situation *V* takes or took place [presupposition]; 2) X believes that *V* is bad or has negative consequences; 3) X feels trouble'.

(d) Leonja ochen' *bəspokoilsja*, *čto v dome net deneg* 'Leonja worried because there was no money at home'.

Not the same in the context of the future tense – instead of the **presupposition** of existence of a "bad" *V*, *X* has an **opinion** that *V* might take place:

(e) Marija pervoe vremja *bəspokoilas'*, *čto muzh razorit sem'ju na skachkax* 'At first Marija worried that her husband would ruin the family at the races'.

So, we conclude that *bəspokoit'sja* can be used as a verb of belief in propositional contexts, the dependent IQ being possible due to the implicit component 'don't know' in its semantics. Thus, the semantics of the Russian *bəspokoit'sja* is an important contribution to the problem of factivity in its relation to indirect question.

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### A comparison of copied morphemes in Sakha (Yakut) and Èven.

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It is widely accepted that there are differences in the ease with which items are copied from one language to another, with content words such as nouns, adjectives and verbs being more easily copied than function words, which in turn are more easily copied than bound morphemes. Furthermore, derivational morphemes are suggested to be more frequently copied than inflectional affixes (cf. the summary by Wilkins 1996). Weinreich (1953, cited in Wilkins 1996) proposes six properties of morphemes that affect the likelihood of their being copied, ranging from their formal integration and variability via their functional integration to the affectivity of their meaning. In order to further investigate the factors that play a role in the copying of morphemes, data from two typologically similar languages from northeastern Siberia, Turkic Sakha (Yakut) and Tungusic Èven, will be investigated.

Both Sakha and the dialect of Èven spoken in the village of Sebjan-Küöl have verb-final word order and agglutinative, suffixing morphology, and both show clear evidence of contact-induced changes: Sakha contains a large proportion of words of Mongolic origin (Kałuzyński 1962), which were probably copied at a time period when the ancestors of the Sakha were still settled in southern Siberia. The Èvens settled in Sebjan-Küöl are all bilingual in Sakha, the dominant local language of that region, and several contact-induced changes are discernible in their Èven dialect, amongst others copied vocabulary of Sakha origin.

Interestingly, the two languages differ with respect to copied morphology. For Sakha, Kałuzyński (1962) lists over 50 suffixes that he claims have been copied from Mongolic. A closer inspection of these, however, indicates that the majority entered the language only as part of copied lexemes and can thus not be regarded as 'copied suffixes' in their own right. Only 20 suffixes of Mongolic origin are or were actually productive in Sakha, occurring not only with copied Mongolic, but also with native roots. Of these, the vast majority are derivational suffixes, e.g. the nominalizer *-A□/In*, which derives nouns from verbs (1). In contrast, in the Èven dialect spoken in Sebjan-Küöl, it is predominantly inflectional suffixes, and even entire inflectional paradigms, that have entered the language from Sakha, such as the Necessitative mood marker *-jektE□k* plus person markers (2).

These distinctions between the types of morphemes copied by the two languages raise questions about the different copying processes involved in the Sakha-Mongolic and the Èven-Sakha contact situations. In order to obtain insights into these processes, a fine-scaled analysis of the types of copied morphemes as well as their productivity in Sakha and Sebjan-Küöl Èven will be undertaken, using corpora of oral narratives.

(1) Sakha: copied Mongolic nominalizing suffix attached to Turkic root

- gin-a : h̄in*  
do-NR  
'the doings'
- (2) Sebjan-Küöl Èven: copied Sakha necessitative marker plus person marker  
*em-e-jekte : k-kin*  
come-EP-NEC-2SG  
'you have to come'

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### Tense, Aspect and Modality in Past verbal forms: a Cross-linguistic Perspective.

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The relation between tense and modality has been widely acknowledged and documented in the literature. For instance, many scholars (Fleischman 1989, Giorgi & Pianesi 1997, Iatridou 2000, Declerck 2005, Barceló & Bres 2006, Barceló *et al.* 2006) have shown that, in several languages, *temporal distance* denoted by past tenses may convey *modal distance*. On the contrary, as Boogaart & Janssen (2007) point out, the role of (grammatical) aspect in the modal interpretations of tenses has been scarcely explored, except in a few works (Fleischman 1995, Trnavac 2006 and Abraham & Leiss 2008). However, aspect, just as tense, clearly determines the possibility for a given verbal tense to get a modal use. Indeed, in the following example from French, if one replaces the *past imperfective* form by a *past perfective* form, the counterfactual meaning attached to the imperfective aspect is lost:

- (1) Un pas de plus et elle tombait / tomba.  
One step further and she fall-PAST.IMP / fall-PAST.PERF  
'One step further and she would have fallen / fell'

In the present paper, we suggest to investigate the role of grammatical aspect interacting with temporal meaning in the modal interpretations of verbal tenses. We focus on the past verbal forms of five European languages which may express *imperfective*, *progressive* or *neutral*<sup>2</sup> grammatical aspect, namely the French, Spanish and Italian *imperfects*, the English and Dutch *simple pasts* and the English *progressive past*. The study is two-fold.

Firstly, we survey and analyse the modal uses of the past forms under investigation, like the conditionnal use (2), the optative use (3), or the use as a "quasi-epistemic modal" (4) (Giorgi et Pianesi 1997 : 178):

- (2) a. Eng If it rained tomorrow, I would stay home (Thieroff 1999 : 147)  
b. Dut Als ik geld had, zou ik op reis gaan.  
If I money have-PAST.NEUT, would I on travel go.  
'If I had money, I would go travelling'
- (3) a. Fren Si j' étais riche ! (Maupassant, *Les bijoux*)  
If I be-PAST.IMP rich !  
'If only I was rich !'  
b. Eng If only they were coming (Thieroff 1999 : 150)
- (4) a. Spa Juan cantaba mañana. (Inclán 1991 : 130)  
John sing-PAST.IMP tomorrow.  
'John was supposed to sing tomorrow'.  
b. Ital Domani cantava Pavarotti. (Giorgi et Pianesi 1997 : 178)  
Tomorrow sing-PAST.IMP Pavarotti.  
'Tomorrow Pavarotti was supposed to sing'

In doing so, we try to figure out what is the specific role of grammatical aspect and how it interacts with the past temporal meaning to produce modality. The objective is to suggest a model that may account for the relationships between tense, aspect and modality in the five languages studied.

<sup>2</sup> We follow here Smith (1991) who makes a distinction between imperfective, perfective and neutral aspect.

Secondly we use these results to construct semantic maps (see Haspelmath 2003) that account for the modal interpretations of the past forms in the five languages under investigation.

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## The historical development of the *it*-cleft: a comparison of two different approaches.

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This paper compares constructional and generative approaches to grammatical change. While Ball (1991, 1994) investigates the development of the *it*-cleft configuration from within the generative tradition, I have recently reexamined the historical *it*-cleft data from a constructional perspective (see Name 2010). In this paper, I show how our different theoretical assumptions lead us to categorize and analyse the data differently. I conclude that my own constructional approach is better at interpreting the diachronic facts.

Ball (1991, 1994) begins her historical investigation by outlining her understanding of the present-day *it*-cleft. She adopts the *expletive* analysis of the *it*-cleft, developed within the generative tradition (see Chomsky 1977, Williams 1980, Delahunty 1982). For Ball then, *it*-clefts are analysed as corresponding to their simple, noncopular paraphrases. On this account, the initial *it* and the copular verb are semantically empty, *expletive* elements and the postcopular XP is bound to a gap in the sentence-final clause (the *cleft clause*).

- |     |                                                            |                         |
|-----|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) | It was [Howard] <sub>i</sub> [that ____ <sub>i</sub> left] | [ <i>it</i> -cleft]     |
| (2) | Howard left                                                | [canonical counterpart] |

From this starting point, Ball goes on to claim that the specificational *it*-cleft originated in the Early Modern era. She finds that the *it*-cleft subsequently underwent two major changes in its development, occurring with a new range of foci and permitting hearer-new information into the cleft clause. Ball (1991, 1994) explains these developments as resulting from two separate mergers involving the *it*-cleft, an Old English impersonal construction and the Late Middle English pseudocleft.

In Name (2010), I reexamine the historical *it*-cleft data from within the framework of construction grammar. In construction grammar, specialized linguistic patterns are explained in relation to *families* of constructions, located in clusters within the speaker's network of grammatical knowledge. As a result, I treat the *it*-cleft as a member of the family of specificational copular constructions. This leads me to argue for a (non-derivational) *extraposition-from-NP* analysis, in which the cleft clause is analysed as a restrictive relative which modifies the initial *it*, forming a definite-like description.

- |     |                                                          |                                            |
|-----|----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| (3) | [It t <sub>i</sub> ] was Howard [that left] <sub>i</sub> | [ <i>it</i> -cleft]                        |
| (4) | The one that left was Howard                             | [specificational <i>NP be NP</i> sentence] |

With this analysis in place, I find that the specificational *it*-cleft can be traced back to Old English. I go on to argue that the later development of *it*-clefts with non-NP foci and *it*-clefts which express hearer-new information in the cleft clause results from the gradual expansion of the existing *it*-cleft schema, involving *grammatical constructionalization*.

In this paper, I explain how these very different diachronic accounts of the *it*-cleft stem ultimately from two different sets of theoretical assumptions. This causes Ball (1991) and Name (2010) to categorize the data differently (excluding different examples from the main data set) and to view language change in different ways (as either sudden and abrupt (Ball 1991) or gradual and continuous (Name 2010)). I conclude that the constructional approach advocated by Name (2010) better suits the diachronic facts of the *it*-cleft case study and (more generally) is compatible with theories of language change based upon empirical evidence (e.g. grammaticalization).

## Russian Partitive and the Verb Aspect.

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When applied to Russian, the label “partitive” can refer to two different linguistic phenomena: a separate case or a particular use of the genitive. Indeed, it has been argued (*cf.* Jakobson 1936, Neidle 1988, Paus 1994, Franks 1995) that Russian has a partitive case, a second genitive form ending in *-u* (*saxar-a-GENa* + *saxar-u-GENu* ‘sugar’), morphologically identical to the dative case, available for some singular masculine nouns. This *u*-form does often appear in semantically partitive contexts, but it can always alternate with the *a*-genitive (*cf.* Brown & Franks 1995). Moreover, the *u*-morphology is also possible with count nouns, such as *čas* ‘hour’, *dom* ‘house’, *etc.*, and it can be used without partitive meaning, namely when governed by prepositions.

- (1) a. kusok *saxar-a/saxar-u*  
piece.NOM sugar-GENa/sugar-GENu  
“a piece of sugar”  
b. ujti iz *dom-a/dom-u*  
leave from house-GENa/house-GENu  
“leave home/the house”

Therefore we will consider the *u*-form as a variant of the *a*-form and reserve the label “partitive” for a particular use of the genitive, *i.e.* the genitive that appears on internal verb arguments containing mass nouns and bare plurals, as in (2).

- (2) Ja prinesla *vod-y/drov*.  
I.NOM brought water-GEN/firewood.GEN  
“I brought (some) water/firewood.”

In most cases, the partitive genitive competes with the accusative, but it can also appear on subjects of unaccusative verbs used in their impersonal form, thus competing with the nominative.

- (3) a. Ja prinesla *vod-y/vod-u*.  
I.NOM brought water-GEN/water-ACC  
“I brought (some) water/(the) water.”  
b. *Ljud-ej* nabežal-o!*ljud-i* nabežal-i!  
people-GEN came.running-IMPERS/people-NOM came.running-PL  
“People came running!”

We will argue that the opposition between the partitive and the accusative or the nominative does not coincide with the opposition between definite and indefinite NPs as expressed by articles in such languages as English or French, since the accusative and the nominative can give rise to both interpretations. Our hypothesis is that the indefiniteness expressed by the genitive is semantically different: the genitive NP emphasises quantity, while the accusative and the nominative NP denote a class.

Yet, the main emphasis of our presentation will be on the relationship between the partitive genitive and the aspect of the verb assigning it. According to Klenin (1978), the fact that Russian partitive genitive is much more frequent with perfective rather than imperfective verbs can be viewed as an “unexpected wrinkle”. Indeed, many studies assimilate partitive case to imperfective aspect. Kiparsky (1998), for instance, claims that the partitive case in Finnish and the imperfective aspect in Russian both express the unboundedness of the VP. In French, the use of a partitive article in the object confers a non-bounded reading to the predicate (*cf.* Bosveld 2000:52-54). However, in Russian, the imperfective aspect is hardly ever compatible with the partitive case.

- (4) \*Ja vižu *xleb-a*.  
I.NOM see bread-GEN  
“I see (some) bread.”

Russian marks verb aspect independently from tense and from the case of the object. We will argue that since the partitive in Russian denotes a quantity, it always needs bounding by the process, which is provided by the perfective aspect.

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### Some remarks on semantics of comparative structures in Czech.

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One of the key means for conceptualizing and structuring of the image of the world in our minds is the cognitive process of comparison. Through permanent comparing of new perceptions with the already known we are able to orient ourselves in this world and to anchor notions in our mental lexicon. Furthermore Erben (1988) even claim that comparing is one of the basic human needs. He supports his idea by showing a huge amount of possibilities of the linguistic expression of the semantic relation of comparison. Of course, we cannot overrate such an opinion but it exist a lot of various ways how to articulate comparison and there are a lot of various language devices participating in it.

But the question is what the criteria for sorting the comparative structures are. The most frequently suggested points are: number of subjects which are compared or their semantic characteristic (for example human vs. not human) (Hahnemann 1999); number of reality levels in which we compare (Eggs 2006) etc. However we believe that (in cognitive viewpoint) the most important feature is the result of the process of comparison. We mean a frame of comparison based on unity and similarity on the one hand, and a frame of comparison based on difference on the other hand. Nevertheless, describing the comparative structures this distinction is sufficient only for the most abstract level.

In our paper we want to show some possibilities and problems of classification of the comparing structures in Czech going out from their semantic variants and based on the analysis of concrete language material. We work on assumption that the meaning of comparing structures is embedded in so called tertium comparationis (aspect of the comparison). Tertium comparationis is like a "generalisable essence" (e.g. adjective old → comparison of age → comparison of the degree of quality), which we use as an instrument to sort the comparing structures. Our study focuses on relevant semantic variants of comparison in Czech (comparison of processes, qualities, degree, proportionality etc.) and discusses some problematic points, like the difference between the semantics of comparison and simile.

The study is based on the analysis of material from the parallel Czech-German corpus and chosen corpora of the Czech national corpus. The comparative relation between comparandum and comparative basis is in Czech established most often with the syntactic devices – case relations (with and without preposition) or connecting devices (relative pronoun, conjunction etc.). Due to this fact, our study concentrates on comparative constructions with syntactic relation of comparison. Partial result of our work will also present inventory of syntactic devices used to expressing the particular semantic variant of comparison.

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## Word order and performance optimality get on well in the history of English: on complement+adjunct and adjunct+complement solutions.

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The aim of this paper is to check the distributional consequences that the placement of adjuncts (modifiers) and complements has for the parsing of the phrases in which they occur.

The study is couched in the theoretical framework of performance grammar described in Hawkins (1994, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2007). The hypothesis is that the degrees of syntactic connection between heads and either complements or adjuncts exert an influence on the acceptability of lexical material in phrasal constituents. To give an example, as regards clause structure, (1) is claimed to be a better performance solution, on processing grounds, than (2) because of the amount of structure which has to be processed.

(1) Now I will deal [with the construction] [in a somewhat strange way which will lead to odd results].

(2) Now I will deal [in a somewhat strange way which will lead to odd results] [with the construction].

The assumption underlying this study is that the sequences of constituents in a sentence are connected in an optimal way whose goal is to reduce processing effort for both the speaker and the hearer. This principle is formalised in Hawkins' (2004) 'Minimize Domains' or MiD, as well as in his (1994) 'Early Immediate Constituents' or EIC rule.

In this paper we check, first, whether historical English data are in keeping with the theoretical assumptions described above and, more specifically, with Hawkins' (2007) hypothesis that MiD is relevant especially to examples of complementation. Second, we investigate whether the fixation of word order in English (see, for example, Fischer 1992: 371) is relevant to the placement of adjuncts and complements in the phrase. The data are gathered from three historical parsed corpora (The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose, the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, and the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English). The analysis is based on sequences like (1) and (2) above, not only in predicates governed by verbs but also in noun phrases (*the author [of this book] [from London]* versus *the author [from London] [of this book]*) and adjective phrases (*keen [on music] [to a large extent]* versus *keen [to a large extent] [on music]*).

Pérez-Guerra and Martínez-Insua (2010, submitted) shows that in the verb phrases the solution "complement plus adjunct" is preferred, and its proportion increases significantly when word order becomes fixed in the language. By contrast, in the noun phrases analysed the conclusion is different and the "adjunct plus complement" solution is practically the only pattern, since complements (commonly *that*-clauses) tend to be longer in them. In this paper we apply a fine-grained analysis to the corpus data in order to test whether in noun and adjective phrases with similar length metrics MiD predicts correct performance solutions.

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## On discourse markers of reformulation in Russian: semantics, syntax, pragmatics.

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In my talk I'm going to discuss the properties of several Russian discourse markers of reformulation: *to jest'* (that is to say), *a imenno* (namely), *sirech* (that is) and *inymi slovari* (in other words).

My analysis is mainly based on the data of large corpora (the National Corpus of the Russian Language, www.ruscorpora.ru), which helps to examine the evolution of reformulative constructions with different markers from the 18<sup>th</sup> century up to the present day.

First, there are several semantic types of reformulation (see, for example, (Pennec 2006), (Del Saz Rubio 2008)). Metalinguistic reformulation, or explanation, helps to establish equivalence relations between segments when at least one of them is a linguistic sign, or, more correctly, a signifier. This type of reformulation is mainly used to connect the constituents shorter than a sentence. The alternative function of reformulation is important for this domain: different descriptions of the same thing may be alternatively used here (as synonymous).

- (1) *Inache krasnorechivjy filosof riskujet prosljyt' frazerom, to jest' / \*a imenno pustomelej.*  
 'Otherwise, an eloquent philosopher has a risk of getting the reputation of a phraser, that is / \*namely a twaddler.

Second, reformulative constructions may specify the reference of the reformulated. These constructions are used by the speaker who is going to provide the addressee with more strict and unambiguous information about the reformulated. In the reformulated there is a description of a set of some entities defined through a specific property. The addressee may, in principle, choose those elements of the set which have this property, but weren't meant by the speaker. Therefore an additional specification is introduced. The way of this specification is often determined by the use of some additional expressions in the first segments. The scope of *a imenno* seems to be restricted by the constructions of specification.

- (2) *Drugoj rod muzhchin sostavljali tolstje ili takie zhe, kak Chichikov, to jest' ne tak chtoby slishkom tolstje, odnako zh i ne tonkije.*  
 'As for the other category, it comprised individuals who, stout, or of the same build as Chichikov (that is to say, neither very portly nor very lean), [backed and sidled away from the ladies].'

Reformulation may be interpreted as correction sometimes, if a discourse marker stays between expressions which represent non-adequate and adequate forms of the same idea. In such contexts negation may be used in the second segment. It is *to jest'* which is used in such contexts, establishing the equivalence of two segments based on the same underlying idea.

- (3) *Ja dazhe ochen' speshu... to est' ochen' speshil...*  
 'I'm actually in a hurry... **or rather** I've been in a hurry...'

The cases which are more difficult to interpret are connected with an inferential reformulation. Syntactically there is usually a relation between sentences: from what the speaker says in the first sentence it may be inferred what is added in the reformulation. Trying to avoid any case of misinterpretation, the speaker explicates his idea by adding some more information which seems to follow from his words and to be true simultaneously (and, moreover, relevant for the concrete situation).

Diachronically some of markers may shift to a stricter domain. For example, a relatively rare marker *sirech'* is mainly used nowadays in the position between two syntactically symmetrical constituents. The examination shows that the structures "*NP, sirech' NP*" constituted somewhat about 37 % of all the contexts with this marker in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, comparing to 70-80 % nowadays.

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### Multiple sources in the copularization of *become*.

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This paper shows how general productivity (see Barðdal 2009: 38) of the copular function of the verb *become* abruptly followed when a pre-copular stage had reached a threshold value about 1150, prior to which *become* only occurred with a spatial sense 'arrive', and with extensions of this sense. It is argued that this abrupt switch to general productivity rather than a gradual increase in productivity results from the fact that copular *become* is not the end result of a single diachronic lineage of constructions (i.e. a simple grammaticalization process, see Croft 2000: 32-37), but instead resulted from an interaction between lineages, as well as external influence, and from the coming together of all factors involved in the twelfth century.

First, certain constructions in which *become* occurred gradually changed and interacted with each other. In a first stage, two constructions developed (through metaphor) out of *become* 'arrive'. These are the constructions in (1), with a human subject and *become* meaning 'attain', and in (2), with an inanimate subject, a dative experiencer and *become* meaning 'come upon'.

- (1) *Heo becom to soþum wisdome*. 'She **attained** to true wisdom.'  
 (2) *Seo þearlwisnīs þæs heardan lifes him becom*. 'The austerity of life came upon him.'

In a second stage a two-participant resultative construction, as in (3), developed as a syntactic blend of (1) and (2) (cf. De Smet 2009: 1747), which provided a formal template for a one-participant prepositional copular construction as in (4).

- (3) *Andetmysse him becomed to hæle* 'Confession **results** (for him) in salvation'  
 (4) *Þii fader bi-com* to one childe 'Your father **turned** into a child.'

Another, unrelated construction provided a formal template for the adjectival copular construction. This is the depictive construction given in (5), in which an adjective serves as a secondary predicate, but *become* does not have a linking function (is not a copula).

(5) *He gesund becom to Æðelingege.* 'He arrived (and was) safe at Æðelinge.'

Second, the already existing copula *weorðan* 'become' (see Petré & Cuyckens 2009) provided a template of general productivity upon which the resultative construction could graft once it had become semantically sufficiently similar to a copular construction, and, once the copular stage was reached, the depictive construction also started to serve as a formal input for this analogical process, with as a result adjectival and nominal copular constructions.

Finally, Old French probably also contributed (though only as a strengthening factor) to the success of copular *become* in precisely the twelfth century.

From a balanced explanation taking into account all of these factors it is concluded that the sudden emergence of copular *becuman* is not as catastrophic as it at first seemed.

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### Lexical markers of reportive evidentiality in Macedonian.

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The subject of our interest is the Macedonian entry *navodno* in the database. According to its semantic part it is a reportive (hearsay) evidential marker, referring to the topic. We want to prove that its epistemic component is not inherent. Its evidential value is inherent and can have modifications triggered by utterance context. In certain contexts / discourse conditions it expresses speaker negative stance toward P's veracity or toward the trustworthiness of the source from where P comes. This concerns the actual speaker's skeptical or negative evaluative attitude toward the trustworthiness or verisimilitude of the asserted state of affairs. We have data presenting that *navodno* has pragmatically conditioned overtones. The unit *navodno* is a free word, an adverb. Its function as an evidential marker has been neglected in Macedonian. It has scope over whole propositions (clauses, sentences). (In fact, *navodno* can also modify syntactic units below the clause level, and then it functions as declinable unit (adjective).). Its etymology might be from *navoditi* (this is not a contemporary Macedonian form, it is a Slavic verbal infinitive form, that could have meaning 'to quote').

The subject of our interest, also, is the possible interaction of *navodno* (as a lexical marker of evidentiality) and the grammatical markers (verbal *l*-forms) of evidentiality in Macedonian. Macedonian as a Balkan language, with grammatical marking of evidentiality, encodes two main indirect evidential meanings: reportive and inferential. The goal of this paper is to take into consideration not only the grammatical but also the lexical coding of the reportive evidentiality by *navodno*. The focus is on the grammatical evidential encoding a more general evidential meaning, and the evidential lexical marker specifying the reportive meaning (how *navodno* as a lexical item can specify the Macedonian indirect evidentials. We are eager to prove that *navodno* in Macedonian is an evidential markers comparing it with the units which can only count as evidential strategies. The use of the reported (non-confirmative) is associated with less of a degree of authority on the part of the speaker/writer than information represented from a personal experience (confirmative) since the reported meaning gives a positive claim that the information derives from someone else (not the current teller). That confirmative meaning compared to non-confirmative meaning is a distinction in everyday use in Macedonian (Friedman, 1979, 1986, 1999, De Haan, 2001). *Navodono* as an evidential marker can mark the information as non-confirmative. Example: Марко наводно веќе дошол во Охрид. 'Reportedly, Marco has already come to Ohrid.'

## The locative and motion verbs in Latvian: feature induced by the contact with Finnic languages or inherited by the Indo-European?

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The paper aims to show how the casual alternation accusative ~ locative, syntactically displayed by some motion verbs, in Latvian is strictly related to the semantic properties of the verb. I will discuss, then, whether this feature is induced by the contact with the Finnic languages or it is an inherited phenomenon.

In Latvian some motion verbs can govern two cases: when they occur with an accusative case, introduced by the preposition *uz*, they denote a movement towards a specific place; otherwise, when they are followed by the locative case, they denote the place reached.

It seems to me that the case selection is related to the *Aktionsart* of the predicate denoting the movement. In particular, the accusative occurs with predicates characterized by the feature [-telic]; and the locative tends to occur in telic contexts (unaccusative predicate). As known, the telic predicate has a stative semantics in its logical structure (Van Valin 2005).

The data offered by Latvian seems to support the claim that the unaccusativity is “syntactically represented but semantically determined” (Levin & Rappaport 1989:316).

Let us look at the following examples:

*No ritā zēni un meitenes iet uz skolu (ACC.). Vakarā skolēni nāk no skolas mājās (LOC.).*  
“Since morning boys and girls go to the school. In the evening school boys get home from the school.”

In the deictic opposition *iet* “go” ~ *nākt* “come, get”, the first verb (itive, atelic and centrifugal) governs the accusative case introduced by the preposition *uz*, as the focus is on the moving *in fieri*. *Nākt* (ventive and telic verb) governs the locative case, as the verb focuses on the goal. This construction – motion verb and locative case- is well attested in Old Latvian as well:

*Gaiate sauwa zemme (LOC.).* “You got your heart” EvE 57,23

Some scholars interpret this phenomenon as a feature induced by the contact with the Finnic languages. In this paper, I would advance the hypothesis that this phenomenon might be considered as an Indo-European device, probably reinforced by the similarity with Finnic languages (*Kuhlschranktheorie* of V. Kiparsky).

Sanskrit, indeed, seems to have the same construction: a motion verb governing either the accusative or the locative. In the first case, the focus is on the movement *in fieri* (Gaedicke 1880:82,125,145; Macdonnell 2004:299 inter al.); in the second case it is on the place reached with the movement: “the aim reached is mostly denoted by the locative” (Speijer 2006:102).

Further researches are also necessary in order to find similar constructions in other IE languages, such as Iranian and Slavic languages.

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## On the Interaction of Grammatical Relations and Case Semantics with Voice and Valency in Early Vedic.

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My paper will be concerned with the relation between active voice and middle voice and the nominative case and accusative case in Early (i.e. Rig-) Vedic. It is well known that the nominative case in Early Vedic is usually called the case of the SUBJECT, and as such may represent a broad range of semantic roles, typically agent, but also experiencer, locus-of-state, agent-and-recipient, agent-and-beneficiary, recipient, theme, stimulus, patient, except for goal, which is restricted to the accusative, dative, or locative case. However, the pragmatic TOPIC function of the SUBJECT is only in its very beginnings. The TOPIC function is typically marked by word order and not by case marking in Rig-Vedic, cf. RV 7.1.6a *úpa yám* (acc., TOPIC, as for him [= the god Agni], and he's the one I'm talking about and whom I contextually presuppose) *éti yuvatís* (agent, nominative sg. f.) ... 'to him she goes, the young woman'. Early (Rig-) Vedic thus separates the marking of semantic roles (like, e.g., recipient, beneficiary, etc., which is done by case marking) from the marking of pragmatic functions (like, e.g., TOPIC) to a much higher degree than European languages with a subject relation and restricted case construction (i.e., word) order. Furthermore, there are no clearly definable syntactic promotion-to-subject or object-to-subject-transformation rules in Early Vedic, since the middle voice is not marked by any kind of syntactic transformation (in clear contrast to, e.g., the passive voice of many modern European languages). Therefore, the "Early Vedic subject" has less subject properties than, e.g., the subject in languages like German according to Keenan's universal definition [cf. Keenan, E. L. (1976): "Towards a universal definition of 'subject'", *Subject and Topic*, ed. by C. Li, New York, 303-34]. It will thus be claimed that according to Keenan's universal definition we actually find so to speak "non-canonical (or non-prototypical) subjects" everywhere in Early Vedic, except where nominative case marking, an agent role, and TOPIC marking overlap. The other "core case" of concern, namely the accusative case, is somehow more restricted to the semantic roles patient, theme, content, or goal (with more or less metaphorically extended readings). In contrast, e.g., to English, the accusative case may in general be constructed with so-called "intransitive" verbs like *éti* (see RV *yám* (acc. of goal, TOPIC) *éti* 'to him (goal) he/she/it goes'). Since there are no clearly definable syntactic differences between the accusative of goal or content and the accusative of patient or theme, and since, in general, the accusative is not valency-bound by obligatory complementation (which means that the accusative is to a certain degree pragmatically omissible), and finally: since there's no clearly conceivable object-to-subject-promotion rule in Early Vedic, the status of the accusative case as an OBJECT relation is highly problematic. It will thus be claimed that according to any kind of forthcoming universal definition we actually also find "non-canonical (or non-prototypical) objects" everywhere in Early Vedic, except where accusative case marking, a patient or theme role, and, active or transitive voice marking overlap. I will therefore go beyond "subject" and "object", and put my focus on the semantic ROLE and (IN)TRANSITIVITY behaviour of the so-called "core cases" nominative versus accusative within active constructions in contrast to middle constructions. It's well known that, e.g., for verbs like Vedic *AÑJ* 'to anoint s.o., to be anointed' or *HĀ* 'to leave s.o., to go away' the semantic role behaviour of these cases within active constructions is different from the one within middle constructions, although both allow a construction with accusative case: Vedic *anákti* plus accusative case means 'he/she/it anoints *it/him/her/someone* (acc.)', whereas *ankté* plus accusative case means 'he/she/it anoints himself/herself/itself *with it/something* (acc.)'. Other examples will be given in the course of the paper. It will be shown that in such cases the difference in role behaviour must not be described in terms of "passivization of an underlying transitive lexical item" like, e.g. *englisch* 'to anoint someone', but in terms of a fully grammatical transitivity opposition ACTIVE-AGENTIVE (= AGENT TO PATIENT DIATHESIS) vs. MIDDLE-LABILE (= NON-PROTOTYPICALLY-TRANSITIVE DIATHESIS). As for the notion and definition of "valency", this behavioural difference has serious consequences. In cases like Vedic *AÑJ*, *HĀ*, etc., it seems to be impossible, both, to speak of an underlying "transitive verb", as well as to speak of a "lexically established argument relation" between "a verb and its OBJECT". Instead, the given Early Vedic situation should better be described in terms of a grammatically and semantically established "AGENT TO PATIENT relation" between the active verb form *anákti* and the nominative as "AGENT-PLUS-MORE-ROLES (= AGENT-PLUS-LABILE ROLE) case" and the accusative as "GOAL/CONTENT-AND-THEUS-PATIENT/THEME case". It will thus become clear that what we call SEMANTIC (IN)TRANSITIVITY is *differently organized* in Early Vedic, and is found on a different level, i.e. on the grammatical word form level, than, e.g., in German or English, where we find it on a lexical word level and on the syntactic core case construction level. All in all, it will be shown that the syntactic core case constructions have little impact on the verbal inflectional marking of (IN)TRANSITIVITY in Early Vedic. Thus, the main difference between Early Vedic and languages like German, is that in Early Vedic the cases nominative and accusative are just constructed in "semantic congruency" to grammatically semantic transitive (agentiv, direct causative) or "de-transitive" (= middle) verbal forms, whereas in languages like German, we find a construction with two core cases, which specifically (i.e., as construction) is semantically transitive (causative). By the way, constructions with "non canonical subjects", e.g. with dative case instead of nominative case, are therefore to be seen as a syntactic tool to deviate from the semantically transitive (causative) core case construction. Since Early Vedic doesn't show such specific transitive constructional semantics, it doesn't need "deviating constructions" and doesn't have to mark deviations from prototypical transitivity like this.

## Beyond Tense/Aspect Splits: Ergativity Patterns in Indo-Aryan.

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### 1) Beyond Tense/Aspect Splits: Ergativity Patterns in Indo-Aryan

Many New Indo-Aryan languages have tense/aspect based split ergative systems i.e. the subject of a transitive verb gets a special marking in past tense/ perfective aspect. For example in Hindi/Urdu the subject a transitive verb gets ergative marker =ne only if the verbal morphology is in past tense or perfective aspect. Although this is a wide spread distribution of ergativity in several New Indo-Aryan languages, the distribution of ergativity is also found beyond past tense / perfective aspect and transitivity. This paper investigates several regular patterns of ergative distribution in some New Indo-Aryan languages such as Hind/Urdu, Nepali, Torwali and Haryanvi. More importantly we focus on several patterns of case alternations indicating distinct semantic contrasts. Some of the observed patterns of this phenomenon are: a) the relationship between ergative-nominative alternation, and volitionality/control and lack of it with certain Hindi/Urdu intransitive verbs such as *khās-na* 'to cough';

- (1) a. *ṛam=ne*                      *khās-aa*  
Ram.MASC=ERG cough-PST.3SG.MASC  
'Ram coughed (purposefully).'  
b. *ṛam*                                      *khās-aa*  
Ram.MASC=NOM cough-PST.3SG.MASC  
'Ram coughed (i.e., he suffered from cold)'

b) Ergative-dative alternation distinguishes modal senses of desire and obligation in some dialects of Hindi/Urdu (Lahore, Pakistan) [data from Butt and King 1991, Basir 1999]

- (2) a. *nadya=ne*                      *ju*                      *ja-na hae*  
Nadya=ERG                      zoo                      go-INF      be.PRS.3SG.MASC  
'Nadya wants to go to the zoo.'  
  
b. *ḅ*                      *nadya=koju*                      *ja-na hae*  
Nadya=DAT                      zoo                      go-INF      be.PRS.3SG.MASC  
'Nadya has to go to the zoo.'

c) In Nepali the ergative strengthens the force of deontic modality (Butt and Poudel 2007);

- (3) a. *ma*                      *adʔdʔa*                      *ja-nu*                      *par-cha*  
1SG                      office                      go-INF                      fall-NPST.3SG.MASC  
'I have to go to the office.'  
b. *ma=le*                      *adʔdʔa*                      *ja-nu*                      *par-cha*  
1SG=ERG                      office                      go-INF                      fall-NPST.3SG.MASC  
'I must have to go to the office.'

d) Ergative-nominative alternation aligns with individual/stage level predications respectively in non-past transitive clauses in Nepali;

- (4) a. *newar=le*      (\**yaha*)                      *nepali*                      *jan-da-chan*  
Ram=ERG      (\*here)                      Nepali                      know-IPFV-NPST.3PL  
'Newars know Nepali (\*here).                      **[Individual level]**  
b. *newar*      (*yaha*)                      *nepali*                      *bol-chan*  
Ram      (today) Nepali                      speak-NPST.3PL  
'Newars speak Nepali (here). **[Stage level]**

e) Ergative is obligatory with a small set of intransitive verbs (in past tense) denoting body functions e.g., *cough*, *urinate*, *vomit* in Nepali.

- (5) a. *kancha=le*                                      *khok-yo*  
last\_born.MASC=ERG                                      cough-PST.3SG  
'Kancha coughed.'

To substantiate these claims further and explore further patterns of ergative distribution, we investigate Torwali and Haryanvi because these languages are interesting. As our preliminary investigation suggests ergative marking goes with progressive aspect in Torwali, and Haryanvi has same marker =*nae* for ergative and dative. However, the locative replaces the dative to disambiguate, if ergative is also present in the same clause. We consider the blocking of usual dative marker in the presence of ergative a typologically unique feature of Haryanvi. These observations lead us to conclude that one of the major functions of case, particularly the ergative, in New Indo-Aryan languages is to denote distinct semantic contrasts.

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**The phonology of closing diphthongs in English and German.**

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Standard varieties of English (RP, GA) are claimed to have five closing diphthongs, Standard German is claimed to have three such diphthongs. The second component is phonetically transcribed variously as a glide, a tense, or a lax high vowel as in (1):

- |       |                                             |    |                  |
|-------|---------------------------------------------|----|------------------|
| (1)a. | Wells (2000)                                | b. | Mangold (2005)   |
|       | [aɪ], [ɔɪ], [eɪ], [aʊ], [əʊ] (RP)/[oʊ] (GA) |    | [aɪ], [ɔɪ], [aʊ] |

Assuming a discrete phonological level of representation the question arises of whether these diphthongs consist of single contour segments or are combinations of two independent phonemes. Based on neutralization patterns I will argue that the closing diphthongs in both English and German are bisegmental, ending in a phonologically tense high vowel. Focusing first on English we find that all intervocalic vocoids are high, either closing the syllable, in which case a non-high lax vowel precedes (e.g. *l*[aɪ]*on* 'lion', *ch*[eɪ]*os* 'chaos'), or forming the onset of the following syllable, in which case a tense high vowel precedes (e.g. *b*[u:j]*on* 'bouillon', *k*[i:w]*i* 'kiwi'). This distribution suggests identical intervocalic vowels at the phonological level, which are syllabified as a syllable coda (cf (2a)), unless a sonority violation would result (i.e. sonority must increase towards the nucleus), in which case they form the onset of the following syllable (cf (2b)). The specific restrictions seen in first components of the diphthongs in (1) are then neutralizations conditioned by their position in the nuclei of closed syllables (cf. the neutralization to /ɔ/ and /a/ before word-internal coda /r/, the second most sonorant coda segment, in GA (e.g. *s*[ɔ:r]*did*, *h*[a:r]*vest*).

(2)	a.	Σ	b.	Σ	c.	Σ	d.	Σ
		/ \	/ \	/ \	/ \	/ \	/ \	/ \
		σS σW	σS σW	σS σW	σS σW	σS σW	σS σW	σS σW
		/   \	/ \ / \	/   \	/   \	/ \ / \	/ \ / \	/ \ / \
		O N C N	O N O N	O N C N	O N C N	O N O N	O N O N	O N O N
Phonology:		/s ɔ i ə/	/l u i ə/	/r ɔ i ə/	/k o i ə/			
Phonetics:		[s ɔ ɪ ə]	[l uː j ə]	[r ɔ ɪ ə]	[k oː j ə]			
		'soya'	'(halle)lujah'	'Reue'	'Kojé'			

German differs from English in that non-high tense and lax vowels can contrast before /iV/- sequences (cf. (2c) versus (2d)). This is also seen in the adaptation of loan words: German *Paran*[ɔɪ]*a* versus *Sequ*[o:j]*a*, *T*[ɔj]*ota* (tense vowels are phonetically lengthened in stressed syllables); in English the contrast is neutralized and /i/ is always syllabified as a coda, resulting in the diphthong heard in *paran*[ɔɪ]*a*, *sequ*[ɔɪ]*a*, *T*[ɔɪ]*ota* (cf. also German *M*[a:j]*a* 'Maya', *K*[o:j]*ote* 'Kojote', *G*[o:j]*a* 'Goya', all of which have a closing diphthong in English).

The study is based on comprehensive searches of all sequences consisting of three adjacent vowels (including glides) in the CELEX corpus of German and English. The transcriptions were subsequently checked in Wells (RP and GA) and Mangold, respectively. The relevant generalizations, including differences between RP and GA, will be discussed. A brief analysis in Optimality Theory will be presented to show how the generalizations can be accounted for in terms of the ranking of independently motivated constraints.

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## On the Origin of the Germanic Dual Adjective Inflection.

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In this paper I address the problem of the dual (indefinite/definite) adjective inflection system in Germanic. The older Germanic languages are characterised by the presence of two types of adjective: ‘strong’ (indefinite) and ‘weak’ (definite)—each adjective is inflected in two ways depending on whether it occurs in a definite or indefinite context. The definite context involves using an obligatory definite determiner (normally a demonstrative pronoun) with the weak form of the adjective, while the strong form normally occurs alone, as illustrated by the following Gothic examples:

STRONG	NEUT.SG.DAT	<b>god-amma</b> waurstwa ‘good work’
WEAK	NEUT.SG.DAT	<b>þamma</b> <b>god-in</b> andahaita ‘that/the good profession’

The origin of this system is a matter of debate, and no satisfactory explanation has yet been proposed (Žirmunskij 1966: 56-68, Bammesberger 1990: 217-230, Ringe 2006: 169-170). In this paper I advance a new hypothesis: in Proto-Germanic every attributive adjective form was preceded by an artroid (a kind of empty article), which is preserved in the form of a demonstrative pronoun with definite adjectives (Gothic NEUT.SG.DAT **þamma god-in andahaita** ‘that/the good profession’). In indefinite adjectives, the artroid survives in the shape of a pronominal suffix (NEUT.SG.DAT. **god-amma waurstwa** ‘good work’).

Contrary to the convention of relating the Germanic weak adjective inflection to such Greek and Latin pairs as *strabós* ‘squint-eyed’ > *strábon* ‘lit. squinter’, *rufus* ‘red’ > *Rufō*, *Rufōnis* ‘red haired man’, I argue that Germanic weak adjectives are an internal analogical development, and the weak adjective inflection has been borrowed from the *n*-stem noun. The pre-posed determiner which survives with weak adjectives is a factor which polarised the old nominal inflection and played a role in the development of the adjective as a class of words in Germanic by breaking it away from the noun (no distinction having been made between adjectives and nouns in the Proto-Indo-European).

This explanation, based on the methods of internal and comparative reconstruction, has the advantage of addressing the question of the origin of both strong and weak adjectives as parts of a single system, rather than developments that are independent of each other. Strong support for this explanation is provided by a synchronic analysis of early Germanic noun and adjective paradigms on the basis of the ‘canonical’ methodology (Corbett 2005, 2007, 2009), originally developed for research in typology. The main conclusion is that the artroid was pre-posed to the adjective in Proto-Germanic in order to raise the canonicity profile of the paradigm by reducing the number of internal syncretisms and increasing the differentiation of slots.

My comparative examination of Germanic and Lithuanian data provides some compelling evidence in support of my conclusions. In particular, I show that Lithuanian indefinite adjectives are pronominalised in the same way as in Germanic, with the desinence of the demonstrative pronoun replacing the original nominal inflection: cf. MASC.SG.DAT *tam geram vaikui* ‘that good child’ This in turn suggests that the dual adjective systems in Germanic and Balto-Slavic are unlikely to have developed independently and represent an areal phenomenon.

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### A synchronic and diachronic approach of auxiliaries in Swedish. A case study of the verb *låta* ‘let’.

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The study presented in this paper takes its starting point in a group of Swedish auxiliaries that have been found to deviate from the prototypical auxiliary type (as defined by e.g. Heine 1993) in one way or another. As a case in point, the paper will zoom in on the Swedish verb *låta* ‘let’ which has previously been denoted as an untypical auxiliary (Enberg 1836:153; SAG II:536, III:574; Rawoens 2008:159f), for instance in that it has a specific semantic profile. The overall aim of the study is to highlight the syntactic and semantic variation of *låta* from both a synchronic and diachronic point of view, which will be elaborated in two parts.

A synchronic perspective is adopted in the first part of the paper. As a main verb, *lâta* is obsolete in Modern Swedish. Its occurrence is limited to a number of fixed expressions such as *lâta âder* ‘let blood’ or to a few archaic phrasal constructions such as *lâta fri* ‘let free’ or *överbilata* ‘leave (over)’ (SAOB). As an auxiliary, however, it is frequent in constructions with an infinitival complement where it conveys either a permissive or a causative meaning (SAG III:578; Rawoens 2008:146ff). A number of formal and semantic criteria that can be applied to clarify the relationship between factitive and permissive causation are examined. The findings presented here draw on a large-scale corpus-based investigation conducted within my PhD research (Rawoens 2008).

In the second part of the paper a diachronic perspective is taken. The verb *lâta* is studied with particular focus on its morphosyntactic and semantic development and variation through time. On the basis of corpus data containing Old and Modern Swedish texts this verb is investigated within the framework of grammaticalization theory (Lehmann 1995; Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]) and auxiliation in particular (Heine 1993; Kuteva 2001; Anderson 2006). The aim is to describe the syntactic and semantic shifts of the verb attested through the centuries and to examine the factors that triggered them. This will be done in relation to the parameters as put forward by Heine (1993:54ff) concerning semantic, morphosyntactic, morphophonological and phonetic shifts. In this part of the study it will be shown that the verb *lâta* as a main verb was much more widespread a few centuries ago than what it is today and that its meanings have shifted gradually. It should be noted that, whereas the counterparts in other Germanic languages (e.g. Baron 1974 for English and Verhagen 1994 for Dutch) have been studied to a certain extent, this has not previously been done for the Swedish verb *lâta*.

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## Shared verbal morphology in the Transeurasian languages: copy or cognate?

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The genealogical relationship of Japanese with the Transeurasian languages (Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic) is among the most disputed classifications of historical linguistics. A major impediment that prevents linguists from reaching a consensus on the matter is the role of copying in generating shared properties. This paper investigates correspondences of bound verbal morphology and weighs copying against genealogical retention as a possible explanation for the matches.

It is possible to advance etymologies for about twenty different verbal markers relating Japanese to the Transeurasian languages (Robbeets 2007a & b, 2010, forthcoming). These etymological data include form-function matches for a denominal verb marker, four markers of Aktionsart, five diathetical markers, three imperfective participles that subordinate to finite present markers, two perfective participles that subordinate to finite past markers, a deverbal noun marker, at least one converb marker, at least one negation marker, and an interrogative marker.

On the basis of following criteria, it will be argued that these correspondences are more likely to indicate common ancestorship than code-copying.

- (1) As a result of the marked difference in the ease of linguistic borrowing between verbs and nouns, grammar and lexicon and, bound and free morphemes, shared bound verbal morphology is rather indicative of common ancestorship to begin with.
- (2) Moreover, the markers under discussion cluster in categories, such as diathesis and *Aktionsart*, that are least copiable because of their close position *vis à vis* the primary verb stem (Johanson 2002)
- (3) A third indication of genealogical continuity is the observation that the shared suffixes are not always attached to shared verb roots. Ajia Varvara Romani, for instance, has copied the Turkish present tense along with the entire paradigm of Turkish person marking attached to Turkish loan verbs only (Iglá 1989, Friedman 2006).
- (4) The verbal markers are monosyllabic, simplex morphemes, whereas copying often leads to shared suffix strings. The Uchur dialect of Evenki, for instance, has copied a hypothetical suffix from Yakut, which is morphologically complex, consisting of Yakut person marking along with the Yakut hypothetical mood in *-tax-* (Malchukov 2003, Comrie 2010).
- (5) The verbal markers are polyfunctional and share multiple functions such as for instance causative-passive. Copied morphemes are often restricted to a single, secondary meaning such as the English 3rd person plural pronouns *they, them*,

*their* that are copied from Scandinavian demonstratives, secondarily used as personal pronouns.

(6) Some verbal markers corresponding in form and function have pathways of grammaticalization in common. This observation projects the grammaticalization process back to the ancestral language. This is for instance the case for the development of passive morphology or for the insubordination of (im)perfective markers to finite forms.

(7) The inventory of verbal markers is systematic. There is a certain paradigmaticity in the fact that several elements belonging to a single category are retained together and in the parallel development of sets of finite forms.

(8) Finally, the observation that the verbal markers have cognates in each of the five Transeurasian branches helps to rule out code-copying. Testing a classificational hypothesis including languages that stand in a low-copying relationship, such as Japanese and Turkic, we reduce the probability that our cognates are copies in disguise.

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## Rethinking apposition: Is inclusion a case of apposition?

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The present paper is an attempt to shed some light on the relation between apposition and inclusion in English. Traditionally, inclusion has been considered as a subtype of apposition, though a peripheral one (cf. Quirk *et al.* (1985) or Meyer (1992), among others).

Apposition can be defined as a relation between two or more units (NPs in the prototypical cases) characterized by equivalence: the units in apposition refer to the same external reality, have the same status and carry out the same syntactic function, as example (1) shows.

- (1) Anna, my best friend, *was here last night*. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1301)

In this example, *Anna* and *my best friend* are two NPs which refer to the same person in the real world and function jointly as the subject of the sentence. Moreover, there is neither head nor dependent in the construction. As Huddleston (1984: 262) or Acuña-Fariña (1996: 13) point out, these two units tend to be ‘placed alongside’, as in our example. Moreover, the appositives can be linked by means of an appositional marker, although its use is normally optional (see Pahta and Nevanlinna 2001). In (1), an appositional marker could be inserted between the two appositives (cf. (1b) below), although its use responds to pragmatic considerations.

- (1) b. Anna, **namely** my best friend, *was here last night*.

On the other hand, dependency is one of the main features which characterize inclusion: the second element in constructions of this kind is included in the first one, as in (2) and (3).

- (2) *They visited several cities*, **for example** Rome and Athens. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1315)  
(3) *The children liked the animals*, **particularly** the monkeys. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1316)

In these examples, the second element (*Rome and Athens* and *the monkeys* respectively) are included in the reference of the first element (*cities* and *the animals*), which are the heads of the construction. In such cases, the markers *for example* and *particularly* cannot be left out, since their omission leads to an ungrammatical construction or a construction with a different meaning.

It seems therefore that there are significant differences between apposition and inclusion: whereas the former is a paratactic kind of relationship, the latter turns out to be a hypotactic relation. Taking these and other features into account, the analysis of inclusion as an appositional type will be questioned in this paper.

Examples (2) and (3) above illustrate the two types of inclusion available in English, namely exemplification and particularization. Even though in both types the second element provides an example of the first unit, in particularization (whose markers are, among others, *mainly*, *particularly*, *especially*, *mostly* or *notably*) the example given is somehow highlighted, whereas in exemplification (whose main markers are *for example*, *for instance*, *including*, *included*, *like*, *such as* or *e.g.*) there is no emphatic purpose. The similarities and differences between the two subtypes of structures of inclusion will also be considered in this paper.

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### **America's first vocabulary: linguistics aspects of Alonso de Molina's *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana*.**

Romero Rangel, Laura  
(El Colegio de México).

Spanish missionary friars came to New Spain, since the early 16th century to work among the indigenous peoples. The linguistic fruit of the contact between Spaniards and Aztecs were published works such as grammars and dictionaries. In 1555, the missionary Alonso de Molina presented the first vocabulary published in America, his *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana*, which served as guide to future efforts to elaborate bilingual dictionaries of Indian languages.

In this paper, I will show the organization of the linguistic data contained in the macrostructure and microstructure of the Molina's bilingual dictionary. This information can be split it up into three groups:

1. Phonology and phonetics reflected by the orthography. Firstly, during the Middle Age and Sixteenth century, Spanish underwent an adjustment in its phonemic system; on the other hand, in the Conquer and colonial period, Nahuatl language was for the first time written alphabetically. The orthography used by Molina can help to describe the Spanish as much as Aztec phonetic-phonological system. The corpus analyzed contains four types of discourse: spanish language, as in (1a.)-(1.c), nahuatl language, as in (2a.)-(2.c), nahuatl loanwords, shown in (3a.)-(3b.), and spanish loanwords, as in (4a.)-(4b.):

(1) Orthographic variation in Spanish text

- a. Acechar. busca asechar.
- b. Aztauhyatl. axenxos, o asenssos.
- c. Auelo, abuelo o aguelo. colli. tecol.

(2) Orthographic variation in nahuatl text

- a. Liendre. aclin. acelin.
- b. Oztoa. raposa.
- c. Vztoua. idem.

(3) Orthographic variation in nahuatl loanwords

- a. Azeite de aguacates. auaca chiauallotl. auaca azeite.
- b. Auacamilli. eredad, o tierra de auacates.

(4) Orthographic variation in spanish loanwords

- a. Nabo luengo y delgado. mimiltic nabox.
- b. Mimiltic nabos. nabo luengo.

2. On word meaning. This section deals with the issues of polysemy/homography (for example *poder1* 'to be able', in Molina: "Poder. **verbo**. ni, ueliti." and *poder2* 'power', in Molina: "Poder **nomb**. velitiliztli.") and definitions, as "Nuera, **muger de tu hijo**. ciuamontli." and "Axi **o pimienta desta tierra**. chilli."

3. On collocations, phraseology and compounds. Here, I will explain the way that Molina give the entries to this kind of word combinations, as in (5):

- (5) Word combinations in Molina's dictionary  
a. **Vino rebotado** o desuanecido. amo chicaoac octli. (Collocation)  
a'. **Rebotado vino.** oyhiyoquiz. (Collocation)  
b. **Agua biua.** yulilizatl. yuliuani atl. (Compound)  
b'. Yuliuani atl. **aguabiua.** (Compound)  
c. **Hazerme la boca agua.** n, oztlac nictoloa. (Idiom)

I present the hypothesis that even though Antonio de Nebrija's dictionary *Vocabulario español latino* was the lexicographic model to Molina's work, the latest one has its own personality and originality on codificating the linguistic information, motivated mainly because the Latin and Spanish grammatical structure did not fit completely with Nahuatl structure, and secondly because of differences in cultural traditions between the two worlds: indigenous and european.

### **Null Referential Subjects in Germanic – Syntactic Properties and Diachronic Development.**

Rosenkvist, Henrik  
(Lund University).

In all of the modern Germanic standard languages, referential null subjects (RefNSs) are disallowed.

1. Henne känner \*(jag) inte. (Swedish)
2. Sie kenne \*(ich) nicht. (Standard German)
3. Ekki þekki \*(ég) hann. (Icelandic)
4. Her \*(I) do not know. (English)

This observation led Jaeggli & Safir (1989) and Rohrbacher (1999) to the assumption that RefNSs are universally incompatible with V2-word order. However, RefNSs appear in a number of Modern Germanic vernaculars (ie., Bavarian, Zürich German, Schwabian, Frisian, Övdalian etc.) as well as in all Old Germanic languages (Old English, Old High German, Old Swedish etc.), and it is thus clear that the V2-property does not per se prohibit RefNSs.

Germanic RefNSs have not been investigated systematically (but see e.g. Weiß 2005), and conflicting claims have been made about the presence of RefNSs in Old English and Yiddish, inter alia. In this talk, I will present examples of RefNSs from seven Modern Germanic vernaculars and four Old Germanic languages, highlighting some of the clashing statements that have been made; e.g., Speas (2006:60) claims that “Yiddish does not allow null referential pronouns”, while traditional Yiddish grammarians acknowledge that “*du*, the second person singular pronoun is deletable” (Prince 1998:83). Prince herself (1998) presents a third alternative, assuming that not only *du*, but also all other referential subject pronouns, may be deleted in Yiddish. Hulk & van Kemenade (1995:245) explicitly state that there are no RefNSs in Old English: “The phenomenon of referential pro-drop does not exist in OE”, while, on the other hand, van Gelderen (2000) discusses OE RefNSs in an entire chapter, drawing on earlier research (e.g. Berndt 1956).

An investigation of a number of linguistic properties of RefNSs in Germanic languages is also presented, showing that the RefNSs in Old and Modern languages fall into two distinct categories.

The Germanic null-subject languages, spoken in central parts of Europe, have not had any real empirical or theoretical impact on the ongoing research about RefNSs (cf. Barbosa 1995, 2009, Platzack 2004, Holmberg 2005, 2007, Frascarelli 2007, Ackema et al 2006, Sigurðsson 2008, Cole 2009 etc.). Studies of the syntactic patterns of RefNSs in Germanic V2-languages may however contribute significantly to the research about RefNSs, partly because V2-languages in general have relatively strict word order regulations, and hence allow for meticulous and elaborate investigations of which syntactic contexts allow or prohibit RefNSs. Furthermore, the Germanic languages also allow for detailed diachronic studies of the development of RefNSs.

In the final part of this talk, I will point at a few possibilities for future research that the word order patterns of e.g. Bavarian and Övdalian (cf. Rosenkvist 2009) offer, and at a couple of theoretical consequences regarding the connection between RefNSs and “rich” inflection and between RefNSs and discourse antecedents (cf. Cole 2009).

### **Development from Noun to Numeral: An Example of a Grammaticalization Process in a Binominal Syntagm.**

Rutkowski, Pawel  
(University of Warsaw).

The properties of Polish cardinal numerals have been widely studied in current syntactic literature (see, e.g., Franks (1995)). Cardinals such as *pięć* ‘five’ assign genitive to the noun they quantify when the expression that they are part of is assigned a

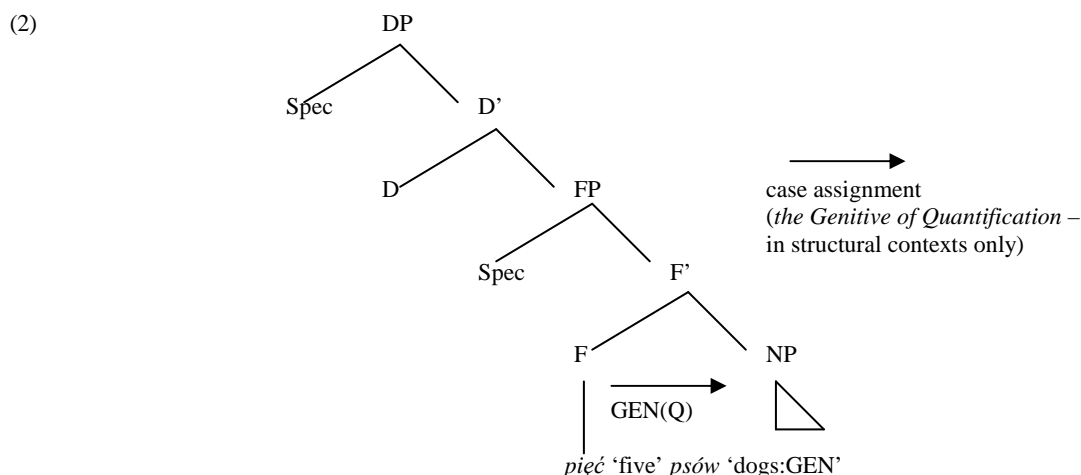
structural case from outside (nominative and accusative), whereas they agree in case with the noun in the context of inherent cases (e.g. instrumental) – see (1). Rutkowski (2001) explains the above mixed pattern of case assignment/agreement by assuming that numerals are located in a functional position above the main Noun Phrase (NP). Since Abney (1987), it has often been argued in generative literature that NPs are universally dominated by some functional material, headed by a determiner (therefore, this approach is usually referred to as the Determiner Phrase (DP) hypothesis). Many researchers (e.g. Ritter (1991)) assume that there are other functional layers between NP and DP. According to Rutkowski (2001), Polish numerals head one of them – see (2). Since functional elements are inserted into the syntactic derivation after inherent case assignment, cardinals cannot assign genitive in the inherent context.

However, in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Polish language, numerals assigned genitive to quantified nouns in all contexts. The aim of this paper is to show that the diachronic difference in case assignment between the 16<sup>th</sup> century and today is a side effect of the process of grammaticalization. Roberts and Roussou (1999) suggest that, from a structural point of view, grammaticalization involves reanalysis of lexical material as functional material. This sort of reanalysis is connected with structural simplification. In the present paper, I aim to show that, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, an expression containing a numeral consisted of two separate DPs. In terms of syntax, the cardinal was a regular **noun** (comparable to words such as *grupa* ‘a group’), heading its own NP. Since the numeral was a lexical (and not functional) element, inherent case assignment from outside could not prevent it from assigning genitive to its complement (DP). On the other hand, as shown by Rutkowski (2001), modern numeral expressions are monophrasal. The assumption that present-day numerals occupy a functional position means that, from the diachronic point of view, they must have been moved from the lexical position N. The movement in question involved structural simplification – see (3).

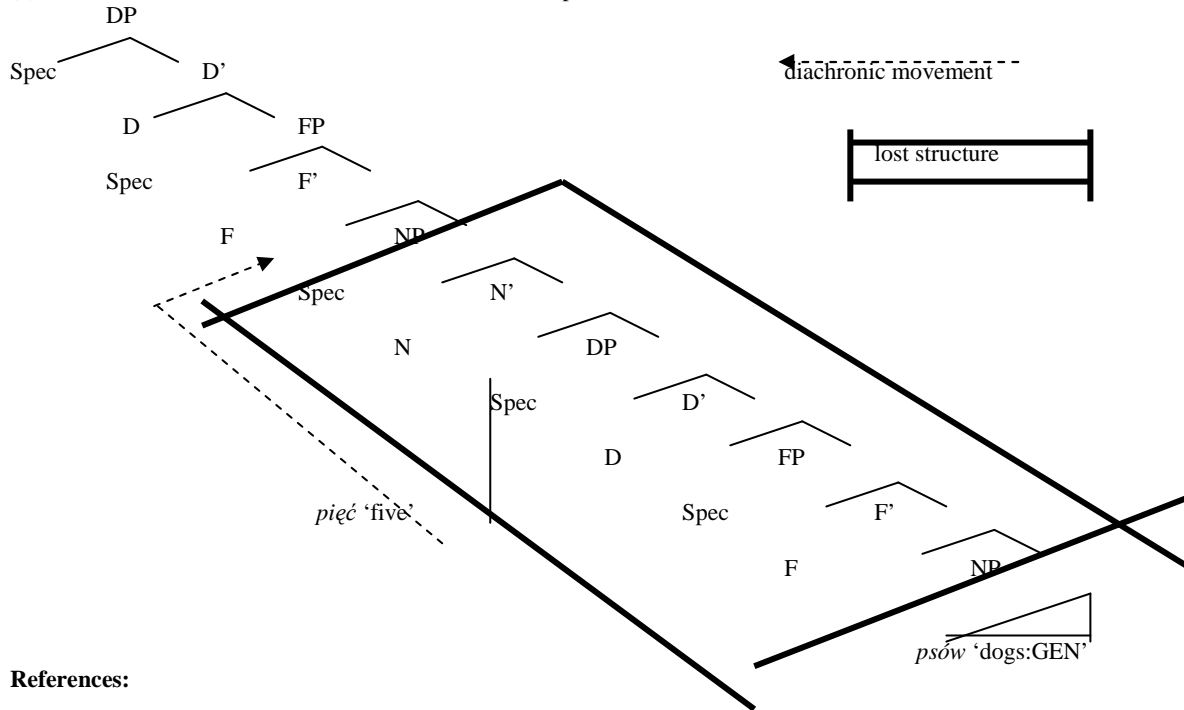
I argue that additional evidence for the above analysis derives from the fact that many numerals have undergone processes described by Croft (2000) as typical of grammaticalization (e.g. phonological attrition, morphological fusion, loss of independent syntactic status).

The analysis presented in this paper combines assumptions made independently in two linguistic frameworks, namely generative grammar and grammaticalization theory. This combination makes it possible to describe both the synchronic and diachronic syntax of Polish numerals in a consistent way. The theories complement each other. The generative idea that grammaticalization involves diachronic development of lexical into functional material helps to formalize the notion of grammaticalization. On the other hand, thanks to the idea that language change is driven by structural simplification we do not have to consider the syntactic change in binominal expressions random and unpredictable.

(1)	Case Context	Numeral structures
	Nom	<i>pięć:NOM psów:GEN</i>
	Gen	<i>pięciu:GEN psów:GEN</i>
	Dat	<i>pięciu:DAT psom:DAT</i>
	Acc	<i>pięć:ACC psów:GEN</i>
	Instr	<i>pięcioma:INSTR psami:INSTR</i>
	Loc	<i>pięciu:LOC psach:LOC</i>
	Gloss	‘five dogs’



(3) Diachronic loss of structure in Polish numeral expressions:



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**Attenuative morphological forms across varieties and registers:  
 a corpus study of the diminutive -ish.**

Ruzaitė, Jūratė  
 (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas).

Diminutive forms, including the suffix *-ish*, are an especially important category in English since they are used as attenuative or evaluative forms that de-emphasize information, express imprecision and subjective evaluations of a quantity or feature. Since diminutives have attitudinal meaning and are primarily used to evaluate the content of an utterance, words with the diminutive suffix *-ish* are sometimes treated as a vague language category (e.g. *boyish, fortyish*) (Crystal and Davy 1979). Therefore, such attenuative morphological forms are important not only in terms of morphology but also pragmatics and discourse functions.

Thus the main aim of the present paper is to carry out a detailed analysis of the suffix *-ish*; the primary focus of the study is put on the suffixed numbers, e.g. *nineish, twoish, threeish*, etc. The paper aims to answer the following research questions:

- (1) How are diminutive suffixes used across varieties;
- (2) How are diminutive suffixes used across different registers,
- (3) How are such suffixes used to achieve different communicative purposes.

To answer these research questions, the paper combines the methodological and theoretical approaches used in the fields of morphology, corpus linguistics and discourse analysis.

The corpus evidence is obtained from two corpora: the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). These comparable databases allow comparing the use of *-ish* across two

different varieties (British and American) and several registers (fiction, academic texts, newspapers and conversation). The corpora also provide sufficient evidence to reveal how speakers use morphology to evaluate the informative content of their utterances; these aspects are dealt with mainly from the perspective of discourse analysis.

The data show that the use of the diminutive *-ish* varies greatly across registers; it is used mainly in fiction to approximate the number that it is attached to. In addition, the frequency of such suffixed numbers differs in the two varieties of English, i.e. British and American. The data also show that the combinability of *-ish* with certain numbers is restricted: it very rarely attaches to numbers from one to ten, but it is considerably more frequently used with some tens. The corpus evidence demonstrates that a corpus approach can yield some revealing results in morphological studies by relating morphological aspects to register variation and cross-varietal differences. The obtained results also have some practical applications, especially in language teaching.

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### Between idiomatic expressions and auxiliary constructions: problems of classification of Estonian complex predicates.

Sahkai, Heete and Muischnek, Kadri  
(Institute of the Estonian Language, University of Tartu).

The presentation will examine a series of Estonian complex predicate constructions that are not easy to classify in terms of the previously posited categories of Estonian CPs. The constructions have aspectual or temporal semantics, expressing either progressivity or inchoativity/futurity. The progressive constructions consist of the verb *olema* 'be' in combination with the inessive form of the supine, or an inessive or adessive noun (usually a deverbal action nominalization). The constructions expressing inchoativity or futurity consist of the verb *minema* 'go' in combination with the illative form of the supine, or an illative, allative or translative noun. The constructions vary in productivity: the data includes groups of fixed expressions, patterns restricted to very specific semantic classes and instantiated by a number of fixed expressions, and more or less productive patterns possibly instantiated by some fixed expressions as well.

The constructions to be examined include an active progressive construction of the form [*olema* + inessive of supine]; active inchoative expressions of the form [*minema* + illative of supine]; a series of progressive and inchoative expressions of the form [*olema/minema* + locative noun], both active intransitive and passive; and three productive V+N constructions: a "passive progressive" of the form [*olema* + adessive noun] and a "future passive" of the form [*minema* + allative noun], in which the noun is a fully regular nominalization, and an "impersonal inchoative" construction of the form [*minema* + translative noun], allowing both regular and irregular nominalizations of transitive and intransitive verbs, but also root nouns.

The constructions display to variable degrees the diagnostic properties of CPs (e.g. argument structures that differ from those of the component elements, auxiliary-like behaviour of the finite verb, restrictions on the syntactic behaviour of the nominal component, realization of the arguments of the nominal component on the clause level) but are difficult to describe in terms of the existing classification of Estonian CPs, which includes the following categories (EKG II, Erelt 2003, Muischnek 2006):

1. particle verbs;
2. constructions resembling serial verbs;
3. so-called "expression verbs", which are idiomatic expressions consisting of a finite verb and a noun or adjective in a more or less frozen form (ex. 1);
4. support verb (or light verb) constructions;
5. various combinations of finite verbs with non-finite verbs, the latter being main verbs and the former expressing aspect, modality, causation or manner (ex. 2).

- |     |                                   |          |              |       |                 |
|-----|-----------------------------------|----------|--------------|-------|-----------------|
| (1) | Ta                                | saab     | luuletusest  | hästi | aru             |
|     | S/he                              | gets     | poem-elative | well  | sense-partitive |
|     | ‘S/he understands the poem well.’ |          |              |       |                 |
| (2) | Ta                                | kihistas | naerda       |       |                 |
|     | S/he                              | chuckled | laugh-inf    |       |                 |
|     | ‘S/he chuckled’                   |          |              |       |                 |

The examined constructions are problematic in terms of this classification in that the V+N combinations in the data are neither expression verbs nor typical support verb constructions, and the inchoative [*minema* 'go' + illative of supine] construction is not a typical auxiliary construction. In our talk, we will present a more detailed corpus-based analysis of these constructions and discuss their role in the lexical and grammatical system of Estonian.

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### **The polyphonic future. Intersubjective and modal shifts through multiple time lenses in discourse.**

Sambre, Paul and Brône, Geert  
(Lessius Antwerp and University of Leuven).

**Context** – This contribution deals with the conceptualization and grammatical realization of futurity. Expressing future newness through grammar is a locus for creativity, in the sense that it allows for the reflection on what is *likely* (projected future reality) or *possibly* (potentiality) going to be a future state of affairs. In addition, when studied in the broader context of ongoing discourse, grammatical constructions of futurity can be tied to various epistemic viewpoints with distinct perspectives on (future) reality. Cognitive linguistics (CL) may help us in grasping the complex interplay of grammar and discourse in the expression of future events through multiple time lenses.

**Three cognitive frameworks** – In order to arrive at a model for the analysis of futurity in discourse, the present paper functionally integrates three notions from CL:

(1) Langacker's (1991) extended *epistemic model* offers a temporal and modal setting for represented time with a possible array of positions for future-oriented predications. This model contains two axes: the vertical axis of modality, reaching from (projected) reality, over potentialis to irrealis, and the horizontal axis of immediate, near and distant future mental spaces (Fauconnier 1997).

(2) Langacker's *current discourse space* (CDS, Langacker 2001, 2008) represents time as discourse unfolds. It allows for the conception of a grammatical structure as a constructional assembly of time positions (indicated in (1)), referring to anticipated or past usage events in the ongoing discourse.

(3) We further pursue Verhagen's (2005) notion of *intersubjectivity*: linguistic structures do not only profile the object of conceptualization but do so by aligning the (inter)subjective viewpoints of multiple conceptualizers involved in a current conceptualization. In our case, different viewpoints set up different time lenses, which refer to specific temporal positions.

**Specific research questions** – The combination of the three frameworks is targeted at addressing the question how grammar manages the representation of multiple temporal and epistemic viewpoints in ongoing discourse. More specifically, we focus on the constructional realization of three connected dimensions:

- (1) modal shifts on the vertical axis (realis-potentialis-irrealis);
- (2) temporal shifts on the horizontal axis of future events;
- (3) intersubjective shifts between positions set up by heterogeneous enunciative stances.

**Methodology and sample data** – Our empirical analysis explores the grammatical realization of futurity in the specific genre of science popularization. Science popularization translates technological innovation and science into a format that is accessible to the general audience. Our analysis presents a close reading of a EU Cordis documentary film on nanotech, displaying an interaction between a journalist taking the enunciative stance of the lay public and interviewees in life sciences and industry.

**Results** – We provide a unified CL framework for the representation of futurity in discourse. More specifically, this conceptual analysis shows the creative and dynamic nature of meaning construction, which integrates multiple temporal representations. This complex setting entails two aspects: a polyphonic network of enunciative stances and futuristic expressions that dynamically set up intricate relations with other temporal positions.

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### **Agent-based models of language competition.**

San Miguel, Maxi  
(IFISC, CSIC-UIB).

Based on computer simulations of agent-based models, this paper studies the dynamics of language competition, considered within the framework of social consensus problems. The general question addressed in this context is how and when a single

social option is adopted, or when several options coexist. The answer to this question depends on the mechanisms of interaction and on the social network of interactions. In this context we consider two languages as competing options and study the dynamics of language use due to social interactions leading to monolingual or language coexistence scenarios. We focus on language use, as opposed to language learning.

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

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

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

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## Two-place intransitives in Russian in a (micro-)diachronic perspective.

Say, Sergey  
(ILI RAN, St. Petersburg).

Russian is known for its preponderance for "inverting predicates" (in Bossong's terms), that is, two-place predications in which experiencers are coded unlike A-arguments of ordinary transitive verbs, but rather are assimilated to patients or goals and thus are coded with the Dative case in Russian, cf. *emu nraǰatsja starye knigi* (he.DAT like.3PL old books.NOM) 'He likes old books'. In studies by Bossong [1998], Haspelmath [2001] and many others it was shown that the ratio of such verbs among psychological verbs is a parameter of areal-typological variation that distinguishes Standard Average European languages, which mostly have generalizing predicates of the *like*-type, from languages spoken at the fringes of Europe, where the ratio of inverting predicates is much higher (Russian and Icelandic seem to be the champions among the Indo-European languages of Europe in this respect). There is extensive bulk of literature devoted to subject properties of **dative experiencers** in such constructions and it is found that in European languages they typically display a limited subset of such properties. However, the reverse problem, namely whether **nominative stimuli** have subject properties and to what extent, is generally not explored in sufficient detail; this problem will be the focus of my study.

Based on the data from corpora it is found that despite coding similarity to intransitive subjects (S-arguments) of extended intransitive predicates nominatively-marked stimuli in Russian two-place psychological verbs lack some behavioral properties associated with canonical subjects, even though these properties are not necessarily associated with experiencers of same predicates either.

Moreover, in my talk I will show that individual scenarios of the (micro-)diachronic development of constructions at issue in the Russian language of 18<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> century and trends in the variation of their argument structure all conspire to a unitary path, that is, that the nominative stimuli tend to lose their subject-like properties over time. This overall tendency is manifested in a number of developments that do not seem to be related to each other at the first glance. These developments include 1) a significant increase of such uses where stimuli are linearly found in the postverbal position and are not able to

control processes like coordinate reduction of subjects, 2) the rise of impersonal uses of two-place intransitives as well as of 3) such uses where the position of the stimulus is occupied by infinitives and dependent clauses that have the shape of adverbial sentences. At the same time 4) the number of uses where the Stimulus-argument is an argument of a hierarchically higher clause (e.g. in control and raising configurations) is diminishing, hence loss of syntactic prominence of nominative Stimuli. Thus, in general a non-SAE pattern of modern Russian mentioned in the beginning and discussed by several predecessors is partially a diachronic innovation.

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### Analyzing coherence in advanced learner writing.

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Discourse coherence is a central aspect of writing that students of foreign languages are required to achieve in the texts they produce. While experience shows that student foreign language papers are often found to be incoherent, the fact that coherence is an elusive concept makes it difficult to pinpoint what exactly causes this lack of coherence. While it may well be related to a general problem of structuring text, it could also be based in the difficulty for learners to operationalize argumentation in a foreign language. This paper will examine possibilities for the analysis of coherence in learner writing with the aim to conceive a reliable model for analysis, which can serve as the basis upon which the interface of various factors that contribute to coherence can be analyzed.

Conceptualizations of coherence range from models that relate it to cohesive elements on the textual surface level (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 1985) to coherence as a broader notion, which involves context, world knowledge, and conceives of coherence as being co-constructed by the writer and the reader of a text (cf. e.g. de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981; Givón 1995; Widdowson 2004). Approaches to the analysis of coherence in learner language thus also vary widely from those relying on cohesive devices on the textual surface level to those using ratings of overall textual quality. These analyses are problematic in that they often either only cater for relations that are overtly marked in the text (thus harboring the risk of circularity) or are prone to subjectivity. The framework of Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST) (Mann & Thompson 1987, 1988; Taboada & Mann 2006), which offers a range of possible logical relations that can occur in a text, is suggested as a possible solution to these problematic aspects of coherence analysis in learner language. To examine the advantages and disadvantages of RST for the description of coherence in advanced learner writing, a set of relations following the model of RST is used for the analysis of a corpus drawn from DELT, the Vienna Database of English Learner Texts. The corpus consists of texts written by L1 German students of English at the University of Vienna in the first year of their studies.

The RST analysis of the learner corpus shows which coherence relations students use to what extent and reveals both successful and problematic coherence relations. The insights drawn from the corpus analysis thus allow for a better understanding of coherence in learner writing, which can potentially be used to pinpoint problematic aspects more specifically. It will be argued that RST can serve as a valuable basis for the examination of different aspects involved in the operationalization of coherence relations in learner writing.

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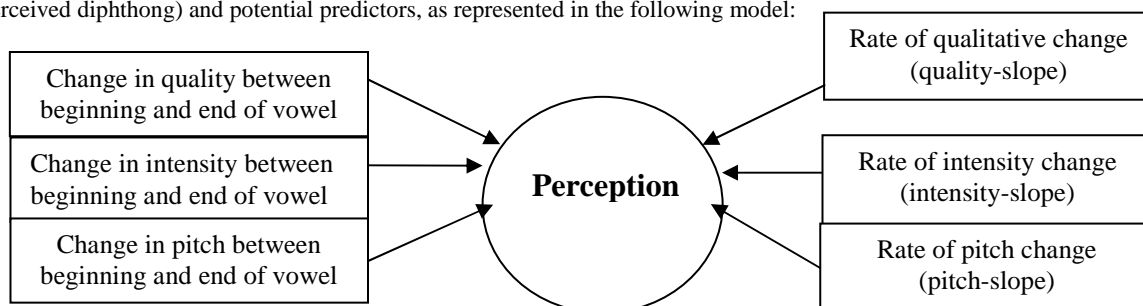
## Exploring acoustic correlates of diphthong perception.

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This paper problematises the interface of diphthong perception and diphthong acoustics from the perspective of experimental phonetics. It hypothesises that the perception of a vowel as a diphthong can be triggered not only by a change in quality (formant movement) but by other cues as well, the most notable of these perhaps being changes in pitch and intensity. A closer look will be taken at the idea that English diphthongs or incipient diphthongs are not necessarily best described in terms of quality alone, and that *diphthongal* should perhaps more generally be equated with *dynamic*.

The material used for analysis consists of 216 tokens of words from the English lexical sets BAIT and GOAT which are known to be variably diphthongal even within the same variety of the language (Cruttenden 2008). The samples were produced by 27 partly anglicised Scottish speakers. After randomization each token was rated as either diphthongal or monophthongal by independent listeners.

For the acoustic component, F1 and F2 frequencies, pitch and intensity were measured at the beginning and end of the vowel interval of each token. The subsequent statistical tests investigate the relationships between the outcome variable (perceived diphthong) and potential predictors, as represented in the following model:



The qualitative traveling-distance of a diphthong trajectory – defined as the Euclidean distance (e.g. Harrington & Cassidy 1999) between two relevant measuring points at the edges of the vowel (Ladefoged 2003) – has already been shown to correlate with auditory ratings (Schützler 2010). It is therefore expected that a change of vowel quality remains the strongest single factor, even in a more complex scenario. Pitch-movements also correlate highly with perceived diphthongisation, but there is considerable covariance between pitch and quality, i.e. the two are not fully independent. Intensity plays a minor role at best.

Apart from the respective roles and interactions of the six predictors sketched above the paper aims to show if there are critical thresholds in single acoustic variables whose transgression overrules the effects of other acoustic cues. Another interesting subsidiary question is if ratings are affected by the same cues to the same extent, irrespective of whether or not the raters are native speakers of (Scottish) English themselves.

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## The semantics of space in Circassian preverbs.

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The North-West Caucasian languages Kabardian and Adyghe are characterized by a sizable inventory of preverbs. A large proportion of these express spatial relations. Among those we find concepts that have been readily described in other languages of the world as well as others that are less commonly encountered. The question of how Northwest Caucasian languages fit into the typology of Space as proposed by Levinson 2003 and Levinson & Wilkins eds. 2008 among others will be addressed in this talk.

The database for the present study consists of two parts: Data found in the literature on Circassian languages (mainly Colarusso 1992, Matasović 2009, Paris & Batouka 1998-2005) and data elicited from diaspora speakers with the help of the MPI stimuli set Topological Relations Picture Series developed by Bowerman & Pederson 1992 and additional pictures.

First, I will present a brief introduction of the morphosyntax and the semantics of the system of spatial preverbs in Circassian languages as a whole. Then I will concentrate on two main points: First, spatial concepts encoded in Circassian preverbs that are less widely distributed in the languages of the world and second, preverbs that in addition to a spatial relation encode properties of the ground.

Those preverbs that include properties of the ground in their semantics rely on features similar to those found in classificatory systems in the languages of America (cf. Grinevald 2007), e. g. /çə-/ “into mass”, /da-/ “flat space”, /jə-/ “narrow space/abstract container”, /də-/ “in through opening” and /fʼa-/ “sharp point” (data from Colarusso 1992). For these preverbs additional features of the ground crosscut the continuum from [containment] to [surface] proposed in the IN-ON-scale (Levinson & Meira 2003).

The current study presents a first investigation into the spatial preverbs of Circassian against the background of the typology of spatial relations. In addition, the analysis can serve as a basis to determine whether there seems to be evidence for areal features shared with neighboring languages in the Caucasus.

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### Lexical coding of evidentiality: on three Romanian adverbs.

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This paper mainly focuses on three Romanian adverbs with the view to integrate them in a Database of evidential markers. The evidential function of the adverbs is highlighted in relation to the epistemic meaning that the same units may convey in a specific context. We argue that evidential and epistemic meanings are highly context dependant and they occur, in the case of the adverbs approached in the paper, as syncretic or distinct manifestations.

The general theoretical framework is provided by Dendale & Tasmowski 2001, Plungian 2001, Aikhenvald 2004 who generally tackle with the type of evidence supporting a statement, namely direct evidence (acknowledged as visual or auditory) and indirect evidence: reported evidence (statements of a third instance, hearsay, folklore) or inferred evidence (results, reasoning). More specific studies are taken into account (Ramat 1996, Pietrandrea 2007, Wiemer 2007) as they offer valuable insights on the evidential function of adverbs and adverbial expressions in English, Italian and, respectively, Lithuanian.

In this context, the lines of our inquiry are directed, on the one hand, towards revealing: 1) the type(s) of information source that the Romanian adverbs *pesemne* ('seemingly'), *pasămite* ('allegedly') and *chipurile* ('it is said that') can indicate; 2) their scope, whether they function as internal modifiers or overarch a whole clause; 3) their position within an utterance; 4) the tenses they occur with; 5) whether they may also be used as intensifiers of evidential meaning conveyed by a grammatical marker such as the presumptive mood. On the other hand, the paper aims at assessing the relationship between epistemic modality and evidentiality since, more often than not, the use of these adverbs pertains both to the information source and to the speaker's attitude toward the propositional content transmitted.

The study of evidentiality in Romanian (Zafiu 2008: 715) places the adverb *pesemne* among the inferential markers alongside with the presumptive mood (*Oți fi ostenite*. 'You must be tired'), epistemic modal verbs (*Trebuie să fie acasă, am văzut lumină*. 'She must be home, there is light'), epistemic verbs of thinking (*Presupun că aveți dreptate*. 'I suppose you are right') and the adverbs *pasămite* and *chipurile* among the reportative markers together with the conditional mood. However, the different types of evidence they point to, their different distribution in discourse seem to favour a separate treatment of each adverb that will allow us to draw the common features as well as the peculiarities that distinguish them. The analysis *per se* starts from the etymological details and the definitions provided in the Romanian Explanatory Dictionary in order for their function as evidential markers to be brought to the fore, this function being in relation with the type of information source they indicate. Actual instances of discourse are taken into consideration with the view to prove that these adverbs are to be treated as multi-functional units where the evidential meaning encompasses or is encompassed by the epistemic value or, on the contrary, has nothing to do with the epistemic meaning conveyed by the utterance.

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### Interdependences between copied derivational and inflectional morphemes.

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Copying of the shapes of bound derivational and inflectional morphemes from one language into another through language contact (in terms of Johanson 1999) is rare when compared to the copying of shapes of lexical items, i.e. loanwords. This is captured in a number of claims about relative borrowability of linguistic forms, e.g. lexical > grammatical, free > bound, unintegrated > integrated (see the summary in Wilkins 1996). But if bound derivational and inflectional morphemes are copied at all, it is often the case that more than one form is copied. This talk investigates the relations between various morpheme copies present in the same language, based on some older published case studies and some newly available data. It starts from the hypothesis that the sets of derivational and inflectional morpheme copies are not random, but that they are structured by paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations between the copied morphemes.

This hypothesis is tested on three case studies: Morpheme copies in three languages of Arnhem Land (Heath 1978; see also Gardani 2008), morphology of Bisayan (Austronesian) origin in the Spanish-based creole Chabacano (Steinkrüger 2003, 2007, 2009), and morphology of Bora (Witotoan) origin in Resígaro (Arawakan) (Aikhenvald 2001; Seifart 2009). The majority of copied derivational and inflectional morphemes in the three languages of Arnhem Land (e.g. various case markers and noun class markers) are paradigmatically interrelated, i.e. they are members of paradigms of case marker, noun class markers, etc. The copied derivational morphemes in Chabacano belong to a large extent to paradigms of various derivational subsystems, e.g. adjectivizers. The set of copied morphology in Resígaro is not only structured by paradigmatic relations (as observable, e.g., in an entire paradigm of copied number markers), but also by syntagmatic relations. Syntagmatic relations hold, e.g., between copied number markers and classifiers, since number marking requires previous unitization of uncountable noun stems by copied classifiers.

This data necessitates a refinement of the claim that (morphosyntactic) integration of a form would inhibit borrowability (copying of forms). Taking the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations to be indicative of a certain degree of morphosyntactic integration, the integration into morphosyntactic subsystems (e.g. case marking systems, derivational subsystems, systems of expression of units and number) is to a considerable extent responsible for shaping the specific set of morphemes that are copied in language contact. It is suggested that the integrative force of morphosyntactic subsystems (in terms of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations) should be given a place in a general theory of contact-induced language change, where it interacts with other factors, such as the typological closeness of the structures involved. This inclusion would help not only to account for the cases presented here, but also to bridge the gap between the study of morpheme copying and that of mixed languages.

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### Gender fluctuation in Dutch.

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According to Hockett (1958), genders are classes of nouns reflected in the behavior of associated words, a definition which focuses on the syntactic aspect of gender: agreement. Actually, grammatical gender is halfway between morphology and syntax; it is not only defined through agreement, but it also represents an inner property of nouns. In many languages there are formal criteria for gender assignment, but very often there are exceptions: sometimes gender can be motivated turning to semantics, in other cases it seems to be completely arbitrary.

If we consider Dutch gender the issue is even more complicated because of the instability of the category itself. The original system, which was morphologically transparent and distinguished among masculine, feminine and neuter nouns, has been undergoing a deep change, so that nowadays the Dutch nominal system is covert (Corbett 1991) and bipartite, with the merger of the original feminine and masculine nouns, while the pronominal system remains partially tripartite.

Recent studies on spoken Dutch stress an ongoing recategorization of pronominal gender on semantic grounds: the neuter being increasingly used for mass nouns and the masculine for count nouns, without any apparent relationship with lexical gender. Moreover, some Dutch nouns display more than one gender (a fluctuation reported even by dictionaries), a phenomenon which seems not to be connected with the pronominal semantic shift.

Considering the increasing opacity of Dutch gender and the ongoing resemanticization of pronouns, the aim of this study is the individuation of some similar cognitive processes responsible for the fluctuation of lexical gender. I suppose that in most cases gender instability will result for both kinds of gender (lexical and pronominal), but there could be some in which this correspondence does not exist at all, resulting in nouns having stable lexical gender but unstable pronominal agreement or the other way around.

To verify these hypothesis, some lexical databases will be investigated (such as CELEX or RBN) in order to isolate the double-gender nouns, then these results will be compared with the data retrieved from some speech corpora (such as the *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* and the *Jasmin Spraakcorpus*).

The analysis of speech data, providing the spontaneous syntactic context for the selection of gender, will be particularly useful to grasp the cognitive processes that are responsible for it, especially in cases of uncertainty. The variety of speakers (native and non-native of different ages and regions) is another important factor, because it could reveal interesting differences for gender selection in relation to different speaker typologies.

In my opinion this kind of analysis will display an ongoing "lexical" recategorization, with the gender fluctuation being motivated as a consequence of the semantic restructuring of a category perceived as no more functional.

For those nouns displaying instability, the selection of gender should be motivated as a consequence of the cognitive perception of the specific semantic properties activated by the noun once it enters the syntagmatic chain: a cognitive process leading to the restructuring of gender towards a higher transparency based on semantic grounds.

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## The rise of non-canonical transitivity in the North Russian perfect with comparison to some other Circum-Baltic languages.

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This paper offers a historical analysis of the rise of non-canonical transitivity in the construction formed by the perfect participles in *-no/to-* in North Russian dialects, cf. (1):

- (1)     **U**                    **nego**                    **korov-a**                    /                    **korov-u**                    podoje-n-o  
           at            he:GEN            cow:nom            /            cow:acc                    milk-part.perf.pass-neutr.sg

“He has milked the cow.”

This construction must have evolved out of P-oriented resultative construction as in (2) from Old Russian:

- (2)     К večeru že priběgoša ljudije:  
           in the evening came people

**inъ**            rane-n-ъ            inъ            nagъ  
 another:nom wound-PPP-nom another:nom naked:nom

“In the evening there came people [but what they found was:] some were wounded some were naked” (Cod. Laur. 225<sup>v</sup>, from 1377)

The nominative-marked core argument of the *-no/to-* construction in Old Russian has the status of a syntactic subject in (2) and of a syntactic object in (1), while the adessive PP *u nego* in (1) shows up as a syntactic subject (cf. Timberlake 1975). The resultative construction in (2) is intransitive and has only one core argument, while the North Russian perfect construction (1) has two core arguments and thereby exhibits a higher degree of transitivity. Thus, we observe increase of transitivity correlating with the increase of subject (and object) properties of the core argument(s) in the course of development from (2) to (1). The paper aims to reveal the emergence of the new subject and object in (1) as opposed to the starting point in (2). The development from (2) to (1) will be reconstructed on the basis of data from Old Russian, using the method of internal reconstruction. The paper represents a case study on diachrony of non-canonical subjects and nominative objects.

*First stage:* the resultative construction (as in 2) is first reanalyzed as perfect construction, which manifests in the texts, i.a., by the fact that selection restrictions on verbs are abandoned: not only telic but also atelic verbs begin to occur in this construction very early. The consequence of this aspectual reanalysis is that agent becomes more prominent at semantic level as it was the case in the resultative construction before. Cf. Nedjalkov’s (2001: 930) observation: “after-effects of a perfect action are non-specific, and they are not necessarily attributed to any particular participant of the situation”, as opposed to the resultative construction which is only one argument oriented. Although the agent becomes present at semantic level, it cannot be overtly expressed, thus the construction becoming impersonal perfect construction. The syntactic status of the core argument (object or subject) plays crucial role in analyzing this construction as passive- or active-like one: at the *second stage*, the nominative-marked core argument has lost subject properties, i.e. the ability to trigger verb agreement, to control converbs, furthermore, in some North Russian dialects it has acquired accusative case-marking. Hence the construction has now an object and is thereby active-like. At the *third stage*, the adessive PP (*u + gen.*), originally an adverbial referring to Experiencer or Bene-/Maleficiary of the resultant state/situation, started to acquire subject properties. This was facilitated by the reanalysis of the adessive PP as exclusively Agent (of the preceding action) via ambiguity contexts (cf. Weiss 1999).

It will be emphasized that, against the common view that North Russian perfect is historically based on *mihi-est* type of possessive construction (cf. Kuteva & Heine 2004), there is strong evidence that the possessor of the possessive *mihi est* construction and the agent phrase in the North Russian perfect construction, although both being encoded by the adessive PP, are of different origin. The evidence against this assumption includes the fact that the impersonal perfect construction is attested at earlier stage (or in dialects) with other adverbials referring to the agent of the preceding action. Thus, e.g., in some North Russian dialects one finds also *v + locative NP* for the agent marking in plural, instrumental adverbial in Belorussian or ablative PP adverbial in Old Russian and in modern dialects, which cannot be connected with the possessive construction formally. Historically and areally (in Baltic) or areally (in Finnic) related constructions are found in other languages of the linguistic area, the origin out of the possessive construction can also be excluded there.

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## **The relation between the partitive genitive subject constructions in ancient Indo-European languages and Baltic, Slavic.**

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In the present paper, I will concentrate on the syntactic properties of the partitive-genitive in subject position. I will provide a descriptive comparison between the syntactic behaviour of the partitive genitive in subject position in ancient Indo-European languages like Ancient Greek and Vedic and its behaviour in Baltic and Slavic. The following claims will be made:

(i) The partitive genitive is an inherited category in Baltic (and Slavic) languages and is not the result of language contact with Balto-Finnic languages, as is sometimes assumed. However, the differences in the syntactic organization of the partitive genitive in Baltic and Slavic, on the one side, and Proto-Indo-European, on the other side, can be accounted for by assuming a contact influence of the Finnic languages. In fact, by comparing the partitive genitive in the subject position in Indo-European, in Baltic, and the partitive in the subject position in Finnic, we find that that the partitive genitive subject in Baltic has much in common on a morphosyntactic level with the Finnic partitive subject and less with the Indo-European partitive genitive subject. Thus, neither (ii) nor (iii) is valid for Baltic, Slavic and Finnic languages.

(ii) The NP marked with the partitive genitive plural itself is not specified for number in the ancient IE languages. In subject position, it can trigger both singular and plural verb forms depending on its semantic/logical number (semantic agreement). Thus, if the semantics of the partitive genitive NP is “some/any of X”, then it triggers the plural verb form, while if the semantics is “someone/anyone of X” then it triggers the singular form, in contrast (1) with plural agreement and (2) with singular agreement:

(1)           Eisi           gar           autōn  
be:3.pl.act. because they:gen.pl.

kai para basilei tō Perseōn  
and at king the of Persians  
”Because the Persian king has some of them” (about exotic animals) (Hdt. 3.102.10)

(2)           tōn           atopōtatōn           ment-an           eiē,           ei ...  
def.:gen.pl. awkward:superl.gen.pl. irreal.particle be:3.sg.opt. if  
”[It] would be, surely, [one] of the most awkward [things], if ... (he should)”

(Demosthenes Ol.1 26.4-5)

(iii) Besides the ability to trigger subject-verb agreement (at least in number), there is another indication that the partitive genitive subject in Indo-European was a full-fledged subject: it was capable of being coordinated with nominative subjects, cf. (3) from Ancient Greek:

(3)           ka-an           gamē           pot’           **autos**  
if marry:subj.3.sg. sometime he:nom.sg.

ē **tōn sungenōn**           ē **tōn philōn**,  
or def.art relatives:gen.pl. or def.art friends:gen.pl.

husomen tēn nukta pasa ...  
we will rain the whole night

„If he or [one] of [his] relatives or [one] of [his] friends will ever marry, we will rain the whole night” (Arist. Nubes 1128f).

(iv) The classical, philological explanation of the partitive genitive subject in ancient languages, which simply assumes an ellipsis of the nominative head (i.e., accounts for it as for a stylistic and, thus, less grammatically-based phenomenon) is ruled out by the fact that one finds this “ellipsis” only with low transitivity predicates (in most cases, unaccusative predicates and never agentive predicates).

As for the semantics of the partitive genitive in Indo-European, I assume that alongside its core, partitive semantics it could also denote indefiniteness. However, the exact range of indefiniteness that could be marked with the partitive genitive in Ancient languages remains to be investigated.

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**The case raises a question: researching the pattern ‘inanimate subject + dynamic verb’  
in English and Lithuanian linguistic discourse.**

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Academic discourse (AD) is often thought of as dispassionate and objective, which is frequently given as a reason for prevailing passive structures in the academic text. A closer look reveals that the pattern ‘inanimate subject + active verb’ is also rather frequent, like in *the paper suggests* or *the case raises a question* etc. The pattern seems to be no less objective; however, verbs like *suggest* add the persuasive ‘flavour’ and often perform the function of hedging (see Hyland 2004).

The above pattern has been mainly researched in English in different frameworks and different academic discourse types. In hard sciences the pattern prevails in the explanatory context (see Master 2001 and Johns 2001); in linguistic discourse the same tendency has been confirmed (Šeškauskienė 2009); however, in other contexts (like cause-effect, change-of-state-or-location etc.) the pattern is more preferred in hard sciences. The purely rhetorical analysis seems to be limited due to a rather problematic identification of context types. The Cognitive Linguistic (CL) framework and its conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) in particular (see Low 1999, Deignan and Potter 2004, Šeškauskienė 2009) open more possibilities treating the above cases as metonymical and metaphorical meaning extensions.

The present paper has limited the above pattern to the formula ‘inanimate subject + dynamic verb’ and introduces the investigation aimed at measuring the frequency of the pattern in English (EN) and Lithuanian (LT) linguistic discourse and identifying cross-linguistic and language/culture-specific meaning extensions. The underlying assumption is that AD is not only dispassionate and objective; it is also agonistic, even though the battle follows certain established rules (Tannen 2002).

The materials (~100,000 words; ~50,000 from each language) for the investigation have been collected from EN and LT linguistic journals focussing on applied linguistics issues and covering the period of 2005-2008. The research has been conducted in the CL framework and in a contrastive perspective.

The preliminary results have shown that the above pattern in LT is no less frequent than in EN. The prevailing semantic model seems to be accountable for within the framework fluctuating between the metonymy PRODUCT FOR PRODUCER and the metaphor AN ESSAY/PAPER/RESEARCH IS A PERSON (see Low 1999; Evans and Green 2006: 310-326). The other two frequent metaphors in the data include RESEARCH IS A JOURNEY and RESEARCH IS BUILDING. In LT some cases seem to balance on the verge of acceptability or are confined to individual researchers. The prevailing verbs in EN are varied (*raise, fall, give*), in LT the majority of all cases include the verb *eiti* (‘go’) with all its derived (prefixed and suffixed) forms. The inanimate subjects include more general nouns, like *research* or *tendencies*, in EN and more specific, like *sentences* or *words*, in LT, which seems to be indicative of English taking a larger-scale view onto linguistic research and Lithuanian keeping to fine-structural level (the latter term adopted from Talmy 1983).

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## A logical answer to the Gricean maxims.

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It is shown first that the Gricean maxims fail to do their job in so far as they are meant to account for the well-known clash between natural logical intuitions and standard modern logic. For example, according to De Morgan's Laws in propositional logic, NOT(P) AND NOT(Q) is equivalent with NOT(P OR Q) and NOT(P) OR NOT(Q) is equivalent with NOT(P AND Q). This is reflected in the fact that a sentence like *He doesn't like trains or planes* is immediately understood as "He doesn't like trains *and* he doesn't like planes". But the converse sentence *He doesn't like trains and planes* is not immediately understood as "He doesn't like trains *or* he doesn't like planes". Pragmatic theory is unable to explain this difference. But it follows immediately from a reasonable hypothesis about natural set theory and thus about natural logic. More examples of this nature, especially the case of "some but not all" versus "some perhaps all", are discussed. It is argued that there is no reason why natural logical intuitions should conform to standard logic, because standard logic is based on mathematics while natural logical intuitions derive from a cognitive system in people's minds, supported by their brain structures. A proposal is then put forward to try a totally different strategy, via logic itself, in particular via the notion of natural logic, based on a natural ontology and a natural set theory. Since any logical system is fully defined by (a) its ontology and its overarching notions and axioms regarding truth, (b) the meanings of its operators, and (c) the ranges of its variables, logical systems can be devised that deviate from modern logic in any or all of the above respects, as long as they remain consistent. This allows one, as an empirical enterprise, to devise a natural logic, which is as sound as standard logic but corresponds better with natural intuitions. It is hypothesised that at least two varieties of natural predicate logic must be assumed in order to account for natural logical and ontological intuitions, since culture and scholastic education have elevated modern societies to a higher level of functionality and refinement. These two systems correspond, with corrections and additions, to Hamilton's 19th-century logic and to the classic Square of Opposition. Finally, an evaluation is presented, comparing the empirical success of the systems envisaged. It should be understood that the perspective developed in the present paper amounts to a radical change in linguistic theory affecting not only the status of pragmatics but the whole range of existing paradigms in theoretical linguistics and their mutual relationships.

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## Moving beyond synchrony: Applying a diachronic corpus-based multivariate analysis to examine the development and use of *I + think* as an 'epistemic parenthetical'.

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Diachronic analysis of *that/zero* variation with the matrix verb *think* (Rissanen 1991; Finnegan & Biber 1995) has shown clear evidence of the rise and predominance of the *zero*-complementizer form as an object-clause link in PDE. Furthermore, the research has been used to claim empirical support for several structural factors within the matrix and complement clause (e.g. *I* or *You* as matrix clause subject, matrix/predicate subject co-referentiality, absence of intervening elements in matrix and absence of intervening elements between the matrix and complement - summarized in Kaltenböck 2004), which facilitates the use of the *zero* form. Other authors have built upon these findings (Thompson and Mulac, 1991; Scheibman, 2002; Kärkkäinen, 2003) by postulating, solely via synchronic PDE spoken corpus data, that the *I+think* main clause construction has since grammaticalized, via reanalysis, and is now being used as an epistemic adverb or 'epistemic parenthetical' (Thompson and Mulac, 1991). However, this research, while important and informative, is upon closer inspection potentially hampered by a number of methodological confounds such as a lack of diachronic evidence / analysis, low or insufficient sample sizes, and a failure to distinguish between lexical and more epistemic uses of *I + think*.

This paper acknowledges Geeraerts & Cuyckens (2007) concerns regarding current methodological practices in cognitive linguistics by implementing a rigorous empirical framework and statistical analysis to reexamine the diachrony of *that/zero* complementizer variation from EModeE to PDE for the verb *think* and concurrent pathways of grammaticalization in the construction [*I + think+ that/zero + finite complement clause*]. Attention is also given towards examining the increasing development of the (inter)subjective nature of the *I + think* collocation and its use as an epistemic parenthetical in PDE. Finally, and most importantly, special focus is placed on distinguishing between lexical and more epistemic uses of *I + think*.

Using Wordsmith, a total of 6340 hits were randomly extracted from 7 historical and PDE English corpora which contain either approximated or actual spoken English data: Old Bailey Corpus (1674-1834), London Lund Corpus (1960-1970), Brown Corpus (1960-1970), MICASE Corpora (2001), and the spoken components from the ANC (1990-2004), Cobuild (1995-

2005), and COCAE (1990-2009) corpuses. The analysis therefore covers 300+ years and utilizes a combined 282 million-word corpus database. All of matrix+complement *that/zero* constructions were coded for 28 structural variables including person, tense, polarity, and presence of modal auxiliaries, syntactic complexity, and complement clause subjects. The analysis acknowledges Geeraerts & Cuyckens (2007) concerns regarding current methodological practices in cognitive linguistics by implementing a rigorous empirical framework and multivariate statistical analysis to separate and identify the linguistic factors conditioning the observed diachronic patterns of *that-* versus *zero* complementizer and the emergence of the epistemic parenthetical usage. Statistically sufficient sample sizes ( $n > 40$ ) for all historical periods were extracted and then statistically analyzed. This step was taken in order to gauge the relative magnitude and actual significance of effect between the different matrix+complement variables and it permitted the reporting the actual significance of an effect rather than the more common presentation of a simple proportion of occurrence between two variables.

The results reveal varying degrees of significance for each of the 4 matrix and complement clause features (Kaltenböck 2000); however stronger significance and implications are revealed when additional variables (e.g. polarity, length of the subject, etc) are incorporated via a ‘weighted’ variable analysis. These findings are then used to develop and present a preliminary framework for both evaluating the epistemic potential of the *think* matrix and identifying factors which contribute to more lexical interpretations.

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## English Reflexive Pronouns as Middle Markers Between Language Contact, Grammaticalization and Lexicalization.

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Present-Day English is generally assumed to possess only a handful of lexicalized reflexive verbs (*absent oneself from, pride oneself on*, etc.) and to use the reflexive marker neither for the marking of middle situation types nor the derivation of anticausative (decausative) verbs. Such non-reflexivizing uses of reflexive markers, where the reflexive marker begins to behave as a bound verbal morpheme, are widespread in other Germanic languages (cf. Germ.*sich*öffnen ‘REFLOpen’).

König and Siemund (2005) claim that this marking option is contingent on the formal non-identity of reflexive pronoun and *self*-intensifier (Germ.*sich* versus *selbst*) and assign this claim the status of an implicational universal. As English fails to draw a formal distinction between these types of expression, the non-reflexivizing uses are not available.

Based on a large-scale empirical analysis of the distribution of reflexive markers in Present-Day English, Siemund (forthc.) shows that the English reflexive pronoun *itself* does occur as a marker of middle situation types as well as for the derivation of anticausative verbs, even though these uses do not occur as frequently as in other Germanic languages.

In my contribution I will follow up the historical development of English reflexive pronouns in the function of middle markers beginning with the Middle English Period, which was a period of intense contact between English and French. I will focus on the interaction between contact-induced language change and grammaticalization/lexicalization processes. Here, a number of interesting observations can be made.

1. Middle English had some lexicalized reflexive verbs that used a simple pronoun for reflexive marking: *he hym absentethe* (OED, 1435) → *to absent oneself; who so fyndeth hym* (OED, 1386) → *to find oneself* ‘be, exist’. When complex reflexives replace simple pronouns in reflexive contexts, this also happens in lexicalized reflexive verbs.
2. There are various borrowings of French lexicalized reflexive verbs where the French reflexive is replaced by the English complex reflexive: *you express yourselfes worthy of it* (OED, 1549).
3. We also find reflexive lexicalizations of French-based verbs in (Early) Modern English: *the thought suggested itself* (OED, 1751). These may also be borrowings.
4. Alongside the processes in 1 – 3, the reflexive marker increasingly comes to be used in middle marking contexts and for the formation of anticausative verbs.

These observations nicely illustrate how continuity (inertia), innovation (grammaticalization, analogical extension, lexicalization) and contact-induced change work in parallel and give rise to a rather complex synchronic picture. Even though I do not wish to claim that each verb has its own history, my talk is a warning against a simple reconstruction of the current synchronic situation in terms of one process alone. The bottom line of my talk is that language contact can disrupt otherwise pervasive implicational connections.

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### Biaspectual borrowed verbs in Serbian – a case for Faith across languages.

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Slavic languages make the distinction between perfective and imperfective verbs lexically. There are tens of derivational procedures for (im)perfectivization, none of which is entirely productive (e.g. Serbian *raditi*<sub>IMP</sub> – *uraditi*<sub>PF</sub> “to do”, *zaradivati*<sub>IMP</sub> – *zaraditi*<sub>PF</sub> „to earn”). As a consequence of contact with languages which do not have the aspect distinction, a class of biaspectual borrowed verbs has arisen. In this presentation I will look at the dynamics of this class in Serbian with special attention for the present-day contact with English. I will show that Serbian biaspectual verbs are a language-contact phenomenon, whose properties are a consequence of copying of/faithfulness to the aspectual indifference of the verb in the source language. Finally, I will show how this copying of lexical properties in borrowing can be formalised in a more general model of loanword adaptation.

All modern borrowed biaspectual verbs are derived from foreign language verbs through suffixation of either one of the two non-native loan verb affixes (henceforth LV, for a typology see Wichmann & Wohlgemuth 2008) which are/were productively used for deriving verbs from foreign verbal stems, Greek *-is-* e.g. *fotografisati* and German *-ir-* e.g. *programirati*, or the native LV *-ov-* e.g. *protestovati*. These verbs slowly develop into aspectual pairs similar to those of native verbs, adding prefixes to derive the perfective form, leaving the old biaspectual form as imperfective only (e.g. present-day *kopirati*<sub>IMP</sub> vs. *iskopirati*<sub>PF</sub>). Based on a comparison with older descriptions of the biaspectual verbs in Serbo-Croatian (Lazić 1976 Stevanović 1979), we tentatively conclude that this process is more advanced in verbs derived with *-isa-* and *-ira-*, which are not currently used in loanword adaptation.

The LV *-ova-*, the only one productively used for adapting English verbs, e.g. (*an*)*zipovati*, *forvardovati*<sup>3</sup> is a typologically interesting LV. It is homonymous to the imperfective affix *-ova-* used with native stems – e.g. *kup-ova-ti*<sub>IMP</sub> vs. *kup-i-ti*<sub>PERF</sub> “to buy”. However, the two differ in combinability – the imperfective *-ova-* is only attached to historically hard stems, whereas the LV is combined with all stems without restrictions, e.g. *atačovati*, *ingejdžovati*. Though unrestricted by phonology, the applicability of the biaspectual *-ova-* is severely constrained by the category of the stem - biaspectual verbs are only derived from *foreign verbs*. Recent formations which have nominal and adjectival stems e.g. *klabingovati*<sub>IMP</sub>, *šopingovati*<sub>IMP</sub>, *fejkovati*<sub>IMP</sub>-*isfejkovati*<sub>PF</sub> all have a single aspect. The same is true of back-formations such as *brejkovati*<sub>IMP</sub> “to break dance”.

Finally, the most recent version of an OT-based model of loanword adaptation developed in Simonović (2009) will be briefly presented. Formalising the last finding, I conclude that FAITH(loan) (see Ito & Mester 2001, 2002), which enforces faithfulness to the biaspectual/aspectless verb in the source language, makes a class distinction and is vacuously satisfied in the case when the source words is not a verb.

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<sup>3</sup> For the most recent published data see Vasić et al 2001; I will report on the data from my own project data base and the national corpus, available on <http://www.korpus.matf.bg.ac.rs>.

### **Phonetic forms and linguistic functions of diphthongs.**

Simpson, Adrian  
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We can define a phonetic diphthong as the acoustic product (formant movements) of articulatory movements sufficient to give rise to the audible percept of changing vowel quality. Phonetic diphthongs have four main phonological sources

- (iii) In a linguistic context we tend to think first of the phonetic realisations of phonological terms in a vowel system which are primarily expounded by such audible vowel movements, in other words, a phonetic diphthong as the phonetic correlate of a phonological diphthong. However, the relationship between phonetic and phonological diphthongs is a complex one. The articulatory and acoustic realisations of phonological diphthongs can be essentially phonetically monophthongal under appropriate temporal conditions. For instance, in durationally short tokens of possessive pronouns *mein* or *dein* in German, the vocalic portion can be a phonetic monophthong.
- (iv) Phonetic diphthongs can be the phonetic correlates of adjacent phonological monophthongs. A confusion of the phonetic and phonological levels of abstraction lead to apparently conflicting descriptions of vowel systems. For instance, Italian has been described as a language with and without diphthongs.
- (v) Phonetic diphthongs arise from the phonetic correlates of phonological monophthongs and adjacent consonants. Secondary articulations, such as palatalisation or velarisation associated with the phonetic correlates of a consonant often precede/follow the primary articulation giving rise to a marked on-/off-glide of the vowel. We can include here vocalisations of consonants such as /l/ and /r/, common in languages such as English or German.
- (vi) The phonetic correlates of monophthongal terms in the vowel system may be diphthongal utterance finally or prepausally. These diphthongs can be seen to have delimitative function, or *Grenzsignale* (Trubetzkoy 1939), not having directly to do with the vowel system itself. So, for instance, Standard Swedish /e:/ and /o:/ have central off-glides in utterance-final syllables (Engstrand 2004).

The different sources of phonetic diphthongs are often reflected in differences in their articulatory and consequently acoustic dynamics within one and the same language, e.g. Peeters (1991) for Dutch. The different types of phonetic diphthongs as well as the alternation between monophthongal and diphthongal allophones of the same vowel term make for a rich source of sound change and intervocalic variation.

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### **Language Contact between Turkic, Kartvelian, and Indo-European: Word Order in Caucasian Urum.**

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Caucasian Urum is a Turkic language spoken by ethnic Greek speakers in the Small Caucasus (Georgia) (see Podolsky 1986). The language is poorly documented and nowadays strongly endangered (estimated population: 1 500 native speakers in the original territory). The crucial point for this talk is that this language is a case of language contact between languages of three different linguistic families, namely Turkish, Georgian, and Russian. The Urum population was originally speaking Anatolian Turkish but had intensive language contact with Russian and Georgian in the last two hundred years (since the speakers moved to the Caucasian territory) to the effect that the currently spoken language in the Urum community has substantial loans from both languages, both in lexicon as well as in grammar. Most Urum speakers are trilingual – in Urum, Georgian, and Russian.

The research question of this talk is how language contact influences the expression of focus in Caucasian Urum. The three contact languages differ crucially with respect to the word order effects of focus. Turkish and Georgian are SOV languages; the focused constituent typically appears in the immediately preverbal position. The crucial difference between these languages is that postverbal material can be focused in Georgian (see Harris 1981), which is completely excluded in Turkish (see Kiliçaslan 2004). Russian is a SVO language; focus can be expressed in situ (through accentual prominence), but it frequently appears in a peripheral position, either at the beginning or at the end of the utterance (see Mehlhorn 2002, van Gelderen 2003).

This talk presents evidence from natural discourse (spontaneous narratives) and judgments of Urum speakers about the felicity of different word orders in different contexts. The spontaneously produced data shows a pattern that is most similar to the properties known for Turkish: the focused constituent most frequently appears in the immediately preverbal position. The intuition data

shows a different pattern: Urum speakers judge as felicitous more options than the options that they actually produce. They allow for postverbal focus, a syntactic option that is not available in Turkish.

These empirical findings have consequences for a particular stage of language change induced through language contact in a radically multilingual community. Speakers are most frequently using the grammatical strategy of the language that constitutes the basic historical substratum, but they accept deviations from this pattern, if these deviations are licit in the languages of contact.

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### Variable analyses of a verbal inflection in (mainly) Canadian French.

Smith, John Charles

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This paper examines the evolution of the third-person plural present-tense verb-ending *-ont* in French.

In standard French, *-ont* is found in the present indicative in only four verbs: *ils sont* 'they are', *ils ont* 'they have', *ils font* 'they do', *ils vont* 'they go'. However, in several Old French dialects (and some of their modern descendants), *-ont* was extended to first-conjugation verbs: thus, *ils portont* (standard *ils portent*) 'they carry' (see ALF, map 1064). Acadian French, spoken in the Canadian Atlantic Provinces, has inherited this pattern (arguably from the south-western *langue d'oil* dialects spoken by the original settlers) and, in places, has extended it to other verb classes and to irregular verbs — and also to the subjunctive, imperfect and conditional (Péronnet 1990; Poirier 1993).

The extension of *-ont* in Old French is clearly analogical, and suggests that speakers analysed *sont* (etc.) as having the structure *s+ont*. However, the further extension of *-ont* in Acadian French is more complex, plausibly involving a 'take-over' or 'referral' (Carstairs 1984), whereby the first-person form (the homophonous *-ons*) is extended into the third person (in the typology of Baerman & Brown 2005, the syncretic form here 'belongs' to the first person). The result is a paradigm in which, in both singular and plural, the third-person form is phonetically identical to the first-person form. Strikingly, whilst the third-person plural in *-ont* is found in the speech of most Acadians, its distribution appears to be sensitive to age and sex; it therefore constitutes a sociolinguistic variable (Beaulieu & Cichocki 2009).

In some varieties of Québécois French, we find a quite different development: *-ont* is not extended as a verbal inflection, but the third-person plural of the imperfect indicative of the verb *être* 'be' is analogically remodelled on the same person of the present indicative — thus: *ils sontaient* (standard *ils étaient*) 'they were'. For instance, half-a-dozen speakers in the unpublished Cedergren-Sankoff corpus of spoken Montréal French (1971-1984) use this form. More rarely, a similar remodelling affects the verbs *avoir* 'have' and *faire* 'do'. In contrast to the spread of *-ont*, discussed above, this development, in which the third-person plural of the present indicative comes to serve as the stem of the corresponding imperfect form, suggests that forms such as *sont* are being treated as unanalysable by the relevant Québécois speakers.

My conclusions are twofold. First, the same form may come to be analysed in different ways in different varieties — specifically, forms such as *sont* may sometimes be represented as a stem plus an ending (*s+ont*) and sometimes as an unanalysable stem (*sont*). Second, the data demonstrate that the concept of (socio)linguistic variability must encompass **analyses** as well as **forms** — in the present instance, it is not merely (or even essentially) the inflection or stem which is the variable, but, rather, more abstract or underlying notions, such as segmentation, paradigm structure, and morphomic patterns (in the sense of Aronoff 1994: systematic formal regularities which are not simply due to sound change and which have no unique functional correlate).

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## On the status of epistemic overtones of Polish reportive particles (*podobno, rzekomo, jakoby*) and their treatment in the database.

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Reportivity (hearsay) is a subdomain of evidentiality which indicates that the speaker of the actual utterance bases his/her assertion on previous utterances, usually made by another person (other persons). Like the majority of units marking evidential functions reportive particles in Polish additionally carry epistemic overtones, i.e. they express the speaker's reservations as for the truth of the reported utterance(s). With respect to the treatments of this lexemes in the semantic-pragmatic part of the database of evidential markers in European languages, I will ask the question whether the meaning alternation manifested by epistemic overtones should be interpreted as a sign of semantic indeterminacy (diffuseness) or rather a sign of polysemy. The meaning variants which can be distinguished vary in part with respect to the usage in different text types. It will be shown however that this question cannot be sensibly treated before the status of epistemic overtones is sufficiently understood, i.e. it is subordinate to the question whether epistemic overtones are the result of pragmatic implicatures, or rather an outcome of a conventionalized interplay between the epistemic and evidential components in the meaning of given unit.

As an example consider the particle *rzekomo*, which occurs mostly in contexts identifying the proposition in its scope as false or at least very doubtful. Is there a stable epistemic component of this lexeme's meaning, which constitutes the basis for this distribution and if yes, how should it be described? Is this component also existent in the few cases in which the context of use is neutral in this respect (like in the following text)? Is it just a pragmatic implicature which has been cancelled here by the context?

Wciąż trzyma się ostatni bastion talibów i ich faktyczna stolica Kandahar. Mułłę Omara **rzekomo** widziano wczoraj, z ochroną, w centrum miasta. (PWN, *Życie Warszawy*, 26.11.2001)

'The Taleban's last bastion and their real capital of Kandahar is still holding out. Mullah Omar with his bodyguards was allegedly seen yesterday in the city centre.'

Or does the world knowledge trigger a reasoning like the following: Because this is a press news concerning things happening in a beleaguered city, which therefore are not and can not be verified, one must assume a doubtful stance? Does the text type matter? In an online corpus *rzekomo* occurs more frequently than other reportive particles for reporting of statements which are legally relevant such as accusations or admissions, and it seems to emphasize a distanced (which means 'strictly neutral') stance of the metaspeaker (e.g. the journalist) who does not take anybody's part but merely reports. Or must we assume in such cases a homonymous lexeme *rzekomo*<sub>2</sub> meaning 'presumably'?

## Epistemic-evidential overlap: English *must* and its Lithuanian correspondences.

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Epistemic-evidential syncretism has been widely discussed in the literature (van der Auwera and Plungian 1998; Mortelmans 2000; Plungian 2001; Pietrandrea 2005; Cornillie 2007, 2009; Squartini 2008 among others). Since this relation is not isomorphic and fine-grained cross-linguistic differences are difficult to discover by introspection or analysis of contrived examples, the corpus-based approach adopted in this study helps to reveal patterns which would be difficult to find otherwise. The possibility of combining comparable and translation corpora allowed us to map the correspondences between the formal and functional features in the source and target language texts and define parallels between them. The research is based on the analysis of the data obtained from a self-compiled bidirectional translation corpus — *ParaCorp<sub>E-LT-E</sub>*. The corpus is designed following the ENPC model (Johansson 2007). It includes original English fiction texts and their translations into Lithuanian and original Lithuanian fiction texts and their translations into English.

The present paper focuses on the relation between the synchronic uses of English *must* and its Lithuanian correspondences (the adverbials *tikriausiai*, *greičiausiai*, *veikiausiai* 'certainly/surely/most probably', *turbūt* 'probably', *matyt* 'seemingly' and the modal verb *turėti* 'must/have to'), e.g.:

- (1) *He must have broken the window!*  
*Tikriausiai jis išdaužė langą.*
- (2) *That must have been horrible for you.*  
*Tau turėjo būti išties baisu.*

The purpose of this corpus-based study is to see what means of expression are preferable in the given languages and what the scope of their meanings is. The paper also aims to determine whether there is any language-specific conceptualisation of the strength of the speaker's commitment to the factuality of his/her proposition and to what extent the speaker's evaluation of the proposition is influenced by the interactional context of use and available evidence (Squartini 2008; Boye and Harder 2009).

The quantitative results of the study show that English and Lithuanian differ in the use of verb and adverbial strategies for epistemic necessity realisation: Lithuanian joins the group of languages that use modal verbs much less than English, when it comes to expressing epistemic necessity. The analysis of the translational paradigm has indicated language-specific differences as well. The findings demonstrate that the Lithuanian adverbials *tikriausiai* ‘most probably’, *turbūt* ‘probably’, *matyt* ‘seemingly’ can cover the whole range of the epistemic scale. The analysis of the correspondences of *matyt* shows that the semantic structure of this modal word retains the element of inference which is an important factor in the extension of meaning of this verb from direct visual perception to mental perception and then further to an evidential (Usoniene 2003; Wiemer 2007). The data support the inferential nature of *matyt* ‘seemingly’; however, self-inference, as an unreliable source of information, triggers the meaning of uncertainty. What is more, the markers of epistemic necessity are used interchangeably with the markers of epistemic possibility in Lithuanian; this could suggest that the distinction between low and high degree of speaker certainty might be blurred in Lithuanian (Usoniene 2007).

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## Surface variation in the clause structure of the Old High German *Evangelienbuch*

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This paper accounts for the variation in the clausal syntax exhibited in Otfrid’s Old High German (OHG) *Evangelienbuch* by highlighting the various functional factors that can trigger a series of transformational rules, including extraposition, verb raising (VR) and verb projection raising (VPR). The analysis assumes that the finite verb in Otfrid may appear in one of three positions: verb-first (V1), verb-second (V2) and verb-final (Vfinal), shown in (1).

- (1) a. **Éiscota** sie in thráti b. waz thiu wórolt **quati**,  
asked them eagerly what the world say-PRET.OPT  
(He) asked eagerly what the world was saying III 12, 2-3
- c. Pétrus **spráh** thar ubarlút  
Peter spoke then openly



## Flexibility of noun phrases in Latin.

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Latin is a language with a variable constituent order and its noun phrases allow discontinuity. It is the most flexible language in Bakker's (1998) typological study of the languages of Europe. The aim of this contribution is to show two main aspects of flexibility of noun phrases in Classical Latin prose (Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust): (i) mobility of modifiers (adjectives, determiners, and genitive complements), i.e. their placement before and after their head nouns, and (ii) discontinuity of noun phrases. It has already been stated that mobility of modifiers can be explained by pragmatic reasons (de Jong 1983 and Pinkster 1995, working in the framework of Functional Grammar, Dik 1997<sup>2</sup>), such as contrast and emphasis. For my demonstration, I will establish a distinction between "productive" noun phrases (for example, *orator bonus* 'good orator') and "fixed idioms" (*res publica* 'republic') in order to show that for pragmatic reasons, mobility is allowed, to some extent, also in the case of fixed idioms. The second point of my contribution concerns discontinuity of noun phrases. In general, discontinuity of a noun phrase can be produced by its own complement (for example, when a genitive complement is inserted between a head noun and its complement; this I will call "internal" hyperbaton, or "framed noun phrases", cf. Siewierska and Uhlířová 1998), or by an alien element that does not belong to the noun phrase. Distinction between "free" and "fixed" noun phrases is important for explaining discontinuity by alien elements. In Latin, there are enclitic particles, such as *enim*, that separate all noun phrases, including proper names (*Quintus enim Ligarius*) and highly fixed lexical units (*res enim publica*). This type of discontinuity is a placement constraint that is not linked with pragmatics. Separations produced by one or more alien element(s) other than enclitic particles do have a pragmatic motivation and are rare in the case of proper names and highly fixed lexical units. In sum, the examination of three parameters, i.e. mobility of modifiers, intervention of enclitics and discontinuity (in my corpus 10 % of noun phrases show internal hyperbaton, 12 % discontinuity by alien element(s)), provides us with results that fully support, and even emphasize the statement about the high flexibility of Latin noun phrases.

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## Italian multi-word determiners and the grammaticalization of countability in Romance.

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The morphosyntactic marking of indefinite expressions shows a complex pattern of interlinguistic variation among Romance languages, especially as far as mass nouns and countable plurals are concerned (Stark 2007). While French mass nouns require an indefinite determiner, the so called 'partitive article', which also occurs (even though not obligatorily) in Italian (Fr. *J'achète \*(du) pain*, It. *Compro (del) pane* 'I buy (some) bread'), Spanish only admits bare mass nouns (*Compro pan* 'I buy (some) bread'). This distribution has been typologically interpreted as sensitive to classificational distinctions based on countability, French and Italian 'partitive articles' being considered as 'nominal classifiers' (Herslund 2004, Stark 2007). Nonetheless, as noted by Herslund (2003), an opposite behaviour can be observed in Spanish, if the marking of indefinite plurals is also taken into account. Unlike Italian and (modern) French, Spanish displays a plural inflectional form of the indefinite article restricted to countable nouns (*Compro (unos) libros* 'I buy (some) books'). This has been interpreted as a preference for the grammaticalization of quantifiers instead of classifiers in Spanish (Herslund 2003), but it can also be accommodated within a classificational interpretation, in which the Spanish (singular and plural) indefinite articles can be analyzed as morphologically transparent markers of countability. These hypotheses will be now tested by extending the scope of the analysis to multi-word quantificational determiners such as Spanish *un montón de*, French *un tas de*, Italian *un sacco di* 'a lot of', whose status as 'complex determiners' has been repeatedly pointed out (Dessaux 1976, Buvet 2001, Mirto / Necker 2007, Vietri 2008). The origin of some of these constructions as pseudo-partitives (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2009) as well as their gradual grammaticalization (Brems 2003) and intermediate nature between (mensural) classifiers and quantifiers have also been controversially discussed in various languages (see Lehrer 1986 and Aikhenvald 2000, among others), which makes their study particularly relevant in a context focusing on the grammaticalization of classificational properties. However, due to the crosslinguistic and intralinguistic diversity of the vast array of Romance multi-word determiners, the

analysis will concentrate on two Italian constructions (*un sacco di* ‘a lot of’ and *una serie di* ‘a series of’) that are particularly frequent in various text genres according to recent corpus investigations (Mirto / Necker 2007, Onesti / Squartini 2007). Elaborating on a set of morphosyntactic properties, including selectional restrictions with mass / countable nouns as well as pronominalization and the possibility of occurring as non-nominal modifiers (e.g. as adjectival modifiers: It. *un sacco bello* ‘very beautiful’), a contrastive analysis of the two constructions under scrutiny will be presented in detail. It will be concluded that they might be representative of two productive structural types, in which the modifier *tutta* ‘all, whole’ in *tutta una serie di* ‘a whole series of’ also plays a collocational role. More generally, it will be claimed that their different morphosyntactic properties can be ultimately ascribed to opposite strategies variously based on classificational distinctions along the lines sketched out above for the system of simple determiners.

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## The role of comparative morphology in the reconstruction of Sino-Caucasian.

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Despite widespread emphasis on the importance of finding morphological homologies in order to demonstrate genetic relationship, on practice the role of morphology in establishing chronologically distant relationships varies significantly from taxon to taxon, and it is doubtful that a tendency towards universalizing this criterion, observed in historical linguistics today, will stimulate much progress in it.

As an example, in my presentation, I discuss the morphological evidence that has been brought forward by several researchers in order to substantiate Sergei Starostin's [1991] Sino-Caucasian hypothesis, asserting that, due to significant typological changes in its daughter branches, Sino-Caucasian cannot be safely established as a valid taxon on the grounds of morphology alone, nor can any of its “mini-”versions (such as Edward Vajda's [2008] “Dene-Yeniseian”) or any of its mutually exclusive alternatives (such as Laurent Sagart's [2005] “Sino-Austronesian”). In fact, selection of morphology as the primary means of argumentation in any of these cases frequently tricks the researcher into building complex “sand castles” that look convincing to the non-expert, but collapse upon more thorough consideration of available data, because of being based on chains of speculative assumptions about language prehistory rather than hard facts.

Nevertheless, real morphological evidence, no matter how scarce, may and must be used in tandem with lexical data, collected and compared based on the principle of regular phonetic change. An important point here is that morphological comparison cannot be fully separated from phonetic comparison, since convincing parallels in the sphere of morphology should also be based on regular phonetic correspondences.

Particularly in the case of Sino-Caucasian, we may point to several impressive (semantically and phonetically transparent) morphemic homologies — such as personal pronouns and pronominal markers, productive and fossilized class prefixes, and tense and aspect markers in the verbal system — that, on their own, are not diagnostic enough to guarantee the correctness of the hypothesis, but, taken together with homologies in the subsystem of the basic lexicon, make the idea of a

distant genetic relationship between North Caucasian, Yeniseian, Sino-Tibetan, and — possibly — Na-Dene languages look like a scientific theory rather than a personal fantasy. The same approach, it is assumed, will be helpful in evaluating the robustness of other "long-range" hypotheses, such as Altaic, Nostratic, Amerind et al.

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### What is a sentence in Classical Nahuatl?

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Classical Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan) is probably the most richly documented indigenous language of the erstwhile Spanish colonial empire. This wealth of literary data provides an ideal testing ground for many hypotheses of contemporary linguistics. Even basic concepts of Western Linguistics can be tested against the data of Classical Nahuatl. Michel Launey (1994) - inspired by the morphosyntactic analysis of Classical Nahuatl proposed by Andrews (2003 - first published in 1975) - describes Classical Nahuatl as an omnipredicative language. Simplifying, the principle of omnipredicativity presupposes that each content word (=verbs and nouns) is fully predicative in the sense that it forms a sentence/clause of its own. This interpretation is based on the assumption that each content word represents a combination of subject and predicate. A bona fide noun like e.g. pilli "child" can be analysed as 0-pilli "(s/he is a ) child" with a zero-prefix for 3rd person subject just as any bona fide verb of the language, cf. 0-tzàtzi "(s/he) cries". Since ni-pilli "I am a child" and ni-tzàtzi "I cry" show that (in the present tense), nominal predicates and intransitive verbal predicates behave in parallel fashion morphologically, Launey's argument must be considered strong. It comes as no surprise, that data from Classical Nahuatl receive considerable attention in Stassen's (1997) crosslinguistic study of intransitive predication. In Launey (2004), the concept of omnipredicativity is reaffirmed.

This concept has a bearing on many notions modern Western linguistics has inherited from traditional descriptive grammar and the various schools of European and American structuralism. From the perspective of omnipredicativity, terms like "word", "phrase", "clause", "(simple/complex sentence)", "clause combining", etc. do not lend themselves easily to being applied to a language like Classical Nahuatl. Stolz (2008) demonstrates that even the distinction of primary vs secondary predication does not do justice to the givens of Classical Nahuatl. Overt connectors are largely optional in the language (whereas juxtaposition prevails). Strategies of predicativisation and depredicativisation exist. However, especially the latter often create "arguments" which are equally related to the "predicates" between which they are sandwiched such that a kind of "argument sharing" seems to be the rule. Extensive noun incorporation (object, instrumental, adverbial), auxiliary and verb incorporation, polysynthesis, pro-drop, and non-configurationality are properties which add to the difficulties one has to face if it comes to determining syntactic boundaries which are not identical with the ones which separate individual words from each other in a chain.

On the empirical basis of Book 12 of the Florentine Codex (a bilingual Spanish-Classical Nahuatl account of the conquest of Tenochtitlan by the Spaniards, written in the second half of the 16th century), I put forward quantitative and qualitative arguments for a critical assessment of the omnipredicativity hypothesis by way of checking how predicates ("clauses") are combined in this classic text. At the same time, I test the feasibility of a (macro-)syntactic analysis employing the received terminology of functional linguistics. My analysis will shed light on the question of whether or not the notional system of linguistics needs to be revised.

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## Syntactic liability in the New Indo-Aryan languages. Evidence from Hindi dialects.

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The NIA languages are generally considered to be nominative/accusative at the level of syntax. The phenomenon of ergativity, however strong it is, is only attested at the morphological level. In contemporary NIA languages, all behavioral properties of subjects are possessed by the argument which in perfective tenses receives ergative marking. However, there is evidence from earlier stages of NIA that the syntactic status of the subject-like argument marked by the oblique case does not necessarily control conjunction reduction, i.e. there are traces of the Dixonian SO pivot (1994). In previous research, Khokhlova (1995; 2000; 2001; 2006) has found instances of the SO pivot in Old Rajasthani prose.

The present paper argues that the early NIA tongues can be interpreted as mixed pivot languages, and such a claim can be additionally supported by other early varieties of Hindi such as Braj and Awadhi. A closer examination of early NIA texts (Chand Bardai's 'Prithvi Raj Rasau', Jayasi's 'Padumavati' and Tulsidas' 'Ramacaritmanasa') reveals the liability of the syntactic pivot. In other words, not all ergative subjects in early NIA are endowed with the expected subject properties. Examples of co-referential object deletion found in the texts indicate the possible existence of the SO pivot.

The hypothesis that the early NIA tongues (here, in particular, old varieties of Hindi) were not fully accusative at the syntactic level can be further verified by comparison with the Pahari group, for which we do not have older written records (except for inscriptions whose authenticity is still disputed). Examination of selected contemporary Pahari texts (e.g. Pant 2006) as well as those collected over a hundred years ago by Grierson (1916) shows that even today syntactic liability may be present in the ergative domain of NIA, although it has been preserved only in the most conservative dialectal groups.

Even though syntactic ergativity has not been fully attested in NIA, its traces can be found at different historical stages of NIA. This fact may result in reformulation of the well-established views on ergativity vs. accusativity of NIA, by showing the instability of both systems. In our opinion the assumed liability can shed new light on the notion of subject or even lead to the challenging of subject as a relevant category for early NIA (for Hindi cf. Monaut 2004). It should also be possible to verify to what extent convergences between syntactic phenomena attested in early NIA (Rajasthani, Eastern Hindi, Western Hindi) and in contemporary dialects (Pahari) can complete our understanding of the development of the ergative alignment in NIA.

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## The Expression of the Perfect in Asian Englishes.

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This paper deals with perfect meaning, that is, the expression of actions within "a time span beginning in the past and extending up to now" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 143; cf. also Quirk *et al.* 1985: 192-195; Biber *et al.* 1999: 467). Though perfect meaning is traditionally ascribed exclusively to the analytic construction *have+past participle*, alternative constructions are possible, in particular the synthetic preterite, which competes with the analytic construction in some registers (e.g. spontaneous informal English, cf. Miller 2000, 2004) and in some geographical varieties of English, such as American English (Elsness 1997, 2009), Scottish English (Miller 2004), Irish English (Kirk 2009) and other varieties of English known as 'New Englishes' (Kortmann & Schneider 2004). More marginal ways of expressing perfect meaning have also been attested, as in the preterite+*there* construction in Scottish English (Miller 2000) and the present tense form in Irish English (Kirk 2009). This type of variation has traditionally been attributed to temporal indefiniteness, which leaves room for individual interpretations (Elsness 2009: 228); in fact, the analytic construction seems to be favoured in contexts where time

is made explicit by an adverb, so much so that some authors maintain that, in spoken English, the perfect is splitting into three independent constructions differentiated by the occurrence or absence of particular adverbs, namely *just*, *yet*, *ever* and *never* (Miller 2004: 244). The traditional analysis of the expression of perfect meaning no longer holds for Present-day English, and therefore a more adequate account must now be sought.

While in certain varieties of English the issue has already been examined in detail (see above), in the different New Englishes further study is still needed. Accordingly, in this paper we analyse the expression of the perfect in Asian Englishes: Englishes from Hong Kong, India, Singapore and the Philippines. We focus on the spoken language as it is generally considered the most vernacular type of language and therefore the most likely locus of change (Miller 2006: 689). In particular, we analyse all the constructions that contain the above-mentioned adverbs (*just*, *yet*, *ever* and *never*), since these adverbs, which make the time reference explicit, would unambiguously require the use of the present perfect. The aim of the study is to answer the following questions: (i) What forms are available for the expression of perfect meaning? (ii) How are they used in spoken language (context, meaning, type of verb, grammatical environment, etc.)? (iii) Are these forms and the manner in which they are used the same in each of the four varieties? And (iv) does the variation observed match the variation described for American, Scottish and Irish Englishes?

Answering these questions has only recently been made possible by the collection and publication of the ICE corpora (*International Corpus of English*), from which we have taken a selection of 200,000 words of spoken language for each variety. Preliminary analysis of just one corpus sample has shown that, in combination with time adverbs, perfect meaning is expressed not only by the perfect and preterite forms, but also by constructions such as the simple present tense (*so far I never regret to come to Hong Kong*) and the *have*+bare infinitive form (*I haven't take up the whole job yet*).

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### Learning from the past: An ecolinguistic approach to reconstructing and predicting biocomplexity in Lithuanian watersheds.

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River ecosystems are among the most imperiled worldwide, and are expected to be subjected to multiple stressors in the coming centuries. In particular, predicting future ecological responses of rivers to changes in climate, land use, and precipitation represent a significant challenge and will require a solid understanding of the historical interplay among climate, landscape, and the ecology of watersheds. Using a linked ecological-linguistic approach, our driving objective is to reconstruct historic patterns of biocomplexity in Lithuanian watersheds, using salient relationships with climate and landscape change to predict likely future environmental changes. To capture both functional and mechanistic characteristics of biocomplexity, we are using habitat characteristics, species presence, biodiversity, and riverine food webs as our focal measures.

Ecologically, we are using stable isotope analysis of carbon ( $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ ), nitrogen ( $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ ), deuterium ( $\delta^2\text{H}$ ), and oxygen ( $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ ) on extant and museum preserved floral and faunal specimens to reconstruct a chronosequence of habitat and species distributions as well as trophic interactions in Lithuanian watersheds over the past 1000 years. Our field efforts focus on the seven principal river basins of Lithuania: Nemunas, Venta, Musa-Nemunelis, Dauguva, Baltic Sea tributaries, Bartuva, and Pregol. Current surveys of species presence, biodiversity, and food webs are being used as a counterpoint to historical patterns and as the underpinnings of predictive models.

Linguistically, we draw on an analysis of a number of ecologically important lexical items in Lithuanian, including various toponyms, food words, and terms for flora and fauna. Our hypothesis, drawing on the fact that the Lithuanian people have a uniquely long, rich, and possibly even largely monolingual history in their native homeland, is that these lexical domains will show considerable stability and will therefore reveal archaisms, thus providing clues to earlier ecological patterns that can be

correlated with what is known about the region's ecological history from non-linguistic evidence. The richness of dialectological material in these sectors of the lexicon will also prove useful in pinpointing the location of detailed environmental correlates. In this way, Lithuanian offers a unique opportunity to use linguistic evidence as a complement to ecological methods to reconstruct historical patterns of biocomplexity.

Perspectives from this ecological effort are expected to result in unique outcomes including reconstructions of the historic biodiversity and food webs of Lithuanian watersheds and predictive models of future ecological patterns, and to offer a novel interdisciplinary methodology employing linguistic evidence in tandem with laboratory- and field- based ecological findings.

### On the status of scrambling in Polish. Evidence from inverse binding.

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It has been suggested by a few authors writing about scrambling in Polish (e.g. Tajsner (1998) or Witkoś (2006)) that the derivation of the non-canonical OVS order in Polish involves displacement of an object into the Spec. TP position. The problem I address is that of the syntactic status of the position in question. I further raise a related question of the classification of the operation of argument scrambling to Spec. TP as either A- or A' movement. The relevant examples are (1) and (2) below, both representing the "inverted" OVS (or O<sub>i</sub>VO<sub>i</sub>S) order.

- (1) Książkę dał Ani Marek.  
book<sub>ACC</sub> gave Anna<sub>DAT</sub> Marek<sub>NOM</sub>  
'Mark gave Anna a book.'
- (2) Janka zaprosił Adam.  
Janek<sub>ACC</sub> invited Adam<sub>NOM</sub>  
'Adam invited John.'

In his discussion of Russian scrambling Baylin (2003) classifies analogous Russian cases as instances of A-movement (*Generalized Inversion*) and contrasts them with the OSV pattern derived by *Dislocation* (instance of A'-movement). Witkoś (2005) generally sustains Baylin's (2003) claims for Polish providing examples of the extension of the binding domain in instances of *Generalized Inversion* like (3):

- (3) Marii spodobały się nowe historie o sobie.  
Mary<sub>DAT</sub> liked self [new stories about self]<sub>NOM</sub>  
'Maria liked new stories about herself.'

Contrary to Witkoś (2005), and, indirectly, contrary to Baylin (2003), I argue that the status of the Spec. TP position in inverted structures is not that of A-position but rather of A'-position triggering reconstruction at LF. I find empirical support for my claims in examples like (5) below, which reveal severe restrictions in possible extensions of the domain for anaphoric binding. When the anaphor is a possessive adjective inverse binding is not possible. Furthermore, cases like (4) indicate that anaphoric elements inverted to Spec. TP positions may be successfully licensed which proves that the inverted OVS structure is reconstructed as SVO at LF for binding:

- (4) Swoją<sub>i</sub> siostrę zdradziła Marysia<sub>i</sub>.  
[her (own) sister]<sub>ACC</sub> betrayed Mary<sub>NOM</sub>  
'Mary betrayed her own sister.'
- (5) \*Marysię<sub>i</sub> zdradziła swoja<sub>i</sub> siostra.  
Mary<sub>ACC</sub> betrayed [her (own)]<sub>[+anaphoric]</sub> sister]<sub>NOM</sub>  
'Mary was betrayed by her own sister'

To explain the effect observed in examples like (3) I propose that the array of A-positions responsible for binding effects is located lower in a structure, at the site of first mergers of sentence constituents. Furthermore, I argue that the sequence of the External Merge operations is determined by the Thematic Hierarchy so that the roles higher in the hierarchy are assigned later in structure. Thus, *Experiencer* arguments of the two classes of Polish verbs; object experiencer verbs like *podobać się* (but not *lubić*) and psych-causative verbs (*frighten*-type) must be structurally dominant over their second argument, which is *Theme* (*Source*). The first-merge positions of these two arguments are Spec. of VP and the complement of the verb, respectively. The base arrangement of these arguments is reconstructed at LF which is a way of building the necessary binding configurations. In that the GI configurations in Polish do not differ in principle from *Dislocation* structures, featuring the OSV order, also contrary to Baylin (2003) and Witkoś (2007).

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### Partitive semantics and semantic partitives in the Uralic languages.

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Several languages have cases that are referred to as "partitive", but I claim that the semantics of these cases diverges from the generally assumed notion of "partitive". I propose a distinction between "partitive semantics" and "semantic partitives". While the partitive semantics has "part-of-N" properties, the semantic partitive cases have developed different semantics in each language. I propose a motivated link between "partitive semantics" and "semantic partitives", realized in a structure for a database for Uralic partitives, containing verb classification, morphosyntactic patterns, and categorial status.

**The semantic partitive**, "part-of-N", refers to a part or quantity out of a group or amount (*one of my friends, uno dei miei amici, the youngest of my children, dei miei figli la piu piccola, a glass of wine, un bicchiere di vino*). The semantic partitive is expressed by a case in some European languages only, as in *čaju* 'tea' in *čaška čaju* 'a cup of tea' (pseudo-partitive, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001).

The semantic partitive appears on Uralic complements, e.g. some incremental theme verbs, (1), or in "part-of-N" phrases (2). For instance, Hungarian lacks a morphological partitive, but it has three separative cases; elative is a semantic partitive.

- (1) *Evet az almából.*  
eat.3S DEF apple-ELA  
'She ate some of the apple.'
- (2) *gyerekeimből a legfiatalabb*  
child-PL.1S.PX-ELA the youngest  
'the youngest of my children' (Hungarian)

The typical semantic partitives are realized by the elative or ablative case in most of the Uralic languages. The Estonian semantic partitive is realized by elative (3); only the pseudo-partitive is realized by morphological partitive.

- (3) *noorim mu lastest / klaas veini*  
youngest my child-PL-ELA glass[NOM] wine.PART  
'the youngest of my children; a glass of wine' (Estonian)

**Partitive semantics.** In languages with less frequently used morphological partitives, such as the Inari or Skolt Sami, partitive is not as an instance of semantic partitive, being restricted to specific constructions only. Most Uralic morphological partitives retain a semantic link to the semantic partitive. The aspectual partitive marks objects in sentences describing incomplete events, not parts of objects, and the partitive evidential appears in sentences that encode incomplete evidence. Instead of the "part-of-N" semantics, the Finnic partitives mark:

a) **event structural properties and aspect**, combined with verbal semantics, as in (4) (Ackerman and Moore 2001). Presently, the Estonian partitive object case is independent of the part-whole relationships or partial affectedness (Tamm 2007).

- (4) *Mari sõi (ühte) õunapirukat/ (ühe) õunapiruka (ära).*  
M[NOM] eat.3S.PST one.PART apple tart.PART one.TOT apple tart.TOT up/PRT  
'Mari was eating an/the (/one) apple tart/Mari ate an/the(/one) apple tart (up).'(Estonian)

b) **epistemic modality and evidentiality**. Another peculiarity of the Uralic languages—case on non-finite verbs—has led to the spread of partitive semantics to epistemic modality and evidentiality. This presentation tries to capture the coherent link between the semantics of the Uralic partitives:

- 1) the NP-partitive, “the semantic partitive”
- 2) the aspectual partitive
- 3) epistemic modal partitive
- 4) evidential partitive

### **Situationality in social deixis: forms of address.**

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This paper is theoretically anchored in Halliday’s (1978) conception of language as social semiotic and his assumption that in conveying meaning, ‘people act out of the social structure, affirming their own statuses and roles, and establishing and transmitting the shared systems of values and knowledge’ (1978:2).

Projecting Halliday’s theory into the processes of deixis, we would like to emphasize that the social dimension of ‘pointing via language’ (Yule:1996:2), i.e. social deixis, has to be approached as an integral part of other language manifestations of indexicals (cf. local, temporal, and discourse deixis in Yule:1996:9).

In order to verify the validity of our standpoint, two dimensions ‘fundamental to the analysis of all social life’ will be considered in our data-based analysis. These include the dimension of power (distance) and the dimension of solidarity (Brown & Gilman 1977:252).

While the former is based on asymmetrical relationships between the interlocutors, the latter reflects symmetry.

Our discussion of social indexicals will be narrowed to the forms of address, including both bound forms (pronouns), and free forms (titles, names, terms of endearment) - and to the strategies in dynamic shifts on the imaginary scale from solidarity to distance or vice versa in the process of interaction.

Instead of looking for static grids, the preference will be for a data-based analysis of dynamic on-line processes of negotiation of social deixis, in which the forms of address are looked upon as context-sensitive language variables.

The questions addressed included the following:

1. What kind of data is relevant for approaching the forms of address from the above mentioned perspective.
2. Should the forms of address be considered on the vertical (pragmatic) axis of possible alternative choices (or ‘rules’ in Ervin-Tripp:1973; i.e. whether Professor, Mr Smith, Joe will be preferred in a given situation) - or should also the horizontal (syntagmatic) axis of co-occurrence ‘rules’ be activated in their analysis.
3. Which contextual factors influence the shifts on the imaginary scale from distance (power) to solidarity or vice versa.

As for the data, a live phone-in talk show was selected, since it offered a natural setting for the need of the moderator and the callers to address each other.

The results (some illustrative samples of which will be presented), supported our hypothesis about the need to activate both the paradigmatic axis of alternation and the syntagmatic axis of co-occurrence of the forms of address, with other supportive means of social ‘equalisers’. The shifts from distance to solidarity (or vice versa) proved to be context-sensitive correlates, influenced by such factors as the creation of likemindedness between the interlocutors, the seriousness of the topic, and the expression of deference / empathy towards the callers.

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### **Estonian Diphthongs.**

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Diphthongs are defined as sequences of two qualitatively different vowels belonging to the syllable nucleus. In the present

paper the problems related to the number and classification of Estonian diphthongs are discussed. In addition the quality of diphthongs occurring in the secondary stressed syllables is analysed.

In Standard Estonian there are 36 diphthongs. Only 3 diphthongs [ai ei ui] are allowed in non-initial syllables (foreign words excluded). All nine Estonian vowels /i y u e ø ɾ o æ a/ can appear as the first component of a diphthong. Only five of them / a e i o u/ occur as the second component of a diphthong. Diphthongs ending in /a e o/ are considered late diphthongs.

The diphthongs are usually divided into two groups: own and foreign diphthongs. Different authors give a little different number of own and foreign diphthongs. The number of own diphthongs is 25–26 and foreign diphthongs 10–11 (cf. Piir 1982, 1985, Eek, Meister 1999, Viitso 2003, Asu, Teras 2009). One reason of this difference is the diphthong [yi], that is not written, but is pronounced in native words, e.g. *piüüan* [pyijɑn] ‘I catch, I try’.

The own diphthongs occurring in native and loanwords are in turn divided into two groups. In the bigger group there are 18 diphthongs that occur both in Q2 and Q3 words, e.g. *naeru* [næru] (Q2) ‘laughter, gen.sg.’, *naeru* [næ:ru] (Q3) ‘laughter, part.sg.’, *koera* [koera] (Q2) ‘dog, gen.sg.’, *koera* [koe:ra] (Q3) ‘dog, part. sg.’. In the other group there are 8 diphthongs that have arisen as a result of quality alternation and occur only in Q3 words, e.g. *söed* [søe:t] ‘charcoals’ (nom. sg. *süsi* [sysʰi]), *teod* [teo:t] ‘snails, acts’ (nom. sg. *tigu* [tiku]) ‘snail’, *tegu* [teku] ‘act’). The foreign diphthongs occur often in an unstressed first syllable followed by a primary stressed second syllable. Their pronunciation is not stable and they are sometimes pronounced with a syllable boundary between diphthong components (Eek, Meister 1999).

In the analysis part, the acoustic phonetic quality of 3 diphthongs [ai ei ui] occurring in the secondary stressed syllable is analysed, e.g. *teibaid* [tei:ˌpai:t] ‘pole, part. pl.’, *leigeid* [ˈlei:ˌkei:t] ‘tepid, part. pl.’, *looduid* [ˈlo:ˌtʰui:t] ‘created one, part. pl.’. The material was recorded by two male speakers. The quality of diphthongs in the secondary stressed syllables is compared to the quality of diphthongs in the primary stressed syllables (Piir 1985) and to the quality of vowels pronounced as isolated (Eek, Meister 1994). The diphthong components affect each other mutually. For example, the quality of [i] varies depending on the quality of the first component. In [ai] the F1 of [i] is much lower than in [ui] and [ei]. The values of F1 and F2 of the first components of diphthongs have quite big standard deviations: there are less vowel oppositions to be recognised and that enables a bigger variation. Also the analysis of the diphthongs of primary stressed syllables has shown the bigger variation in the quality of five vowels occurring as a second component of the diphthong.

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### **Learner language as a diversified, genre-dependent concept: from corpus analysis to data-driven learning.**

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The field of learner corpus research hasn't stopped growing since the 1990s and has come to include studies on all major areas of language structure whether it be syntax (e.g. Granger 1999 on the use of tenses by learners), lexis (e.g. De Cock 2005 on phrasal verbs and learners), phraseology (e.g. Altenberg and Granger 2001 on the patterning of 'make', Granger 1998 on prefabricated patterns in advanced EFL writing) and discourse (e.g. Gilquin 2008 on hesitation markers among EFL learners). The majority of these studies have been based on corpora of written learner English consisting mainly of general essays or academic text types (as Nesselhauf (2004:132) points out, corpora “are often restricted to one medium, to one or only a few text types, and to one level of proficiency”). The contrastive type of analysis that underlies them typically involves quantitative or qualitative comparisons with native corpora or with non-native data produced by learners with a different L1 background (e.g. Granger and Tyson 1996). A desirable development in the field of learner language would be, according to Nesselhauf (2004:132), to create corpora “containing data from learners of different proficiency levels and of corpora of different media and *text types* [italics CT and LH]”. Numerous studies comment on the fact that thus far most studies have focused on one register, written English, and one text type, the academic essay. While studies strongly advocate greater variety in text type in learner corpora (e.g. Granger 2002), development in that field has been slow.

In our paper, we seek to redress this imbalance by considering learner language not as a monolithic but as a diversified entity that performs differently depending on text type. The contrastive type of Interlanguage Analysis that we

present therefore involves the qualitative and quantitative comparison of a group of learners' production of English in two different text types: we compiled a corpus of learner language consisting of academic (i.e. essay) writing and one that was made up of narratives, both of which are produced by the same group of advanced learners of English with Dutch as their mother tongue. To map out the differences between both corpora, we kept our focus of interest broad and considered lexicogrammatical phenomena ranging from, for instance, the expression of the possessive case in English and the choice between the three variants available in English (the *of*-phrase, the possessive 's and compounding), to collocational patterning and cohesion phenomena. In our paper, we report on these differences, as well as on the similarities that we found between the two corpora. On the basis of the results that we obtained, we developed data-driven activities to be integrated in our own language teaching. A number of these activities will be presented as well.

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## On distinguishing borrowed from inherited morphology.

Thomason, Sarah  
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This paper explores three circumstances in which borrowed morphology can lead to difficulties in efforts to establish genetic relationships among languages, and offers suggestions for avoiding erroneous conclusions.

There are three main circumstances in which borrowed morphology can lead to difficulties in efforts to establish genetic relationships among languages. The first arises in the case of very distant genetic relationships: if the languages being compared share little or no systematic evidence in the form of recurring sound/meaning correspondences (in the morphology and elsewhere), then it may not be possible to tell whether shared features are inherited or borrowed.

The second comes up with very closely related languages and dialects: because such languages/dialects will agree in the great majority of their morphological categories, there are likely to be no linguistic barriers to borrowing, and the application of correspondence rules may make it impossible to detect borrowing after the fact.

The third circumstance is an easily avoidable methodological pitfall: if only the morphology -- or perhaps just one of several morphological subsystems -- is considered, then shared morphology can lead to a false genetic grouping (as can shared vocabulary).

This paper will explore all three circumstances and their implications for the identification of diffused features and the establishment of genetic relationships.

## Explorations old and new in learner corpora: looking towards the future.

Thompson, Paul  
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The creation and investigation of learner corpora is still a relatively recent development in corpus-based approaches to linguistic research. This paper will present an overview of the learner corpus resources that have been established to date, the differing approaches taken to annotation and to investigation of the resources, and the contexts in which these studies have been conducted. The findings of these initial explorations of learner corpora will be summarised and points of difference as well as points of similarity will be remarked. Where differences exist, the reasons for such divergence will be investigated, and issues relating to corpus representativeness and to choices of comparison data will be discussed.

In the latter half of the paper, the focus turns to a consideration of the range of new approaches and possibilities that interdisciplinary projects bring to the field of learner corpus research, with particular attention given to the range of papers that are to be delivered in this workshop. These new approaches are both expanding the notion of what a linguistic corpus is, and of how linguistic corpora can be assembled, annotated and analysed.

### 'Some good HOPE', or 'a glimmer of HOPE': On the uses of the English noun HOPE and the verb TO HOPE in Early Modern and Present-Day English.

Tissari, Heli  
(University of Helsinki).

Hope is an interesting concept because it both attests and does not attest characteristics of emotion, as listed, e.g. by Loos et al (1999) in terms of conceptual metaphors. Fabiszak and Hebda (in preparation) have noted that the cause of hope, placed in the future, is not a typical cause of emotion, considering an emotion in terms of its consisting of a stimulus, its assessment and a reaction. Indeed, hope may be seen in terms of expectation (Sylvester 1994).

My own research on hope so far has indicated that conceptual metaphors indicating emotion-like qualities occur more rarely with the verb and noun *hope* than, for example, with the verb and noun *fear*. While these two emotions appear opposite in terms of their main metaphors (treasure vs. refuse, upward movement vs. downward movement, light vs. darkness; Tissari 2004: 218), they also share linguistic characteristics: above all, they tend to be used when predicting the future, and they often occur in fixed expressions, especially with the first person pronoun *I*.

Having considered expressions with *fear*, in particular *I fear* in length (Tissari 2007), I would like to extend my research to expressions with the verb and noun *hope*, such as the Early Modern English *I hope*, *(some) good hope*, and *in (the) hope (of)*, as well as considering how the usage of *hope* has changed between Early Modern and Present-Day English. In this pilot study, I plan to use as data the Early Modern English period of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (226 occurrences of the verb and noun *hope*) and the *Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English* (342 occurrences), with potential extra reference to other sources. Questions to investigate include at least:

1. What kind of contexts (e.g. text types) does *hope* occur in?
2. Is there any interesting variation in the usage of personal pronouns with *hope*?
3. Does 'hoping' seem to correspond to wishing or can it be rather definite as well? How do people express the certainty vs. uncertainty of their future hopes?
4. How often do people's 'hopes' correspond to their plans?
5. What kind of polite purposes can be served with phrases including *hope*?
6. What role do metaphors serve in the conceptualization of hope?
7. What do these findings tell us about hope as an emotion or a non-emotion?

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## The Israeli Hebrew (IH) tense system with special focus on the future.

Tobin, Yishai  
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It is assumed that verb tense is equivalent to the notion of time: In Hebrew the grammatical term for tense is *zman* - 'time' similar to Greek (*khronos*) and Latin (*tempus*). The three basic tenses have been labeled: "past," "present," and "future." However, there is not always a direct, causal, or one-to-one connection between time and tense. The tenses in IH have several functions and moods which override their temporal meanings:

- (a) The "present" tense expresses actions that have taken place in the past, present and the future, as well as "'timeless' events".
- (b) The "past" tense not only designates past actions, but *irrealis* or hypothetical events, as well as polite requests.
- (c) The "future" has at least six functions:
  - (i) to designate future actions where the future is in opposition to the present tense;
  - (ii) to designate polite requests, demands, directives, or *irrealis* or hypothetical actions where the future is in opposition to the past and present tenses;
  - (iii) to designate positive imperative messages where the future is in opposition to the traditional imperative morphology;
  - (iv) to designate all negative imperative messages;
  - (v) to designate stronger negative messages where the future is in opposition to the infinitive form used for impersonal commands or directives;
  - (vi) to designate subjunctive-like messages (wishes, desires, hopes, fears, doubts) etc.

Our analysis of the IH tense system is based on two semantic systems. System #1: The Space-Time-Existence System places actions in a spatial-temporal-existential relation to the encoder at the "here-and-now" point of speaking/writing. The Space-Time-Existence System has two invariant meanings which exhaustively divide the semantic domain in the following ways:

- (a) PROXIMATE – invariably paired to present tense morphology places an action in spatial-temporal-existential proximity to the encoder;
- (b) REMOTE – invariably paired to past and future morphology places an action in spatial-temporal-existential distance to the encoder.

The Space-Time-Existence System is interlocked with the System of Experience. The System of Experience has two invariant meanings which exhaustively divide this semantic domain in the following way:

- (a) EXPERIENCED – invariably paired to present and the past tense morphology signals that the action is readily perceived by or accessible to the senses;
- (b) NOT-EXPERIENCED – invariably paired to future tense morphology signals that the action is not readily perceived by or accessible to the senses.

Thus, in this analysis of the IH tense system, each tense has a unitary and fixed meaning based on these two interlocked systems:

- (a) the present tense morphology simultaneously signals the meanings: PROXIMATE-EXPERIENCED;
- (b) the past tense morphology simultaneously signals the meanings: REMOTE-EXPERIENCED;
- (c) the so-called future tense morphology simultaneously signals the meanings: REMOTE-NOT-EXPERIENCED;

Therefore, this analysis claims that the use of the past, present and future tenses is not always determined by the physical time of the occurrence of actions in the real world, but by the encoder's perception of the actions as being either PROXIMATE or REMOTE and/or EXPERIENCED or NOT-EXPERIENCED at the here and-now point of speaking / writing.

## Prosody in a contrastive learner corpus.

Tortel, Anne  
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This talk will present the ANGLISH corpus, a contrastive learner database designed at the University of Provence at the Laboratory Parole & Langage (LPL) for a PhD project. ANGLISH is currently made up of more than 5:30 of oral English L1 & L2. Sixty-three speakers were recorded in an anechoic room for reading & repeating tasks as well as for continuous unprepared speech. Three groups were recorded in order to obtain a representative sample of different levels of English: (i) native speakers of British English (GB), (ii) non-specialist working adult speakers of English (FR1), (iii) second and third-year university students of English (FR2).

Using customized scripts with PRAAT, rhythm of French learners of English was compared with the realisations of native speakers. Investigations of the acquisition of speech rhythm by first and second language learners are really scarce.

However a study led by Adams (1979)<sup>1</sup> can be mentioned. The author emphasizes the difficulties of acquiring rhythm of English. This has been observed among several non native speakers from different nationalities. Several reasons were put forward such as (i) insufficient durational difference between unstressed and stressed syllables, (ii) unstressed syllables not reduced appropriately, (iii) misplaced stress (*etc.*)

Our study attempted to examine the utility of recently-developed rhythm metrics of speech to underline rhythmic differences between natives and French learners of English.

Indeed recent work on rhythmic classification develops rhythm metrics using the syllable structure as basis of different combinations of measures which help distinguishing between so-called stress-timed and syllable-timed languages as they should express the degree of rhythmic variability contained in the acoustic speech. Among the metrics used for this analysis, we used the most popular approaches presented in the literature (Ramus *et al.*, 1999<sup>2</sup>; Grabe & Low, 2002<sup>3</sup>; Dellwo, 2006<sup>4</sup>; White & Mattys, 2007<sup>5</sup>).

Our hypothesis is that since rhythm measurements tend to demonstrate rhythmic differences between different languages and dialects, they can also be used to observe rhythmic differences between L1 (French) and L2 (English). Then oral productions of French will be distinguished from those of native speakers. In our experiment we analysed the reading part of the corpus ANGLISH. It represents 1:30 of readings of 4 passages of 5 semantically linked utterances. These sentences were selected because they were composed of different polysyllabic words containing vowel reductions such as 'unfortunately' and 'comfortable'. 1260 sentences were manually segmented into phonemes and labeled CVC with the PRAAT<sup>6</sup> software. The rhythmic variations of vocalic and consonantal intervals were automatically calculated.

The results showed that L1 French rhythm influences the rhythmic tendencies of the productions of French-speaking learners. It was also demonstrated that it was possible to set up an objective evaluation distinguishing between L1 & L2 speakers by using a combination of rhythmic parameters. It has been showed by a discriminant analysis that it was possible to classify the speakers according to three different levels.

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## Origin of the English *get*-passive: contact with Old Scott.

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The origin of the English *get*-passive has been debated and there are two lines of arguments, i.e. the adjectival origin (Gronemeyer 1999; Hundt 2001) and the reflexive causative origin (Givón and Yang 1994; Toyota 2006, 2008). The problem between them is that the former can comply to the chronology set by a general principle of grammaticalisation, but fails to explain its semantic peculiarities (Toyota 2008). The latter can account for its semantic features, but its chronology is rather unconventional (i.e. the period of changes is too short). Facing this controversy, it is argued here that the causative origin is perhaps the right origin, but this was not a result of regular grammaticalisation, but contact-induced changes, as in a sense of Heine and Kuteva (2005, 2006).

In this case, the contact is between Southern England dialects and Scottish English in the 16<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries when the migration of a large number of people from Scotland to London took place after the enthronement of the Scottish King, James II. The corpus of Older Scott suggests that the use of the *get*-passive in Old Scott was rare, and it normally contains a structure 'S *get* DO V-ed'. The impact of Old Scott and Northern dialects might have been neglected in general, but its influence was so powerful that we observe in different parts of the English grammar today, such as a verbal conjugation (third person singular present indicative -s), third person plural pronouns starting *th-* (e.g. *they*, *their*, *them*), etc. Thus, it is possible that the *get*-causative found its way into Southern, more standard, dialect of English and in the process of replication, it was reanalysed as the passive voice, perhaps due to the lack of the structurally dynamic counterpart to the *be*-passive, which was historically stative.

By the time the *get*-causative reached Southern England, the *be*-passive had been more or less grammaticalised. In Old Scott, however, the passive had not been firmly established around the same period. The reinterpretation of the causative as the passive was possible because the *be*-passive has already been grammaticalised in Southern dialects by the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and this can be considered as a historical accident. As a proof, the use of *get* as an auxiliary for the passive or an origin of the passive affix is very rare in the world languages.

In the case of the *get*-passive, the language or dialectal contact is perhaps the key to understand its historical development, and this will support the causative origin very neatly and solve a conflict between two opposing arguments presented so far.

### Three Types of Comitative Constructions: Syntactic Structure and Semantic Representation.

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Comitative Constructions (CCs) are expressions consisting of two NPs connected by a comitative preposition such as the English *with*, German *mit*, French *avec*, or Polish *z*, and are attested for a vast number of languages. Three interpretations have previously been identified as being available for CCs: accompanitive, conjunctive and inclusive. This ambiguity is illustrated by the Polish sentence in (1), where the three readings of the CC *oni z Janem* 'they with Jan' are indicated by the three different translations: T1, T2 and T3.

- (1) Oni z Janem wyjechali.  
they with Jan\_INSTR left  
T1: 'They left with Jan.' / T2: 'They and Jan left.' / T3: 'Jan and he / they left.'

In assuming that the domain of individuals contains just three individuals: Jan, Iwo and Wit, the intuition behind the three readings can be explained as follows: Under the accompanitive reading, indicated by T1, the pronoun *oni* refers to Iwo and Wit, and Jan accompanies the two of them in the event of leaving. The denotation of the entire CC *oni z Janem* can thus be assumed to include the denotation of the pronoun, i.e., Iwo and Wit, and the denotation of the NP *Janem*, i.e., Jan, but these denotations are disjoint. Under the conjunctive interpretation, indicated by T2, the pronoun refers to Iwo and Wit. These two individuals and the individual denoted by the NP *Janem*, i.e., Jan, are members of a set of equal participants involved in the event of leaving. The pronoun *oni* and the NP *Janem* thus function as conjuncts, being in the same thematic relationship to the predicate. In this case, it is reasonable to assume that the denotation of the entire CC *oni z Janem* involves an entity composed of the denotation of the first NP and the denotation of the second NP. Finally, under the inclusive interpretation, indicated by T3, the denotation of the pronoun *oni* includes Jan and either Iwo, or Wit, or Iwo and Wit. The denotation of the NP *Janem* is thus a proper part of the denotation of the pronoun. The availability of these three interpretations is supported by the different behavior of CCs under the corresponding interpretations with regard to (1) presuppositional effects, (2) the (in)ability to occur in collective and distributive contexts, (3) contrastive focus assignment, and (4) a number of coreference phenomena, such as control of pronouns and PRO subjects (examples will be provided in the full paper).

The focus of the majority of previous approaches to CCs lies on syntactic aspects. Ladusaw (1989), McNally (1989), Dalrymple et al. (1998), Vassilieva and Larson (2005) and Feldman (2002) also discuss some semantic issues, but none of them offers a coherent and formally satisfactory analysis accounting for accompanitive, conjunctive and inclusive readings. The objective of this paper is to propose a syntactic and compositional semantic analysis which uniformly accounts for all three of these interpretations. Our analysis is based on the assumption that CCs have a uniform, adjunction-based syntactic structure, and that the semantic difference between the particular types of CCs is triggered by the denotation of the comitative preposition, for which we propose three different semantic representations.

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### Markers of futurity and aspect in West Greenlandic.

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West Greenlandic, a polysynthetic language, belongs to Inuit languages. In Inuktitut (Canada) and West Greenlandic (Inuit languages) tense is marked by optional tense suffixes and in both languages the temporal systems are based on a future/ non-future opposition. In Inuktitut the tense suffixes have developed a complicated remoteness system. In West Greenlandic the future tense suffixes have a distinction between vague and inevitable future, and the past time suffixes have developed different perfect meanings. In Iñupiaq (Alaska), the temporal system is based on an opposition between past, present and

future, where tense is marked in the flectional morpheme, but only in the indicative mood. There are only a few tense suffixes. The meanings of these tense suffixes are the same as those of the West Greenlandic tense suffixes.

My current work is a typological investigation about the aspectual marking and future marking in West Greenlandic. There are about 40-50 aspectual suffixes, divided into 'inner' phasal and 'outer' phasal aspect (Kristoffersen 1991) and about five future tense suffixes in WG (Fortescue 1980). The order of the suffixes is *stem + inner aspect + outer aspect + tense + modality + inflection*. In this presentation I shall talk about the future tense suffixes only. The future tense suffixes have a distinction between vague and inevitable future. All future tense suffixes have more than one meaning and belong to different semantic categories. It means that the same suffix can appear more than one time in the same word, and the meanings will be different depending on the telicity of the stem, the context and the suffixes added to it. The sources of the future tense suffixes are different, *-niar* (inevitable future, will) from *intension* and belongs to five different semantic categories, *-ssa* (should, future) from *should* and has a modal meaning too, *-jumaar* (vague future) from *wish*, *-ler* (near future/be about to) from *begin*, and *-ssamaar* (planned future) a compound suffix coming from *wish* and *should*. *-ssa* (should, future) seems to be the default future suffix, and it is used when none of the others can be used. It seems that some of the tense suffixes i.e. past (*-sima*, perfective, perfect, preterite) and future (*-ler*, begin, be about to, near future) originally had a more or less concrete aspectual meanings and have developed into more abstract tense meanings (Fortescue 1996). The aim of the project is to find out when to use the different meanings in both written and spoken languages. It is based on interviews where the informants are talking about things about future, daily spoken language from colleges and in the media, and a questionnaire where the informants should fill in the empty slots in a verbal context with different inherent aspectual meanings.

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### Binominal construction in non-standard varieties.

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Binominal syntagms have been regularly reported as the source of grammatical constructions in standard varieties of a range of languages. In standard English, for example, binominals are the source of degree modifiers such as *sort of* and *kind of* (Denison 2002), and quantifiers such as *a bit of*, *a lot of*, *(not) a jot of*, *a bunch of* and so on (Traugott 2007, Brems 2007). However, evidence from nonstandard varieties suggests a much wider range of binominal sources for grammaticalized constructions. Evidence for this has been presented from a number of languages, including Dutch (e.g. the development of intensifier *massa's* in the informal language of young speakers of Dutch in the western part of Flanders, De Clerck and Colleman 2009), Scots (e.g. the development of intensifier *helluva* before adjectives and adverbs) and English (e.g. the use of *gobs* as a quantifier, as in *gobs of money*, and as an intensifier, as in *gobs better*, in Texas English, among other varieties).

In this paper, I will use these data, and others – from non-standard varieties of languages, predominantly from non-standard varieties of English – to explore some of the main themes of the workshop, and to answer the following questions.

1. Research on grammatical constructionalization involving binominal constructions of this kind (e.g. Traugott 2007; Trousdale 2008) has suggested that this particular type of grammatical change involves a reconfiguration of the constructional network, specifically an increase in constructional productivity and generality, with a concomitant decrease in compositionality. What light do data from non-standard dialects shed on the nature of grammatical constructionalization involving binominal syntagms?

2. What is the relationship between the kinds of binominal syntagms that develop into quantifier and degree modifier constructions, and the kinds of binominal syntagms that develop other functions? For instance, evaluative constructions in English, such as *that swine of a professor* and *this handkerchief of a lawn* (Aarts 1997, Verhagen 2009) typically do not serve as source constructions for more typical grammaticalized functions (with the notable exception of constructions involving *hell* as the first noun), yet there is evidence to suggest that the emergence of these forms often involves processes similar to those characteristic of grammaticalization (such as decategorialization and subjectification).

3. What does such evidence from non-standard varieties of language suggest about gradience and gradualness in grammatical variation and change (Traugott and Trousdale 2010), and what, in turn, does this suggest about the nature of synchronic layering in grammaticalization?

## Theory and data in diachronic Construction Grammar: the case of 'what with' absolutes.

Trousdale, Graeme  
(University of Edinburgh).

This paper is concerned with the relationship between theory and data in diachronic cognitive linguistics, particularly diachronic Construction Grammar. I explore some of the ways in which corpora of various kinds may be used to track the emergence of grammatical constructions over time, i.e. the process of grammatical constructionalization. Much work on grammatical constructionalization (and traditional grammaticalization) has concerned the development of grammatical forms from lexical items. However, recent work on the grammaticalization of information structure has shifted the focus to the development of grammatical constructions without lexical sources. The present paper concerns the development of another construction which does not have a lexical source, the *what with* absolute. The construction has been in existence since the Middle English period, but the range of type-collocations seems to have expanded over time: *what with* originally appeared with unmodified nouns, as in (1), and has undergone expansion in the recent history of the language, so that it now appears with non-finite clauses with both non-overt and overt subjects (2a and 2b). A recent example from online blogs (3) suggests an even greater collocational range in contemporary English:

(1) So what with hepe and what with crok, Thei make here maister ofte winne (c. 1393 Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, 5.2872).

(2a) What with palming one fellow, kissing another, and coaxing with thousands, [she] has driven me almost horn-mad (1784 *New Spectator* XII.1/2, [*OED*, s.v. *coax*, v.]).

(2b) Wilbur Willard all mulled up to a million, what with him having been sitting out a few seidels of Scotch with a friend (1930 D. Runyon in *Collier's* 1 Feb. 12/1 [*OED*, s.v. *seidel*, n.]).

(3) I didn't think it was possible for a 'professional movie news source' to make errors, what with how much better they are than we lowly bloggers (18 December 2009, <http://screenrant.com/lobo-guy-ritchie-directing-rumor-kofi-38685/>; accessed 28 December 2009).

Using data from historical corpora of English, I provide a description of the historical development of the construction, with specific reference to changes in compositionality and to the kinds of expansion which the construction undergoes. I then relate these findings to more general issues addressed in recent debates in the literature. For instance, while some researchers (e.g. Riehemann and Bender 1999) have foregrounded the idiosyncratic nature of absolute constructions, others (e.g. Felser and Britain 2007) have argued that such constructions are much more compositional. Given that changes in compositionality are central in the evolution of grammatical constructions, this construction should enable us to explore more fully how compositionality is affected in instances of grammatical change. This paper will also seek to clarify the role of different kinds of expansion (syntactic, semantic-pragmatic and hostclass, as described by Himmelmann 2004) in this instance of grammatical constructionalization.

## The Likelihood of Morphological Borrowing: The Case of Korean and Japanese.

Unger, J. Marshall  
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Alexander Vovin (2009) has lately attempted to cast doubt on almost every etymology proposed in support of the proto-Korean-Japanese hypothesis since it was given its modern form by the late Samuel E. Martin in his seminal study of 1966. In that work, Martin observed that "it is often possible to translate long stretches of one language into the other, morpheme for morpheme, with the order intact" (1966: 18586; emphasis added). It is therefore of special importance to review the arguments Vovin offers concerning comparative morphology. Many of his disparate objections turn out to rest on a small number of assumptions, including (1) that proto-Ryūkyūan and proto-Japanese are first-order daughters of proto-Japonic; (2) that absence of a morpheme in Ryūkyūan dialects and Eastern Old Japanese precludes its existence in proto-Japonic; (3) that formally similar morphemes fulfilled the same functions in the stages of the languages compared, which are usually in the historical period; (4) that distinctive morphological categories, such as focus markers, are of less importance than the formal similarity of the morphemes belonging to those categories in the stages compared; and (5) that areal convergence and borrowing are historically adequate explanations of those similarities that cannot be denied. Each of these is problematic. In addition, some of the objections Vovin raises to specific comparisons are erroneous and need correction. The proto-Korean-Japanese reconstruction is certainly far from complete, but as a working hypothesis, it is still better than any alternatives that Vovin would allow. The weaknesses of the morphological comparisons he disputes do not, as he thinks, throw the entire reconstruction into doubt, but rather show the need to investigate more formally venturesome matches, as Frellesvig (2001) has done. From the perspective of the genetic hypothesis, a great deal of morphological innovation must have occurred in pre-Japanese and pre-Korean between the time of their separation and their resumed contact after the start of the migrations from the peninsula that established proto-Japanese in the islands. It was during this crucial period, from no later than 1500 bce to no earlier than 400 bce, that the inhabitants of the Korean peninsula whatever their linguistic affinities acquired wet-field rice agriculture, dolmen-building, and metallurgy. Archaeology indicates that the latter two

skills entered the area from the north whereas the first came from the south, and it is reasonable to suppose that the speech communities in closest proximity with each source culture should have developed under their influence accordingly (Unger 2008). At least we can say that, with respect to the broad questions posed for this workshop, Vovin's approach highlights the dangers of drawing excessively negative conclusions on the basis of general assumptions about morphological change and stability over spans of time long enough for dialects to develop into distinct languages.

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### Lexico-Semantic Structures as Historical Markers: 'Sun' and 'Moon' around the Pacific.

Urban, Matthias

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This talk reports on the possibility of lexico-semantic structures as historical markers in the sense of Nichols and Peterson (1996), that is, as historical traces of relationships either genetic, areal, or both- between languages beyond the time depth accessible by reconstruction with the standard Comparative Method.

The theoretical part of the talk presents basic structures in the lexicon that may be of high temporal stability, namely characteristic polysemies and morpho-semantic patterns in compounds and other morphologically complex expression. It also deals with the methodological problem of distinguishing cases that can be considered true historical markers from cases due to areal diffusion (calquing, etc.) at relative shallow time depths.

In the data-oriented part of the talk, empirical results based on a world-wide representative sample of 150 languages for which translational equivalents for 160 basic nominal vocabulary items were gathered (organized in three semantic domains: nature-related and topological terms, such as 'river', 'star', 'ashes', names for artifacts and body-part terms) is presented. One particular case of such a deep marker in the domain of the lexicon revealed by the sample data is discussed in more detail, namely lack of lexical differentiation for the concepts 'sun' and 'moon', i.e. presence of only one general term for both luminaries (for instance Quileute (Chimakuan) *pit* *itsc* *ho* 'sun, moon', cf. Powell & Woodruff 1976). This phenomenon is largely restricted to the coastal regions of the Americas, but is also found in many so-called "Paleosiberian languages" of Northeastern Eurasia. The sample data indicate that it is completely unattested in other parts of the world. This peculiar distribution, which is very unlikely to be due to chance, is interpreted as a very old areal phenomenon that witnesses the common history of Siberian and American languages as part of the even wider Pacific Rim distribution, which is well established on independent grammatical grounds (Bickel & Nichols 2006). Further cases of other possible lexico-semantic historical markers based on the sample will also be discussed.

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### On the morphosyntactic status of parenthetical CTP clauses in Lithuanian.

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It is generally agreed that complementation (type of complement clause and complementizer) is directly linked to lexical encoding of the information source, which is regarded either as lexical evidentiality (Chafe & Nichols 1986) or as "evidentiality strategy" (Aikhenvald 2006). A list of most common "complement-taking predicates" (CTPs) (Noonan 1987: 43) usually contains a broad range of verbs of communication (*say, claim, call*, etc.) and mental verbs (*think, know, see, feel*, etc.). They can easily parentheticalize and "the syntactic effect of the parenthetical use of the CTP is to make the complement the main clause" (Noonan 1987: 86). The given observation has been further elaborated by (Boye & Harder 2007: 577) who claim that a distinction should be made between "stance-marking as an aspect of lexical meaning and stance marking as an inherently secondary, 'parenthetical' discourse or usage function".

Though traditionally Lithuanian belongs to the group of languages that possesses non-obligatory verbal grammatical means of expressing evidentiality, there is a vast number of the so-called parentheticals (particles, modal words, words) that are commonly used to encode “attitudinal categories of evidentiality and epistemic modality” (Cornillie 2009: 44). Many of them are traceable back to the corresponding CTP clauses. Among the well-known CTPs like perception verbs and verbs of cognition, the range of Lithuanian CTP clauses that parentheticalize includes nouns, neuter adjectives, neuter present passive participles and adverbs, e.g.:

- (1) V: *Tai šiandien, vyrai, matau, nesėkminga diena*  
(‘So today, men, I SEE, it’s a bad day’)
- (2) N: *Žinia, tos tarnybos yra slaptosios.*  
(‘The MESSAGE/KNOWLEDGE IS, the service is secret’)
- (3) ADJ.N: *Dabar kaime situacija, aišku, nepavydėtina.*  
(‘Now, the situation in the country, IT’S CLEAR, is bad’)
- (4) PTC.P.N.PRS.PASS.  
<...> *prasideda atostogų ir, suprantama, kelionių sezonas.*  
(‘A holiday season starts and, IT’S UNDERSTANDABLE, travel season’)

The parenthetical use of the given CTP clauses opens up a question of their morphosyntactic status, thus an attempt will be made to see how much lexical and grammatical, primary and secondary “adverbial CTPs” in Lithuanian are by testing the criteria suggested by Boye and Harder (2007). The corpus-driven analysis will be carried out in the light of the results of recent studies on lexical vs. grammatical evidentiality (Boye & Harder 2009, Dendale & Van Bogaert 2007, Pietrandrea 2007, Pusch 2009, Squartini 2008, Whitt 2009, Wiemer 2007, Wiemer forthcoming).

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#### **Role of attitudes in the process of “demotization”: qualitative interviews with Lithuanian journalists in spoken media.**

Vaicekauskienė, Loreta  
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In theoretical literature there have been discussions on social changes going on in contemporary (late modern) societies for some time. It has been stated that those changes force changes of language ideologies and promote different transformations of language standards. This presentation presents a qualitative study of attitudes in Lithuanian media in 2009. There were conducted 24 qualitative interviews (total length of interviews is 22 hrs) with well-known media actors: 32–42 years old males, professional and non-professional journalists, working in national and commercial TV and radio stations in youth programs as well as programs for academic audience. When analyzing interview data most attention is paid to the following aspects: respondents’ attitudes towards the concept of good language or good way of speaking, models of good language, evaluation of their own linguistic behavior (convergence, register shifts, etc.), attitudes towards variation in spoken media, willingness to conform to the official (prescriptive) rules of standardization and valuable ideals in the society in general (preference to either diversity or uniformity). The study is based on theoretical assumption that attitudes of dominant

personalities in (spoken) media play an important role in changes of linguistic behavior. In Lithuania no research has been done on variation of language in spoken media, therefore the research question of this study is following: what direction of movement do attitudes of the dominant media speakers support: the movement towards standardization or – in contrary – towards so called “demotisierung” (demotisation)? With some explicable exceptions interview data show a rather clear shift and can serve as basis for different interpretations and theoretical considerations. One could argue that in strong standardized Lithuania the process of the so called demotisation is going on, i. e. the old concept of the best language is being filled with another language ideal. The conservative, highly prescriptive standard is evaluated negatively and therefore can be replaced by modern, urban standard of „popular language”. Those changes of attitudes are obviously related with the changes in public discourse, public speakers, and auditorium of spoken media: there has been a move from written, monologue way of speaking towards spontaneous and live polylogue of very different speakers and audiences.

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### A constructional approach to the grammaticalization of *I think* and other complement-taking mental predicates.

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In the present paper, a constructional approach is presented to complement-taking mental predicates (CTMPs), e.g. *I think*, *I believe*, *I reckon*. As such, it seeks to accommodate a whole class of CTMP types (I THINK, I EXPECT, I IMAGINE, etc.) and their variant forms (e.g. *I would think*, *I would expect*, *I should have imagined*, etc.) in a constructional taxonomy. This approach is meant to overcome a notable problem one encounters when applying commonly agreed-upon grammaticalization criteria to CTMPs, viz. their lack of internal fixation into a single form.

CTMPs are generally believed to depend on their occurrence in the simple present in order to convey an interpersonal meaning (see e.g. Urmson 1952; Aijmer 1972; Hooper 1975). On the basis of a quantitative and qualitative analysis of present-day spoken British English corpus data from the ICE-GB (International Corpus of English – the British Component) and the BNC (British National Corpus), it will be shown, however, that there exist several variant forms that equally function as interpersonal modifications (e.g. *I thought*, *I should imagine*). Such variation has long presented a stumbling block to studies approaching CTMPs from the point of view of grammaticalization theory, since this framework has traditionally been rather inimical to the idea that a grammaticalized item may encompass a paradigm of variant forms and instead requires internal fixation into an unalterable form. It will be argued that CTMPs should be regarded as constructions constituting a taxonomy characterized by several levels of schematicity (Trousdale 2008). Hence, it is not so much individual strings like *I think* or *I should have thought* as the abstract schema according to which these sequences are formed that are subject to grammaticalization.

Within the constructional network, the CTMP I THINK occupies a central position. It can be regarded as the pacemaker of the taxonomy, leading the other CTMPs to higher levels of entrenchment by virtue of its high frequency of occurrence. It will be argued that high frequency correlates with paradigmatic richness rather than with internal fixation. The most frequently used CTMP, I THINK, has reached the highest degree of entrenchment and schematicity and has consequently sanctioned the widest range of variant forms, which are disseminated throughout the taxonomy by virtue of analogization (Traugott & Trousdale 2008). The analogy between I THINK and other CTMPs, i.e. their structural and semantic resemblance, serves as a motivation for the expansion of the constructional network. As a result of its high frequency and concomitant cognitive salience, I THINK exerts pressure on the other members of the taxonomy, imposing its variant patterns on other CTMPs like I GUESS, or I IMAGINE which have sanctioned the use of, for example, *I would guess* and *I would imagine*. The present paper hopes to show that the integration of insights from Construction Grammar into the grammaticalization framework as pertaining to CTMPs proves worthwhile in that it does justice to the constructions' grammatical peculiarities.

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## The Absolute Construction in Old and Middle English: A Case of Latin Influence?

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This paper addresses the absolute construction in OE (Old English) (and to some extent Middle English), with special focus on its origin. This non-finite construction consists of a participle and a nominal subject, usually both in the dative, and functions as an adverbial clause. An example is *ofslegenum Pendan hyra cyninge* in *Ɔæt Mercna mægð, ofslegenum Pendan hyra cyninge, Cristes geleafan onfengon* (The Mercians received Christ's faith, when their king Pendan was slain).

Earlier research on this topic provides two opposite views: either the construction is considered Latin in origin and is treated as a syntactic loan (Kisbye, 1971; Visser, 1973), recently sometimes as a lexical loan (Timofeeva, 2009), or it is regarded as a native, Germanic construction (Bauer, 2000). Preference has generally been with the former. My position is situated in between: taking my cue from Matsunami (1966), who states that 'Generally the use of the [...] participle was declining in all the G[er]m[ani]c dialects but that the classical languages reinforced its functions', I argue that absolutes constitute a native OE construction that was on the brink of disappearing, as is shown by its low frequency in native text material (cf. Timofeeva, 2009), but was kept alive by the practice of Latin translation (cf. Johanson's 2002 'selective frequential copying').

Recent investigation indeed favours the idea of absolutes as an Indo-European construction (Costello, 1982; Bauer, 2000). As such it is likely for Germanic, and in a later stage OE to have inherited this structure from the proto-language. Evidence is provided by the fact that most Germanic languages at some point used this construction and shared the dative as preferred case (Gothic: Costello, 1980).

Further arguments against viewing OE absolutes as loans come from a quantitative and qualitative corpus investigation of OE texts (cf. appendix):

(i) Latin ablative absolutes, when indeed translated in OE as absolutes, are consistently put in the dative case, from the earliest OE records onwards, both in glosses and real translations. If these translations were to be regarded as loans, a more diversified case choice (genitive, accusative) reflecting the translator's hesitation could be expected, at least in the early records, as the ablative itself is not available in OE.

(ii) The absolute construction, as a translational equivalent of the Latin absolute, is seen to be in decline towards the early Middle Ages (30% → 10%) and is reluctantly used during the whole OE period (15%-20%), except in glosses (95%). If borrowing were at stake, one would anticipate the reverse: cautious use in the beginning and gradual increase when the construction becomes more familiar. The divergence in translational options (e.g. by finite adverbial clauses) also shows there was no especially urgent need for this construction in the OE language that would justify a loan in the first place.

(iii) It is sometimes argued that absolutes were borrowed to be able to stay as true as possible to the 'divine' Latin word order and syntactic structure when translating religious material. But if this was sufficient reason to incite borrowing, again one would suppose frequencies to be much higher than what my analysis reveals (from 0% to 35% across the various texts).

More generally, this study is part of a more extensive investigation which via the discussion of the origin of absolutes in general, their use both in translated and native OE texts, as well as general translational theory in Anglo-Saxon culture, wishes to shed a new light on the presence of dative absolutes in Old and Middle English.

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Texts analysed include: Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, Gregory's *Dialogues*, the *Blickling Homilies*, *The Gospel according Saint Matthew* from the *West-Saxon Gospels*, the *Regularis Concordia glosses*, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle E*, Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, Ælfric's *Homilies Supplemental* and *Mary of Egypt*.

### Soulmate or macho man. A critical discourse analysis of the representation of men in two popular Flemish women's magazines.

Van de Voorde, Maaike & Temmerman, Martina  
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If we adopt the definition of women's magazines as 'journals (that) help to shape both a woman's view of herself, and society's view of her' (Ferguson 1983:1), it becomes clear that the representations in these magazines are of great value. Women's magazines address all kinds of issues: beauty, health, love, work, sex and also (overtly or between the lines) men. It is highly interesting to look at the way men are represented in these magazines and to find out how the women readers' role towards men is being defined.

While studies on the representation of women and men have mostly paid attention to images, this study focuses on the textual representation of men. To uncover the ways in which language is used to portray men, we build on the tradition of **Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)** (van Dijk, 1993; Wodak & Meyer, 2001; Wodak & Chilton, 2005). A critical discourse analysis of women's magazines analyses the representations of men by examining which textual and linguistic resources are used to nominate them and how these choices contribute to the representations

The **objective** of our presentation is **to sketch the way men are represented in two popular Flemish women's magazines, *Flair* and *Libelle***. These are the two most read weeklies for women in Flanders. They have a different target group: the *Flair* reader tends to be younger than the *Libelle* reader. Moreover, whereas the *Flair* reader is generally unmarried and without children, family life is of core interest for the *Libelle* reader.

The corpus is limited to **12 randomly chosen issues of each magazine** from the year **2008**. From these issues, we have analyzed all articles that pertain to the subject of men. The articles are subdivided into four categories, according to the *author* (Goffman 1981): Testimonies, Experts & Figures, Introductions & Titles and Current Affairs. The distinction between these categories is not without significance: it can be expected that experts represent men in a different way than women readers do.

The articles are analyzed along two different lines, inspired by **Critical Discourse Analysis**. In the first part a **lexical analysis examines which names are used to refer to men**. Moreover, we seek to find an answer to the following questions: how (if at all) do the names in both magazines differ? And what's the underlying cause for the differences or similarities between the magazines?

A second part of the analysis, **the transitivity analysis** (Halliday, 1994), is restricted to the **titles of the articles**. In this part, we scrutinize **the verbs** and examine **the way in which 'the man' relates to the other actors in the titles**. In this analysis too, both magazines are compared: what are the differences and similarities between the magazines?

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## Switch reference in South America: facilitating oral transmission.

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Cultures without a written tradition depend entirely on the oral channel to transmit highly complex information. It is not surprising that in the languages of such cultures linguistic devices evolve that enhance textual coherence. These devices should ideally also be economical in terms of morphosyntactic complexity in order to facilitate both production and comprehension. In this talk I will argue that switch reference (SR) systems fulfill these requirements of cohesion and complexity reduction, making them particularly apt for orally transmitting texts. The features of SR that are favorable for oral text transmission may also be partly responsible for the skewed geographical distribution of the phenomenon, in areas where there is no indigenous written culture (the Americas, Australia, Papua New Guinea), as well as for some the patterns found within SR systems.

As a first step, I will argue by discussing South-American language data, that SR is best regarded as a form of discourse deixis, and not (solely) as reference tracking devices (cf. Haiman & Munro 1983: xi). The South-American SR systems often go beyond the notion of subject, and even beyond participant (dis)continuity. The South-American data in particular show a strong interaction with temporal organization of combined events. These facts underline the idea that SR is about text coherence, in accordance with proposals by e.g. Givón (1983) and particularly Stirling (1993).

Apart from enhancing text coherence, SR markers can also be seen as flags for attention flow for the hearer. Moreover, they give the hearer information about semantic aspects of other events in the discourse. These two hearer-oriented aspects facilitate successful transmission of complex information and may be responsible for the tendency of marked clauses (i.e. the clause carrying a SR marker) to precede reference clauses (the clause to which reference is made). In this way, the hearer gets signals that prepare him or her for what is coming. This hearer advantage is maximized if the SR markers are cataphoric.

From the speaker's point of view, SR offers a number of possibilities for reduction of complexity, without losing the hearer-oriented advantages. One way of reducing production complexity is, since SR systems are typically binary, to have an unmarked category. This is typically the continuation marker, which makes sense if one takes discontinuation markers to be flags for attention switches to the hearer. Another way of reducing complexity is that continuation markers allow for a reduction of complexity of the marked clause, since the information can be reconstructed.

In the second part of the talk, I will zoom in on the SR system of Yurakaré an unclassified language of central Bolivia (Van Gijn 2006), and focus on how the issues of discourse coherence and complexity reduction pan out in the uncommon SR system of this language.

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## Binominal constructions in the midst of aspectualization?

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In this paper, I will outline the history of the 'preposition + NP1 + of + NP2' construction in which NP1 originally referred to a spatial midpoint, such as middle and midst, and in which a progressive aspectual representation may be imposed on the event expressed by NP2, as shown in (...) objects that seem in the midst of transformation or in the midst of transforming (examples taken from COCA). My analyses are based on corpus linguistic evidence from the Helsinki Corpus, the Corpus of Early Modern English Texts, the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, the Cobuild Corpus and the Corpus of Contemporary American English.

Two research questions will be focused on:

- (i) The general diachronic changes will first be traced by inquiring into (the loosening of) the semantic and morphosyntactic restrictions on the NP2. The development from a binominal construction with two lexically full nouns into a periphrastic expression of aspect involved lexicalization of the 'preposition + NP1 + of' sequence (Rostila 2004). In this lexicalized string we can witness a gradual shift from concrete bounded objects (e.g. in the middle of the court) to abstract referents (e.g. in the middle of the night, in the middle of the conversation) expressed by NP2 (Himmelman 2004:36). A crucial moment in the development of the aspectual (hence more grammatical) meaning of the construction seems to have been the rise of nominalizations in this NP2 slot. My data show that event NP2s (c1550, e.g. a fight or a transformation) chronologically precede the V-ing forms (c1990) as well as proportionally outnumber them in Present-Day English.
- (ii) I will then focus on discourse conditions for the emerging aspectual value and will address the question why nominal constructions such as in the middle/midst of come to function as aspectualizers. As nominalization is commonly described as

a means to “package” previously mentioned processes “into nominal groups” (Halliday 1997:193), I expect that NP2 nominalizations are characterized by high accessibility and topicality of the expressed event prepared by the preceding context. This will be verified by quantified analysis of diachronic and synchronic datasets and should allow me to answer the question what ‘motivational’ role was played in the development of progressive nominal aspectualizers such as in the middle/midst of by the predominant position of nominalized events and the pragmatic choice it offered of condensing information in nominal constructions.

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### **The demonstrative determiner. An attempt of systemization.**

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We will focus on three delimitation problems of the major uses of the demonstrative determiner, which are due to the absence of a systematic model. We will propose a new perspective on these problems by presenting a flexible model under the form of a triangle and valorise it through the example of a corpus study of the French and Dutch demonstrative determiner systems.

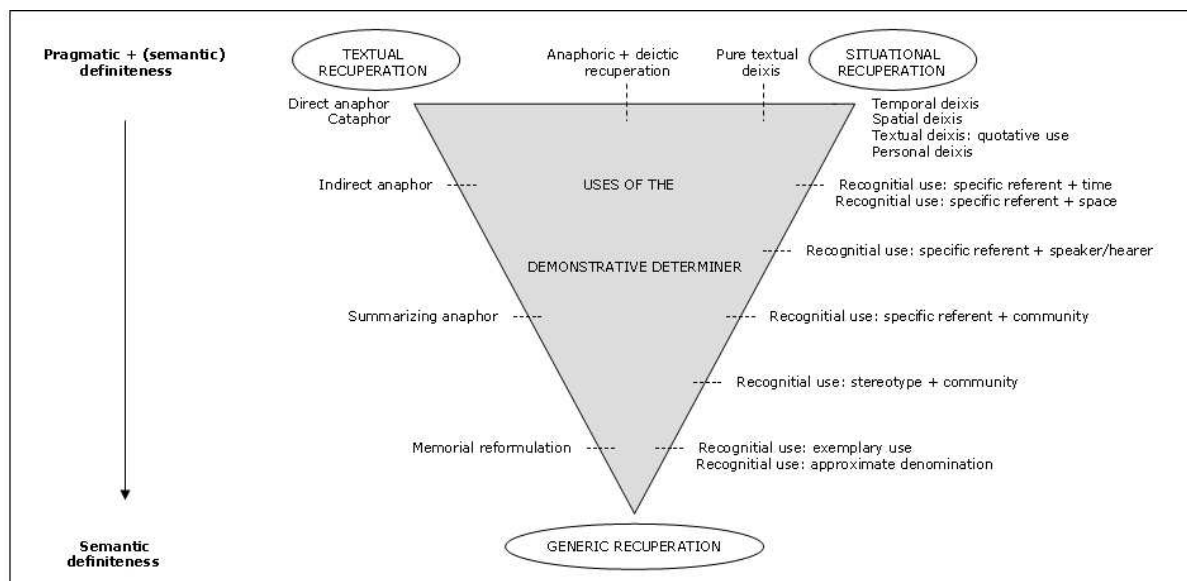
Himmelman (1996) and Diessel (1999) distinguish four major - commonly accepted - uses of the demonstrative determiner: the anaphoric, the situational, the discourse deictic and the recognitional use.

First, it appeared from the analysis that the class of discourse deictic demonstratives seems to be problematic on several points: (a) there is a lot of confusion on the level of its sub-types (Lyons (1977), Levinson (1983), Fillmore (1997): pure textual deixis; Himmelman (1996): pure textual deixis + reference to propositions or events; Diessel (1999): reference to propositions or events), (b) discourse deixis seems to be reserved to the demonstrative pronoun rather than to the demonstrative determiner, (c) there doesn't exist any specific form of the demonstrative fulfilling this use and (d) discourse deixis is a well-known phenomenon in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, but almost completely absent in the French tradition.

Second, there seems to be confusion on two points with respect to the recognitional use of the demonstrative: (a) the reactivation of the referent (specific or stereotype) and (b) the notion of *shared knowledge* (by the community or by the communicating parties). Therefore, it is necessary to define more precisely the category of the recognitional use.

Third, the bipartition pragmatic ... semantic definiteness (Löbner (1985), Diessel (1999), De Mulder – Carlier (2006)) also seems to be problematic on the level of the demonstrative: (a) semantic effects are always involved in the pragmatic uses of the demonstrative, (b) there is a substantial, implicit zone of transition between these two types of definiteness and (c) our results show that pure semantic definiteness is almost exclusively reserved to the definite article rather than to the demonstrative.

Taking these multiple observations into consideration, we propose the following model to systemize the referential uses of the demonstrative determiner:



**Figure 1: The uses of the demonstrative determiner (model)**

The interests of the model are numerous: (a) it is a systematic model including all types of (isolated) uses of the demonstrative determiner (e.g. sub-types of recognitional use), (b) it is a flexible model including zones of transition, (c) it gives a new perspective on the link between semantic and pragmatic definiteness, (d) it shows to what extent the class of discourse deictic demonstratives is hybrid and (e) it can be applied to different languages and even be extended to the definite article.

For example, our corpus study (based on the *Dutch Parallel Corpus* and the *Namur Corpus*) of the French and Dutch demonstrative determiner, applied to the model, allowed us to prove that there is a structural difference between the French and Dutch demonstrative determiner system, i.e. the current tendency of the bleaching of the French demonstrative determiner on the level of the recognitional use:

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### **Ergativity and its relation with transitivity: an illustration from the Hindi varieties.**

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The standard definition of an ergative language has been given by Dixon (1994: 1): ergative languages display a grammatical pattern "in which the subject of an intransitive clause [S] is treated in the same way as the object of a transitive clause [O], and differently from transitive subject [A]". Even a superficial investigation of the agreement and case marking patterns in the Indo-Aryan languages reveals that none of these languages completely conforms to this definition. This is not surprising, as ergative features tend to occur only under certain circumstances. Most Indo-Aryan (IA) languages for instance, display a tense-aspect split in which ergative features only appear in constructions with a perfect verb form.

However, what is more surprising, is the extensive variation in the argument structure of sentences with a perfect verb form (cf. also Deo & Sharma 2006). Variations on the standard definition of the ergative pattern are found in the Hindi varieties and the Rajasthani languages. For instance, the marking of the definite/animate O in Hindi, Braj and Harauti among others (cf. ex. 1), is a well-known non-ergative phenomenon. The unmarkedness of A in Awadhi and Marwari is also unusual as ergative pattern (cf. ex. 2). Moreover, in Awadhi, all typical features of ergativity are absent, as A is unmarked and the agreement is with the subject in all circumstances.

- (1) *maĩ =ne kitāb=ko paRh-ā* [Hindi]  
 I.M=ERG book.F.SG=ACC read-PAST.M.SG  
 I read a book
- (2) *mhai sītā=ne dekh-ī* [Marwari]  
 I.NOM. S.=ACC. see-PAST.F.SG.  
 'I have seen Sita.'

Hence, the IA languages display more exceptions on the ergative pattern than regular features. This leads to the question if ergativity is a relevant concept at all for the classification of the IA languages, considering that none of the IA languages is completely and prototypically ergative.

We contend that ergativity should be replaced by transitivity (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980) as the functional concept which may be the ultimate motivation of the variation in the argument structure of the IA languages. Returning to the Hindi varieties, the argument structure of both Braj and Awadhi is determined by an additional marking of the transitivity of the verb. The ergative features shown in Braj, i.e. the marking of A and the agreement with O, are in the first place indications of the transitivity level of the verb (cf. Givón 2001: 208). Transitivity also explains the variation in the marking of O, caused by the definiteness/animacy of O, which indicates a higher or lower level of transitivity. Secondly, although Awadhi does not have the ergative features found in Braj, the language has a separate verb conjugation for transitive verbs. The indication of transitivity is hence equally important in Awadhi, although it is expressed by a different means than typical ergative features. When extrapolating the results of the Hindi varieties to the IA languages, the marking of the transitivity of the verb, and by extension the marking of the agentivity of A, appears to be a more important classifying mechanism for the IA languages than ergativity.

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### Gender-assignment as a marker of Different Object Marking.

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The phenomenon whereby direct object may be case-marked depending on its semantic and pragmatic properties is well known as differential object marking (DOM) and has been studied in detail in the functional-typological literature (Bossong 1985, 1998; Comrie 1979; Croft 1988 CERCA ALTRI). According to these studies, properties influencing differential object marking include animacy, definiteness, specificity and topicality.

It has been claimed that DOM represents a grammatical strategy to mark the marked status of highly definite and animate direct objects (markedness approach; see Croft 1988, 2003) or a high degree of affectedness (indexing approach; see Næss 2004, 2007) or the pragmatic role of secondary topic (Nikolaeva & Darymple 2007). However, they all exclusively take into account case-marking in their analysis.

In the present paper on the basis of Old English data I would like to investigate the role played by gender assignment in DOM. Like other Germanic languages, Old English is characterized by a formal gender assignment system based and differentiates feminine, masculine and neuter nouns. However, it is less widely acknowledged, yet undeniable, that there are nouns with more than one assigned gender. This phenomenon has been connected with the degree of individuation a noun has in a specific textual context (Vezzosi 2007). Given that animacy, definiteness, topicality are all properties that might be relevant in gender-assignment, ultimately I would like to show the relationships between an 'aberrant' gender of a given noun and its grammatical role (subject vs. object): more precisely, whether un-prototypical direct objects, or objects with particular properties, can favour the assignment of a different gender from the grammatical gender pertaining to the corresponding noun.

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**'saying' and 'talking', 'asking' and 'answering'. Basic verbal communication verbs  
in Swedish and English from a cross-linguistic perspective.**

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Speech act verbs or Verbal communication verbs (VCVs) as they will be referred to in this article represent one of the most extensive semantic fields of verbs in English and Swedish. The more or less complete inventory of VCVs have been thoroughly studied in English (Ballmer & Brennenstul 1981, Wierzbicka 1987; cf for German Harras et al 2004, 2007). The FrameNet database contains representations of English verbs based on selected corpus examples (the Communication frame). A taxonomy of Swedish communication verbs has been proposed in Allwood (1977; cf. Allwood 1976, ch. 14). From a contrastive perspective, Proost (2007) looks at lexical gaps in the inventories of VCVs in English, German and Dutch. There are also two studies that similar to the present one are based on translation corpora: Rojo & Valenzuela (2001) of Spanish to English translations and Shi (2008) of narratives in English and Chinese.

The major focus of the present study is the most frequent verbs. In spite of the fact that there are around 400 Verbal communication verbs in the Swedish SUC-corpus (1 million words, mixed written genres), the most frequent verb *säga* 'say' accounts for 22% and the 10 most frequent verbs belonging to the field account for close to 50% of the textual occurrences of verbal communication verbs in this corpus. The most frequent verbs are also the most varied with respect to the range of constructions they can appear in and the patterns of polysemy that characterize them. (See for English: Rudzka-Ostyn 1989, 1995 and Dirven et al. 1982).

English and Swedish will be compared on the basis of data from the English Swedish Parallel Corpus (ESPC) prepared by Altenberg & Aijmer (2000), which contains original texts in English and Swedish and their translations. Data will also be taken from the Multilingual Parallel Corpus (MPC), which at present consists of extracts from 20 Swedish novels and their translations into English, German, French and Finnish (around 500 000 words in the Swedish originals).

The semantic analysis is primarily based on data from original texts in each language. From a contrastive perspective, translation corpora make it possible to identify more or less unique items in one of the languages and to compare the patterns of use of the closest equivalents across languages. Even when meanings appear to correspond to one another across languages, there may be striking contrasts with respect to the actual usage patterns.

Translations also serve as a test of the semantic analysis of individual languages, in particular with respect to polysemy. The existence of different sets of translations corresponding to the senses that have been proposed for a word represent one type of corroborating evidence for the sense boundaries that have been drawn.

The crosslinguistic (contrastive and typological) comparison of languages is of importance also for translation studies and for second language acquisition and as a general background for all types of studies of language contact.

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**Electronic source:**

FrameNet: <http://www.icsi.berkeley.edu/~framenet/>

**The ‘Unusual’ Diphthongs in Ancient European Languages and their Interpretation.**

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The majority of diphthongs in the world’s languages consist of a nucleus and a glide, common nuclei being the vowels *a*, *e*, *o*, *u*, and the most common glides being *j* and *ɥ*. In many early European languages, diphthongs with a different structure occur. In the texts, these diphthongs are spelled using graphic symbols which normally occur as nuclei, e.g. Latin <ae> and <oe>, Old High German <ao> and <ae>, Old English <eo>, <ea>. Although phonological descriptions of all these diphthongs are readily available in numerous handbooks, and, in the case of Latin, the pronunciation of the diphthongs *ae* and *oe* has even been described by contemporary grammarians, a number of issues need further clarification, and they will be addressed in this presentation. Among these issues is the actual phonetic realization of these “unusual” diphthongs. The common belief that the Latin diphthongs *ae* and *oe* were pronounced articulating both vowels is to a large extent based on contemporary Latin grammars (cf. such standard Latin grammars as *NLG*, p. 2). Yet, since these diphthongs, on the one hand, reflect earlier *ai* resp. *oi* (both are well attested in archaic Latin), and, on the other hand, they later developed into [ɛ] resp. [e], the intermediate stages [ae] resp. [oe] are phonetically unlikely. Transcribing them as [aɛ] resp. [oɛ] (Meiser 1998), is a poor solution since, on the one hand, it is not clear what the symbol [ɛ] represents *phonetically*, and, on the other hand, if it may be said to be somehow similar to [ɪ], [i] or [e], it is very unlikely that *such a very slight phonetic* change would have influenced the spelling system (whereas evidence to the contrary is abundant). Moreover, spellings like <aei, ei, e> for the diphthong *ae* make it much more likely that its pronunciation was [æ], or perhaps [æi] (whether the diphthong *oe* for a short period may have been a rounded monophthong [ø] is now impossible to determine).

The Old High German diphthongs *ao* and *ae*, written thus in early manuscripts and often believed to have been “intermediate stages” between earlier *au* resp. *ai* and later *ō* resp. *ē* (Guxman 1964, et al.) face the same problems as the Latin diphthongs discussed earlier. Whereas beside the spelling *ao* also *oa* occasionally occurs, the alleged “diphthong” *ae* is frequently spelled as <æ, aie, ei, ɛ>. All these spellings, together with the later phonological development of OHG *au* and *ai*, imply that these were perceived not only as new sounds, but also as new *phonemes* by the speakers, whence so many attempts to accurately represent them. Phonetically, however, <ae> and <ao> must have been monophthongs [æ] resp. [ɑ:/[ɔ:].

Comparable palaeographic evidence may be adduced from Old Icelandic.

The Old English graphs *ea*, *eo*, *io*, *oe* have diverse origins, and not all of them were diphthongs. Among these, the short diphthong *ea* (< \*a by breaking) is of greatest interest, and it perhaps can be compared with a similar “diphthong” [ɛa] (or [æa]) in modern Faroese

**The Finnish modal verbs *täytyy* and *pitäisi* as expressions of inferentiality and epistemic modality.**

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The main purpose of my presentation is to discuss inferential and epistemic functions of the two Finnish modal verbs *täytyy* (‘must’) and *pitäisi* (‘should’) and their treatment in the database of evidential markers. Finnish also has some other modal verbs, such as *taitaa*, and other types of expressions, such as particles, adverbs and tense markers, that indicate evidential functions. Among the various evidential expressions, *täytyy* and *pitäisi* are most interesting, since they combine inferential and epistemic notions in their semantic content. Moreover, these verbs are also used to indicate dynamic and deontic modality, and it is not always possible to distinguish the dynamic or deontic interpretation from the inferential-epistemic interpretation even on the basis of contextual clues. Thus, examples of merger between different types of interpretations (cf. Coates 1983:16-17) can be found. From the typological perspective, the diachronic development of these verbs and its reasons are quite unusual. It does not represent the common grammaticalization paths for modals as proposed by, for example, Bybee & al. (1994). According to Laitinen (1995:87), the modal verb *pitää* originates out of the old intransitive meaning of *pitää* ‘stick, get or be stuck’. In modern standard varieties of Finnish, this modal verb occurs in the conditional mood *pitäisi*, when it is used in inferential-epistemic functions. The modal verb *täytyy* has developed from a reflexive verb *täytyä* ‘become full, ripe, full-size’, which is derived from the adjective *täysi* ‘full’ (cf. Laitinen 1995:87,89). The detailed

analysis of Laitinen (1992,1995) suggests that the development of different modern functions of these modal verbs from the lexical sources started at the same time from practical necessity – by means of pragmatic inferencing of the speakers. In the light of this hypothesis which has remained unchallenged, it is not surprising that these verbs often merge different functions, especially in Finnish dialects and other non-standard varieties.

Previous studies of *täytyy* and *pitäisi* by Laitinen (1992, 1995) and other Finnish linguists have provided interesting results concerning their semantic and morphosyntactic development and their use in dialects and other non-standard varieties. Kangasniemi (1992) has studied different properties of these verbs in the standard present-day Finnish, and my purpose is to continue this study on the basis of larger corpora of written and spoken language. In this talk, I will present the results that I have obtained. My approach is functional-cognitive and as a background study, I will refer to the results of my large-scale typological study of 130 languages. The data consists of utterances, containing *täytyy* and *pitäisi* used in inferential-epistemic functions. Usually it is also important to take the context of these utterances into account. The data is included in The Finnish Language Text Collection which is a selection of electronic research material representing written Finnish from 1990's. This collection is available through The Language Bank of CSC, Finnish IT center for sciences. I have used the Lemmie software for searching the relevant concordances and the contexts. My main research questions are: How can combinations of inferential and epistemic components in the semantic content of *täytyy* and *pitäisi* be described and explained? Are there contextual properties that trigger or background inferential vs. epistemic components? Which context conditions evoke the merger between inferential-epistemic and dynamic/deontic interpretation? What kinds of more general implications this study has for the analysis of inferential expressions in European languages?

So far, my data consists of 100 examples of both *täytyy* and *pitäisi*, but I will gather more examples during the next months. The results and the expected results make it possible to state that in the database of evidentials, both verbs are inferential (subfunction layer 1). This means that in the inferential use, they always evoke the abstract inferential structure, consisting of the information source part and the conclusion part. They do not necessarily refer to inferential processes in the context. The important distinction between the notions of 'inferential structure' and 'inferential process' will be discussed in the presentation. *Täytyy* has both +perceptual and –perceptual functions, while *pitäisi* seems to indicate only –perceptual functions (subfunction layer 2). More exactly, *pitäisi* codes functions 'inference from reasoning' and 'inference from report'. I will argue that these two subfunctions should be distinguished. Both verbs have conventionalized epistemic components. *Täytyy* expresses 'certainty', and *pitäisi* expresses 'probability' on the epistemic scale. Harmonic combinations with purely epistemic expressions may highlight the epistemic component, while the explicit reference to inferential processes in the context may highlight the inferential component. *Pitäisi* represents the merger between inferential-epistemic and deontic/dynamic functions clearly more often than *täytyy*. I would suggest that the notion of 'merger' should be added into the database, for example in the diachronic part. Although my talk will focus on semantic and pragmatic issues and their illustration by means of several examples, I will also briefly discuss my treatment of these verbs concerning structural part (IV), distribution (V), diachronic part (VI) and restrictions or preferences in usage (VII) in the database.

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#### “Degrammaticalization” and elliptic constructions.

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A number of recent publications (most importantly, Norde 2009) have brought the notion of 'degrammaticalization' back on the agenda. Although there is no doubt that linguistic changes by which an expression or construction gains in autonomy (in whatever respect) are attested, it remains disputed whether or to what extent alleged cases of "degrammaticalization" have common properties, except for the rather vague notion of a 'movement up the cline'. The central question of this paper will therefore be: which properties (if any) do cases of "degrammaticalization", or rather 'upgrading changes', have in common. The most comprehensive study on 'degrammaticalization' is certainly Norde's recent (2009) monograph. Norde categorizes linguistic changes which include an element's increase in syntactic autonomy and/or a movement counter-directional to prototypical grammaticalization processes. By discussing a wide range of linguistic changes categorised as 'degrammaticalization' processes, Norde does not only show the importance of the phenomenon for a broader understanding of language change, she also provides a fine grained categorization of these types of changes and thus a valuable basis for studying upgrading changes systematically. Yet, while Norde's "parameter analysis" reveals the heterogeneity of "degrammaticalization" changes it does not offer a common explanation of all upgrading changes under discussion.

In this paper I will argue that ‘upgrading changes’ – heterogeneous though they may be – have at least one feature in common: the linguistic expression which undergoes an upgrading process profits from the loss or breakdown of some other, concomitant element with which it used to co-occur or with which it used to be incorporated into one construction.

I will discuss a number of alleged cases of “degrammaticalization” on different linguistic levels (syntax, morphology) in order to demonstrate that whenever a linguistic development gains in substance or autonomy, it is primarily the loss or the obsolescence of other, concomitant elements that causes its upgrading. This assumption would account for the fact that instances of “degrammaticalization” are so heterogeneous. It is thus not the upgraded element which becomes “degrammaticalized”, but the surrounding of an element which is primarily affected by change. Only as a result of this, the “degrammaticalized” element is forced to take on functions or meanings previously carried by the lost element – and thus becomes upgraded. In short, what seems to be a case of “degrammaticalization” is the result of a previous ellipsis (either of morphological material or of syntactic constituents). “Degrammaticalization”, therefore, can be taken as a mere conventionalisation of some kind of elliptic construction.

If this hypothesis can be confirmed, we will gain an explanation of why there are linguistic changes that run counter to a number of strong tendencies in language change such as phonetic reduction and loss of autonomy. We would gain, in other words, an explanation of why linguistic forms occasionally develop in what seems to be an opposite direction to major forces of language change .

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### The prosodic properties of the Nganasan negation.

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This presentation discusses the audio data with Nganasan negation, primarily abessive or caritive marked verbs and nouns, as they are recorded during fieldwork. We found that the negative forms tend to carry accent. The aim is to find out the prosodic properties of the Nganasan negation, and to find out why the negative words are accented as if they were in focus. The abessive and caritive verbs and nouns have strong presuppositions about an expectation of the situation described by the positive counterpart of the sentences. We hypothesize that presuppositionality is the property that is shared by focus and negation, and related to accenting.

Abessive and caritive negation can be compared to the English examples formed with the affixes *-less*, *un-*, or *without* as in *He is speechless/unprepared*, or *he did it without thinking*; and is formed with a suffix on a noun in Nganasan, as in (1).

- (1) *Мәнә десьмә кўмаа-гяли учу.*  
 I father-1SG knife-CAR be-3SG  
 ‘My father does not have a knife.’

The abessive negation is formed with a suffix on a verb as in (2).

- (2) *мәнә ηi itə-nə kona-mətum iʔə-m basu-d'a*  
 I yet-GEN.1SG leave-ABESS-1SG hunt-INF  
 ‘I have not gone hunting yet.’

Nganasan has also an abessive participle, as in (3).

- (3) *Таа-џи һудуртәкә-мәтумаʔа куәд'үму ма-тә џii-ʔә.*  
 reindeer-PI3SG harness-ABESS man tent-Lat enter-AOR.3SG  
 ‘The man who had not harnessed the reindeers yet entered the tent.’

The caritive NP (*kūmaa-gial'i*) ‘knifeless’, the abessive verb *konamətum iʔəm*, ‘not left’ and the participle *һудуртәкә-мәтумаʔа* ‘not yet having harnessed’ in (1) - (3) bear accent.

Several studies have shown that focus and negation share many properties in the primarily discourse configurational Uralic languages. In Hungarian, the syntax of negation is similar to focus (e.g., É. Kiss 1995). However, Hungarian differs from the Uralic languages since it does not have morphological negation and some interactions between prosody, focus, and negation cannot be studied. Estonian has abessive-caritive on nouns and on non-finite forms, which get accent in sentences regardless of their syntactic function or position (Tamm 2009).

An interesting link that has been little studied in terms of focus and negation is their presuppositionality. Hungarian focus has been related to presuppositionality by some authors and the received knowledge is that negative sentences trigger presuppositions and implicatures more than their positive counterparts. Tamm and Wagner-Nagy (2009) found that the abessive-caritive sentences have stronger Speaker expectations about the state of affairs expressed by their positive counterpart. The contrast between the reality and the expectation is sharper in abessive and caritive sentences than in

sentences with existential negation. In our proposal, accent is related to semantics or pragmatics of presuppositionality rather than to the syntactic positions of focus or negative constituents as in Hungarian.

The study sheds new light upon the relationships between meaning (Speaker's attitudes) and form. The prosodic similarity between focus and negation in terms of their shared presuppositionality is highly likely to predict meaning-form patterns in other languages as well.

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### **Deriving insights about Tungusic classification from derivational morphology.**

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Due to significant lexical borrowing and other language contact effects, it has proven difficult to demonstrate the genetical affiliations among Tungusic languages, not to mention the possible affiliation of Tungusic to other members of the Altaic phylum. Most efforts to examine these genetic issues have used the standard comparative tool of establishing potential cognates and determining sound correspondences. This strategy, to date, has not been successful in producing a convincing cladistic structure for the Tungusic family or establishing the hypothesis of an Altaic phylum. As a result, several scholars (e.g. Whaley et al. 1997, Robbeets 2007) have proposed that alternative methods be employed, including the use of comparative data on derivational morphology. This paper describes the one aspect of derivational morphology in Tungusic languages--Aktionsart suffixes on verbs--to determine whether such data provide a useful tool for determining genetic relatedness. It is argued that these data are, in fact, suggestive of an internal genetic structure to the Tungusic family.

The finite verb in Tungusic languages typically has the following morphological structure:

Verb root-(Causative/Passive)-(Aktionsart)-Tense-Person

The Aktionsart category is notable in three important ways. First, the suffixes are relatively close the verb root. Second, the morphological slot in which it occurs is grammatically optional in the sense that the presence (or absence) of the Aktionsart suffix has no effect on the acceptability of the clause in which it occurs. Rather, the use of an Aktionsart suffix serves to highlight some temporal or spatial feature of the verbal event such as iteration, distributivity, duration, and so on. Third, more than one Aktionsart suffix can occur together, unlike the other suffixal categories. Such characteristics make Aktionsart suffixes an intriguing source of data for determining genetic relatedness. The closeness to the verb root suggest a historical conservatism in form (Johanson 1992). The optionality and repeatability suggest a semantic robustness that also tends towards conservatism in form.

Raising the potential felicity of using Aktionsart suffixes for comparative purposes (a point also brought up by Robbeets 2007), the paper supplies Aktionsart data from Manchu, Udige, Even, Evenki, Hezhe and Oroqen. These data demonstrate that the Aktionsart category is, in fact, an intriguing indicator of genetic relatedness since similarity in the use of the category does not align with well-known areal properties in the family.

The paper ends on a cautionary note. Though derivational morphology, in this instance, does seem to offer a helpful point of comparison for determining genetic relatedness, there are other examples of derivation (e.g. reduplication in color terms) that clearly do not. Therefore, insights from the comparison of derivational process must be tested against the findings of traditional sound/lexical data and scholars must determine whether certain types of derivation are more reliable than others for reconstructing family structures.

### **Borrowability of basic vocabulary.**

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For a meaningful modeling of language contact it is necessary to set realistic parameters. Some basic parameters are rates of diffusion and change (Schulze et al. 2008), and a crucial question relating to these is whether different parts of languages have different or similar behaviors. Wichmann and Holman (2009) is an empirical investigation of abstract grammatical features showing (1) that different features (e.g., phonological inventories, different morphological categories, word order, etc.) have different inherent rates of change, but also (2) that borrowability is not something which is inherent in such

features. In other words, while it can, to a certain extent, be predicted how rapidly a given feature will change, it cannot be predicted which feature will tend to diffuse in a given geographical area.

The present investigation looks at items of basic vocabulary asking the same kinds of questions: do different items (1) have different rates of change and/or (2) different degrees of borrowability? We draw upon the data collected within the so-called Automated Similarity Judgment Program (ASJP; cf. Holman et al. 2008). The ASJP database consists of lists of words for 40 concepts drawn from more than half of the world's languages. Among a total of more than 130,000 words for the different concepts in the various languages we have identified 335 loanwords at this preliminary stage. Holman et al. (2008)—as well as our more recent results—show that different lexical items, just like structural features, have different inherent rates of change. But preliminary results also show that with regard to borrowability lexical items behave differently from structural features, inasmuch as they appear to have different degrees of borrowability. Nevertheless, stability and borrowability do not appear to be correlated. We discuss why this is the case. Briefly, stability is negatively related to the average length of words and to the frequency with which concepts are attested across the sources consulted. Both of these factors probably relate to token frequency in discourse, since we know from Zipf's law that more frequent words tend to be shorter, and it is also plausible that more frequent words should be more likely to be recorded by linguistic fieldworkers. Thus, more frequent words tend to be more stable. Borrowability, on the other hand, would seem mainly to be affected by cultural factors, i.e., by the differential availability of corresponding cultural items.

Related research has been carried out within the Loanword Typology project (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009). A premise of that project was that borrowability is something inherent in different lexical items, but given the small number of languages investigated this premise could not be confirmed. Our results, however, confirm the basic premise, at least as concerns the words for our small selection of concepts.

Thus, this paper contributes important yardsticks for the computational modeling of language contact and adds to the empirical knowledge of the genealogical and areal behaviors of basic words in human languages across the world.

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### English and German Relative Clause Constructions in Contrast - A view from Quantitative Corpus Linguistics.

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This paper presents a quantitative corpus linguistic approach to the contrastive analysis of English and German relative clauses from the perspective of a usage-based construction grammar (Goldberg 2006). On the basis of the EUROPARL parallel corpus (Koehn 2005), the study investigates German translation equivalents of a set of English relative clause constructions (RCC) that have been shown to serve specific communicative goals or discourse-functions. These functions include anchoring new referents into the discourse (via object relatives and transitive subject relatives, Fox & Thompson 1990), marking focus (via cleft-like relatives, Schachter 1973), channeling attention (via presentational relatives; Diessel 2004), and adding an iconically shaped secondary predication (via center embedded -ed participial RC, Granger 1983). Starting from the observation that highly schematic constructions encode specific discourse functions in English, it is asked to what extent German avails a comparable set of constructional schemas to encode such functions, and to what extent English and German differ with respect to how they structure the domain of relative clauses.

The analysis starts with an attempt to represent the constructional network of English RCCs. To this end a set of 500 RCCs is extracted from the written part of the ICE-GB corpus (Nelson et al. 2002) and submitted to statistical procedures that a) detect typical patterns (Configural Frequency Analysis, von Eye 1990) and b) assign a network-structure to the statistically dominant types on the basis of their similarity (neighbor-joining algorithm, Saitou and Nei 1987).

In a second step, the EUROPARL parallel corpus is queried for utterance that instantiate the target-constructions and a random sample of 500 cases is extracted along with their German counterparts. The translations are then linguistically analyzed to reveal a set of structures that is functionally equivalent to the English RCC-set. These structures often do but need not constitute RCCs.

Those structures that are in fact RCCs are subsequently submitted to the same statistical procedure described as step one in order to assess the network-structure of German RCCs, which is then compared to the English RCC-network. In order to maximize the comparability of the results, this last step is made on the basis of a random sample (n=500) from a balanced sub-set of the IDS-corpus collection via COSMAS II.

The study reports and discusses systematic commonalities and differences between the languages in the domain of interest.

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## Grammatical relations without syntactic transitivity.

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Traditional research on grammatical relations and alignment typology relies heavily on the notions of syntactic transitivity and syntactic argumenthood (Dixon 2009). Thus, syntactically intransitive predicates take only one argument (viz. intransitive subject or S) and syntactically transitive predicates take two arguments (viz. transitive subject (or A) and object (or O)). Syntactic arguments share certain morphosyntactic properties (also known as subject and object properties). The way these properties are distributed among the three arguments determines the basic alignment type of a language (e.g. nominative-accusative, ergative-absolutive or neutral).

Over the last forty years, important advances were made in investigating the behavior of a wide range of morphosyntactic properties. An important outcome of this research was the recognition of the fact that these properties need not converge on a single set of grammatical relations in a language. This idea has become known in the literature as the construction specific nature of grammatical relations (Kachru et al. 1976; Comrie 1978; Moravcsik 1978; Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Dixon 1994; Croft 2001; Bickel 2004, in press). As syntactic transitivity in the traditional sense is dependent on such generalized notions as subject and object, what are then the implications of the construction-specific nature of grammatical relations for syntactic transitivity? Is it also construction-specific then? The difficulty of determining syntactic transitivity becomes even more obvious if one considers non-canonically marked arguments (e.g. non-nominative subjects, dative and adpositional objects, etc.) and arguments of passive and antipassive clauses which simultaneously show morphosyntactic properties common to clauses of different syntactic transitivity depending on what construction one looks at. One way to solve this conflict is to consider certain properties as more indicative. For instance, Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) rank passivization higher than certain other morphosyntactic properties in determining syntactic transitivity. But then, why go with evidence from passivization and not some other morphosyntactic properties (cf. the discussion in Haspelmath 2008)?

As an alternative, I suggest an approach to grammatical relations based exclusively on semantic transitivity (following Bickel in press). In this approach, such gross syntactic notions as subject and object are abandoned. Instead, the attention is shifted to argument alignment of single syntactic processes, rules, constructions or restrictions traditionally regarded as subject and object properties. In contrast to syntactic argumenthood, semantic argumenthood provides a precise coordinate system defined independently of the phenomena it describes, i.e. independently of single syntactic rules, constructions, etc. (cf. Croft 2001; Lehmann 2006; Haspelmath 2007). This combination of semantic argumenthood and construction-specific vision of grammatical relations allows for an integrated account of within-language variation of grammatical relations (including construction-specific behavior of non-canonically marked arguments and arguments of passive and antipassive clauses) and enables an adequate cross-linguistic comparison of grammatical relations.

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## Coalescence and Retention of Diphthongs in Baghdadi Arabic: a unified analysis.

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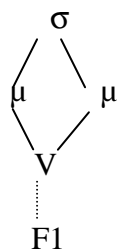
Like most modern Arabic dialects, Baghdadi Arabic (BA) long mid vowels [ee] and [oo] are claimed to have historically developed from Classical Arabic (CLA) diphthongs [aj] and [aw] respectively via monophthongization (Holes 1995, Iványi 2006, inter alia). The appearance of both surface diphthongs and new non-alternating long mid vowels have led to claims that long mid vowels are underlying in BA and that monophthongization no longer applies (Altoma 1969, Blanc 1964). However, a thorough examination of the synchronic status of BA mid vowels and diphthongs reveals that long mid vowels are only (and still) derived from underlying diphthongs in this dialect.

A puzzling fact is the absence of short mid vowels in BA vowel inventory – long vowels imply short vowels under some theories of structural markedness and vowel length (e.g. Morén 1999). However, if all mid vowels are derived by assimilation and if the product of this process is always a long vowel, then there is no source for short mid vowels. Learners will allow non-alternating forms to take a ‘free ride’ (McCarthy 2005) by deriving them from an underlying diphthongal base.

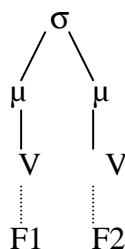
The systematic exceptions to BA monophthongization in which diphthongs appear on the surface can be explained as a case of Derived Environment Blocking (Hall 2006), where a surface structure is excluded when it is derived, but allowed when it is non-derived. My data provide ample evidence that mid vowels and diphthongs are in complementary distribution, thus indicating that the monophthongization process is still active and that there are particular environments in which it does not apply. These are morphologically derived environments (diphthongs derived across morpheme boundaries), some unproductive derivations or when a geminate glide (onset) is involved – contexts which commonly resist phonological processes.

The analysis outlines the featural and moraic representations of long vowels and diphthongs and investigates the mechanisms leading to the monophthongization or preservation of underlying diphthongs. Importantly, the appearance of ‘false’ long mid vowels in BA is explained as the result of total assimilation of two adjacent vocalic root nodes of an underlying diphthong (b→c). As a consequence, all BA surface forms can be derived from diphthongal underlying forms. The occasional occurrence of [i:] as a reflex of the CLA diphthong [aj] (Altoma 1969) is explained via the preservation of both moras and the loss of a root node (b→a).

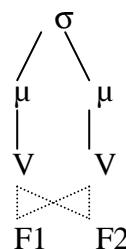
(a) True Long Vowels



(b) Diphthongs



(c) False Long Vowels



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### Ergativity in Modern Indo-European languages of India.

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A number of Modern Indo-European (MIE) languages of India: from Gujarati in the West to Assamese in the East and from (? Dardic) Kashmiri in the North to Sinhalese in the South, - belong to nominative/non-accusative/partially ergative (= 'ergatvoid') typological class. Their further differentiation may be based on morpho-syntactical characteristics of predicates and of subject and direct object NPs of the sentence. E.g., there might be three main situation-types with Patient-oriented NPs: (1) the P-NP is absent from the surface structure; (2) the P-NP is present in the sentence and marked by a certain postposition or an oblique case inflection; (3) the P-NP is manifested in the sentence and marked by the 'zero' inflection of the Absolute case. Situation (2) is 'mediating' between (1) and (3) as polar points and is susceptible to neutralization and merging with either (1) or (3). In ergative sentences of Kashmiri (which is, at least, genetically Dardic) the situation (2) is not at all possible, and (1) is rather rare. In case of (1) the verbal form G/N markers are 'fixed' (always m/sg) and followed by the optional P/N postfixes reflecting the properties of the ergative subject NP; these P/N postfixes formally differ from those of the subject NPs in non-ergative sentences, e.g., *kōr'-i* (f/sg/obl.) *kh'-o-W* (Past m/sg) 'The girl ate [something]', *m'a* (1<sup>st</sup> pers. pron. obl/sg) *kh'-o-W* 'I ate' or *kh'-o-m* 'eaten-[by]-me', but *col-u-s* (Past 1<sup>st</sup> pers./m/sg) '[I] moved'.

Gujarati and Marwari (as well as some other dialects of Western Rajasthan) imply the contrast: '(1) ↔ (2) + (3)'. In (1) the verb of the ergative sentence is always 'fixed' in accordance with G/N and P/N categories: n/sg in Gujarati, m/sg in Marwari; 3<sup>rd</sup> person only; the verb form is always agreeing with any (morphologically marked or unmarked) P-NP. E.g., Gujarati: *meM sod-o* (m/sg/abs.) *kar-y-o* (m/sg/) *ha-t-o* (m/sg/3<sup>rd</sup> pers.) 'I [some] bargain have committed (lit. 'done')', *meM sod-ā* (m/sg/obl) + *ne* (postpos.) *kar-y-o ha-t-o* 'I [this very] bargain have committed' ↔ *meM hatyā* (f/sg/abs.) *kar-ī* (f/sg-pl/3<sup>rd</sup> pers.) 'I killing have committed'.

The 'ergatvoid' MIE languages of Central India (the most typical among them is Hindi-Urdu) imply the '(1) + (2) ↔ (3)' type of contrast. - Only in (3) of ergative sentences the verb – always having the form of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person - agrees in G/N with the P-NP; in (1) and (2) the verb-form is consistently 'fixed' (m/sg). Thus, the ergativity sphere in Hindi-Urdu and Punjabi is narrowed in comparison with the Gujarati-Marwari group. – Compare H.-Ur.: *śīlā* (f/sg) + *ne* (postp.) *ām* (m/sg) *khā-y-ā* (m/sg) 'Shila ate mango', *śīlā* + *ne roTī* (f/sg) *khā-y-ī* (f/sg) 'Shila ate [some] bread', *śīlā* + *ne roTī* (f/sg) + *ko* (postpos.) *khā-y-ā* (m/sg) 'Shila ate [this very piece of] bread', *śīlā* + *ne khūb* (adv.) *khā-y-ā* (m/sg) 'Shila ate well'. The other 'ergatvoid' MIE languages demonstrate different degrees of similarity with this or that of the described subtypes. Thus, Eastern Punjabi is similar to H.-Ur., but more archaic; Siraiiki of Western Punjab, Sindhi and Marathi are nearer to Kashmiri subtype; Assamese, Nepali and Central Pahari dialects might be qualified as languages with dominant early accusativity and peripheral but unlimited ergativity; Classical Dakkhini belonged to the same type, but Modern Dakkhini is accusative and non-ergative.

The displacement of the 'ergatvoid' MIE languages on the proposed ergativity scale will be described in detail in my talk at the Conference.

### Affricate shortening in Belarusian-Russian mixed speech.

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This paper deals with an instance of phonic variation – possibly a recently ongoing sound change – in the contact of Belarusian and Russian language in today's Belarus.

Belarus has two official standard languages, Belarusian and Russian. De facto, Russian dominates in all official and public spheres, Belarusian (in its standard form, as opposed to belarusian dialects) is spoken only by a minority (cf. Zaprudski 2007). Both east slavic languages, Belarusian and Russian are genetically closely related, share a huge amount of similar and congruent structures and elements on all linguistic levels and are to a high degree mutually intelligible. The contact of these languages, which thus bears some striking similarity to instances of dialect contact, resulted in the phenomenon of mixed Belarusian-Russian speech, which is used by wide population parts in Belarus, in particular in unofficial speech situations. This so-called *trasjanka* is characterised by variation of Russian, Belarusian and, partly, hybrid structures and elements on all linguistic levels (cf. Hentschel 2008).

Instances of this mixed speech are investigated within a project at the Department for Slavonic Studies at the University of Oldenburg. Our corpus covers family conversations of two generations of *trasjanka* speakers who in some aspects can be considered as typical for the situation in today's Belarus. The first generation are speakers who grew up in rural environments with belarusian dialects. In the 1960-ies and 1970-ies, these people migrated as young adolescents into the cities, where they had to accommodate to a linguistically Russian-dominated environment. The second generation

presented in our data are the children of these migrants, who on the one hand grew up with the mixed speech of their parents and do not use the original dialects actively, on the other hand show a high competence of standard Russian as a result of their schooling.

Due to historical sound change, Belarusian has palatalised dental affricates [dzʲ] and [tʂʲ] where Russian has palatalised dental stops [dʲ] and [tʲ] (cf. Wexler 1977). As the affrication of palatalised dental stops is also typical for standard Russian spoken by Belarusians (cf. Bondarko & Verbickaja 1987), it is no surprise that in the data of the first analysed family of our corpus, (tʲ) and (dʲ) are overwhelmingly affricated as well, constantly across generations. In case of (tʲ), however, the two representatives of the younger generation show a shorter realisation (61ms and 65ms) than their parents (75ms and 82ms). In order to identify whether this shortening is a general tendency for younger trasjanka speakers – which then could be interpreted as a phonetic compromise between a short “Russian” stop and a long “Belarusian” affricate – I will consider data from further families in our corpus. I will also look on the variable (dʲ), where a first glance in our data does not hint at such a straight-forward tendency: Here, it is the daughter who shows the longest mean duration of the family, while her brother again shows some shortening.

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### **The retrieval of potentially morphologically complex clusters in Polish and English.**

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The aim of the study was to establish the retrieval of potentially morphologically complex clusters in the native production of Polish and non-native production of English. The study has been inspired by the proposal of morphonotactics, developed by Dressler and Dziubalska-Kořaczyk (2006).

The term *mophonotactics*, which has been introduced rather recently to cover the area of interaction of phonotactics and morphotactics (Dressler & Dziubalska-Kořaczyk 2006), in fact refers to the first of the three parts of morphonology introduced by Trubetzkoy (1931), that is, the study of the phonological structure of morphemes. In other words, morphonotactics can be understood as phonotactics at morpheme boundaries.

Dressler and Dziubalska-Kořaczyk place consonant clusters on a continuum between purely morphonotactic (morphologically driven) and lexical ones (monomorphemic). Thus the following groups of clusters have been distinguished.

- 1) Clusters which occur only across morpheme boundaries
- 2) Clusters which by default occur morpheme boundaries, however, one can find very few morphologically unmotivated clusters (a strong default)
- 3) Clusters which by default occur morpheme boundaries, however, one can find quite a few morphologically unmotivated clusters (a weak default)
- 4) Clusters which occur both across morpheme boundaries and within morphemes
- 5) Clusters which occur exclusively within morphemes

The aim of the study was to check whether clusters belonging to groups 2, 3, and 4 exist in the mind of language users as rather lexical or morphonotactic ones.

The methodology of the study was the following. The subjects of the study were first year students of English Philology, who were in the process of receiving formal instruction in practical English phonetics as well as theoretical phonetic and phonological background of English and (to some extent) Polish. In the experiment the students were provided with an auditory presentation of initial and final clusters, accompanied by the phonetic transcription of the clusters. The target clusters represented one of the groups listed above, i.e. strong default clusters (group 2), weak default clusters (group 3), and clusters which may function both as lexical clusters and morphonotactic ones (group 4). Students were instructed to provide three examples of words that came to their minds when presented with a given cluster. The same procedure was applied to elicit Polish word initial and final and English word final clusters.

The results of the study showed that the association of a cluster with a word depends on which group (2, 3, or 4) the cluster belongs to. In the case of Polish, default clusters were represented by morphologically complex words, whereas clusters occurring both within and across morpheme boundaries were rather exemplified by morphologically simple words. In the case of English finals, strong default clusters were naturally associated with morphologically complex words (97% of the cases). Weak default clusters were associated with morphologically complex words in 59% of the cases. Clusters occurring both inter- and intramorphemically were exemplified by morphologically simple words (22% of the cases). These findings fully justify Dressler and Dziubalska-Kořaczyk’s division of consonant sequences.

**References:**

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