

Loanword research and ideologies.

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Loanword research, alongside historical semantics, connects the history of a language to the ethnocultural reality in which the language users lived. Thus, it can provide valuable connections to other historical disciplines and contribute to the chronologies and localisations of linguistic reconstructions. However, the same connections also make loanword research susceptible to ideological pressures. This paper will present some examples of how ideologies and (ethno)political preconceptions may influence loanword research:

(i) According to the so-called "prestige determinism hypothesis" (based on Adolphe Pictet's seminal idea that the borrowing of a word indicates the borrowing of the corresponding concept), loanwords should travel from cultures on a "higher" level to their "lower-level" neighbours rather than vice versa. Thus, lexical borrowing may be interpreted as proof of cultural inferiority or dependence, which leads to loanword research being either suppressed or instrumentalised for political goals. Cases in point can be found in the earlier history of the research of Indo-European loanwords in Finno-Ugric (see e.g. Joki 1973: 1–243). For instance, Nikolai Anderson (1879: 125 > Junttila 2005: 16) contested the Baltic loanword etymologies by Ahlqvist (1871) simply by referring to supposed cultural superiority: while the ancestors of the Finns ruled the legendary realm of Biarmia in the Far North, the Balts still "paid their taxes to Russian princes in sauna bathing whisks".

(ii) Preconceptions of (pre)historical relations between peoples and languages may determine the avenues of research, so that certain language contacts are ignored (as in the case of the long-neglected contacts between Low German and Early Finnish; Bentlin 2008) or unduly preferred (Liukkonen (1999: 9–10) and Koivulehto (2001: 53–59) accuse each other of "wanting to derive everything in Finnic from Germanic" resp. "Baltic").

(iii) Paradoxically enough, the lexical consequences of well-documented interethnic contacts may be underrepresented in research. For instance, Grönholm (1988) is so far the only monograph specifically dedicated to the abundant Swedish loanwords in Finnish. While practical Finnish language planning concentrated on "purifying" the language from Swedish influences, historical linguists obviously considered the impact of Swedish too self-evident to be interesting.

(iv) Subordinating language contact research to the study of interethnic contacts may avert the attention of researchers from the reality of undocumented substrata. The frequent misuse of "Finnish" for the non-IE substrate languages of Northern Russia (as still in many contributions to Nuorluoto (ed.) 2006) is symptomatic of the lack of understanding for the complex language situation which involved many poorly known but probably Finno-Ugric languages.

Since the early 20th century, overt (ethno)political or ideological motivations and interpretations of loanword research have mainly appeared as *gesunkenes Kulturgut* in pseudolinguistic and lay presentations of linguistic (pre)history. Implicitly, however, these factors may still direct loanword research and its use. On the other hand, even overtly ideologically motivated research can be constructively reevaluated, as in the case of T. E. Karsten (1943, 1944); his ideas of the Swedish-speaking population of Finland representing a Germanic continuity have been rejected, but many of his loanword etymologies have been rehabilitated by later research.

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**The distribution of functional types of clefts in adverbial clauses:
interaction between focus and assertion.**

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Introduction. This paper is about the distribution of English and French *it*-clefts in adverbial clauses (ACs) (1-3), a context to which hardly any attention has been given in research on clefts.

- (1) *If these two policemen had not died, this government would not have taken this action. It will only take action when they think the lives of whites are involved. Not **when** it is the lives of blacks that is involved.* (Cobuild)
- (2) *- Pourquoi la clio 2 est-elle toujours au catalogue renault ? alors que la clio 3 est plus moderne?
- **parce que** c'est la demande qui gère tout.*
(corpus De Smet)
- (3) *(...) scientists continued to puzzle over what could be the fuel that made the Sun so hot. The Victorians thought it might have been coal - understandably **given that** it was this fuel that had made the Industrial Revolution possible.* (Cobuild)

Background. Adopting previous research on clefts (Prince 1978, Declerck 1988, Collins 1991) and contrast (Chafe 1976, Dik et al. 1980, Krifka 2007), we distinguish three functional types of clefts. In *narrowly contrastive focus clefts* (prototypical clefts), the clefted element (CE) is contrasted with a *limited* set of possible referents, as in (1) (*lives of blacks* >< *lives of whites*). In *new information focus clefts*, the CE is contrasted with an *unlimited* set of possible referents, as in (2) (*la demande* >< anything else that could 'regulate everything'). In *noncontrastive clefts* (Declerck's 1988 unaccented-anaphoric-focus clefts) (3), the CE provides given information and the relative clause provides the new information focus of the utterance.

New descriptive generalization. We will present the results of corpus research showing that, in both English and French, the three types of clefts occur in causal ACs, whereas only narrowly contrastive focus clefts occur in temporal ACs. Hence, in temporal ACs, clefts containing a new information focus (whether it is in the CE, as in new information focus clefts, or in the relative clause, as in noncontrastive clefts) cannot occur.

Analysis. We will explain this by the interaction between the information structure of clefts and the semantic properties of ACs. It is well-known that temporal clauses are non-asserted (presupposed), whereas causal clauses are asserted (Haegeman 2006, Verstraete 2007). This is also shown by the distribution of epistemic modal markers:

(4) Causal AC

This situation is particularly ironic since Diana probably did a lot of charity with no concern for publicity whatsoever. (Guardian, Haegeman 2006)

(5) Temporal AC

*While Mary was probably writing a book this time last year, her children stayed at her mother's place.
(Haegeman 2006)

In line with Erteschik-Shir (1997/1999), we will argue that new information focus, but not narrowly contrastive focus, interacts with the assertion (of the truth of the clause). Given this, the appearance of new information focus (i.e. the focus of the assertion), in temporal clauses, which do not have an assertion, leads to a mismatch. It is because of this mismatch that clefts conveying new information focus do not appear in temporal ACs.

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Contact-induced features in the Udi noun phrase.

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It is often assumed in linguistic literature that syntactic borrowing is less likely to occur than, for example, lexical borrowing. Nonetheless, the instances of context-induced syntactic change are by no means few. Here we focus on morphosyntactic patterns of the Udi nominal phrase that owe much to the influence of Azeri.

Udi is a Northeast Caucasian language spoken mainly in Azerbaijan, but also in Georgia and Russia. The bulk of our data are based on a corpus of oral narrations in the Nizh Udi dialect.

Within Nizh Udi nominal phrases, several contact-induced features are found:

(i) The use of numeral classifiers *dänä* 'thing' and *tan* 'person', which are clearly borrowed from Azeri. Notably, numeral classifiers are not typical for Northeast Caucasian languages.

q:oldi sä dänä täzä bin=e be=j.
tortoise one thing new bride=3SG be+PERF=PST
The tortoise was a new bride.

(ii) Nominal attributes occasionally appear marked with the Turkic suffix *-N*, or even unmarked (both constructions arguably originating from Azeri).

žamaat-en nex=e p:al täräf-lu pulxaš=q:a=n ba-j,
people-ERG say:PRS=3SG two side-ADJ congratulation=ADH=2/3SG be-AOR
People say: "Our congratulations two both parties.

haq:-i, he-t:-u=ne taš-on q:onši rajon-a

take-AOR what-NO-DAT=3SG bring-POT neighbour district-DAT
They took (it) and brought to the adjacent district.

(iii) Genitive marking of subjects of non-subject relativizing clauses. So far this feature had not been observed for Northeast Caucasian languages but is found in most Turkic languages (and some other languages of the area).

iz tad-i q:izil-χo
 RFL:GEN give-AOR(PTCP) gold-PL
the gold that he handed over

Still, arguably these innovations did not result in reorganization of the grammatical structure. Most new features either correspond to other patterns found in Udi or underwent reanalysis. Thus, genitive marking in relatives seemingly was reanalyzed as a possessive construction specifying the possessive relation – for genitive occasionally marks other arguments of a relative clause than subject:

iz bak-ala t:e oč:li-β-o
 RFL:GEN be-FUT(PTCP) DIST mortar-PL-DAT
that mortar which is on it

We conclude that at least that kind of syntactic borrowing that is found in Udi nominal phrases does not influence the basic grammatical structure of a language.

Croatian Equivalents of the Portuguese Diminutive Adjectives.

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This work is an attempt to carry out an analysis of the European variety of Portuguese adjectives formed by the most productive diminutive suffixes *-inho* and *-zinho* in contrast with their equivalents in Croatian.

Diminutive is known as a highly polysemous category (based on „small“ as its core meaning) in many languages of the world (e.g. Dressler and Barbaresi 1994, Taylor 1995, Jurafsky 1996), including Portuguese (e.g. Skorge 1957, da Silva 2006). Although general structure of diminutive meaning extensions in Portuguese is similar to that encountered in many other languages, it is precisely the meaning conveyed by the Portuguese diminutive suffixes *-inho* and *-zinho* on adjectival (and adverbial) stems that makes them semantically specific in comparison to other languages, including the Romance ones (Sarić 2006).

Besides various pragmatic uses (such as the marking of affection, depreciation or metalinguistic hedges, also common in other word class stems to which the diminutive suffixes are attached) diminutivized adjectives may indicate intensification of the property, a type of superlativization, even when attached to the adjectives that do not already refer to some property of low intensity, as was suggested in Jurafsky's (1996) typological work which does not include Portuguese language. Jurafsky's claims were refuted in Sarić 2006.

Our analysis is based on the occurrences found in the corpus of translated narrative texts. We intend to extract the sentences that contain diminutivized adjectives in the original Portuguese texts, identify the semantic contribution of the diminutive suffix in each example and compare the distribution of the same semantic components in the target Croatian language. The meaning contribution analysis will be based on the previous work on Portuguese diminutives (Skorge 1957, da Silva 2006, Sarić 2006), also supported by native speakers' intuitions on interpretation of the extracted sentences.

The primary objective of the analysis is to examine the means by which different meanings or uses conveyed by diminutive suffixes *-inho* and *-zinho* as applied on adjective bases are expressed in Croatian. Although Croatian also has many productive diminutive suffixes (e.g. Barić 1997), our expectation is that the meanings of Portuguese suffixes cannot be expressed by similar morphological means in Croatian. We will examine the degree of equivalence achieved in the target sentences and try to find out whether there is a systematic way of explicit marking of identical concepts. The qualitative analysis will be accompanied by the relevant frequency data.

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Linguistic features in translation varieties: corpus-based analysis.

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In the following study, we analyse how translation methods (human vs. computer-aided vs. machine) and text registers (various domains of discourse) affect lexico-grammatical features of translations which reflect the phenomena of variation in terms of language typology, contrastive text typology and translation types.

As a resource, we use a corpus of English originals and four variants of their translation into German produced by: (1) humans, (2) humans with the help of a CAT-system, (3) a rule-based MT system and (4) a statistical MT system, a total of ca. 1,2 million words. The text types vary between political essays and speeches, manuals, popular-scientific, fictional and economic texts, tourism leaflets and texts from the web. Annotations on token, lemma, part-of-speech, sentence and register level allows us to automatically extract various lexico-grammatical features and classify them according to text and translation types.

We apply quantitative and qualitative methods derived from register analysis, translation studies and corpus linguistics, and include selection, extraction and evaluation of lexico-grammatical features. Thus, we analyse features described in register and genre theory, e.g. (Conrad and Biber, 2001; Halliday, 1985; Quirk et al., 1985), as well as variation in such translation phenomena as *explication*, *simplification*, *levelling out* and *normalisation*, cf. e.g. (Baker, 1995; Teich, 2003). As a consequence, we deal with multifactorial phenomena, which need to be validated with standard multivariate statistical techniques which can be used to visualise, describe, explain and predict patterns of variation within translations and between translations and non-translations.

Therefore, we aim at applying statistical methods, e.g. those in the R environment, cf. Venables and Ripley (2002), to validate our extraction results as we believe, that univariate and multivariate statistics can precisely quantify explanatory factors, see e.g. Neumann (2011), and help to unravel unobserved patterns in translations, see e.g. Delaere et al. (2012).

Our preliminary tests derived on the basis of frequencies evaluation show that CAT seems to resemble the output of the machine translation system in terms of such surface features as type-token-ratio, part-of-speech and sentence distribution. However, we believe that an advanced quantitative (multifactorial) analysis is needed to explore the factors influencing the phenomena under analysis. Therefore, our study is relevant to the workshop which will bring together quantitative studies of translated texts (we are aiming at) with methods and resources which can improve the descriptive and explanatory accuracy of corpus-based results.

In our presentation, we will focus on the interpretation of the extracted results and show the methods and tools applied for our analysis.

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Explaining case variation in German inalienable possession constructions.

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Some inalienable possession constructions in German show case variation between dative and accusative in the external possessor argument (Wegener 1985).

- (1) Die Krähe hat ihr/sie in die Hand gebissen.
the crow has her.DAT/ACC in the hand bitten
'The crow bit her in the hand.'

This variation is found with verbs like *beißen* 'bite', *treten* 'kick', *hauen* 'hit', and *kneifen* 'pinch', which allow a simple transitive (*Sie hat den Welpen gebissen* 'It bit the puppy') as well as a directional valency frame (*Sie hat ins Körbchen gebissen* 'It bit into the dog-basket.').

There are several restrictions on this case variation which, so far, are only partially understood. Lee-Schoenfeld (2011: 65) claims that "the option of having a possessor dative depends on the possibility of using the verb intransitively, with a Goal PP indicating the endpoint of a directed motion." This explanation covers a number of cases but in turn raises the question of what licenses the intransitive usage in the first place. Furthermore, there is no clear-cut picture of acceptable versus unacceptable cases. Instead, we have a scale of graded acceptability. The lexeme *küssen* 'kiss', for instance, comes with diverging judgments. Some speakers treat *küssen* like *beißen* 'bite' in (1), accepting the variation in (2a), while others accept only the distribution in (2b).

- (2) a. Er hat ihr/sie auf den Mund geküsst.
he has her.DAT/ACC on the mouth kissed
b. Er hat *ihr/sie auf den Mund geküsst.
he has her.*DAT/ACC on the mouth kissed
'He kissed her on the mouth.'

In its use as an obligatorily transitive verb, *küssen* could be argued to pattern with verbs like *kitzeln* 'tickle' and *berühren* 'touch', but the latter two are invariably unacceptable in the accusative + directional PP-construction (**Er hat sie (ACC) auf den Rücken gekitzelt* 'literally: He tickled her onto the back').

Our initial big-picture generalization, in line with Lee-Schoenfeld 2011, is that, given a PP-embedded body part, there are two options: (i) the possessor dative option (possibly derived via possessor raising), which results from using the verb intransitively with a PP argument and (ii) the accusative-marked possessor option, which results from using the verb transitively, with the possessor as direct object and a PP adjunct. Aiming at a full explanation of the situation, however, this paper draws on the results of a corpus search and a questionnaire-based study to propose that the usage variation and diverging judgments in (1)-(2) stem from ongoing changes in valency patterns that are at least in part triggered by analogical processes between various sentences frames, thus leading to "contamination" products (Paul [1920] 1995). Accordingly, the acceptability of the dative in (2a) is due to the transitive possessor dative (or 'free dative') construction in examples like (3), which is not restricted to inalienable possession.

- (3) Er küsste ihr die Hand.
he kissed her.DAT the.ACC hand

'He kissed her hand.'

In order to retrieve and isolate all relevant factors motivating the present picture, central concepts used in diachronic grammaticalization studies and in construction grammar (Goldberg 1995, 2006, Hens 1996, Diewald 2003) are employed and conjoined with Lee-Schoenfeld's (2011) synchronic syntactic approach. Most important for the description of "hot spots" of ongoing change is the notion of "critical context" (Diewald 2006), i.e. a peripheral, semantically and syntactically opaque construction acting as a catalyst for change. The hypothesis is that the data presented in (2) are an instance of a critical context, and that the peculiarities of the DAT/ACC alternation result from combinations of several constructions involving dative roles.

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Capturing pragmatic functions in a constructional description: the case of adjectival suffix *-li(li)-* in Czech.

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The paper shows that in order to get an adequate and complete description of the usage of linguistic units – i.e. constructions – it is necessary to account not only for their formal and semantic features, but also for the pragmatic ones, such as discourse context, emotional connotations, speaker's intention, topic and genre of a text. Otherwise, some aspects of the construction crucial for its proper usage may be neglected, which may, hence, lead to a misleading description of the whole construction. However, while analysing natural discourse data, it is often hard to detect what characteristics of an interaction are conventional enough to be included in a representation of a construction and which features are to be left out as loosely contextually inferred. At a general level, the paper thus addresses the question of conventionality and idiosyncrasy of pragmatic features of grammatical patterns.

The problem is demonstrated on the Czech suffix *-li(li)-* which may be added to particular adjectival roots (e.g. *čistý* > *čistou-li-nký* 'clean > very clean') to intensify the meaning of the adjective and sometimes it is even possible to reduplicate the suffix (*čistou-lili-nký*) as a further intensification. Dočekal and Kučerová (2010) introduce a formal semantic model that attributes the declared differences in acceptability of reduplication to scalar properties of adjectival roots, based on recent developments of the theory of scalarity (see e.g. Kennedy and McNally 2005, 2008). Dočekal and Kučerová assume that Czech scalar adjectives allow for the reduplication in case that they belong to a class of maximal adjectives, which induce a closed scale of a property; if an adjective is minimal, i.e. denoting a partially open scale, it can not be reduplicated. I will show that this model is inadequate at least in two respects: i) it is not based on natural linguistic data and therefore does not describe real usage; ii) it does not pay attention to the pragmatic features of this construction and the influence of context on its use. This leads to an imprecise description of this class of adjectives and may represent an incomplete generalization about speakers' knowledge of this construction. That's why I will

present an alternative description which in the sense of constructivist models dealing with scalarity (e.g. Fillmore 2002, Hasegawa et al. 2010) will be more comprehensive: it will include scalar features as well as those that set pragmatic and communicative values of the given construction. The paper surveys in detail three pragmatic features associated with adjectives with reduplication in Czech, namely conventional emotional connotations and genre and topic of a text, and shows that they together form a pattern that determines proper usage of the whole construction in a discourse.

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The cognitive semantics of 'kastom': areal semantics and the evolution of sociality concepts in Melanesian creoles.

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Traditionally, creole lexicography focused on lexical *form*. Analysis of creole vocabulary was mainly performed to determine superstrate and substrate influences of a given creole language. So far, remarkably little attention has been paid to lexical *meanings* in creoles, let alone systematic semantic analysis of creole languages (For recent exceptions include Stanwood 1999; Priestly 2008; Nicholls 2009). This paper presents the first results of the “Semantics of Creolization” research project, which is a part of the larger Cognitive Creolistics project at Aarhus University (Bakker and Daval-Markussen, Bakker et al.). It seeks to break new ground into the cognitive semantics of creole languages, by studying the evolution of sociality concepts in three English-based Pacific creoles: Bislama (Vanuatu), Pijin (Solomon Islands), Tok Pisin (Papua New Guinea). The study takes its point of departure in *kastom*, a cultural keyword in these Melanesian Creoles. *Kastom* has its lexical origin in the English word *custom*, but its semantics divert significantly from these origins. As a sociality term, *kastom* co-conceptualizes ritual knowledge, traditional stories, art, law and rules for social stratification, and provide speakers with word through which they can talk and think about social life in its totality (Keesing 1982, 1989; Keesing and Tonkinson 1989; Forsyth 2009). Continued creolization (and decreolization) processes in the Pacific area, add to the complexity sociality concepts in Melanesia creoles. This paper systematically traces the complex evolutionary path of the *kastom* concept, and its discursive rise to power in creole-speaking Melanesia. The semantic stages of *kastom* is compared with the meaning of the English word *custom*, and contrasted with *oro*, the closest comparable concept in Koromu, an indigenous language of Papua New Guinea (Author and Priestly, in preparation). This is done to survey the semantic influences at play in lexical contact.

The aim of the paper is to propose a cogent analysis of the cognitive semantics of contemporary *kastom* and its historical evolution, using the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) approach to linguistic and cultural analysis (Wierzbicka 2006; 2010; Goddard 2011, 2012; Goddard and Wierzbicka, in press; author 2012). Through a meta-study of historical texts, word lists, and contemporary meanings-in-contexts, the aim is to disentangle the semantics of the *kastom* concept, and to trace the changes in meaning from its early days until its current usages by using semantic explications. In this way, the paper contributes to the two evolving fields of historical lexical typology and linguistic sociality studies (Enfield and Levinson 2006; author 2012). Also, the paper addresses some of the big questions in creole semantics: What can studies in creole semantics tell us

about the environmental, biological and socio-historical foundations of language? (cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2012). The evolution of sociality concepts in English-based creoles in Melanesia can shed new light on the study of lexicon in contact and provide new evidence for the important question of whether creole languages mainly belong to areal semantic systems, to their original lexifier systems, or if they make up a semantic system of their own.

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Let the movies begin: a constructional typology of Letting expressions in European languages based on a parallel corpus of film subtitles.

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This study promotes the idea of constructional typology, which aims at bridging the gap between grammatical and lexical typological studies. It focuses on the semantics of force-dynamic events of LETTING (cf. Talmy 2000 [1976]). The concept of LETTING can be expressed by a range of constructions at different levels of complexity and schematicity (cf. Goldberg 2003), e.g. *let smb./smth. do smth., release smb., give smb. a permission to do smth., or may do smth.*, which represent different conceptualizations of LETTING situations.

Research hypotheses

The study, which compares the inventories of such constructions in 12 European languages representing the Germanic, Romance and Slavic groups, aims to test empirically some claims in ethnoculturally oriented Cognitive Semantics. Anna Wierzbicka (2002) argues that LETTING as noninterference is a key concept in the modern Anglo culture, which highly values personal autonomy. This study tests the predictions that can be derived from this claim on the basis of a multilingual parallel corpus of film subtitles:

- 1) From the quantitative perspective, one can expect that expressions of LETTING more frequently occur in the English texts than in the other languages for comparable situations.
- 2) Qualitatively, we can predict that the English LETTING constructions will also cover the largest area of the semantic space as compared with the other languages.

Data and methodology

We use a self-compiled corpus of film subtitles (e.g. *Avatar* and *Le fabuleux destin d'Amélie Poulain*) in 12 languages, from which exemplars of LETTING are extracted (for each language individually) and their equivalents are found. In total, the data set contains about 3000 data points. Next, similar to van der Auwera et al. 2005, we calculate the frequencies of the events conceptualized as LETTING for each language (see the examples below). Multidimensional scaling is used to create a common conceptual space of LETTING on the basis of the constructional similarity in the encoding of the situations in each language, and compare the form-meaning mapping in the languages with regard to the expression of LETTING.

Preliminary results

The above-mentioned predictions do not seem to be borne out. Firstly, the proportion of events conceptualized as LETTING is not greater in the English data than for many other West-European languages. In fact, the frequencies vary in the way that resembles the distribution of linguistic features in Standard Average European (Haspelmath 2001). From the qualitative point of view, although the English constructions (most importantly, the verb *let*) indeed display unique functions, e.g. *let* of cooperative dialogue (Wierzbicka 2002), as in *Let me tell you a little bit about Tyler Durden* (cf. with German *Ich muss Ihnen von Tyler Durden erzählen* "I must tell you something about Tyler Durden"), their counterparts in the other languages exhibit specific functions, as well. For instance, the German *lassen* can be used in the middle voice-like function, as in *Lasst euch nicht täuschen* "Make no mistake" (lit. "Don't let yourselves be misled"). All this demonstrates the importance of a systematically onomasiological and empirical approach to cross-linguistic comparisons in Cognitive Semantics.

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Chernobyl: a case of concept verbalization in Ukrainian.

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The aim of the research was to represent the conceptual structure of CHERNOBYL and means of its verbalization in Ukrainian. For reaching this task a free associative experiment was undertaken. Informants were to single out words related to the stimulus word (CHERNOBYL).

The methodology applied relied upon the connection between language and mind (Fodor 1975, Potebnya 2001, Vygotsky 1996); psychological theories of word meaning (Fodor 1975, Garman 1990, Garnham,

1985, Glucksberg and Danks 1975, Rosch 1978); word association analysis (Kess 1992, Prideaux 1984); associative meaning (Glucksberg and Danks 1975); association analysis - association of ideas (Davis 2003); continued free association analysis (Cramer 1968); social aspects of associations (Cramer 1968). For analyzing the data obtained the approaches for concept representation and its verbalization within a specific worldview (Fauconnier 1994, Jackendoff 2002, Lakoff 1987, Potebnya 2001, Wierzbicka 1992) proved to be relevant. While dealing with the conceptual structures the postulates of the frame theory (Katz and Fodor 1975, Minsky 1979) were observed.

The reactions obtained from 51 informants were treated as the frames, which helped to represent the semantic structure of the concept analysed. Thus, such frames were singled out:

- GENERAL - directly related the PAST, to the accident, place, time and people:
 - REALITY – related to the accident itself, signifying what happened there;
 - INFORMATIONAL LEVEL / CONCRETE DATA – denoting time, place and people involved.
- AFTERMATH – related to the PRESENT and the FUTURE, perception of the consequences of the accident, i. e. connected with the accident:
 - SOCIAL ASPECT;
 - DEVIATIONS IN ECOLOGY AND NATURE;
 - HARM TO ANIMALS, HUMAN HEALTH;
 - COMBATING AFTERMATH.
- PERCEPTION OF THE ACCIDENT – reflections on the accident, its evaluation, direct associations (*Chernobyl is like ...*);
- INDIRECT ASSOCIATIONS – pondering over the accident, something that reminds of it (*Chernobyl is related to / associated with ...*);
- OPTIMISM – referred to the FUTURE, the positive side of combating with the aftermath.
- The results obtained prove that for representing the meaning of CHERNOBYL the most important frame for informants of gender and age groups is AFTERMATH.

Both women and men pay most attention to the AFTERMATH of the accident, though females give a greater number of reactions and associations related with CHERNOBYL. They both underline social aspects of the concept. It is believed that everything has already been done to combat the aftermath.

Women respondents add more emotional attitude to the concept analyzed. They are more concerned with blending of CHERNOBYL with other concepts, which is revealed in their emotional perception and indirect associations, whereas men favor general information about the accident.

Those who were born after this disaster also concentrate their attention upon AFTERMATH, keeping in view reality and informational side of the time and place setting; display their emotions in the form of evaluation of what happened. On the other hand, they reveal leave not much space for optimism as well as indirect associations.

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Mapping the functions of verb reduplication.

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Bybee et al. (1994) developed a conceptual space (e.g. Croft 2003: ch 5, Haspelmath 2003) covering the aspectual functions of verb reduplication. Their space was based on data from 16 languages. It covered seven functions, which they arranged along two diachronic paths, each starting with iterative and the two paths converging on imperfective, before developing further.

In the present paper we first modify the map and then expand it to cover further aspectual functions, as well as a number of non-aspectual functions of verb reduplication that we believe originate with the iterative function. The iterative is strongly iconically motivated (e.g. Haiman 1985), since it uses repetition of form to represent repetition of events. For this reason it is assumed by numerous authors, including Bybee et al. (1994:159, 167), to be the original function of verb reduplication. An example is (1) from Rapanui, where *huri* 'pour' is repeated.

- (1) Rapanui (Du Feu 1996:192)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|------|------|----------------|-----|-------|
| Ka | huri | huri | te | kumá | hai | vai! |
| MOM | pour | DUP | +SPE | sweet potatoes | INS | water |
- 'Go and water your sweet potato plants!'

The aspectual functions that we add include durative (inserted between iterative and continuative, under the revised definition), intensive, completive, multilocational and repetitive. And the non-aspectual functions we add include reciprocal and certain subjective functions encoding stance towards an event, such as the expression of uncontrolled events.

The arrangement of functions along paths within the conceptual space is arrived at through consideration of four factors: (i) the frequency of combinations of two or more functions within the one formal pattern (e.g. full reduplication or partial reduplication) across languages (indicating which functions are diachronic neighbours); (ii) the fullness of the reduplicative form—the more reduced a form is, the later the form expressed is likely to be; (iii) minimal differences in meaning between neighbouring functions on a path of development, such that change in function can be accounted for in terms of the gain or loss of a single semantic feature (e.g. Croft 2000); and (iv) degree of iconicity (monotonic decrease along a given path). Like Bybee et al., we assume that in principle paths may come together (though, as mentioned, we do not endorse the particular merger they propose).

Our revised conceptual space and the pathways through it are based on a sample that is considerably larger (120 languages) than the one used by Bybee et al. The sample confirms most of Bybee et al.'s arrangement of functions (but supports the modifications proposed here), and also supports the arrangement we propose for the additional functions.

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Multi-level lexical convergence along the Silk Road.

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This preliminary study, partly based on fieldwork data, partly on available descriptions, looks at lexical convergence resulting from language contact in the Greater Hindu Kush (northern Pakistan, north-eastern Afghanistan, and Kashmir), a region characterized by a combination of linguistic diversity (including Indo-Iranian, Nuristani, Tibeto-Burman and the isolate Burushaski), a high level of multilingualism and by serving as an age-old transit zone between South, West, and Central Asia (Tikkanen 1988; Bashir 2003, 821–823). A few influential “culture carriers” of change are: Islam; a common Persian culture; poetry; and, in more recent times, media in which regional lingua franca-filtered English plays an increasing role. The lexical convergence can be observed on three interrelated levels: a) a micro-level characterized by shared internal semantic structure, b) a mid-level, whereby the structure of entire semantic domains display significant similarities, and c) a macro-level, with shared features of lexicon organization.

The first level encompasses single lexemes across languages, e.g. shared specializations (Kamviri (Strand 2013): *nučūt* ‘three days ago’, *nutrí* ‘the day before yesterday’, *dus* ‘yesterday’, *strák gaaĵaar* ‘today’, *daalké* ‘tomorrow’, *aatrí* ‘the day after tomorrow’, *aačūt* ‘three days hence’; Dameli (Morgenstierne 1942, 137–178, Emil Perder pc.): *učoŋ/čoŋ diyoo, itrii, doos, mu(n)dya, beraa, truida, čoŋ/čoŋa ki*, respectively), shared polysemy (Kalasha (Trail and Cooper 1999, 112): *griik*; Pashto: *axistal* ‘take’ – ‘buy’), and metaphorical extensions (Kashmiri: *toron*; Palula: *šidáalu* ‘cold’—‘hostile, unkind’). The second level is defined by semantic domains, and includes lexical relations between semantically related concepts (Khowar: *ma oraru goyan* [lit. to-me sleep is coming] ‘I’m feeling sleepy’ vs. *xaphosi parir* ‘Xaposi sleeps’; Palula: *asaám húluk dítu de* [lit. on-us heat is fallen] ‘We were feeling hot’ vs. *anú wii táatu* ‘This water is hot’; where the subjective experience is expressed as the stimulus coming to the experiencer) and shared derivational pathways, such as a participial ‘attaching’ marking the “manipulee” in causative constructions (Kalasha (Trail and Cooper 1999, 289; Bashir 2003, 823): *a ísa saĵawái, gonđík čhinawáis* ‘I had him break the stick’; Kalam Kohistani (Baart 1999, 94–95): *yā murād sá jāmāl bakānt* ‘I’m making Murad beat up Jamal’). The third level is probably the most interesting, as it facilitates lower-level convergence. One example is the gradual substitution of the single verb inventory by “new” complex predicates (Ladakhi: *ban-coces* (cf. indigenous *satces*); Indus Kohistani (Zoller 2005, 301): *bānd karāv*; Pashto *bandawāl* [lit. closed-do] ‘to turn off’, modelled on Urdu *band karna*). Other examples are the prevalence of co-lexicalized intensifiers (Burushaski (Berger 1998, 226–227): *qhal-matúm* ‘pitch black’; Gilgiti Shina: *khutún šaróo* ‘full autumn’, the first component often being a unique lexical unit) and the presence of cross-cutting pro-categories, reflecting multiple deictic contrasts (Kohistani Shina (Schmidt and Kohistani 2008, 97–98): *paár ajóo* ‘over there where I point’, *paár adí* ‘right over there’, *paár asdí* ‘right over there somewhere’, *pér adí* ‘over there (near, known but invisible)’, *pér asdí* ‘over there (out of sight)’; Kashmiri (Koul 2003, 914): *kūtāh* ‘how much?’, *yūtāh* ‘this much’, *hūtāh* ‘that much (within sight)’, *t’ūtāh* ‘that much (out of sight)’).

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Diachronic regularities explaining the tendency towards explicit analytic marking in Balkan Slavic syntax.

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Balkan Slavic languages (Bulgarian, Macedonian, certain dialects of Serbian) differ from all other Slavic languages by virtue of their explicit analytic marking of syntactic relations and other grammatical categories by prepositions, articles, particles, and other function words. Explicit analytic marking can be typologically opposed to inflectional (synthetic) marking, as well as to implicit analytic marking with word order alone, and to the absence of marking. It does not mean outright simplification: the explicit marking of noun phrase reference by a definite article in Bulgarian and Macedonian is not simpler than its marking by word order and contextual factors in other Slavic languages.

I propose the following three conjectures to explain the mechanism of change towards explicit analytic marking in Balkan Slavic:

1. Since analytic constructions are more likely to be borrowed than inflectional categories, any language accepting grammatical borrowings through adult bilingualism over a prolonged period of time is bound to grow more analytic. This does not require the source language of the borrowings to be more analytic than the target language; what is only needed is the right kind of social context for intense borrowing in general. Horizontal transmission of linguistic features selects for other kinds of features than vertical (intergenerational) transmission does.
2. If the corresponding subsystems of two or more languages converge by a shared drift (mutual reinforcement of change), the resulting subsystems will be more analytic if they were structurally different to begin with, whereas relatively similar subsystems may reach convergence on a much lower level of analyticity. This can be seen by comparing nominal and verbal systems in the languages of the Balkan Sprachbund.
3. Grammatical borrowing that favors change towards analytism may occur both owing to L1 speakers regularly using also another language and owing to L2 speakers transferring features from their native languages, but the combined effect of these two bilingual speaker groups both being large in a given language community is stronger than if only one of them were large. This explains why Balkan Slavic (and especially Macedonian) has developed several Balkan features further than the other Sprachbund languages.

In order to substantiate these three conjectures (and eventually to prove them in some sense), we have to enhance our understanding of the particular sociolinguistic context of the formation period of the Balkan Sprachbund, but also to seek universal corroboration of the proposed regularities by typological comparisons with other high-contact areas.

Convergence Phenomena in Megrelian Language

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The Kartvelian family comprises four languages: Georgia, Svan, Megrelian, and Laz. Of them, Georgian has been a standard language, a state language, a language of education and liturgy for all Kartvelian sub-ethnic groups, determining their ethnicity. As far as Megrelian, irrespective its sociolinguistic function, is an independent linguistic system, sub-ethnic Megrelians, ethnic Georgians have two linguistic codes, yielding in convergence processes in Megrelian and implying the occurrence of adstrate and substrate layers.

Megrelian is situated within a linguistic (standard and spontaneous) milieu of Georgian. The division of Megrelian itself into dialect areas has a linguistic rationale. Speeches of western and eastern areas have been differentiated by means of phonetic and morphological features, while that of the central area is "mixed" with

respect to this – it sometimes follows the western one and sometimes the eastern one according to various linguistic data. This has been conditioned by a number of factors; the location of geographic points of the central geographical zone is one of the most principal among them. With respect to the above said, three types of approaches are addressed: convergence phenomena 1. in Megrelian proper, 2. from Georgian in Megrelian, 3. from Megrelian in Georgian.

Based on the analyses of the published Megrelian texts and of the samples of the present-day Megrelian speech (materials of the linguistics expedition of in 2007-11), the following becomes salient:

I – Georgian-like linguistic phenomena:

(1) ti-k kečiu irpel-i

s/he-ERG told everything-NOM

In this construction, the object (*irpel-i*) is in the nominative case, similarly to Georgian.

(2) ĵimal-eb-o giniprtatia

brother-PL-ADV turn into

The suffix **-eb** is a plural marker in Georgian.

Georgian lexical items:

(3) čkini nasaxlar-i (*Megr.* noxori) kogojirit

my former house-NOM I showed you

II – Megrelian-Georgian blends:

(4) eč'vi mi-b-t'an-i (*Megr.* mibġi + *Geo.* mivit'ane)

suspect PRV-S1-bring.AOR-PM

III – The speech of informants, residing in the village of Taia (Tskhorotsku District – central area), is influenced by the western area.

(5) ġvar-ap-i

shout- MAS-NOM

cf. the infinitive *ġora*, with the identical meaning, characteristic to the eastern area.

(6) doč'arele

It has been written

cf. the simplified forms *doč'aree*, with the identical meaning, characteristic to the eastern area.

IV – The speech of informants, residing in the village of Sajjao (Khobi District – central area), is influenced by the eastern area.

(7) daartinuu "S/he returned it"

guut'uu "S/he let him/her go"

V – Megrelian-like hypotactic constructions, characteristic of Megrelians spontaneous Georgian speech:

(8) axali garemont'ebuli saavadmq'opo rom aris, ik momicade

newly repaired hospital where is, wait for me there

Sorting out translation universals from specific source-language interference: the case of phrasal verbs in translated English.

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Background and relevance to workshop. Phrasal verbs are among the most common constructions in English but they are also situated towards the colloquial end of the formality spectrum (Biber et al. 1999, Gardner and Davies 2007, Thim 2012). Their occurrence in translated (non-original) English may accordingly be hypothesized to be either enhanced or reduced, depending on whether one selects, say, normalization (or even exaggeration of target language features) or rather standardization as one's translation universal of choice (cf., e.g. Halverson 2003, Mauranen and Kujamäki 2004). The present study distances itself from such proposed

universal laws of translational behaviour, because their formulation takes little or no account of contrastive differences between source and target language.

Question. Given that Romance languages (with the possible exception of Italian; cf. Iacobini and Masini 2006) and Germanic languages are known to belong to two different typological groups (verb-framed and satellite-framed languages, respectively; cf. Talmy 2000), can we detect a frequency difference between non-translated and translated English from Romance vs. Germanic languages with respect to phrasal verb usage?

Approach. This study takes a quantitative, corpus-based approach to the issue, along the lines of Cappelle (2012).

Method. We investigated the distribution of the word *out* in translated and non-translated English. This word was chosen because of its high likelihood of being used as a particle (97.3% of all occurrences in Gardner and Davies' 2007 corpus study). The British National Corpus (BNC) was used as a reference corpus. Results were then analysed statistically with Chi-square tests.

Data. From the Translational English Corpus, two subcorpora of English fictional texts published since 1990 were selected. One subcorpus, totalling 1.258.951 words, contains English fiction translated from French, European and Latin American Spanish, European and Brazilian Portuguese and Catalan. The other subcorpus, totalling 1.008.028 words, contains English fiction translated from Danish, Dutch, German, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish.

Results. A highly significant underrepresentation of the word *out* could be observed in English fiction translated from Romance languages (2325 per million words (pmw), as opposed to 3368 pmw in the BNC). By contrast, English fiction translated from other Germanic languages exhibited almost identical total frequency of *out* as original English fiction in the BNC (3333 pmw). While in qualitative follow-up research, we will need to investigate which source language constructions can lie at the basis of (which kinds of) phrasal verbs in English translations, the present findings strongly suggests source-language interference as a significant effect in translation, *contra* any translation universal that is claimed to hold irrespective of the source and target language involved.

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Adverbial subordinators in complementation structures in English: synchronic and diachronic considerations.

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The literature on clausal complementation reports on the existence of a cross-linguistic tendency for originally adverbial subordinators to develop a subsidiary function as declarative complementizers under specific

circumstances (e.g. Cano-Aguilar 1995; Lichtenberk 1995; Rooryck 2000). English is one of the languages offering suggestive evidence of this development. In our earlier research we have addressed the complementizer use of some adverbial links in the history of English, with studies on *but* (López-Couso & Méndez-Naya 1998), *if* and *though* (López-Couso & Méndez-Naya 2001), *lest* (López-Couso 2007) and *as if*, *as though* and *like* (López-Couso & Méndez-Naya 2012a, 2012b). The use of these minor declarative complementizers is illustrated in (1)-(5).

- (1) but never þe lesse I dout not **but þat** you and my son Betson wyll handyll þe matyrs wel I-nowe: (HC)
- (2) It would be a good idea **if** you hired a bodyguard. (from McCawley 1988: 143)
- (3) I do not marvel **though** they are ful of dyseases when they are old. (OED)
- (4) fearing **lest** "he shall thinke it to good for us and procure it for himselve, as he served us the last time". (Brown)
- (5) It seemed **as if/as though/like** he was trying to hide his true identity. (adapted from Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 962)

In such cases, the variation between these connectives and the major complementizers *that* and zero seems to point at various degrees of speaker's commitment towards the truth of the proposition encoded in the complement clause.

The aim of the present paper is to systematize the main results of our previous work in order to approach the study of minor complement-clause connectives in a comprehensive way, paying attention not so much to the history and use of individual links, but to the category of so-called minor declarative complementizers from a unified perspective. Our research discloses the existence of a close connection between the selection of these minor links and specific predicate types (e.g. *lest* with predicates of fearing), a restriction which does not hold in the case of the major complementizers *that* and zero. Moreover, we show that minor declarative complementizers derived from the adverbial domain are intimately associated with the expression of subjectivity and can therefore be regarded as epistemic markers. The connectives under study, when used in their original function as adverbial subordinators, are endowed with clear epistemic force, and this feature is transferred to their novel use in the complementation system, thus harmonizing with the epistemic nature of the construction in which they occur (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1152 for *as if* and *as though*). Furthermore, in this paper we argue that the development of the complementizer function of originally adverbial links can be regarded as an example of grammaticalization, whereby an already grammatical marker (an adverbial connective) develops an even more grammatical function (that of complementizer).

This investigation is based on empirical data extracted from two corpora covering the whole history of English: Helsinki Corpus and ARCHER. For contemporary English, we also draw on evidence from the Brown family of corpora, the DCPSE and TEA (Tagliamonte 2003-6).

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The role of pronouns in NPs in Australian languages.

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In this paper, we investigate the role of pronouns in the structure of noun phrases in a sample of Australian languages. While pronouns are frequent in NP structures in many Australian languages, their distribution and functions have not received the typological attention that other types of NP structure have, like classification (e.g. Harvey and Reid 1995, Wilkins 2000) or aspects of non-configurationality (e.g. Heath 1986, Schultze-Berndt and Simard 2012). In this study, we develop a typology of the roles of pronouns in NP structure, charting both their distribution and their functions.

The analysis is based on a sample consisting of 50 languages from various Pama-Nyungan subgroups and 25 non-Pama-Nyungan languages, representing most of the non-Pama-Nyungan families identified in Evans (2003). For each language, basic information on noun phrase structure is extracted from the grammar, as well as all instances of NPs containing non-possessive pronouns (which are often not included in the structural template for NPs). This information makes up the database that serves as the basis for this study.

In terms of distribution, we investigate both headedness and position of pronominal elements in the NP. NPs headed by pronouns obviously have more restricted modification options than nominal-headed ones, but they do allow some types of modification, for instance by demonstratives or nominals, as in (1) below. In addition, we investigate the issue of headedness for more complex pronoun-noun combinations, including better-known types like inclusory constructions (Singer 2001), illustrated in (2) below. We use evidence from case marking and ordering to distinguish between simple and complex NP structures.

- (1) aniyalhiyla, anukanthirirtula irrpulirtula,
 sit.prscnt 1plinc.loc black.loc
 'She stays among us black people.' (Alyawarra; Yallop 1977: 64)
- (2) ngaliinh djaagi-ngunh gambarr balga-y
 1duexc.nom Jack-erg pitch-abs make-pst
 'Jack and I made the pitch.' (Guugu Yimidhirr; Haviland 1979: 105)

In terms of function, we focus both on the functions of pronouns modifying nominal heads, and on the functions of non-pronouns modifying pronominal heads. Pronouns as modifiers take up various grammatical roles, relating to the marking of number or of information structure, as illustrated with the 'definitising' pronouns in (3). We show that differences in function are reflected in positional differences, as well as in different degrees of grammaticalization.

- (3) Artwe itne no ahel-irre-ke artwe mperlkere ikwere.

man 3pl.s no angry-inch-pc man white 3sg.dat
 'The men didn't become aggressive towards the white man.' (Arrente; Wilkins 1989: § 3.7.3)

Pronouns as heads are often independently referential, e.g. when referring to speech act participants as in (1) above, which implies that modification serves other functions than determining reference. We show that the functions of modifiers in such structures are typically expressive, as is the case for modifiers of other types of nominal heads with independent reference, like proper names.

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Partículas discursivas y cognición: apuntes experimentales y contrastivos (español- alemán) a partir de variables del sujeto (hablante nativo/no nativo).

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La traducción de las partículas discursivas supone todo un reto: en primer lugar, porque las distintas lenguas, por lo general, no disponen de partículas completamente equivalentes; en segundo lugar, porque incluso cuando parece ser que existen expresiones análogas, éstas no siempre ejercen la misma función; y en tercer lugar aunque en ambas lenguas se encuentren partículas equivalentes que, además, ejerzan la misma función, el traductor es el que finalmente tiene que valorar si, desde un punto de vista pragmático, en la lengua de llegada es más adecuado emplear también una partícula o si, en cambio, las inferencias se pueden deducir a partir de otras estructuras lingüísticas.

En nuestra investigación tenemos como objetivo comprobar de forma experimental en qué medida influyen las partículas discursivas en el proceso de traducción y si éstas tienen el mismo peso para la traducción escrita que para la traducción espontánea (proceso de baja planificación). Por tanto, desde el punto de vista de la pragmática experimental (mediante la técnica del monitoreo del movimiento de los ojos) hemos querido dar respuesta a las siguientes cuestiones: a) si las partículas discursivas constituyen un foco de atención para el procesamiento y la traducción de textos; b) si las partículas guían al traductor en la deducción de inferencias y, por tanto, condicionan el esfuerzo de procesamiento (estudio cuantitativo); c) si la presencia o ausencia de partículas discursivas es determinante para la selección de estrategias de traducción (estudio cualitativo).

En la presente comunicación queremos exponer el diseño de los experimentos realizados y los primeros resultados de una investigación que parece verificar y consolidar experimentalmente las aportaciones de la pragmática descriptiva. Asimismo, nos proponemos dar noticia de las tendencias observables en la comprensión a partir de una variable del hablante: si este ha adquirido la lengua (española) naturalmente o mediante la instrucción controlada posterior a partir de la lengua materna alemana.

The emergence of expressions for finality in older Indo-European languages.

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The paper deals with the emergence of expressions for finality in correlation with control phenomena. Hereby the competition between final infinitive constructions and final sentences must be observed. We compare the use in the oldest Indo-European languages, in Hittite and Vedic Sanskrit. The goal is to trace the line of development for the designation of finality.

Starting with Hittite, infinite forms on *-anzi* are good candidates for expressions of finality. They denote the purpose of an action:

(1) KBo XXII 2 Rs 13'
LUGAL-uš^{URU} *Ha-at-tu-ša* DINGIR^{DIDL} *-aš a-ru-wa-an-zi ú-e-it*
„The king came to Hattusa to honour the gods“

In (1) subject control occurs, i.e. there is coreference between the subject of the main clause und the understood subject of the dependent infinitive.

Finite final sentences are practically not attested. An example with the conjunction *mān* is:

(2) Mythos, KBo III 7+ I 5ff. (CTH 257)
ma-a-an ma-a-i še-eš-zi nu EZEN pu-ru-ul-li-ya-aš i-ya-an-zi
„That it [the land] thrives (and) prospers, they celebrate the *purulliya*-feast“

The subjects of the main clause and that of the subordinated clause are different. As *mān* usually has temporal or conditional meaning the sentence can also be understood as ‚When/if the country shall thrive and prosper, they have to celebrate the *purulliya*-feast‘

Contrary to Hittite the oldest final infinitive formation in Vedic, that on *-dhyai*, does not only display subject control but also object control:

(3) RV IV,22,7
yāt sīm ánu prá mucó badhadhān dīrghm ánu prásitim synadayādhyai
„when you freed the wedged (rivers) to flow after long captivity“

The subject of the superordinate sentence is Indra, the subject of the infinitive construction the wedged rivers. In contrast to Hittite Vedic also has final sentences with an explicit final conjunction (*yáth*). The finite constructions are given preference over the infinitive construction on *-dhyai* if in the case of the infinitive construction an opaque subject reference would appear.

Hence, the result of our research is that the Hittite evidence shows that infinitive constructions with subject control are the oldest final patterns. Explicit final conjunctions do not exist. Vedic, however, uses infinitive constructions with subject and object control. Competitors are finite final sentences with finite conjunctions if the infinitive constructions would yield unclear subject references. The development is therefore moving from infinitive constructions with subject control to those with object control. The emergence of explicit final conjunctions is a relatively late step in the evolution of finality markers in Indo-European.

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Social categorizations in face-to-face interactions between Argentinians and German-speaking foreigners.

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In consequence of tourism and student exchanges, contacts between natives and visitors (or migrants) are quite frequent in many Argentinian regions. As Germans or Austrians are generally not seen as “undesirable” foreigners in Argentina (cf. Wulffen, 2010), we could expect not to detect the typical discursive and conversational strategies to reject the “others” (see e.g. Courtis, 2000; Kesselheim, 2009; Unamuno and Codó, 2007; van Dijk and Wodak (eds.), 2000). Nonetheless, we can assume that exchanges between natives and foreigners are not exempt from power relations, which can be found not only in written texts but also in face-to-face interactions in everyday life.

The aim of this paper is to examine fifteen contact situations between locals and a German-speaking foreigner in San Miguel de Tucumán (NW of Argentina), which were registered by participant observation in everyday situations (e. g. shopping, informal conversations with neighbours) during 2012. We suppose that in these interactions otherness is established by means of different membership categories, where nationality plays a salient role. Furthermore, certain explicit or tacit representations of “foreigners” or groups of foreigners as well as of “Argentinians” could influence the interactions. For this, we try to discover the linguistic, discursive and conversational resources used for confronting the otherness and aim to comprehend its consequences for the interactions. Our analysis, situated within a Critical Discourse Analysis framework (see Fairclough and Wodak, 2000; Wodak and Meyer (eds.), 2009, etc.), is guided by the discursive strategies proposed by Reisigl and Wodak (2009). It is completed with a look at the sequential and categorial aspects (see Hester and Eglin (eds.), 1997) of the conversations under examination, for the redefinition of interactional roles can be disadvantageous for one of the participants (Unamuno and Codó, 2007).

As a result, it is possible to observe that nationality is actually a relevant category in these contact situations, although not only “Germans”, “Austrians”, “Dutch” or “French”, but also “Europeans” seem to be a recognizable group of “foreigners”. Both categorizations receive diverse attributes, particularly relating to language and outward appearance. From an interactional perspective, we can point out the importance of the “clarification of belonging” (Hausendorf, 2002). Further, once the difference between “Argentinians” and the “others” has been established, difficulties in returning to the former participant roles are noticeable. Even if it is not the only relevant category, we see how nationhood is actively produced and reproduced by people in their everyday lives (Fox and Miller-Idriss, 2008) – which will be an entry point for further analysis of spoken and written discourses between Argentina and the German-speaking countries.

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Clitic placement in Molisean Croatian.

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Molisean Croatian (henceforth MC) is an endangered language spoken in Molise (South-Central Italy). Croatian speakers from Dalmatia settled in the area between the 15th and 16th century CE. Both the dialectal heritage of MC and the impact of Italian varieties on its grammar are difficult to assess, and in general research on MC remains limited. No specific studies are available concerning clitic placement. Rešetar (1911), the main reference work, contains a few observations, aiming to assess the dialectal affiliation of MC with respect to other Serbo-Croatian varieties, and to highlight idiosyncrasies in clitic order. In this paper we would like to provide a description of possible patterns of clitic placement found in actual usage. Indeed, even though MC clitics are described as P2 clitics, some substantial differences in placement rules with respect to standard Serbo-Croatian have already been noted by Rešetar (1911). In particular, standard Serbo-Croatian clitics, which are always enclitic, can precede or follow the verb depending on its position, whereas in MC clitics cannot follow the verb. Contrary to Serbo-Croatian, MC clitics can also be proclitic:

However, a preliminary survey suggests that other possible patterns of placement have also grown more restricted. Research on Serbo-Croatian has shown that clitics can be placed after the first word or after the first constituent (Diesing, Đurđević, Zec 2009), or they can be placed elsewhere in the sentence after more constituents (Peti-Stantić 2012) for pragmatic purposes, as in (1). In MC apparently separation of parts of constituents is possibly only marginally, as in (2) and (3):

- (1) Ovaj *je* sin kraljev pošao.
DEM.SG.M AUX.3SG son king: POSS.ADJ leave.PST.PTCP.SG.M
'This king's son left.'
(Serbo-Croatian, personal knowledge)
- (2) *Ovi *je* sin kraljen poša
DEM.SG.M AUX.3SG son king: POSS.ADJ leave.PST.PTCP.SG.M
'This king's son left.'
- (3) ovi *je* sin kraljen ke *je*
DEM.SG.M AUX.3SG son king:POSS.ADJ REL AUX.3SG
poša.
leave.PST.PTCP.SG.M
'This king's son who's left.'
(MC, field work).

In addition, there appears to be a growing tendency for clitics to immediately precede the verb, as the order clitics-verb can be interrupted by less types of constituents than in standard Serbo-Croatian, as in our data only the subject or an adverb can occur between a clitic (or a clitic cluster) and the verb:

- (4) Večer *je* divojk ponila klupka.
evening AUX.3SG girl bring.PST.PTCP.SG.F hank
'In the evening, the girl brought a hank.'
- (5) *Marija *je* ga na školy vidila
Maria AUX.3SG 3SG.ACC.M in school see.PST.PTCP.SG.F
'Maria saw him at school.'
(MC field work)
- (6) Marija ga *je* u školi videla.

Maria 3SG.ACC.M AUX.3SG in school see.PST.PTCP.SG.M
 'Maria saw him at school.'
 (Serbo-Croatian, personal knowledge).

We intend to inquire deeper the conditions that allow for different patterns, as well as the actual range of possible variation in MC. We will use data from available text collections and from specifically designed questionnaires.

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How *brauchen* became a raising verb that selects bare infinitive complements.

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Based on evidence from *Digitale Bibliothek Deutscher Klassiker*, *books.google.com* and individual smaller corpus studies, the study outlined here suggests that the development of the German raising verb *brauchen* ('need') with modal semantics can be divided into four phases.

Phase I: until 1650. As Adelung (1793, 1162), Paul (1897, 79), Kolb (1964, 65) and Scaffidi-Abbate (1973, 5) illustrate, the transitive verb *brauchen* used to refer to the usage of something until the 17th century. Then, it acquired a new interpretation and could express a need for something. Crucially, the new variant of transitive *brauchen* started out as a negative polarity item, as shown by Paul (1897, 79). According to Scaffidi-Abbate (1973, 5) and Reis (2005, 106), the new meaning of *brauchen* was the crucial condition that facilitated the selection of infinitive complements.

Phase II: 1650-1700. *brauchen* acquires an impersonal pattern. Obviously, this development was caused by language contact with the French pattern *il faut* 'it is necessary. . .'. Furthermore, it is plausible to assume that availability of a variant without referential subject argument facilitated the development of a raising pattern.

Phase III: 1700-1800. In the early 18th century, *brauchen* is attested for the first time with *zu*-infinitive complement. In this phase, *brauchen* with an infinitive complement realises its past participle as a *ge*-participle. In the same period, the irregular subjunctive of the past form *bräuchte* is already attested. As it appears, *brauchen* had already developed the full range of functions by the end of the 18th century: it could be used as a quantificational modal verb and as an epistemic modal verb. It is only in the end of phase III when *brauchen* with a *zu*-infinitive complement has been mentioned by a grammarian for the first time, cf. Adelung (1793, 1162).

Phase IV: around 1800. Finally, *brauchen* started to realise its past participle as an IPP. At this point, *brauchen* is not attested with a *zu*-infinitive yet. At the same time, Grimm (1837, 168, 949) notices that the IPP is a property that is restricted to verbs that take bare infinitives. Thus, it must not be applied to *brauchen* which selects *zu*-infinitives. Simultaneously, the first uses with *brauchen* with bare infinitive occur. In the late 19th century, the normative philologist in Wustmann (1908, 61) refutes this as it is incorrect German.

There were similar verbs in neighbouring languages that were already more grammaticalised before *brauchen* has started its development. As Murray (1933, 71) demonstrates, *need*, the English counterpart of *brauchen*, has developed into an modal auxiliary like verb much earlier. First of all, it could be used in an impersonal pattern already in the 14th century. Moreover, *need* is already attested from the late 14th century with *to*-infinitives and from the late 15th century with bare infinitive complements. In the 16th century, it started to lose the *-s*-suffix in the 3. person singular. Some of these developments are illustrated by the examples taken from Murray (1933, 71).

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From Indo-European verbal nominals to East Slavic infinitives.

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In this work, I analyze the evolution of the infinitive constructions in Slavic and Russian. Although Proto-Indo-European (PIE) probably did not have infinitives as such, each Indo-European (IE) group developed infinitival forms by specializing nominal verbs, encoded with different grammatical cases (Kuryłowicz 1964, Schmalstieg 1980), some of which became infinitivals at a later stage (Meillet 1934, Seliščev 2001 [1951], Disterheft 1980, Szmerényi 1996 [1990]).

I describe the origin of infinitive structures in IE and early Slavic, i.e. Old Church Slavonic (OCS), and analyze its syntactic properties into Old Russian (OR) and Modern Russian (MoR). I provide arguments in favour of the hypothesis that OCS displayed constructions near to verbal nominals and that they developed later into a syntactically "full" system of infinitivals (MoR), through an intermediate step, represented by OR.

In the analysis, I will use the syntactic tests that Disterheft (1980) applies to the syntax of infinitives in different IE groups, which characterize a structure as more "verbal nominal-like" or more "infinitive-like". I check the following properties in OCS, OR, and MoR: (i) the development of independent infinitive clauses, (ii) the function of the infinitival as a sentential subject, (iii) the use of infinitives in purpose clauses without a subordinative marker, (iv) the possibility of marking the infinitive with more than one grammatical case, (v) the presence of overt non-finite subjects, (vi) the availability of "equi-NP deletion" of infinitive subjects (control and raising); (vii) the reference of the infinitive subject; and (viii) the presence of tense in subordinate infinitive clauses.

As an example, syntactic property "i" is briefly illustrated here: independent infinitive clauses could have a bare declarative or a modal value in early IE. The availability of a declarative value of these clauses is a signal of the old system of IE verbal nominals (cf. *Too many books in this room* ~ *Too much drinking in this room*), as seen in early IE languages (Disterheft 1980), including OCS (the copula in (1) is a temporal marker: cf. Disterheft 1980:40 about Rig-Veda):

- (1) *Bystŭ že umrěti niščjemu.* (OCS: *Codex Marianus*, Luke 16:22)
 be_{3.SG.AOR}. part. die_{INF} poor_{DT}
 'The poor man died.'

This availability disappeared already in OR, where independent infinitive clauses have not the declarative value of OCS (this value is archaic in OR, and has disappeared by MoR); thus, independent infinitive clauses display always a modal value in OR and MoR (Borkovskij 1978, Tarlanov 1964):

- (2) a. A knjaženija velikogo Dmitriju ne *rodŭmati*. (OR: *Novgorod I Chronicle*, 162)
 and principality big Dimitri_{DT} not lift_{INF}
 'Dimitri cannot raise a big kingdom.'
- b. Ne tebe o ètom *rassuzdat*'. (MoR: *Pravil'schikov Sgovor Kutejkina*)
 not you_{DT} about this decide_{INF}

'It is not you that must decide.'

In this way, the early IE ability of independent infinitive sentences to denote simple statements, as nominal sentences do, was lost in OR/MoR; this, and the other properties I review in this work, represented a crucial step in the development of the East Slavic infinitive towards a purely verbal (rather than nominal) category.

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Emphatic accent and prosodic phrasing in Spanish.

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The emphatic accent is a prosodic resource which introduces meaning distinctions beyond propositional content. It usually manifests as a rise of the fundamental frequency, although it can be accompanied by an increase of loudness and segmental duration. The present research analyzes the prosodic structure of spontaneous speech utterances in which emphatic accents occur. Also, we compare such utterances with the phrasing observed in the same sentences in a reading style, in which no emphatic accents are found. What is observed in spontaneous speech is a notorious fragmentation of prosodic phrases:

1. Spontaneous Speech:

- a) [pero]φ [la verdad]φ [es que estuve a]φ [PUNTO]φ [de no ir]φ [nada más]φ [por ese hecho]φ
- b) [y uno de esos]φ [intereses creados]φ [son]φ [las GRANDES]φ [CADENAS]φ [de radio]φ [y de televisión]φ

2. Reading Speech

- a) [pero la verdad]φ [es que estuve a punto de no ir]φ [nada más por ese hecho]φ
- b) [y uno de esos]φ [intereses creados]φ [son las grandes cadenas]φ [de radio y de televisión]φ

The main effect of the emphatic accent is that the phonological word aligned with it constitutes an independent prosodic phrase which is not associated with any other phonological word. Moreover, we found occasionally short pauses preceding the sentence containing the emphatic accent. We will also address, as authors like Prieto (2006) and Rao (2008), the relationship between the syntactic structure of the analyzed utterances and the resulting prosodic structure, with special attention to the alignment between syntactic and prosodic phrases. The data analyzed in this research comes from eight hours of spontaneous speech recorded with four Mexican speakers. The intervening speakers were asked to read the utterances themselves had produced in spontaneous recordings, in order to obtain new data that will enable us to compare the prosodic structure in both speech styles.

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The inflexional history of the Dalmatian plural.

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Medieval Split lay within the domain of Dalmatian, a Romance variety of the Croatian coast which by the end of the nineteenth century had become restricted to the island of Krk (Veglia). The last speaker, Tuone Udaina, died in 1898. Virtually all we know about Dalmatian comes from the corpus gathered by Matteo Bartoli (1906) from the mouth of Udaina. While Bartoli offers a fairly thorough analysis of the data, they are far from having been fully explored from a comparative and historical perspective, especially where morphology (not to mention syntax) is concerned. That close examination of Vegliote morphology has much to offer is apparent from, say, Tekavčić (1977) or Maiden (2004; 2009).

There exists no systematic description of the Dalmatian system of noun and adjective plural formation but the impression emerges from the Romance linguistic literature that it is much like that of Italian or Romanian. The present study commences with a brief description of the system and what emerges is that the plural desinences are unexpectedly anomalous from the point of view of the regular historical phonological development of Dalmatian.

Vegliote Dalmatian had the following desinential markers of plural: -i, -e and -∅. The ending -i is characteristic *solely* of masculines; -e is characteristic (with one exception) *solely* of feminines. This fact is of typological note, placing Vegliote among those Romance languages (principally some varieties of Italo-Romance) in which plural desinences become uniquely aligned with gender. Vegliote nouns and adjectives that end in -i or -e may also end in zero, as a result of a general tendency to delete final vowels (see also Doria 1989:525).

The facts are anomalous in two ways that I believe to have gone unremarked hitherto. First, the ending -i is not the predicted Vegliote development of Romance final unstressed /i/, which reputedly yields /e/ (Ive 1886:155; Bartoli 1906§320); second, historically underlying -es, the plural ending of Latin masculines and feminines of the third declension, is predicted by Maiden (1996), following Reichenkron (1939) and others, to yield /i/ (and therefore subsequently /e/) regardless of gender, yet in originally third declension words only feminines (and then very sporadically) show final -e, while masculines show only -i.

I adduce a number of arguments against the notion that -i could be a loan due to contact with Italo-Romance. I then argue that Vegliote plural -i continues the (characteristically masculine) Latin second declension nominative plural ending -ī and that, *contra* Maiden (1996), the reflex of Latin -es never became *-i in Dalmatian, but more plausibly *-ij; *contra* Ive and Bartoli, I claim that it is this *-ij, not -i, which then developed as -e. This latter idea will be supported by other internal evidence that post-tonic /i/ in contact with a palatal vocoid develops as /e/ (including the remarkable and quite exceptional *masculine* plural desinence -e sometimes attested in reflexes of filii 'sons'). The overall result will be a clearer understanding of the evolution of two aspects of the morphology and phonology of this still neglected language.

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A fuzzy approach to vocal communication: human language, bird song and whale song.

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Voice, in itself, is communication. Some of the most complex expressions of vocal ability – i.e. prosody, song and certain specific vocal performances in human and non-human communication – draw attention to the deepness of the semiotic power of vocalization, both from an ontogenetic and a phylogenetic point of view (Albano Leoni: 2009; Crystal: 1976; Feld: 1990; Mancini: 2012). In recent years, human language and non-human vocal communication have been often compared and shed light on the similarities and the differences between the two. Moreover, interdisciplinary studies on *vocal learning* species provide insights on the evolutionary link between such different species and on the similarities between the different forms of vocal communication (Hurford: 2007, 2011a, 2011b; Geissmann: 2000; Jarvis: 2006, 2007; Hauser et al.: 2002, 2005; Templeton: 2007, 2010;).

While a qualitative approach can easily show how deep the differences between humans and non-humans are, a quantitative approach allows us underlying, at the same time, the mentioned semiotic power and the degrees of difference between humans and non-humans from a pragmatic and an evolutionary point of view (Dissanayake: 2006). For this reason, a fuzzy logic approach seems to better represent the complex and gradual exploitation of vocal abilities – starting from the simplest and involuntary vocalizations (shared by all vocal species) up to the most complex ones (shared by few species) (Breenowitz et al.: 2005; McDonald et al.: 2006; Tobias et al.: 2009). We assume a fuzzy approach can represent a prerequisite for understanding the real significance of the above-mentioned similarities and differences, thus avoiding a binary approach in which humans and non-humans vocal behaviours are evidently detached.

Considering the relation between human and non-human vocal productions from a biologic point of view, we adopt a multiple-valued methodology, precisely a fuzzy cube, in order to represent at the same time the contiguity and the difference between vocal productions. Taking into account some vocal practices and their corresponding structures and functions (i.e. human language and music, vocal learners bird songs and *Blue Whale* songs) we aim at representing such similarities and differences focusing on few parameters and their combinations: innate vs. learned and non-structured vs. deeply structured. Thus, we expect to show the following elements while observing vocalization as a whole: human language definiteness and fuzziness; its historical and cultural complex system and its natural and biologic basis; and, finally, its actual uniqueness among other forms of vocal communication and its existing contiguity with them.

We aim at proposing a theoretical approach for considering human and non-human vocal behaviours as products of an evolutionary process avoiding theories that conceive the development of human language as a product of an abrupt change during human evolution. Such approach could lead linguists – as well as experts from other study areas – to a better comprehension both of the evolution of human language and of the role of vocalization in human and non-human behaviours, focusing on the pragmatic and semiotic power of vocal communication.

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Linguistics and linguistic ideology during the Fascist era in Italy (1925-1945).

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In this paper we will analyze the language policy adopted in Italy during the Fascism and transformations involving the language of that period, paying particular attention to the standardization processes and to the fulfillment of a purist standard in order to contrast the linguistic minorities, the spoken dialects, as well as the use of foreign words, including the input of some lexical handling practices and the introduction, of neologisms, manifestly forced.

In fact, Fascist era was characterized by the development of a language policy aiming at standardizing the Italian language (s., a.o., Klein 1986, Nichil 2010), focusing on the idea of patriotism as an incentivizing value for the national cohesion and the building of a community identity: language reflects this idea in the reiteration of fixed formulas and in the rejection of their exceptions, perceived as deviations from or alterations of the norma (s. Leso 1973).

The analysis proposes a wide approach – including lexical, syntactic, grammatical and, more generally, semiotic – through the systematic examination of original sources, including comics related to the Fascist *Ventennio*, which have not been examined in this perspective until now, and Linguistics reviews (cf. Russo 2012). These sources are interesting for observing language teaching perspective and moreover for seeking elements interpretable as the result of those processes of mutation based on an ideological thrust, aiming at the creation of a well-defined society model, evidently based on a well-defined language model. Data show the occurrence of some formulations, together with their causes and their effects in order to offer a complete description of the phenomena, that is its overview.

The results of the mentioned prescriptive language policy – partly spread through specific teaching practice geared towards a specific language education (s. Balboni 1988, Pellandra 2004) – can be observed from longitudinal point of view. They can shed light on the one hand on the resonances of the typical ideological Fascist substrate, finding its realization also and especially through strongly characterized communication and propaganda (cf. Tranfaglia/Murialdi/Legnani 1980); on the other hand on a comparative-historical perspective tracing the diachronic changes of language in the Fascist era in the European context. Such considerations allow the display and the examination of linguistic practices of the time, as well as the techniques and the criteria used to deliberately influence the linguistic behavior of the speakers from a

pragmatic point of view. These contextually coexist with a careful consideration of the effective acceptance of certain patterns and structures, even by the Linguistics of the time: an issue for the most part not yet analyzed.

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Ancient Romance toponyms on the islands in the local waters of Split.

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Even though most of the toponyms of the mid-Dalmatian islands are of Croatian origin, a considerable number of Romance names can also be identified. Besides those formed during the Venetian rule in the Adriatic, some older ones, taken by the Croats from the Romance indigenous (*Gärma, Spīla*), which can be dated according to the way of their adaptation to the Croatian language, have been preserved as well. In addition, a significant number of Romance toponyms formed from old appellatives that the Croats had brought along on the islands have also been registered (*Säskinja, Grměj*). The author offers etymological solutions for the toponyms of the islands in the waters of Split that haven't been yet subjected to researches, while for some already studied, new etymology is attributed. She also considers that the name of the island in front of Split, *Čiovo*, might not derive from the Croatian personal name *Čih (*Čihovo* > Čiovo), as claimed by the famous Croatian Romanist Petar Skok (*Slavenstvo i romanstvo na jadranskim otocima*, JAZU, Zagreb, 1950:163), but from the ancient adjective of Romance origin, *čihata/čihnata/ šipnata* (brackish water), formed from the Latin derivation *siphonis* < gr. σίφων ('water drain'). The author attributes the same etymology to the toponym *Šipōva* on the island of Šolta. The Romance origin can be recognized in the toponym *Pernātica* on the island of Drvenik Veli, mistakenly considered to be Croatian (Skok, o.c. 1950:132,165) and deriving from the appellation *pero* ('feather'). The field research has, however, established the toponym to be referring to the Latin word *perna*, denoting a type of seashell. Furthermore, the author does not agree with the opinion that the name of the three islets *Klūda* derives from the Latin word *columna* (column) (Skok, o.c. 1950:165), since the field research has led to the conclusion that the name originates from the Latin word *cludere*, 3, **clauditum* 'to close'. Namely, the three islets form a barrier closing the Channel of Trogir. On the opposite side, the Channel is closed by the islet of *Zaporinovac*, a toponym obviously deriving from the Croatian verb *zaporiti* ('to close'), which further corroborates this hypothesis. In the preserved name of Kluda the characteristic transition of long /ū/ vowel via the Croatian /y/ into /i/ vowel (as in *Klīs* < Lat. *clusa* or *Mīrca* < Lat. *murū*) is not present, which elsewhere occurred before the 10th century, because the area was not populated by Croats before the 15th century. The name of the islet *Grměj* derives from the Latin noun *grūmum* meaning 'pile', 'heap', while the name of the nearby islet *Balkūn* derives from the Romance word *balco*, meaning 'pile', 'stack' (of pre-Latin origin **balko*). The toponym *Macaknāra* derives from the old Dalmatian name *macaklin*, i.e. species of lizard. The author considers the name of the islet *Säskinja* to be Romanic as well, deriving from the Latin word *saxum*, meaning 'cliff', 'crag', 'reef'. The form of **sask* is derived by metathesis, by addition of the Croatian suffix *-inja*.

Translating captions in comic books. A way to teach discourse markers.

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Captions in comic books are generally rectangular and positioned near the edge of the panel. They are used for narration purposes (see the French translation *récitatif*), and are important in order to better understand time relations or cause-effect relations which are not (or not enough clearly) conveyed by the sequence of drawings arranged in interrelated panels. Captions are a way to cross-link panels divided by gutters, i.e the space between borders, and they complement the content of text in balloons.

During a MA course in translation studies it was decided to translate an original Italian comic book into three Romance languages (French, Spanish and Portuguese) and in other languages (English, German; Russian, Chinese and Japanese).

A peculiar Mickey Mouse story “Topolino e la rivolta delle didascalie” (Mickey Mouse and the captions rebellion”) was selected. Such comic story was written by Casty, Andrea Castellan and first published in June 28, 2011. Castellan creates a situation in which captions become protagonists of the comic story and attack Mickey Mouse and his friends.

From the point of view of translation training we focused on how to translate “out of context” captions, such as It. *quindi* Sp. *luego* or *entonces*; It. *infatti* Sp. *de hecho* or *en efecto*, since they no longer had their usual hinge function. We also tried to compare such translations to the few cases in which captions maintained connecting function.

Students were also invited to check national comic traditions, in order to see whether there was a traditional caption used in easily identifiable sequences, in spite of the fact that it was not considered by dictionaries a possible translations of the Italian caption.

Finally the groups of students who translated into the same language compared and evaluated other groups translations.

In this operation students provided criteria to identify which captions might perform “more” as discourse markers than others and succeeded in better understanding their function as a cohesive device in L2, helped by the abnormal absence of such a function in this comic story.

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**Epistemic certainty and possibility, and evidential extensions of modal expressions
in Basque, English and Spanish: a cross-linguistic study.**

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This paper presents results of research carried out within the project ‘*The expression of Evidentiality and Modality in English and other European Languages: Cross-linguistic perspectives*’ (EUROEVIDMOD), (Ref.: FFI201-23181, Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad, Spain), aimed at the creation of a database of grammatical and lexical evidential and modal markers in European languages. The paper presents a comparative study of the modal verbs expressing epistemic certainty (MUST) and epistemic possibility (MAY) in three European languages belonging to different language families (Indo-European and Non-Indo-European): *Behar* (MUST), and periphrastic forms with auxiliary verbs *edin* (intransitive) and *ezan* (transitive) plus the suffix *-ke*, or synthetic forms with the verbal suffix *-ke* (MAY) in Basque (Jendraschek 2003); *Must* and *May* in English; *Deber (de)* and *Poder* in Spanish. The paper will focus on the following research questions: (a) the degree to

which these modal expressions, which are translation equivalents, reveal differences in their semantics and in their structural properties, as well as differences in distribution and use in the three languages; (b) the extent to which we find meaning extensions of these modals into the neighbouring evidential domain (Boye 2012; Wiemer 2010), that is, whether the 'evidential' meaning characteristic of 'must' in English is also found in the equivalent modals in the other languages; the extent to which this also applies to the modal expressions for MAY in the three languages, in that they similarly function as evidential markers; and the degree to which in the examples of evidential extensions there is some presence or indication of overt or implicit evidence in the co-text (De Haan 2009). The data consists of naturally occurring examples of epistemic uses of these modals, randomly selected from spoken and written corpora in the three languages (BNC, CORLEC-UAM, CESJD-UCM). Our approach is based on studies on the conceptual domains of evidentiality and modality as subcategories of a general domain of epistemicity, and the criteria for the distinction between these domains, developed by Boye and Harder (2009) and Boye (2012), and on studies on the functional parameters of markers of evidentiality and their cross-linguistic variation (Plungian 2001; Aikhenvald 2004; Hansen and De Haan 2009; Diewald and Smirnova 2010, inter alia). The analysis of the data, based on the unified criteria for our database (Wiemer and Stathi 2010), will focus on the evidential functions and subfunctions of these markers (inference based on direct perception, on non-perceptual evidence, on hearsay, etc.), and their distributional features, mostly scope, lexical and semantic restrictions and co-occurrence with other modal or evidential expressions. The paper will also discuss quantitative results regarding the typicality of epistemic vs. non-epistemic meanings, and evidential functions of these markers in the three languages. Preliminary results point to significant differences between Basque and English or Spanish, in that epistemic meaning and cases of evidential extensions are highly restricted in the modal expressions in Basque.

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The concept of the norm in a nearly extinct language without literacy.

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The notion of a language norm is strongly associated with the language standardisation process, development of orthography and literacy, and the rise of literature (cf. Linn, McLelland 2002; Crowley 2003; Deumert, Vandebussche 2003; Deumert 2004; Locher, Strässler 2008). Usually a norm is supported by conscious linguistic activities, such as compiling normative dictionaries, grammars and textbooks. Nevertheless, the idea

of a norm is also relevant for the speakers of languages that do not have a written tradition (Ickovich 1968).

In our presentation we will analyse how a norm is perceived by the speakers of two almost extinct Finnic languages – Votic and Ingrian – that are spoken on the territory of Russia and do not have a written variety nowadays. The study is based on the field materials that we have been collecting during the past 10 years. Apart from obvious cases (e.g. building ungrammatical forms or violating basic syntactic rules), there are many other factors that can cause a conflict between the real discourse and the speakers' conception of a norm. Among them are:

- a) The attitude towards loan words and code switching. There are plenty of borrowings in spontaneous speech, but if a native speaker is asked whether a certain loan word exists in the language, a typical answer is "This is not a correct word". Code-switching is usual for many speakers, but the same speakers often regard the texts recorded from their neighbours as poor language if they hear Russian phrases in the recording.
- b) Communicative and pragmatic factors. The sensitivity of the speakers to the purity of their language decreases depending on the discourse type in the direction elicitation > narrative > conversation.
- c) The use of discourse markers such as "that is", "I say", etc. is often considered as "impure speech".
- d) Sub-dialectal variants are often interpreted as incorrect language.

Our analysis shows that the idea of a norm is relevant for every speaker. Moreover, speakers of unwritten languages can be more sensitive about the idea of a "pure" language than speakers of languages with a long-lasting literary tradition. The statement by Havránek (1964: 415) about a literary language giving a stronger awareness of a norm should be reconsidered taking into account the specific understanding of the norm in an unwritten language. In the latter, norms are highly individual and depend significantly on psychological characteristics of a person (e.g. there are both "conservatives" and "innovators" among the speakers, and their attitude to the norm is crucially different). Additionally, the understanding of a norm strongly depends on a particular communicative situation.

In an unwritten language, norms are not imposed on a native speaker. What we observed in languages on the verge of extinction, is that a speaker often feels as "a keeper of the language" and takes it as his duty to maintain and protect the norm. As a result, different perception of what is "normal" can cause conflicts among the speakers (and also among researchers of the language).

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What's in a dialogic construction? Conversational functions of Modern Greek *ela*.

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The conventional aspects of naturally occurring dialogue have been the object of several studies that seek to

integrate conversational regularities with grammatical theory. Constructionally-oriented work, in particular, has recently veered in the direction of identifying formal and semantic-pragmatic features of patterns pertaining to supra-clause conversational language, extending constructional methodology to the analysis of dialogic constructions (Fried and Östman 2005, Linell, 2009, Ariel 2010, Fischer 2010, Fried 2011). In this light, we investigate extended uses of Modern Greek *ela* (2nd person singular imperative of the verb *erxome* 'come') as a conversational-turn opener to express disagreement with a previous statement (i), or rejection of the speech act force of a preceding utterance (ii):

(i) -*Vlepo...vlepo...Vlepo esena pandu* 'I see...I see...I see you everywhere'
 -*Ela aiðies, tetrimeno, banal, pes oti vlepis kati alo* 'Come, (this is) nonsense, too common, banal, say that you see something else'

(ii) -*Ti? Pu ine afta?* 'What? Where are they?'
 -*Ela tora, min kanis pos ðen kseris!* 'Come now, don't pretend you do not know'

Researching the pattern in the two major corpora of Modern Greek (GkWaC, HNC) reveals both conventional, systematic features of this use and a great amount of variation. The former include a) the utterance initial, turn non-initial position of *ela*, b) highly entrenched collocations with items like *tora* ('now'), *re* (colloquial attention getter), and *omos* ('however'), c) emphatic stress on the first syllable of *ela* and prosodic grouping with the following word, and d) a prototypical function of the speaker's distancing herself from the interlocutor's preceding utterance. Variation occurs both at the level of the pragmatic function, as when *ela* co-occurs with the intensifying particle *de* expressing agreement with a previous speaker's assessment of an event as counter-to expectation (i.e. the speaker "agrees to disagree"), e.g. (iii),

(iii) - *pos mia episkepsi pu tin anemene i kivernisi os sotiria, ejine katara?*
 'How come that a visit expected by the government to be a salvation turned out to be a curse?'
Ela de.
 'Exactly!'

and at the level of text-type, as in the case of the subtype *ela (omos) pu*. The latter can appear in non-conversational texts, such as narratives, in which it serves to evoke an opposing view (imposing, so to speak, dialogic structure), e.g. (iv):

(iv) *ne, re yamoto. ðelo ðiakopes. Ela omos pu ðen exo xrono*
 'Yes, fuck it. I want a vacation. But how, when I don't have time'

Keeping track of morpho-syntactic and semantic-pragmatic properties which derive from other basic functions of the verb, we a) attempt a principled description of the pattern and its varieties, b) explore the boundaries between constructional pragmatics and online inferencing, c) test the appropriateness and limitations of the constructional framework for interactional analysis, extending earlier attempts at integrating the communicative dimension (e.g. Fillmore 1997, Lambrecht 2004) to the domain of dialogue.

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**Borrowed prepositions: contact-induced forms, meanings and structures
in Slavic minority languages in Romance environments.**

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Prepositions, as many languages show (see among others Heine *et al.*, 1991; Traugott/Dasher, 2002), are a very dynamic lexical category, as they often follow slow and deep lexicalization and grammaticalization processes. Frequently, these changes are more evident in adverbial (or secondary) prepositions, even though they can also occur in primary prepositions (see Manzelli 1988; Rizzi 1988).

As for other sections of a language system, also for prepositional forms changes can be favoured or emphasized by language contact. Furthermore, prepositions are part of a lexical category that is particularly interesting for language contact research, because they involve both and lexical morphosyntactic levels, for the role they play in prepositional phrases.

In this paper, I propose an analysis of some prepositions and prepositional phrases in the Slavic language of Molise (SLM), a minority language subject to deep influence by the Romance language varieties (Italian and the local Romance dialect) which it is in contact with, but still very rich and close to its Slavic origin from a morphological point of view.

Among the forms of the SLM, we can find some prepositions of clear Romance origin, which show different levels of semantic bleaching and morphosyntactic integration into the Slavic system. Some of them have completely replaced the original Slavic forms, reproducing exactly the same morphosyntactic context, while others fit just partly the original constructions, as the opposition between stative and allative forms disappeared.

We can find also quite different conditions for the constructions introduced by a borrowed preposition with the temporal meaning 'in' (*fra na misac* 'in a month'): it has to be followed by accusative or nominal forms, depending on the Slavic or Romance origin of the numerals present in the phrase (as 'one' and 'four' are the only two numerals not borrowed in SML from Romance varieties), as if the accumulation of borrowed forms determines a departure from the morphosyntactic original rule.

Even though the number of borrowed prepositional forms is low, we can find language contact outcomes also in the Slavic prepositions which modified or extended functions or syntactic contexts, most of the times according to a process of calque from the equivalent Romance items and structures. See the Balkan Slavic form *do* 'from', which assumes an opposite meaning in SLM; or the extended use of prepositional structure for the expression of the primary functions of genitive and instrumental cases; or, finally, the grammaticalization of some adverbial forms, which are used, nowadays, also as prepositions, as it occurs in Romance varieties (e.g. *zgora* 'above, on' as the Italian equivalent 'sopra'). One of this grammaticalized adverbs expresses also core local meanings ('at', 'on').

I will present the above-mentioned phenomena in terms of hierarchies of 'borrowability' (Heine/Kuteva 2008; Matras 2007), also considering the type of preposition (primary or secondary) involved, the classification and typology of the morphological cases and their functions (core or peripheral ones). Furthermore, I will compare the SLM data with those in other similar Romance-Slavic contexts, as in the Slovenian dialects spoken in the valleys of Eastern Alps.

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Experiential and cognitive domain overlap in English and Spanish oral and written production.

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This paper aims to analyse the evidential uses and meanings of the verb “see” and its Spanish counterpart “ver” in oral and written discourse. The evidential expression “see” is typically found indicating an external perceptual source and a direct mode of knowing; the paper will be also focused on those other occurrences of “see” and “ver” in which there may be an external source yet an indirect, inferential mode of knowledge. Other non-perceptual, cognitive internal uses of “see” and “ver”, associated with an indirect mode of knowing will also be considered. These cognitive uses are motivated by the metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING, itself an example of the broader metaphor MIND AS BODY (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, 1993; Lakoff, 1987; Sweetser, 1990). In the conceptual metaphor, vision is often used as a source domain intended to convey knowledge in those cases in which visual perception implies a more direct and internal type of knowledge.

The analysis of the occurrences of these two evidential markers –“see” and “ver”– will be based on classifications of evidentials on the basis of the following features: mode of access to the evidence, direct vs. indirect evidence (Plungian 2001); whether the source is internal or external to the speaker/writer (Squartini 2008), and the domain of experience associated with the type of evidence, perceptual (*I see P*) or cognitive (*I know P*) (Marín-Arrese 2009). More specifically, we will draw on the classification proposed by Marín-Arrese (in press), which takes into account the previous parameters, in a non-hierarchical way, resulting in the following categories: (a) ‘*Experiential, Direct, External*’ (EDE); (b) ‘*Experiential, Indirect, External*’ (EIE); (c) ‘*Cognitive, Direct, Internal*’ (CDI); (d) ‘*Cognitive, Indirect, Internal*’ (CII).

The analysis proposed will thus have a cross-linguistic approach, and will be aimed at attending to possible differences in the expected uses of the English “see” and the Spanish “ver” in oral and written texts. With this intention, the data considered for the analysis will be taken from the English BNC (oral and written) and the Spanish CREA (oral and written) corpora.

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Spelling and social identities in the French Atlantic World.

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This paper examines the use of standard and non-standard spellings as they reflect the growing standardization of French in the 18th and 19th c., and the major social reorganization following the French Revolution. Since the 16th c. (Catach 2001, Paveau and Rosier 2008), French spelling has been the subject of vigorous debate between conservative grammarians and advocates of a spelling system more closely aligned with the phonological system (Morin 2011). In contrast, few researchers have examined the spelling system as applied to written family papers, particularly those of unskilled writers (Ernst and Wolf 2002, Martineau 2007). Such documents provide some understanding of the tensions between the oral and written codes; they also reveal how the political discourse intertwines with the linguistic discourse.

We first present the *Corpus de français familier ancien*, a major corpus of more than 15,000 unpublished French family letters and diaries dating from the 17th to the 19th c. Studies in sociolinguistics have shown the need to rely on large corpora to reveal social and linguistic interactions between speakers. In historical sociolinguistics, large corpora based on different types of written documents are even more necessary because there is no record of the spoken word, and its characteristics must be deduced from written evidence. In order to assess those characteristics, however, we have to understand the writing strategies of uneducated and educated writers, and the written conventions they were confronted to.

We compare spelling patterns and other linguistic conventions in everyday language as used by writers from different social classes, born in France and in North America. We show that France, during the 18th c., high- and middle-class writers show wide variations in spelling.

However, their non-standard spellings differ from those of less-educated writers, which show a number of phonological and grammatical non-standard features not found in the writings of the better-educated: absent or misspelled spelling agreements; agglutination; misinterpretation of verbal endings and so on. We show that these writers produce hybrid documents, as they try to reproduce standardized spelling but fail to prevent regional spoken features from slipping into their writings.

By the beginning of the 19th c., a strong sense of nationhood had developed that was conducive to political promotion of standardization and new linguistic models in France, and helped to make standard spelling an important social indicator of “linguistic hygiene” among the higher social classes (Schlieben-Lange 1998). By comparing 19th c. spellings in France and in the French American colonies, we show the relationship between the circulation of cultural models – through mobility, increased literacy and so on – and the transfer of new linguistic usages from France to Canada. We also discuss how in Canada, debate over spelling and local written conventions was strongly influenced by political positions in the 19th c., and still is.

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Contact-induced grammatical changes in Circassian languages.

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The NW Caucasian languages are clearly divided into two rather divergent groups, Circassian (including Adyghe and Kabardian) and Abkhaz-Abaza, with the position of the extinct Ubykh language being still unsettled (Kumaxov 1976, Chirikba 1996). Circassian languages differ from Abkhaz and Abaza in a number of typologically salient features (Hewitt (ed.) 1989, Hewitt 2004):

- (1) Their consonant systems are significantly simpler
- (2) They do not have any traces of tonal accent
- (3) They have case grammatical marking (Abkhaz and Abaza have only an adverbial case)
- (4) They do not have gender
- (5) They lack the inclusive / exclusive distinction in the 1st pl. pronouns

Most of these features are well documented as playing a role in contact-induced language change (e.g. Thomason 2001, Matras, et al. (ed.) 2006), and the aim of the present paper will be to establish whether the typological differences between the two major branches of NW Caucasian languages could be attributable to contact-induced influences affecting Circassian languages, but not Abkhaz-Abaza which seems to be the more archaic branch of NW Caucasian (Abdokov 1981, Kumaxov 1989, Chirikba 1996). The focus will be on the grammatical features mentioned above, but some independent lexical evidence for language contact affecting Circassian, but not Abkhaz-Abaza, will also be discussed (Šagirov 1977).

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Ideology and language history: establishing and modifying norms of the Ukrainian literary language during the 1920-1980s.

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The paper explores the ideological agenda behind language changes as an independent factor affecting the structure of the Ukrainian literary language. I will try to answer two questions: what historical periods saw the establishment and modification of the norms of the Ukrainian literary language, and which language changes can be treated as ideologically motivated?

Theoretical framework of the research draws on the studies in historical linguistics elucidating external causes for language change. The paper employs sociolinguistic approach supplied by the contrastive and correlation methods. The linguistic material was collected from grammar books, dictionaries, orthographic guides, translations, linguistic research, and Communist Party documents issued in the period in question. The expected results will include answers to the questions that are new for historical linguistics.

1. In 1905, after the ban on the Ukrainian language was lifted, the language started to develop its social functions during 1917-1920 (after the February Revolution) and 1925-1932 (during the Ukrainization

policy initiated by the Soviet authorities). Social demand for the Ukrainian literary language determined the codification of its norms. The newly established Academy of Sciences and the Institute for the Ukrainian Language documented its orthographic, lexical, morphological, syntactic and stylistic features based on the vernacular with references to the manuscripts and printed texts.

However, after 1933, the Bolsheviks changed their course. Ukraine experienced a new phase of language development originating from the idea of the Russian language as a language of international communication (it soon became a mandatory subject in all non-Russian schools (1938) and was proclaimed a second mother tongue for the non-Russian nations of the USSR (1961). In 1971, the Party announced the birth of a new historical community – the Soviet people with the Russian language as a means of communication). The endeavor to promote functioning of the Russian language brought about repressions for the Ukrainian linguists who had participated in the codification of the Ukrainian language norms in 1917-1923. All the teaching materials of the Ukrainian language, all the accomplished normalization of its literary form in dictionaries, grammar books and in the accepted orthography were banned. Party documents started to deny the Ukrainian language its independent historical development. In 1952, the journal *Voprosyazykoznaniya* announced it an unpromising language.

2. Under the Party directives, dictionaries and grammar books of the Ukrainian language, especially since the 1950s, started to introduce new features uncharacteristic to the spirit of the Ukrainian language. In terms of *word-building norms*: administrative replacement of all the inherently Ukrainian word-building models, which had been systematized in linguistic papers of the 1920s, with the Russian word-building models. In terms of *lexical norms*: requirement to document words from the shared lexical fund of the USSR nations, internationalisms, loan translations and calques from Russian, borrowings from other languages via the Russian medium; rejection of Ukrainian synonyms different from their Russian counterparts. In terms of *grammar norms*: encouragement for active participles uncharacteristic of the Ukrainian language but typical for Russian; proscription of grammatical structures originating from the Western Ukrainian variant of the Ukrainian language. In terms of *stylistic norms*: minimization of colloquial, obsolete or dialectal forms in the translations from foreign languages, active usage of Church Slavonic words with stylistic purposes (via the Russian medium).

Conclusions. 1. The norms of the Ukrainian literary language were established and modified during the two periods regulated by the Communist Party authorities: the Ukrainization (up until 1932) and the Russification (from 1933 onwards). 2. All the norms that were administratively implanted and untypical for the nature of the Ukrainian language, and which modified its internal structure in order to approximate it to Russian, should be deemed ideologically motivated.

A massively parallel corpus of Bible texts and its use for language comparison.

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This paper presents recent developments in our parallel text project whose aim is to collect and analyze massively parallel texts (in the strictest sense of the word; cf. Cysouw and Wälchli 2007). The aim of our methodologically oriented contribution is twofold: First, we report on our ongoing effort to create a huge cross-linguistic resource of Bible texts and how it can be made available to the linguistic community despite copyright issues. Second, we discuss our approach to automatically analyze massively parallel texts and what insights can be gained for questions of linguistic theory.

There is a long tradition in linguistic research to use Bible texts as a parallel corpus for language comparison. However, there is no resource for linguists to access Bible texts for a larger number of languages. This is also due to the copyright of the texts. In our project, we make Bible texts available to other linguists in the form of (sparse) matrices. The matrices list all the word forms in the Bible texts and indicate in which Bible verses a given word form occurs. In this form, they can also serve as the input for cross-linguistic (onomasiological) studies (e.g., van der Auwera et al. 2005).

Although the matrix representation does not contain any information about word order, it is still possible to induce interesting information about the similarity of languages and/or constructions from the co-occurrence of word forms across languages. Mayer and Cysouw (2012) have shown that it is possible to cluster languages with respect to their translational equivalents of the English question word 'who', solely on the basis of the co-occurrence statistics of word forms. In the present paper, we discuss further ways in which a simultaneous alignment of word forms can yield interesting insights on how certain functional domains are

encoded in the world's languages.

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Ossetic spatial system: Iranian or Caucasian?

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Ossetic is one of the few Indo-European languages which have been in close contact with the Caucasian languages for nearly two thousand years and have developed some specific areal features. The Ossetic spatial system comprises spatial cases — Allative, Ablative, Inessive, Superessive (according to [Belyaev 2010], there are two additional newly grammaticalized cases: Directive and Recessive), a large number of postpositions, very few prepositions and a complex system of locative preverbs that denote both spatial and deictic parameters. The main goal of this paper is to analyze which features of the Ossetic system are inherited or have derived from the Iranian ancestor and which are the result of areal contact. The traditional view, stated by Abaev (1949: 75–80, 518–525) and supported by many other researchers (Isaev 1987; Achvlediani 1963; Kambolov 2006), is that the Ossetic spatial system is structurally Caucasian (South Caucasian according to most researchers) but constructed from Iranian elements.

However, thorough analysis of the data of Eastern Iranian languages shows that this is not exactly so. In fact, although the Ossetic case system is undoubtedly similar to the Georgian one, it has its counterparts in other Eastern Iranian languages: the tendency for the postpositional use of functional words is clear in most of the languages of this group, and Ossetic only manifests the extreme point of the usual path of grammaticalization — the development of agglutinative cases from postpositions. For example, Yagnobi, the genetically closest language to Ossetic that is currently spoken, found in Tajikistan, also has many simple and complex postpositions (with spatial and other meanings) and very few prepositions (most of them borrowed from Tajik). Primary postpositions in Yagnobi are grammaticalized markers with status similar to the new Ossetian cases (Superessive, Allative, Directive, Recessive). Primary postpositions (along with common prepositions and postpositions) are also widely used in most of the Eastern Iranian languages (Pashto, Pamir languages, as shown in [OIJ 1987]) and some Western Iranian languages (Tat, Gilyaki, Mazandarani). Thus, the tendency for the postpositional use of spatial markers is intrinsic to Iranian languages. Besides, as pointed out in (Belyaev 2010), the new case systems emerged in Georgian and Ossetic simultaneously, so “the direction of contact influence cannot be clearly established”. Analysis of the semantics of Ossetic spatial markers also shows more similarity with Iranian languages than with specific Caucasian spatial concepts (for example, ‘in close contact’, ‘in a mass’, ‘at the end’ and so on).

As far as the preverbal system is concerned, it has no correlations in other modern Eastern Iranian languages with their lexicalized Old Iranian preverbs. Quite the opposite, Ossetic has a very productive preverbal system which has striking similarity to the Georgian system both in structure and semantics.

We claim that the presence of locative cases and postpositions in Ossetic should not be explained by external influence only. The preverbal system (which has dialectal differences) has definitely evolved under the influence of the Kartvelian languages from Iranian elements.

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Optional accusative case marking in Shua (Khoe-Kwadi, Botswana).

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This paper investigates the motivations for the use vs. non-use of accusative case marking in Shua, an endangered Khoe-Kwadi language (Güldemann 2004; Güldemann and Elderkin 2010; Voßen 1997) spoken in north-eastern Botswana, in the vicinity of the Makgadikgadi Pans. As in related languages such as Nama (Hagman 1973:112), Khwe (Kilian-Hatz 2005:51-52), Naro, ||Ani, and Buga (Güldemann 2000:115), we find in Shua a postposition $\lambda a \sim -a$ that marks – among other grammatical relations – the object (direct and/or indirect) of transitive and ditransitive clauses. When asked in elicitation sessions speakers of Shua generally reject as ungrammatical pronominal objects and gender-marked objects that are not followed by the accusative $\lambda a \sim -a$, and reject as ungrammatical inanimate and most lower order animate objects that are marked by this postposition; for human and some higher order animate objects there is a tendency for unmarked objects to be rejected as ungrammatical, though there are differences of opinion, and speakers are not always consistent in what they reject as ungrammatical or accept as grammatical.

Examination of actual instances of usage, however, reveals a rather different picture, in which there is far from complete consistency in case marking according to animacy. Thus pronominal and gender-marked objects are sometimes encountered without accusative marking, as shown by 0, where the indirect object pronominal is not followed by the accusative postposition. On the other hand, lower order animate objects are sometimes found with accusative marking, as illustrated by example 0.

//abo: to: kha:-ta-re
shoe 2pl give-PST-INT
'Did he give you shoes.'
Aba: ke katse λa pa:
dog PRS cat ACC bite
'The dog will bite the cat.'

In its function as an accusative case marker, therefore, λa is not obligatory on any type of object NP; nor perhaps is it precluded from any type of object NP. In terms of Author (2012) accusative case marking is optional in Shua. This paper explores the motivations for usage and non-usage of $\lambda a \sim -a$ ACC through examination of a range of different discourse types, including narratives and casual conversation. It is argued that the situation is consistent with the proposals of Author (2012): presence and absence relate to joint attention (as per e.g. Tomasello 2003). Specifically, presence relates to the dimension of foregrounding of the Undergoer or its patentivity, while absence relates to backgrounding of the same phenomena. Additional evidence for this proposal comes from the spoken utterances elicited in response to a set of video stimuli designed specifically to test the above hypothesis.

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Emergence of polar questions in discourse: from epistemic modality to interrogativity.

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This paper focuses on the interrogative use of epistemically modalized sentences in Estonian. We investigate the emergence of polar questions where variously modalized sentences are positioned on a scale of asking confirmation about the speaker's assumption, and whether one can observe a tendency in modality markers or constructions to grammaticalize into interrogative markers.

Epistemically modalized statements, e.g. *Äkki Peter sõidab Londonisse* 'perhaps Peter will travel to London' and questions based on the latter, e.g. *Äkki Peter sõidab Londonisse?*, reveal explicitly the subjective component of the question, i.e. the uncertainty of the speaker's knowledge. Because modal particles, in turn, have developed from words with non-modal meanings (*äkki* 'perhaps' < 'suddenly'), this type of question represents the development nonsubjectification > subjectification > intersubjectification (cf. Traugott 2010). The paper observes grammaticalization processes of the interrogative constructions in Estonian in the previous centuries and in the modern language; some examples from other languages of the Circum-Baltic region will be discussed as well (e.g. Beijering 2012). Our analysis is usage-based and combines the syntactic, semantic, and cognitive approaches to sentences in discourse and text as major constructions, which include markers of supra-sentential features and functions. The analysis is based on the language corpora of the University of Tartu: Corpus of Old Written Estonian, Corpus of Estonian Literary Language 1890–1990, Corpus of New Media, and Corpus of Spoken Estonian.

We suggest the following sequence in the genesis of speech acts: assertion of a proposition > asking something about the proposition; concerning utterance types: statement > question; concerning sentence types: declarative sentence > interrogative sentence.

The development mechanism of the polar question could be explained by the pragmatic-logical structure of the question, which has two principal components:

1) presupposition of the question (evaluation of the truth of the proposition and its negation)

$\text{nec } P \vee \text{nec } (\text{neg } P) \leftrightarrow \text{poss } P \text{ and } \text{poss } (\text{neg } P)$

2) directive function – to state whether the proposition or its negation is true.

Analysis of these two components in the framework of (inter)subjectivity shows that the presupposition indicating uncertainty of the speaker's knowledge is the subjective component which is directed at the speaker while the directive component is inter-subjective and is directed at the recipient. In case of a suitable relation between the knowledge of the speaker and the listener, several utterances in a conversation could acquire an interrogative interpretation (cf. Heritage 2012). One could suggest a possible alternative, follow-up to or inference from the previous conversation, or epistemic modalization of the sentence content. Sentences that typically form such utterances could, in fact, remain fluctuating on the scale of interrogative and declarative, thus acting as a fertile breeding ground for questions. However, some of them have developed into structures of interrogative sentences, where question markers can be, for example, particles of coordinative origin, as is the case in Estonian, Livonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian (Metslang et al. 2011) or particles of epistemic origin, as in Latgalian (Nau 2011) and colloquial Estonian.

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Motion constructions in contact languages: cross-linguistic evidence from APiCS.

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Data on a wide variety of contact languages from the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures (APiCS)*, Michaelis et al. 2013) show that intransitive and transitive motion constructions often show identical marking of goal (motion-to) and source (motion-from). This is rather different from the situation in the European lexifiers. In French, for instance, the marking of motion-to (*dans* 'in, into') is different from motion-from (*de* 'from') in both intransitive and transitive constructions:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) a. intransitive motion-to
<i>Je vais dans la cuisine.</i>
'I go into the kitchen.' | b. intransitive motion-from
<i>Je sors de la cuisine.</i>
'I go out of the kitchen.' |
| (2) a. transitive motion-to
<i>Je pousse le carton dans la cuisine.</i>
'I push the box into the kitchen.' | b. transitive motion-from
<i>Je tire le carton de la cuisine.</i>
'I pull the box out of the kitchen.' |

But in a number of contact languages in APiCS the four situations corresponding to (1a-b) and (2a-b) are marked *in exactly the same way* irrespectively of orientation. In Seychelles Creole (Michaelis and Rosalie 2013), for instance, all four constructions are marked by the preposition *dan*:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (3) a. <i>mon al dan bwa</i>
1SG go in forest
'I go into the forest.' | b. <i>mon sorti dan bwa</i>
1SG come.from in forest
'I come out of the forest.' |
| (4) a. <i>Marcel ti pus Peter dan trou</i>
Marcel PAST push Peter in hole
'Marcel pushed Peter into the hole.' | b. <i>Marcel ti redi Peter dan trou</i>
Marcel PAST pull Peter in hole
'Marcel pulled Peter out of the hole.' |

Here the hearer must rely on the semantics of the verb to infer the correct interpretation. Other contact languages represented in APiCS that show the same or very similar polysemous marking patterns are, for instance, the French-based Caribbean creoles, Early Sranan, African contact languages (Krio, Sango, Lingala, Fanakalo), the two other French-based Indian Ocean creoles (Mauritian and Reunion Creole), several Chabacano varieties of the Philippines, as well as Tok Pisin and Bislama in the Pacific.

Such cases of source-goal nondistinctness have occasionally been discussed for other languages (Lehmann 1992, Wälchli and Zúñiga 2006), but their widespread occurrence in creole and other contact languages is a new finding.

After presenting data from a range of languages and a world map of 76 contact languages, we will argue tentatively that these marking patterns are not due to simplification strategies during the process of pidginization or creolization, but to substrate influence: The speakers of the various substrate languages (slaves or indentured labourers) have retained these patterns from their native languages in the developing contact languages.

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The syntax of the Latin perfect.

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The data. For the formation of the perfect, Latin displays a morphological split. While the active paradigm has synthetic forms (1-b), the inactive conjugation exhibits analytic forms, (2-b). Moreover, there is a correspondence between *-R* morphology in the *infectum* and periphrastic perfect in the *perfectum* (2 a-b):

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| (1) | a. laud-o
praise-1sg
“I praise” | b. laud-a-v-i
praise –Past-1sg
“I praised/have praised” |
| (2) | a. laud-o-r
praise-1sg-R
“I am praised” | b. laudatus sum
praised-prt BE-1sg
“I have been praised/was praised” |

Deponents constitute a special case: although they are not true passives, they display inactive morphology, (3):

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---|---|
| (3) | a. mir-o-r
be astonished-1sg-R
“I am astonished” | b. miratus sum
astonished-prt BE- 1sg
“I was astonished/have been astonished” | c. *mira-v-i
be astonished –Past-1sg |
|-----|--|---|---|

Aims. In this paper, we would like to analyse the syntactic structure of Latin *-R* constructions in order to understand the nature of the Latin perfect split. In this way, we will be able to evaluate the relation between syntax and morphology in the Latin verbal domain.

Previous analyses. According to some literature, deponents would just constitute a case of syntax-morphology mismatch (Baerman 2006, 2007) and the occurrence of analytic perfect would not encode any salient syntactic difference (Embick 2000). We will show that such an approach cannot be correct, as it encounters both empirical and theoretical problems.

Proposal. We wish to propose that the occurrence of *-R* morphology crucially reflects a specific argumental configuration, whereby the external argument (EA) is not first merged in [Spec, VoiceP], but in a lower position in the structure.

Analysis. (1) and (2) differ as for the organization of arguments within the verbal domain. In (1), Voice, a functional head only present in the case of active syntax, hosts the agentive EA in its Specifier, see the structure in (4) (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2004; Alexiadou, Rathert and von Stechow 2003, Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Schäfer 2006 and related work):

- (4) [TP[Asp/MoodP[VoiceP[vP [VP]]]]].

Conversely, in the inactive conjugation, Voice is not present in the clause, (5):

- (5) [TP[Asp/MoodP [vP [VP]]]]

In the structure in (5), the EA must be merged lower down and consequently assumes a non agentive theta-role. We claim this fact to be crucial for triggering *-R* morphology. From this perspective, true passives and unaccusatives clearly follow: their S is first-merged as IA. Moreover, we can also give account for deponents, as their S is merged in a dedicated Spec position within *v* (in the spirit of Folli and Harley 2005). We will show that a number of syntactic-semantic properties of *-R* constructions descend from this first-merge position. Moreover, we will illustrate that this proposal is consistent with much empirical evidence.

Back to the perfect. Within this analysis, the occurrence of analytic perfect can be straightforwardly understood as the *perfectum* counterpart of *-R*. This would predict an analytic form to show up also in other inactive *perfectum* contexts. This prediction is borne out, both in the finite, (6), and in the infinite paradigm, (7):

(6)	<i>miratus</i> astonished-prt "I had been astonished"	<i>eram</i> BE- impf-1sg	(7)	<i>miratum</i> astonished-prt "to have been astonished"	<i>esse</i> BE-inf
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An experimental investigation into antecedent preferences of null and overt subject pronouns in Serbian and Croatian.

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This paper reports the results of two parallel experimental studies on antecedent preferences of subject pronouns in Serbian and Croatian, comparing them with findings from previous work on Italian. All of the above are null-subject languages, i.e. their subject pronouns can be either overt or null (omitted). The distribution of the two forms is regulated by discourse-pragmatic factors: null pronouns are typically used for maintaining the discourse topic, while overt pronouns are used for changing it (Sorace 2000). Carminati (2002) argues that null and overt subject pronouns in Italian also have different antecedent preferences in intra-sentential anaphora: null pronouns prefer the subject antecedent, i.e. the most accessible discourse entity, whereas overt pronouns prefer a non-subject antecedent, i.e. one that is less accessible. While the first principle extends beyond Italian, and is likely to be universal, the second one is not obeyed by all null-subject languages: Filiaci (2010) shows that in Spanish the use of overt pronouns is not restricted by an accessibility bias; she proposes that the discrepancy between these two closely related languages could be due to the nature of their pronouns, Italian having the strong, and Spanish the weak type (in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke 1999).

As Serbian and Croatian possess strong subject pronouns, we wanted to explore whether they pattern with Italian with regard to antecedent preferences. The participants in our studies were 56 native speakers of Serbian and 48 native speakers of Croatian. We employed a picture-selection task adapted from the Italian task originally used by Tsimpli et al. (2004); two parallel versions were created for Serbian and Croatian. The task was implemented with E-Prime (Serbian) and SuperLab (Croatian) software, and it required of participants to read sentences on a computer screen and match each sentence to one of three pictures. The sentences contained null and overt pronouns in forward and backward anaphora contexts, i.e. with the pronoun following (*Portir pozdravlja poštara dok pro/on otvara vrata* "The porter greets the postman while pro/he opens the door") and preceding (*Dok pro/on otvara vrata, portir pozdravlja poštara* "While pro/he opens the door, the porter greets the postman") the candidate antecedents; the pictures represented the antecedent as the matrix subject, the matrix complement or an extralinguistic referent. We predicted that, as in Italian, the participants would prefer the matrix subject as the antecedent for null pronouns, and the matrix complement for overt pronouns. Another prediction based on previous studies on Italian was that in backward anaphora the pronoun would also be allowed to co-refer with the extralinguistic referent.

All predictions were confirmed. Native speakers of Serbian and Croatian expressed nearly identical relative preferences in antecedent assignment as their Italian counterparts (Figure 1; cf. Tsimpli et al. 2004, a.o.). These results point to a potential universality of antecedent preferences for null subjects, and they confirm the relevance of pronoun type for the choice of preferred overt subject antecedents.

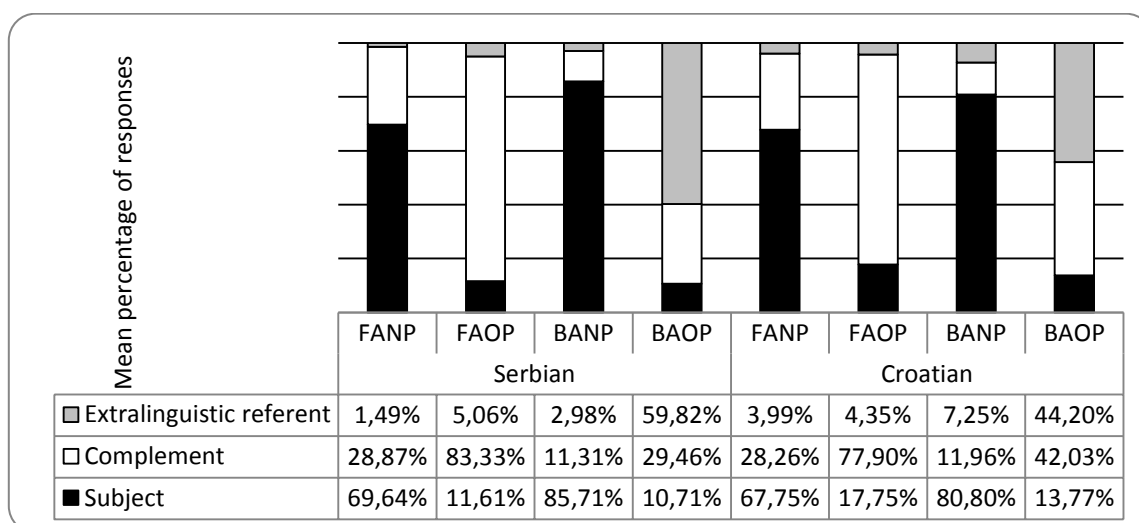


Figure 1. Mean percentages of responses by experimental condition (FA=forward anaphora, BA=backward anaphora; NP=null pronoun, OP=overt pronoun)

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Case distribution within a noun phrase: implications for a theory of case.

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It is well known that case assignment in numeral constructions in Finno-Ugric and Slavonic languages is difficult to analyse. In Estonian, for example, numerals other than 'one' have their complements in partitive (genitive in Slavonic) when occurring in nominative (1) or what is often referred to as accusative in the object position (2). The complement of the numeral is not marked for plural, although semantic plural is assumed. If the numeral bears a different case-marker than nominative, then all the adnominal elements have the same, homogeneous case-marking (3). As noted by, e.g. Brattico (2011), this heterogeneous case distribution, as in (1) and (2), poses a problem for those theories whereby syntactic case is first assigned to a whole phrase and then distributed to the adnominal elements within a noun phrase by some special concord rule (e.g. Chomsky 2001) or feature-sharing rule (e.g. Malouf 2000 in HPSG).

- (1) *kaks pliiatsit*
two.NOM.SG pencil.PART.SG
'two pencils'
- (2) *Ma leidsin [kaks pliiatsit].*
1SG.NOM find.PST.1SG two.NOM.SG/ACC.SG pencil.PART.SG
'I found two pencils.'
- (3) *kahele teravale pliiatsile*
two.SG.ALLATIVE sharp.SG.ALLATIVE pencil.SG.ALLATIVE
'onto two sharp pencils'

Instead, Brattico (2011) argues for a system of case where case concord is a 'byproduct' of one-to-many case assignment. Specifically, case is assigned by lexical/functional heads (case assigners) to lexical/functional heads (case assignees) and the latter may receive more than one case at a time. Those assigned cases then compete for realization. Although the case assignment mechanism offered in Brattico (2011) works well with numeral constructions, it falls short in the light of another type of data in Estonian, viz. adjectives which do not agree with the noun head in any case but occur in partitive instead (4).

- (4) *kollast värvi pliiats /pliiatsid /pliiatsitele*
yellow.PART.SG colour.PART.SG pencil.NOM.SG / pencil.NOM.PL /pencil.PL.ALLATIVE
'a yellow pencil/ yellow pencils /onto yellow pencils'

Further, in constructions similar to those containing a numeral, i.e. quantificational constructions, differential case-marking may occur in the complement position of a quantifier (5), where partitive alternates with relative case.

- (5) *osa poisse / poistest*
part.NOM.SG boy.PART.PL / boy.PL.ELATIVE
'some boys / some of the boys'

The data above pose several questions, such as how to account for (i) the differential case assignment in (5); (ii) partitive in certain adjectival phrases, and (iii) any heterogeneous case distribution apart from numeral constructions. One of the solutions, although a rather radical one, is to rethink the concept of case so that the function of case-marking comes across as motivated, rather than 'purposeless feature distribution' (Brattico 2011: 1065). We argue for an approach to case which treats overt morphological case-markers as directly providing specifications about content and structure, albeit for some case in a weak, underspecified way. Our theoretical preference is to unify syntactic and semantic explanations of case in terms of incremental, context-dependent and sequential language processing, since the underlying assumption is that parsing is the basic task for which the language faculty is defined as in Dynamic Syntax (Kempson et al. 2001, Cann et al. 2005).

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Metalinguistic awareness and linguistic normativity in children.

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The paper reports research on quantitative and qualitative aspects of the development and nature of

metalinguistic awareness in Danish children, including its normative dimensions. The research was originally conceived from a socio-cognitive perspective, where metalinguistic awareness was viewed as the explicitness of the mental representation of knowledge about language form and function (Bialystok 2001; Karmiloff-Smith 1992) and approached experimentally within a quantitative paradigm, taking macro social factors into account. The aims were to investigate a) the effect of social variables such as age, gender, literacy level, parental socio-economic status and level of education on metalinguistic development b) the extent to which metalinguistic awareness is a unitary construct; c) the difference between children's metalinguistic awareness and that of adults. Later, qualitative analyses of children's responses were undertaken to investigate how knowledge was being socially constructed in context (Jovchelovitch 2007) with the aims of adding a social and situated dimension to the cognitive conceptualisation of metalinguistic awareness, and exploring in more depth the nature of children's knowledge about, and discourse on, language matters (Roberts 2002). These analyses also allowed for a more critical approach to normativity, often assumed to be an adherence to a set of static, idealized (adult) norms rather than a situated practice that holds people responsible or accountable for their linguistic performances (Taylor 1990; Rouse 2007).

The data relate to a correction and explanation task, modeled on that of Galambos and Goldin-Meadow (1990), which involved identifying, correcting and explaining morphosyntactic errors. These were pre-recorded using a native Danish voice and presented through a computer, along with a scenario for the voice and task. Supplementary, qualitative data from a preliminary investigation of how children perceived the author, a non-native speaker, and others who 'talk differently' will also be referred to.

The quantitative results show that age and paternal socio-economic status and level of education had significant effects on task performance, although the latter could be an artifact of methodological design. Type of morphosyntactic item as well as individual task items had a significant effect (e.g. preposition vs. word order) suggesting that metalinguistic awareness is a variable and momentary construct. Adults performed much better than children but had similar problems with explanation and were not always accurate in the sense of an idealised norm, raising questions about the relationship of linguistic accuracy to normativity. The qualitative analyses reveal that children are in control of a normative discourse (e.g. not nice, not proper) but that their evaluative concepts and notions of correctness seem to develop initially in terms of what is the same or different from what they are used to (e.g. children pick up on the standard Danish pronunciation of an item and correct it to the regional dialect pronunciation). There is little evidence of sociolinguistic awareness and identity (Bennett 2011), except in relation to personal experiences (e.g. language practices of children from non-Danish backgrounds). Effects of literacy are also apparent.

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**The position of the Romanian adverbs *și, cam, mai, prea, tot* in the verbal cluster.
Accounting for the synchronic variation.**

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In Present-day Romanian, the adverbs *și* 'also; immediately', *cam* 'about; somewhat', *mai* 'also; still', *prea* 'too', *tot* 'still; continuously' are the only elements occurring within compound verbal forms. According to the literary norms (GALR I: 587), these adverbs should be placed after the verbal auxiliary, pronominal clitics or negation, and adjacent to the lexical verb (1a, 2b, 3b). However, in the spoken language, there is extensive variation, especially in the Wallachian variety (1b).

- (1) a. *Ion ți- a mai spus asta* [standard]
John you.2SG.DAT-have.3SG MAI told this
b. *Ion mai ți- a spus asta* [non-standard]
John MAI you.2SG.DAT-have.3SG. told this
'John also told you this thing'

The paper has three main goals:

I. For each of the aforementioned lexemes, to describe the general semantic specialisations that are associated with a certain position in relation to the verb (for instance: the inter-verbal aspectual *tot* vs. preverbal, concessive *tot*; inter-verbal aspectual *și* vs. additive or concessive *și*) and to account for the situations with order variation vs. impossibility of variation. For example, the adverb *mai* can be subject to order variation when the pronoun is conjoined to the verb (2) and when the verb is negated (see Rom. *numai* 'only' < Rom. *nu* 'not' + *mai* 'still' or < Lat. *non magis*; see old It. dial. *noma, nome*; Romansh *nome, nuomma* TDRG³; Sp. *no más*) (3).

- (2) a. *Mai ți- e foame?* [non-literary]
MAI you.2SG.DAT-is hunger
b. *Îți mai e foame?* [literary]
You.2SG.DAT MAI is hunger?
'Are you still hungry?'
- (3) a. *Nu mai se duce* [non-literary]
not MAI REFL.CL.ACC goes
b. *Nu se mai duce* [literary]
not REFL.CL.ACC. MAI goes
'(S)he is not going anymore'

Certain authors (Manoliu-Manea 2001; Reinheimer Rîpeanu 2004, 2005, 2010; Donazzan, Mardale 2010) have also analysed the synchronic polyfunctionality of these adverbs; however, many relevant situations remained unexplained.

II. To analyse the position of these adverbs diachronically (evolution and variation), using a corpus of texts from the XVIth–XIXth centuries. In the XVIth century, the lexemes *și, cam, mai, prea, tot* could be more freely placed within the verb phrase. However, situations of adverb preposing are also attested. Positional variation is not a matter of innovation (Frâncu 1983); the spread of the non-literary word order has been influenced by the reorganisation of verbal morphology (4), i.e., the grammaticalisation of the compound verbal forms, which is more advanced in the southern varieties (the Wallachian dialect being the typical one), as opposed to the northern varieties (e.g. Moldavian).

- (4) *mai am văzut... < mai văzut-am...*
MAI have.1SG seen MAI seen-have.1SG
'I have also seen...'

III. In the light of the much more accurate and more complete synchronic and diachronic description, to draw some implications for the theoretical issues raised in the literature on these adverbs (Dobrovie-Sorin 1999, Alboiu 2002, Monachesi 2005, Ledgeway, Lombardi 2005, Giurgea 2011).

The word order variation displayed by the adverbs *și, cam, mai, prea, tot* can be described synchronically as a dialectal variation and/or implied by semantic and pragmatic specialisations. From a diachronic perspective, this variation is the “minor” effect of a “major” process of grammaticalisation which is unevenly distributed geographically; however, the phenomena of adverb pre- and interposing can also be explained individually.

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Functions of verbal constructions in Looma narratives: a case of the Guinean dialects.

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Grammatical systems of the languages in the West-African area are sometimes called discourse-oriented because of the importance of discursive rules determining the use of their grammatical markers [Contini-Morava 1989, Blass 1990, Plungian 2004]. I will consider specificity of use of verbal constructions expressing TAM-categories in the Looma language (Mande < Niger-Congo). The analyzed corpus of texts in Guinean dialects includes the narratives collected during my fieldwork with a Woi-Bhalaga speaker and the texts appended to the works on Koima [Wilhoit 1999] and Lulama [Prost 1967] dialects.

The main discourse function of the grammatical means in any language is to demarcate different functional fragments, or passages, of the narrative [Plungian 2008: 17], first of all, the sequential, or consecutive, and background. I argue that tense-aspect-switching allows emphasizing of the fragment’s

significance. Thus, generally neutral construction appears in the non-first clause and all its TAM-characteristics are determined by the construction of the first clause:

- (1) *Ġè kótí zéyé-nì ġè píí kááíí má.*
 1SG.BASE REF\stone.DEF take-AOR 1SG.BASE 3SG.PI\jump REF\snake.DEF on
 'I picked up a stone and threw it at the snake'.

Nevertheless, the analysis of the texts shows that the order of marked for TAM-categories and the neutral constructions is arbitrary. Therefore it is the interchange of the neutral and marked constructions within the text that is relevant for the organization of the narrative, which allows marking of the key moments of the narrative.

The choice of the construction depends on the fragment of the narrative where it is used. For example, the consecutive chain is formed by the neutral or simultaneous construction, while the background passage is formed by non-finite verbal forms in the dependent clauses or imperfect constructions. Moreover, the meaning of the construction itself may depend on the passage. Thus, in the consecutive passage, the aorist construction expresses completed actions (1). In the background passage, it is usually stative verbs that are used in the construction. In this case, it acquires imperfective meaning:

- (2) *Tí zéy-ní ġúú-y zù dóbó-y zù, tí dá*
 3PL.BASE sit-AOR REF\tree-DEF in REF\forest-DEF in 3PL.BASE JNT
ġúyé /ó.
 REF\song fall
 'They (birds) were sitting on the tree in the forest and singing the songs'.

A typologically widespread strategy is to replace Past forms with Present forms ("praesens historicum") in order to emphasize key episodes [Fleischman 1990]. In Looma, three different verbal constructions referring to the present are used for this purpose. In my presentation I will demonstrate the differences in their use depending on the specific target.

Finally, I argue that the use of the verbal constructions depends on the regime of the interpretation, conversational or narrative [Benveniste 1959]. The analysis of the direct speech in the narratives shows that the neutral construction in the independent clause under the conversational interpretation has intentional meaning, while under the narrative interpretation it refers to the past. Conversationally, the actions in the past are usually expressed by the perfect or resultative constructions. Under the narrative interpretation, the aorist construction which has no connection to the actual situation prevails.

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Emergentism and normativity: a science-philosophical discussion.

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The present contribution is based on a science-philosophical analysis of MacWhinney's (1999:ix-xvii) theoretical presentation of Emergentism. In MacWhinney's view, Emergentism explains how linguistic forms can arise from diverse, heterogeneous factors and/or constraints. Especially if we follow the classical definition of language as a set of rules, we can say that Emergentism is conceived as a general etiology of (linguistic) norms. Thus, as a conceptual framework, Emergentism directly pertains to the general question of normativity. This concept was first introduced in philosophy of biology by Georges Canguilhem's (1966) standard essay *On the Normal and the Pathological*. For him, Normativity is the innate ability of living organisms to set norms in response to multifarious mechanical, social and evolutionary constraints. The aim of the contribution is to show how the comparison with Canguilhem's views on Normativity can help better understanding the epistemology of emergence.

At first, we resort to the means of discourse analysis to isolate the scientific metaphors and paradigms underlying MacWhinney's description, especially the source domain of physics and biology. A detailed analysis of MacWhinney's examples shows that the concept of Emergence brings together a traditional mechanistic view of causality and other factors including both internal and environmental (biological as well as social) biases. This interface of mechanistic causality and both sociobiological, evolutionary constraints (MacWhinney 1999:xi ff.) is precisely the domain for which Canguilhem coined the notion of Normativity in an evolutionary perspective.

Furthermore, MacWhinney's (1999:ix-x) concept of causality is permeable to that of efficiency, which includes a finalist (aim-oriented) dimension. Efficiency-related conceptions also form the background of peculiar accounts linked with Emergentism, such as Optimality Theory (OT), which can be seen as a combination of Emergentist reflections with Universal Grammar requirements. This finalistic dimension is characteristic for Normativity in Canguilhem's essay: life is precisely defined as a power of adaptation which coins norms enabling the organism to successfully face with social and environmental constraints.

Once this thematic and conceptual proximity is demonstrated, we discuss the advantages of using Canguilhem's precise categories within the framework of Emergentist grammars. MacWhinney's examples supposed to show the ubiquity of emergence (1999:ix) mix up physical, sociological and biological phenomena without precise reflection on the specificities of each of them, whereas the status of finalism or of causal factors change from one realm to the other. The same can be said of the interplay between onto- and epigenetic development at the different scales of emergence distinguished by MacWhinney. On the other hand, the sociobiological perspective of Canguilhem corresponds to a much more precise identification of what is at stake at each level of emergence. Furthermore, Emergentism as a Third Way between nativism and empiricism (MacWhinney 1999:x) presupposes clear concepts of causality and finality. The use of classical physicalist concepts of causality that have been contested by mathematicians and physicians for more than a century (at least since Mach 1883) suggests that flaws in the Emergentist ontology of causality might create other difficulties for Emergentist researchers. More regular exchanges with epistemology and philosophy of science could help them overcome those difficulties. Most notably, the articulations of analytic theories of causality in terms of dispositions together with Normativity-centered theories (Armstrong et al. 1996) could provide linguists with a better framework on how linguistic norms appear and evolve.

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The rise of a morphophonological split between southern and northern Lacandon.

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Southern Lacandon (SL) and Northern Lacandon (NL) and are two languages which belong to the Yucatecan branch of the Mayan Family. Nowadays, Southern Lacandon is spoken at the community of Lacanja Chansayab, while Northern Lacandon is spoken at the communities of Metzabok and Naja. These three communities are located at the municipality of Ocosingo, Chiapas, Mexico.

Within the traditional descriptions of Lacandon (Kaufman 1974, England, 2001), these two languages are regarded as a single one. However, several studies (Bruce 1968, Fisher 1973, Bergqvist 2008) show that NL and SL show remarkable grammatical differences, and they are not necessarily intelligible among them. Both SL and NL have morphophonological processes such as intransitivization (conversion from active to middle voice) and possession marking. These processes involve the lengthening of the vowel of the lexical root (Bruce 1968, Fisher 1976, Lois and Vapnarsky 2003). The following examples illustrate these processes:

1. Southern Lacandon

a. Intransitivization

Active voice

[kinpi'ts'ik^h]

k-in-pits'-ø-ik

HAB-A1-squeeze-3sg.B-INCTRA

'I squeeze it'

Middle voice

[ku'pi:ts'ir]

k-u-pi:ts'-ir

HAB-A3-squeeze.MED-INCINT

'It is squeezed'

b. Possession

Nominal

['kip^h]

kip

'candle'

1sg possessive

[in'ki:p^h]

in-ki:p

1POS-candle

'my candle'

2. Northern Lacandon

a. Intransitivization

Active voice

[kinpi'ts'ik^h]

k-in-pits'-ø-ik

HAB-A1-squeeze-3sg.B-INCTRA

'I squeeze it'

Middle voice

[kupi'ts'ir]

k-u-pi:ts'-ir

HAB-A3-exprimir.MED-INCINT

'It is squeezed'

b. Possession

Nominal

['kip]

ki:p

'candle'

1sg possessive

[in'kip]

in-ki:p

1POS-candle

'my candle'

We observe an important difference in the phonetic form of the root vowels in SL and NL varieties. While in SL lexical roots always show the expected vowel lengthening, the phonetic realization of the root vowel in the LN is variable. Sometimes such vowel does not emerge as a long vowel, and sometimes emerge accompanied by a pitch rise not observed in other contexts. This fact could be interpreted as the beginning of the development of a tonal accent, as it has been observed in the Yucatec language, closely related to Lacandon. In the present research, we analyze the behaviour of verbal roots when they are part of active and middle voice forms, and nominal roots as part of possessive forms, in both SL and NL varieties.

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Analytic languages are not easier to learn: evidence from heritage Malay and heritage Chinese.

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Heritage speakers are a specific kind of bilingual speakers: despite having acquired their heritage language early in childhood, most heritage speakers are dominant in the language of the wider community. In fact, as a result of attrition and incomplete acquisition the majority of heritage speakers does not reach a native-like attainment in the heritage language.

What has been found to be especially problematic for heritage speakers is the domain of inflection. From this it follows that heritage speakers of languages without inflection, like Malay and Chinese, should have an advantage in attaining native-like proficiency. This paper investigates the deviations found in Malay and Mandarin Chinese as spoken by heritage speakers in the Netherlands and puts forward the claim that languages with no inflection are not less problematic for heritage speakers.

Analytic languages like Malay and Chinese are characterized by a high level of 'hidden complexity' in that they lack obligatory grammatical categories but rely heavily on pragmatic inference (Bisang 2009). Grammatical distinctions have to be inferred by linguistic and non-linguistic contexts and therefore speakers have to constantly integrate external information in order to disambiguate between different interpretations. Additional evidence to the idea that the optionality may represent a type of complexity comes from research on the syntactic-pragmatic interface. Sorace (2011) has demonstrated that bilingual speakers have difficulties in dealing with structures requiring an interface between grammatical and discourse pragmatic-contextual conditions.

Primary language data collected in the Ambon Malay and in the Chinese communities in the Netherlands show that structures requiring the integration of contextual information are unstable in the language of heritage speakers. For instance, Malay and Chinese verbs are unspecified for the categories of tense, mood and aspect; if the context does not provide enough information, additional independent grammatical devices may be used to convey these notions but these devices are never obligatory.

Heritage speakers of Malay and Chinese, for example, have inconsistent abilities to use these non-obligatory markers. We will focus on a subset of the markers, namely the progressive marker *ada* and *zai* respectively, and the overgeneralization of these markers in heritage speakers.

For instance in Malay, in order to describe ongoing-events, speakers can choose to simply use the predicate (1) or the predicate preceded by the marker *ada* (2).

(1) *tikus tidur*
mouse sleep
'the mouse sleeps/is sleeping.'

(2) *tikus ada tidur*
mouse PROG sleep
'the mouse is sleeping.'

The analysis of Malay and Chinese data shows significant differences in the frequency and distribution of the progressive marker *ada* and *zai* by heritage speakers and native speakers. Heritage speakers tend to use progressive aspect more extensively across different event types. Interestingly the use of progressive marker shows a significant negative correlation with measures of input, speech rate and use of other constructions in a native-like way. This suggests a direct relation between proficiency and deviant use of progressive marker *ada* and *zai*.

We will argue that the overgeneralization of progressive markers by heritage speakers is the result of different factors interacting in a cumulative way: the preference of redundancy over ambiguity (EXPLICITNESS HYPOTHESIS), semantic bleaching, difficulties in integrating information from the context (INTERFACE HYPOTHESIS) and processing strategies.

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Chronological stratification and spatial distribution of loanwords in the lexicon of a stand-alone dialect: a case study of the Albanian dialect of Ukraine.

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Chronological stratification and spatial distribution of loanwords in a dialect can be used to trace their origin and determine the ways and conditions that fostered their expansion (as a result of direct contacts or via intermediate languages). The analysis of the loanwords distribution across semantic fields helps to specify their place in lexicon and discloses the nature of language and social contacts between the speakers of donor and recipient dialects (Sobolev 2006; Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009).

The practical applicability of this approach is proven in a case study of the standalone Albanian Tosk dialect of Ukraine. The lexicon of the said dialect contains loanwords of different origin (mainly Slavic and Turkic), borrowing time and with varying degrees of integration into the language system. The origin of some loanwords, such as those borrowed from Russian in the latest decades to denote new objects and realia, is unlikely to be a challenging problem. Another group of words (mainly kinship terms, appellatives used to address relatives, etc.) can be clearly identified as borrowed from Bulgarian after the migration of a group of Albanian speakers to the north-west of Bulgaria and then to the territory of Ukraine. High degree of integration of these loanwords points to close contacts (including family relations) between the said Albanian speakers and Bulgarians that fostered intensive borrowing and replacement of the earlier words of roughly the same meaning.

The lexical items that are common for all Albanian-speaking areas can be apparently referred to as original for the said dialect. Along with the words of Albanian origin, this part of lexicon contains lots of old Albanian loanwords, such as those borrowed from Slavic (Selishchev 1931; Ylli 1997). The comparison of the Albanian dialect of Ukraine with the other dialects (Gjinari et al. 2008) reveals apparent lexical correspondences with the Northeast Tosk (Korcha and Kolonja region, considered as the starting point for migration of the said Albanian-speaking group). On the other hand, the lexicon of the said dialect contains items (for example, Slavic loanwords) that are more common for the Gheg dialect of Albanian (northern Albania, Montenegro, Macedonia, Kosovo) and do not relate to the continuum formed by Bulgarian and Macedonian dialects. This fact mismatches the idea that the distribution of borrowed Slavic elements across the Albanian dialects "reflects historical relations of Albanian-speaking population with Serbian (in the north) and Macedonian-Bulgarian (in the central and southern part of the country) language environment" (Desnickaya 1968).

The study of loanwords in the Albanian dialect of Ukraine taken in the context of Albanian dialectology gives the opportunity to determine their borrowing time and mechanisms. The stratification of lexical items typical for the whole Albanian-speaking area, for the Tosk dialect and its subdialects, or the local ones, can

provide information about the origin and history of migration of the Albanian-speaking minority in Ukraine, and about the development of language contacts in the Balkans and in the territory of the present-day Albania.

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Two times 'seem', but not the same: the evidential verbs 'scheinen' and 'schijnen' in German and Dutch.

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In the last fifteen years or so, the verbs *scheinen* and *schijnen* have received some attention as markers of evidential modality in German and Dutch (see e.g. Askedal 1998, Diewald 2001, 2004, Diewald and Smirnova 2010 for German; De Haan 1999, 2007, Haegeman 2006, Koring 2012 for Dutch). Although it would be tempting to simply equate the two verbs on behalf of their common etymology, they differ considerably, both in frequency of occurrence and in use and/or meaning.

First, Vliegen (2011) points to the striking differences in frequency of occurrence between German *scheinen* and its Dutch cognate *schijnen*: whereas German *scheinen* occurs relatively frequently, instances of Dutch *schijnen* are much more difficult to come by (more frequent is the verb *lijken* with a comparable semantics; the *schijnen:lijken* ratio in Dutch is about 1:10). Second, as far as the semantics is concerned, German *scheinen* in its evidential use is classified as an indirect inferential marker which expresses conclusions based on either conceptual or perceptual evidence (Diewald and Smirnova 2010), whereas its Dutch counterpart *schijnen* is generally said to favour a reportive reading (Koring 2012), although inferential readings are not be excluded (important in this respect are differences between Southern (Belgian) and Northern (Netherlandic) Dutch, as we will make clear in our presentation).

The literature, however, does not account for the different specialization of the readings in Belgian Dutch, Netherlandic Dutch and German, neither synchronically nor diachronically. In order to flesh out the evidential semantics of the verbs in question, we will argue that at least two additional types of information are to be taken into account: First, constructional patterning must be dealt with in detail, as the *seem*-verbs do not only combine with *zu* or *te*-infinitives, but also in constructions introduced by complementizers (e.g. *es scheint, dass/als ob, het schijnt dat/alsof* 'it seems that/as if'), in particle-like fashion (e.g. Dutch 't *schijnt*; German *scheints* 'it seems', see Van Bogaert and Leuschner ms.) and in more or less fixed adverbials (*naar het schijnt, wie es scheint* 'as it seems'). Our paper shows that constructional specialization typically runs parallel to semantic specialization. A second factor we are particularly interested in are the relatively frequent combinations of evidential expressions with *seem*-verbs like *schijnt naar verluidt* 'seems allegedly' or *lijkt klaarblijkelijk* 'appears apparently'. We argue that these combinations testify to the semantic underspecification of the constructions with the infinitive.

The data of our analysis are provided by the *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* (for Dutch) and the *Datenbank Gesprochenes Deutsch* (for German).

In sum, our presentation will point out functional and/or semantic differences among the *seem*-verbs in Dutch and German, and will as such also contribute to the database of evidential expressions in a number of European languages.

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Reflexive markers of (ad)verbal origins.

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Oceanic languages are known to lack reflexive pronouns (Lichtenberk 2000), and no reflexive marker can be reconstructed in Proto Oceanic, contrasting with the reconstructed form *paRi- expressing middle (self directed), reciprocal and related situations.

The anaphoric pronouns in object position, however, are often insufficient regarding the disjoint reference vs the coreference distinction, unless they are followed by an intensifier or a specific reflexive marker. The main types of reflexive morphemes found crosslinguistically are complex nominals (English *herself*), affixes (Russian *-sja*) and clitics (French *se*). Among complex nominals (Faltz's adjunct reflexives), indicating the coreference between the subject and the pronominal object, markers often have a nominal origin (such as body parts), whereas a verbal or adverbial origin is seldom attested worldwide. It is, however, found in several Oceanic languages, belonging to different subgroups.

We will look at the meaning of the (ad)verbs used as reflexive markers: some of them derive from notions such as 'again, backwards, return', as in several New Caledonian languages (1), in Vanuatu languages (2) and in Māori (3); 'go down, downwards', as in some Eastern Polynesian languages (3, 4); 'true, exact', as in some Western Polynesian languages (5):

(1) Xârâgurè (New Caledonia) (Moyse-Faurie, 2008:143)

Nyără sa nyără **mùgé**.
3pl hit 3pl return
'They are hitting themselves.'

(2) Paamese (Vanuatu) (Crowley 1982:234)

Iti Amin sān metel minieris.
 Idi Amin 3sg.real.give medal dat.3sg.again
 'Idi Amin gives himself medals.'

(3) Māori (Bauer 1997:636)

I tapahi a Marama ia ia anō.
 pfv cut pers Marama obj 3sg again
 'Marama cut herself.'

(4) Tahitian (Moyses-Faurie 2008:153)

'Ua taparahi rātou iā rātou iho
 pfv hit 3pl obl 3pl downwards
 'They hit themselves.'

(5) East Uvean (Moyses-Faurie 2008:136)

'E ilo'i e Petelo iā ia totonu
 ipfv know erg Petelo abs 3sg red.true
 'Petelo knows himself.'

We will also examine which other functions these reflexive markers have maintained or developed, as (ad)verbs, as reciprocal markers or as intensifiers (König and Siemund 2000).

We will then try to investigate the historical reasons of the emergence of such atypical reflexive markers: Oceanic verbal reflexive markers have appeared independently (non cognate forms) in languages belonging to different subgroups, or they have spread due to contact.

Finally, we will search in non-Oceanic languages known to have (ad)verbs as reflexive markers if we can find syntactic similarities explaining such developments.

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Lexical coding vs. syntactic marking of homogeneity. Evidence from Spanish and Danish.

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It seems like a firmly established theoretical stance to assume a fundamental division, at least in the Western European languages, between inherently countable nouns (count nouns) and inherently uncountable nouns (mass nouns), which in different degrees accept recategorization or typeshifting triggered by various morphological, syntactic or lexical devices (Jespersen 1924; Allan 1980; Langacker 1987, 1991; Jackendoff 1991; Kleiber 1994; Bosque 1999 – to mention but a few). In contrast to the established tradition, this paper puts forward the hypothesis that the semantic feature of homogeneity is determined on different levels in different

languages. Contrasting data from Spanish and Danish it is shown that Spanish nouns are not lexically coded as either denoting homogeneous entities (uncountables) or inhomogeneous entities (countables), but that this classification only takes place when they are instantiated in syntax, while Danish nouns are lexically coded for the feature [\pm Homogeneous] (see also Herslund 1997). To substantiate the relevance of this lexical hypothesis, this paper shows that homogeneity differences have direct and pervasive influence on incorporation and consequently on how we may understand the formation of complex predicates in Spanish and Danish.

- (1) *Juan repara coche/ *lee periódico/ *escribe carta/ *pinta casa/ *lava coche.
 Juan repairs car/ reads newspaper/ writes letter/ paints house/ washes car
- (2) Ole reparerer bil/ læser avis/ skriver brev/ maler hus/ vasker bil.
 Ole repairs car/ reads newspaper/ writes letter/ paints house/ washes car

The examples above illustrate that Spanish nouns denoting countable entities – as a canonical pattern – do not permit incorporation in the singular, cf. (1), while this is possible and normal in Danish, cf. (2). It is demonstrated that this difference between Spanish and Danish is a necessary consequence of the supposition that in the syntactic process of incorporation Spanish nouns are assigned a reading as homogeneous entities, whereas Danish nouns, which are already lexically coded as [\pm Homogeneous], i.e. countables vs. uncountables, are not semantically affected by the incorporation construction of which they form part. This means as far as Spanish is concerned that, for instance, **Juan repara coche* (Juan repairs car) and **Juan pinta casa* (Juan paints house) are interpreted in such a way that the subject referent *repairs/ paints* the entities *car/ house* understood as masses which is incompatible with our normal conception of reality. Contrary to this, the Danish nouns *bil* (car) and *hus* (house) contain the semantic reading of unit in their basic lexical make-up, i.e. they are coded as countables, and they maintain this meaning when they are incorporated into the verb forming an activity denoting complex predicate. Consequently, the Danish sentences *Ole reparerer bil/ maler hus* (Ole repairs car/ paints house) mean that *Ole repairs/ paints* the entities *car/ house* understood as units, which is, of course, in keeping with how we usually see the world.

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Distinguishing grammar from analogy in Mandarin wordlikeness judgments.

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Nonsense words seem more wordlike if they have higher phonotactic probability (composed of lexically frequent phoneme strings) and/or have more lexical neighbors (Bailey and Hahn, 2001). Phonotactic probability is analytic and its effects are relatively independent of lexical access, while neighborhood density is holistic and has effects only after lexical neighbors have been activated (Pylkkänen and Marantz, 2003). Thus the former arguably relates more to what linguists would call grammar, while the latter relates to analogy. The current study adds three new diagnostics that help clarify this crucial distinction, involving interactions with reaction time, working memory capacity, and handedness.

First, since lexical neighbors take time to activate, neighborhood density should influence wordlikeness more strongly when judgments are made more slowly (see Yap et al., 2009 for more on reaction time distributions). By contrast, reaction time should not modulate phonotactic effects very much, given that they occur very early.

Second, working memory capacity is also expected to modulate neighborhood density effects: the more lexical neighbors a speaker can activate, the stronger their influence should be. Phonotactic probability effects, operating pre-lexically, should not be influenced by this factor.

Third, since right-handers are left-hemisphere dominant for language and the left hemisphere is more analytical, we expect that right-handed speakers will be more affected by phonotactic probability (see Stockall et al., 2004, for neuro-imaging evidence that phonotactic effects are left-lateralized).

To test these three predictions, we ran a megastudy (Balota et al., in press), in which 76 native Mandarin speakers made speeded yes/no wordlikeness judgments to 3274 nonlexical syllables, written in the phonetic orthography familiar in Taiwan. The judgments were analyzed (with mixed-effects logistic regression) for influences from phonotactic probability and neighborhood density (de-confounded using residuals for the former). Reaction times were log-normed, working memory capacity was quantified using reading span (Kane et al., 2004), and degree of right-handedness was quantified using the Oldfield (1971) scale.

While phonotactic probability effects on wordlikeness judgments (left graph in Figure 1) were only slightly stronger for slower judgments (upper right panel) than for faster ones (lower left panel), neighborhood density (right graph) interacted with judgment speed significantly more strongly. Similarly, neighborhood density had significantly greater effects for speakers with higher (above the median) working memory capacity (right graph in Figure 2), while phonotactic probability showed little interaction with this factor (left graph). However, more strongly right-handed speakers showed significantly greater influence of phonotactic probability (left graph in Figure 3), and significantly less influence of neighborhood density (right graph).

Thus all three predictions were confirmed. Moreover, not only was grammar distinguished clearly from analogy in a language, Mandarin, where phoneme-level processing has been difficult to demonstrate (e.g., O'Seaghdha et al., 2010), but the time course, memory usage, and brain lateralization of lexical access were all successfully probed using behavioral methods (enhanced through megastudy techniques), rather than neuro-imaging.

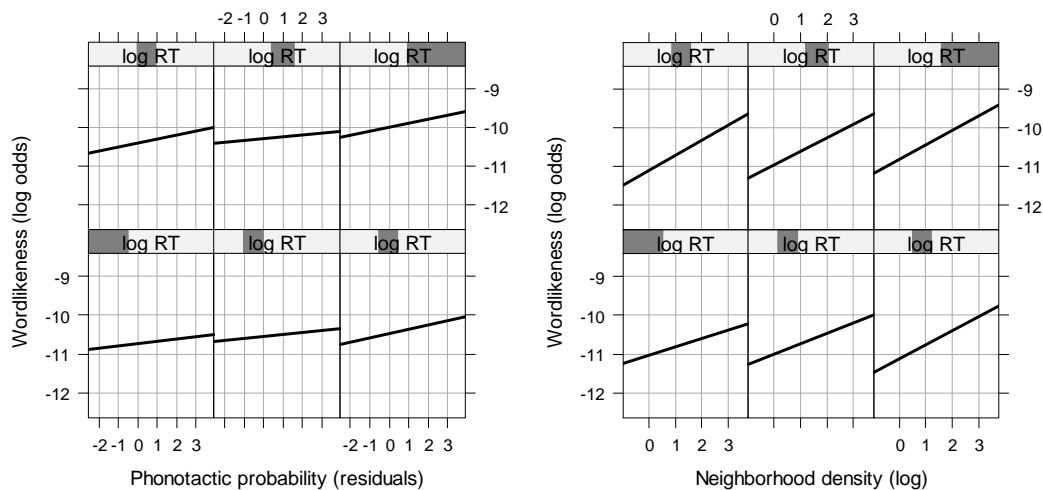


Fig 1. Interactions with reaction time

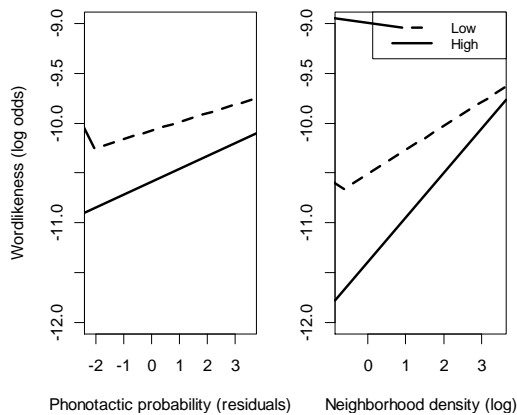


Fig. 2. Interactions with working memory capacity

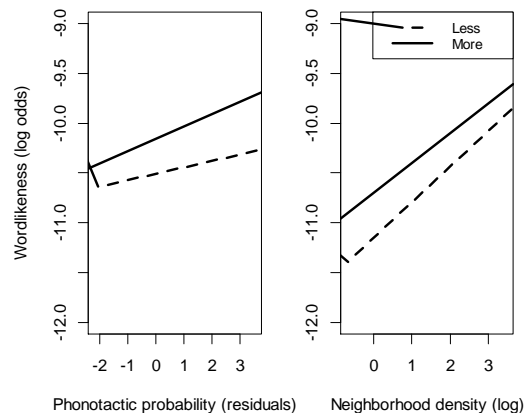


Fig. 3. Interactions with right-handedness

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Adpositional morphemes in Japanese: contact with Chinese and English.

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This paper will show that the long-term contact with Chinese and the relatively recent contact with English have corroboratively contributed to the development of word-internal adpositional morphemes. Specifically, we will describe apparently puzzling behaviors of certain Sino-Japanese locative morphemes such as *zen* 'front' and *kan* 'between' and analyze their grammatical complexity as a result of language contact. Especially noteworthy about these borrowed morphemes is the direction of grammatical transfer. In the first stage, they acquired postpositional use based on their native Japanese synonyms *mae* 'front' and *aida* 'between', which is a case of a grammatical feature of the recipient language being transferred to the borrowed forms. In the next stage, the direction is reversed; they are now gaining a new grammatical usage, prepositional usage, under the combined influences of the older and newer donor languages, Chinese and English. According to Heine and Kuteva (2010), in contact situations, replication from L2 to L1 is about as common as the replication from L1 to L2. The development of the Sino-Japanese adpositional morphemes can be seen as a combination of these two transfer types, as summarized below.

[1] The first stage: L1 (Japanese) > L2 (Chinese) transfer

Japanese, a head-final language, expresses spatial and temporal relations by postpositional phrases, as in [NP *no* *mae* *ni*]_{PP} 'lit. NP of front in; in front of NP, before NP' and [NP *no* *aida* *de*]_{PP} 'lit. NP of between at; between NP'. The Chinese borrowings *zen* 'front' and *kan* 'between' form right-headed compounds based on these postpositional phrase structures, as in [[*mon-zen*] (*ni*)] 'lit. gate-front (in); (in) front of the gate' and [[*kurasu-kan*] (*de*)] 'lit. class-between (at); between classes', in which the left element of the compound acts as a complement to its right-hand, underlined head.

[2] The second stage: L2 (older L2: Chinese, newer L2: English) > L1 transfer

The word-internal postpositional use shown in [1] is the canonical usage of *zen* and *kan*, but recently, they are beginning to produce PP-based compounds as prepositional elements, as in [*zen*-*genteishi*] 'lit. front-determiner; element in front of a determiner' and [[*kan*-*bunka*] (*teki*)] 'lit. between-culture(-adjectivizer); between cultures, intercultural'. In these compounds, *zen* and *kan* project their complements to their right, just like a preposition. Since Japanese syntax does not allow prepositional phrases, this new usage can be viewed as a contact-induced development. Its trigger lies in the massive borrowing of English technical terms in the last two centuries; left-headed compounds such as *kan-bunka* must have started their lives as direct translations of English head-first structures. The platform of this development, on the other hand, has been prepared by the existence of Sino-Japanese left-headed, [verb + complement] synthetic compounds such as [*doku-syo*]_{VN} 'lit. read-book; book-reading'. Kageyama (2009) claims that this borrowed type is the only possibility of left-headed compounding in Modern Japanese. Without the solid establishment of this type of Chinese-based left-headed compounds, prepositional-phrase-like compounds would not have survived nor would not have shown the rise of productivity in Modern Japanese

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The discourse basis of ergativity in Kansai Japanese.

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This paper investigates the distributions of zero vs. overt particles in Kansai Japanese, one of the non-standard variations of Japanese. The paper shows that the case-marking system in Kansai Japanese varies depending on the information structure of a sentence. The research is based on native speakers' judgements and a corpus study. With Non-contrastively Focused NPs, the distribution of zero vs. overt particles follows an ergative/absolute pattern, while with Contrastively Focused NPs, it follows a nominative/accusative pattern, as shown in Table 1. On the other hand, Non-contrastively Topicalized NPs are always zero-coded, while with Contrastively Topicalized NPs, the distribution of zero vs. overt particles follows a split-intransitive pattern, as shown in Table 2. The choice of zero vs. overt particles depends on information structural features, in particular Topic/Focus and Contrastiveness. On the basis of the distribution of overt case particles (*ga* vs. *o*), Japanese is typically described as a nomi- native/accusative language. However, the choice between zero vs. overt particles in Kansai Japanese shows ergative/absolute and split-intransitive patterns in addition to the nominative/accusative pattern, depending on the particular combination of the above information structural features.

Table 1: The distribution of Focus particles

	A	S	P
Non-contrastive Focus	<i>ga</i>	∅	∅
Contrastive Focus	<i>ga</i>	<i>ga</i>	∅/ <i>o</i>

Table 2: The distribution of Topic particles

	A		S		P
		agent	patient		
Non-contrastive Topic	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
	∅/ <i>wa</i>	∅/ <i>wa</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>wa</i>	

The distributions of zero vs. overt particles in Kansai Japanese can be explained in terms of *markedness* (Comrie, 1979; Haspelmath, 2006) and Preferred Argument Structure (PAS: DuBois, 1987). According to the markedness theory, frequent linguistic items tend to be zero-coded more likely than less frequent ones. According to PAS in DuBois (1987), S and P (absolute) belong to the same category as opposed to A (ergative) in the sense that S and P are frequently focus, while A and S (nominative) belong to the same category as opposed to P (accusative) in the sense that A and S are frequently topic. More in general, agents tend to be topics and patients tend to be focus crosslinguistically (Givón, 1976; Keenan, 1976), which is schematized in (1).

- (1) a. topical <--> focal
b. agent <--> patient

The distribution of overt vs. zero markings of Kansai Japanese reflects these patterns. In the (Non-contrastive) Focus context, A is overtly coded and S and P are zero-coded (ergative/absolute pattern), while, in the (Contrastive) Topic context, A and agent S are zero-coded and P and patient S are overtly coded (split-intransitive pattern). The fact that Contrastive elements are more likely to be overtly coded than Non-contrastive elements can be explained by the cross-linguistic observation that Contrastive elements are rare in natural spoken discourse (Lambrecht, 1994).

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The Romanian infinitive selected by perception and cognitive verbs.

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The aim of the present paper is to investigate the peculiarities of the structures in which verbs of perception and cognitive verbs are followed by the infinitive, with respect to other types of structures, on the one hand, and to other (especially Romance) languages, on the other hand.

The corpus consists of (original and translated) texts which cover the 16th-19th centuries. The investigation of old texts is necessary mainly because the infinitive was much more frequently used in the old language than nowadays. Currently, the infinitive is used in competition especially with the subjunctive, but also with other verb forms. One of the most frequently used patterns in the old language is that investigated in the present paper.

The preliminary stage of the analysis is to separate the verbs that are at play in three groups: verbs of direct perception (i.e., *vedea* 'see'), verbs designating indirect perception (i.e., *vedea* 'realize'), and cognitive verbs (i.e., *înțelege* 'understand') to see any specific features of each group when followed by the infinitive.

The analysis will show what are the similarities among the three groups of verbs regarding the infinitive pattern they all occur in.

The research will focus on the following specific features of the infinitive in the old language in relation to the aforementioned verbs:

– its occurrence after verbs of direct perception, which may be often explained by the influence of the translation source language (in which such verbs are frequently followed by the infinitive):

(1) *S-au auzit în tabăra vrăjmașilor multe sunete de trâmbițe a face gălceavă* (VF)
'In the enemy camp, many sound of trumpets **were heard making noise**'

– the raising of the clitic corresponding to the argument of the infinitive, which is a sign of the high degree of the structure cohesion:

(2) *L-au văzut a cădea [t_i] după cal* (VF)
'They saw him falling off the horse'

– the omission of the infinitive marker *a* after verbs of cognition (which may sometimes express modal meanings) in some cases, as opposed to the nowadays situation, in which the marker is generally present:

(3) *Dumnezeu părintele știe răscumpăra sângele Fiului Său unuia născut și așa știe fieștecăruia den vrăjmașilor Lui a răsplăti* (IȚR)
'God **knows to redeem** the blood of His only begotten Son and **knows to reward** each of His enemies'

Another important aim is to illustrate the infinitive–indicative–gerund rivalry after verbs of perception and cognition (compare example (2) to example (4), with gerund):

(4) *Încă când era prunc vădzu un cucon pățând nevoie de frig* (VPS)
'Ever since he was a little child he saw a man being hit by cold'

The research will also bring into discussion both the status of the element *a* which precedes the Romanian infinitive – either inflectional marker or complementizer – and the possibility to analyse the sequence formed of one of the three types of verbs and infinitive as a complex predicate.

The results of the present investigation will contribute to a better understanding of the Romanian

infinitive and especially to its relation to the Romance infinitive.

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A feature-based model of stativity.

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The poster will present the main results of a detailed study on the aspectual category of stativity: it is concerned with the general features and linguistic tests of prototypical states.

The category of stativity, i.e. that of stative predicates/constructions, is a very important part of any aspectual model that deals with the level of situation aspect, because stativity is one of the basic categories of this level of aspectuality, and because the definition of stative aspect highly influences the categorization of the whole level of situation aspect. As will be emphasized, the applied stativity-definition determines the definition of dynamicity at the same time. I will discuss in detail the main features of stativity and the problematic questions related to the category, the most important ones being (i) the specification of the criteria and

(linguistic) tests that can be used to isolate predicates with the aspectual features [-Telic,-Dynamic]; and (ii) determining the sub-types of this rather heterogeneous category.

Accordingly, the poster will present the general features of stativity, the applicable stativity tests and a general, feature-based definition of stative predicates. Aspectuality in general will be dealt with in the modified two-component aspectual framework introduced by Nemeth (2012a–b).

The most significant conclusions drawn from the analysis are the following: the main features of stativity are homogeneity, non-alteration, inherent persistence and non-agentivity; there is a hierarchical relation among these, the basic features being those of internal homogeneity and inherent persistence in such way that the former entails non-alteration while the latter entails non-agentivity; the four features are also important from a prototype theoretical point of view: predicates can be classified according to the number of features that are assigned to them, therefore predicates can be located on a scale which has prototypical states on one end and prototypical processes on the other (as a result, the ambiguity of alternative stativity interpretations/theories can be sorted out); finally: predicates, including Hungarian predicates, can be tested for their aspectual value applying the well-known and lesser-known feature-specific tests taken over (modified and supplemented to some extent) from Comrie (1976), Binnick (1991), Smith (1991) and – most of all – from Dowty (1979) and Rothmayr (2009). The presentation of these tests will also point out the conditions of their applicability and the substantial differences between them.

The poster summarizes the analysis of some general theoretical and language-specific questions related to the aspectual category of stativity. The presentation will mostly use Hungarian linguistic data; however, English examples will also be included in the analysis.

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Diachronic, ideological and linguistic motivations in spelling foreignness (xenographemics) in Yiddish and Hebrew.

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Yiddish is a Germanic Jewish language with a considerable Hebrew-Aramaic lexical component, alongside its autochthonous European lexical component (Germanic, Romance and Slavic). Although the Yiddish writing system is based on the Hebrew alphabet as far as characters are concerned, its spelling displays two fundamentally different graphemic systems: one essentially morphophonemic, reserved to the European component, and the other etymological, reserved to the Hebrew-Aramaic words. Since the autochthonous lexicon involves no identitary sentiments, the *European* graphemics of Yiddish has been subject to continuous pragmatic systematization (respelling). As regards the *Hebrew* graphemics of Yiddish, however, except for the 1920s-30s Soviet ideologically-motivated Yiddish respelling episode, whereby Hebrew words were respelled so as to assimilate to the European graphemics, no change has taken place. Thus, from the graphemic point of view, the center–periphery relations, that is the Hebrew–non-Hebrew dichotomy, a graphemic feature of other Jewish languages too, has been largely maintained.

On the sociopolitical level, the advent of late 19th century Zionism was prone to lead to a language shift from Yiddish to Hebrew. For tenants of the Zionist ideology, Yiddish, their mother-tongue, represented European diaspora Judaism, namely an antithesis to Zionism. Yiddish and was therefore stigmatized and abandoned, first in writing and gradually in speech. Instead, Hebrew was introduced as the ideal full-fledged language of the Jewish community in Ottoman- and later British-ruled Palestine, in writing and then in speech.

The socially-motivated language shift in progress seemed sufficiently overt to foreigners, so that it was made official by the British Mandate ruling as early as in 1922.

As is always the case with language shift, some Yiddish elements remained in the new speakers' speech, the non-native idiom having engendered native Israeli Hebrew. It is my contention that in this particular case some graphemic elements remained too. Indeed, upon graphemic analysis, Modern Hebrew orthography retained some elements of the European graphemics of Yiddish, assigning them solely to non-Hebrew words. By so doing, the center-periphery relations inherited from Yiddish were reversed and the new graphemic dichotomy came to distinguish foreign lexical periphery from nucleus autochthonous Hebrew.

I am thus arguing that two ideological tendencies, one anti-Yiddish and another anti-foreign, are responsible for divergent graphemic treatment of lexical foreignisms in Modern Hebrew orthography: one of assimilation, another of segregation. The result is graphemically hybrid but the principle is similar. Unlike in Yiddish, however, the new graphemic dichotomy is now corollary to a *linguistic* dichotomy, whereby foreign words display both graphemic and morphophonemic idiosyncrasies.

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Contact effects without known contact: the central Caucasus.

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Between the Avar-Andic-Tsezic and Nakh branches of the Nakh-Daghestanian language family (central and eastern Caucasus) runs the deepest phylogenetic divide in this very old family, as well as major geographical, cultural, and human-genetic divides. Yet that divide is spanned by a local linguistic area where several unusual structural properties are shared by the Nakh and Avar-Andic-Tsezic branches. The shared constructions include a Type 5 chaining clitic (Peterson 2001, Nichols and Peterson 2010), reduplication of the verb root to host that clitic, Germanic-like AOV/V2 word order (Nichols 2009, 2012), motion events rendered with a closely bound chain of manner converb + pure motion main verb, and distinctive uses of P modifiers and adverbs, some lexicalized and on the way to fusing with the verb. Uncommon in Nakh-Daghestanian, though fairly common worldwide, is high frequency of causativization in the causative alternation (Nichols, Peterson, Barnes 2004). All but the last are rare worldwide, and the last is rare in the family, making contact the only plausible explanation for the set of recurrences.

However, these languages have no history of contact. Avar, the major local inter-ethnic language, has strongly influenced the Andic and Tsezic languages, but Nakh languages were not part of the Avar political-economic sphere. The other major lowland languages (Turkic Kumyk and Noghai; West Caucasian Kabardian; Iranian Alanic) lack the relevant constructions and cannot have been donors. An Andic substratum locally in easternmost Chechen (Nakh) is possible, though it could not have influenced western Chechen, much less the even more westerly Ingush (Nakh). Sound systems and TAME systems – easy contact effects – appear quite different between Nakh (Molochieva 2010) and Avar-Andic-Tsezic (e.g. Kibrik 2001, 1996/2006, Mallaeva 1998) (TAME survey underway). There are few recent loanwords between the two branches but strikingly many sharings of Proto-Nakh-Daghestanian roots.

Therefore the contact must antedate the historically attested linguistic geography. Now, the eastern Georgian south slope and foothills from the Terek drainage to the Alazani were Nakh-speaking until recent centuries. This means that Nakh speakers owned the land where transhumant Andic-Tsezic speakers pastured livestock and/or took seasonal employment in winter. (The main lowland language in these geographically stable transhumance patterns is now Georgian). Nakh speech was economically important and spread uphill (as is regular in mountain areas) before being replaced in the first millennium CE in shifts to Caucasian Albanian (=ancestral Udi) and then Georgian. A vestige of the old economic dependencies remains in the custom (in Ingushetia until the mid 20th century) whereby well-to-do families hired Andic and Tsezic men as herders. In prehistoric times there must have been a cultural-economic system extending from the north Caucasus foothills

to the southern lowlands along the Sulak and Alazani drainages, and the areality developed in this system. This original geography has been greatly altered by language spreading in the last millennium and a half, but its linguistic effects persist. This shows that contact effects, even rare, can stably outlive contact situations by over a millennium.

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Indexical relations within linguistic structures.

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The concept of indexicality is widely applied in the description of various linguistic phenomena. In the Peircean semiotic tradition, the indexical relation is defined by "a spatio-temporal (factual or existential) contiguity" (Shapiro 1983: 39) between a pointing element and that to which this element points. In linguistics, this concept has typically been applied to 'external relations', in the analysis of deictic pointers, such as personal pronouns, and elements that point to the identity of the speaker regarding e.g. social background (cf. Silverstein 1976: 23-27; Jakobson 1957; Coupland 2007: 21-24). The concern of this paper, however, is the 'internal pointing relation', which the paper considers an essential aspect of the structure and semantic coding of linguistic complexes.

The syntagm-internal indexical relations have been examined by Anttila (1975, 1989), Andersen (1980, 2008) and Shapiro (1983). As an example of an internal indexical relation, Anttila (1975: 12) discusses the English adjective stem *sane* and the difference between the pronunciation /seyn/ for the "normal" adjective function and the pronunciation /sæn/ in derivatives such as *sanity*. The expression variation has the indexical function of pointing to the absence or presence of a derivational element. Thus the role of variants is stressed. However, the present paper wishes to extend the concept of indexicality to include invariants as pointers as well. Furthermore, the paper proposes a systematic typology of possible indexical relations, which is absent in previous discussions of the concept.

Drawing on the European structural tradition of sign analysis, in particular in the Hjelmslevian vein (Hjelmslev 1969; Engberg-Pedersen et al. 1996; Nørgård-Sørensen et al. 2011), it is argued that an expression element or a sign (comprising content and expression) may function as an index, while the indicatum may be an expression element, a sign or a content element, thus yielding six possible combinations of index and indicatum. An example of an expression component as the index and a sign as the indicatum is the Umlaut in Modern German number inflection. A noun such as *Haus* 'house' is realised in the umlauted form *Häus-* in plural: *Häuser* 'houses', and thus the selection of plural is indexed by the expression feature of umlaut (cf. Andersen 2008: 30).

Regarding the sign function of the indexical relation, it is argued that the indexing itself is a content component associated with the index as the expression side of a linguistic sign. As the index may be an expression variant, an invariant expression component or a sign (i.e. expression + content), there are three basic types of indexing, which are exemplified in the paper. Finally, it is suggested that any kind of *entailed knowledge of co-occurrence*, whether conveyed by a variant or an invariant linguistic element, hosts an

indexical relation, which leads to the conclusion that all dependency relations, such as between a governing verb and a governed NP, convey indexical relations, contributing to the coherence of the linguistic structure in question.

The various types of indexical relations are illustrated with examples from English, Danish and German.

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'Anaphoric' vs. 'deictic' inferential evidentials.

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Among the standard meanings of the evidential domain, there are several meanings (or clusters of meanings), distinguished by Aikhenvald (2004), Levin-Steinmann (2004), Wiemer and Plungjan (eds.) 2008) etc.: for instance, inferential ('the information is inferred by the speaker from some other pieces of information'); reportative ('the information is received from another person'); quotative ('the information is a direct citation of other person's statement'); auditive ('the information is received from some sound evidence') – and, sometimes, other meanings, not to forget about the direct evidentiality when the speaker observes the situation directly.

In my talk, I will introduce an opposition which is relevant for description of inferential uses. The information which serves as a basis for the inference can either be denoted in the pre-text (in this case, I speak of 'anaphoric inferential') or simply be present in the deictic speech act context (this we call 'deictic inferential') – the terms are chosen to be parallel to anaphoric vs. deictic uses of pronouns like *this*.

For instance, the Russian inferential units *poxože* 'likely' and *kažetsja* 'seemingly' differ, among other things, in that only *poxože*, but hardly *kažetsja*, can serve as an anaphoric inferential marker. For instance, if I enter the room and see empty bottles, I can simply say 'It seems that someone had a party here' using either *poxože* or *kažetsja*:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--|--------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>Poxože,</i>
likely
'It seems that there was a feast here.' | <i>tut</i>
here | <i>by-l</i>
be-PST-SG.F | <i>prazdnik-∅.</i>
feast-SG.NOM |
| | b. | <i>Kažetsja,</i>
seemingly
'It seems that there was a feast here.' | <i>tut</i>
here | <i>by-l</i>
be-PST-SG.F | <i>prazdnik-∅.</i>
feast-SG.NOM |

This is a context of deictic inferential: the situation which serves as a basis for the inference is not expressed but is present in the context.

On the other hand, sentences meaning something like ‘There are so many bottles! It seems that someone had a party here’ exemplify anaphoric inferentiality (the basis of the inference – ‘There are so many bottles’ – is present in the pre-text of the evidential proposition – ‘It seems that someone had a party here.’). In this case, though *kažetsja* can be used, these examples are highly infrequent in the Corpus (the Russian National Corpus, www.ruscorpora.ru, is employed) and sound rather awkward. In contrast, *poxože* is very frequent in this context. Thus, *poxože* can be used either anaphorically or deictically, while for *kažetsja*, the anaphoric use is rare.

- (2) *Kak mnogo butylok-Ø!*
 how many bottle-PL.GEN
Pохоže, / ??Kažetsja, tut by-l prazdnik-Ø.
 likely / seemingly here be-PST-SG.F feast-SG.NOM
 ‘There are so many bottles! It seems that there was a feast here.’

In contrast, there are units that tend to be used in the anaphoric use, while the deictic one is rare. One of these uses in Russian is *vidno* ‘apparently’. It is mainly used in contexts like (2) – only one use like (1) is found in 100 first examples in the Corpus.

The meaning of the distinction introduced for other languages will be shown in the talk which will be based on corpus data of Arabic, Bulgarian, English and French.

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Complex syntax in narrative and expository texts: a comparative analysis.

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The study concerns the impact of communicative context and discursive constraints on the use of multi-clausal constructions in the production of two genres – narration and exposition. On the assumption that the constraints of genre interact with both formal and functional properties of grammatical constructions, the study examines the distribution of the linguistic devices available for combining clauses as well as the variation in discursive functions expressed by speaker-writers in the process of text production.

To this end, the study compares narrative and expository discourse produced by the same speaker-writers. The data-base consists of 160 texts elicited in both speech and writing from graduate-level university students, native speakers of Israeli Hebrew and Californian English. The texts were collected in the context of a largescale cross-linguistic project (Berman and Verhoeven, 2002). Each participant was requested to produce comparable (spoken and written) versions of a personal experience story and a general discussion essay, both on the shared topic of “problems between people/interpersonal conflict”. The task was controlled for order. This design allows not only for quantitative, statistically tested between-subject analyses but also for qualitative within-subject comparisons.

The constructions analyzed are Clause Packages, discursively-motivated units consisting of two or more combined clauses that are specified both in terms of their syntactic properties (Nir and Berman, 2010) and of their communicative functions.

Analyses reveal that each genre reflects clear preferences in terms of clausecombining properties: both the formal and the functional strategies employed by speaker-writers in producing narrative versus expository texts are distinctively different. In addition, the two languages examined in this study share the same major types of coordinating constructions (with same-subject ellipsis, same-subject pronominalization, and different

subjects); complement clauses (in direct speech, with a complementizer like *that*, or indirect questions); and subordinate adverbial and relative clauses. However, analyses reveal an interaction between genre and the distribution and deployment of these shared resources in each language.

Specifically, analyses show that while connectivity in narrative texts is achieved by a variety of devices, such as the stringing of coordinate clauses, verbal complementation, relative clauses, as well as different kinds of adverbials – both finite and non-finite – three types of dependent clause-linking constructions were particularly favored in the expository texts: relative clauses, conditional adverbial clauses, and non-finite infinitival adverbials. Moreover, while narrative connectivity is typically motivated by event sequentiality and causality, expository texts express a range of abstract and meta-textual semantic relations, including causality, hypotheticality, adversativity, and contrast (Katzenberger and Cahana-Amitay, 2002).

Within-subject analyses shed a particularly revealing light on the distinct patterns of organization that characterize each type of extended discourse. The study will conclude with a discussion of the organizational principles characterizing each genre and underlying different patterns of clause-combining employed in developing a piece of discourse. The study thus aims to contribute to the panel's discussion on the need for systematic investigation of context-specific constructions and of contextual effects on constructional meaning. It will also address implications of the methodology and findings for investigations of other communicative situations, such as dialogic text production.

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Rise of future markers in two Finnic languages.

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It is quite often the case that a language has more than one future gram. As Bybee et al. (1994: 243–244) explain, usually such a situation is “a consequence of the independent development of grams from distinct sources or from similar sources at different periods”, but as long as the future grams have distinct uses they are not in direct competition. According to Dahl (2000: 315), competition is most probable in case the grams follow the same kind of grammaticalization path.

The aim of this presentation is to discuss the rise of future grams in two Finnic languages: Livonian and Lude. Livonian is a Finnic language that can be associated with 12 historical villages in Courland Livonia (present-day Latvia), and Lude is spoken in the European part of Russia, between the Onega and Ladoga lakes. The presentation discusses two verbs in Livonian – *sq̄dõ* ‘get, become’ and *līdõ* (originally a future copula), as for Lude, it concentrates on *liettä* (cognate of Livonian *līdõ*) and *rodida* ‘be born’. Whereas *sq̄dõ*, *līdõ* and *liettä* can be traced back to Finno-Ugric stems, *rodida* is originally a loan from Russian *родиться* ‘be born’. In both languages, in the case of future time reference we are typically dealing with future copulas or complex predicates that express FUTURE-RESULT, see examples (1) and (2); only in Livonian, few examples of *līdõ* + infinitive occur (*līb kuts* ‘will call’, *līb loud* ‘will create’) which can be considered as prototypical examples of a future gram.

(1) Livonian (Setälä 1953: 243)

<i>un</i>	<i>siz</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>līb</i>	<i>sie</i>	<i>ti'end</i>
and	then	when	3SG	AUX.FUT.3SG	this	do.PTCP
<i>siz</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>lībõd</i>	<i>kj'zzist</i>	<i>tām'</i>	<i>pālā</i>	
then	3PL	be.FUT.3PL	mad.PL	3SG.GEN	on	

‘And when s/he has done it they will be mad at him/her.’

Lude (field-work notes, 2012)

(2)	<i>rođi</i>	<i>hüvä</i>	<i>kons</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>rođi</i>	<i>azuttu</i>
	be_born.3SG	good	when	everything	be_born.3SG	do.PTCP
	'It will be good when everything will be done.'					

The choice of these languages and these verbs allows us to

- compare the work-load of two grams in the same language (*sōdō* and *līdō* vs. *liettä* and *rodida*),
- compare the usage of cognate grams (*līdō* and *liettä*) in two closely related languages,
- compare the possible influence of contact languages (Latvian on Livonian vs. Russian on Lude).

The material is partly collected from written sources (different text collections) and partly elicited from recordings made during field-work trips. The newest material to be used was collected by the author in 2012 during a field-work trip to the areas of the Central Lude dialect.

The preliminary results indicate that *sōdō* and *līdō* in Livonian and *liettä* and *rodida* in Lude have their specialized usages. However, whereas *sōdō* and *līdō* do not seem to be competing, in the case of Lude, we seem to be witnessing "the fall of *liettä*" due to "the rise of *rodida*" as *rodida* is slowly taking over the older usages of *liettä*.

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References to activated participants in oral narratives in Koroshi Balochi, Sistani Balochi and Southern Balochi.

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This paper concentrates on default and marked encoding values in three Balochi dialects in a specific narrative context: when the new subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence(s) (Levinsohn's S2 context). In all the dialects, the default encoding in this context is the minimum permitted by the syntax. However, this minimum depends on whether folktales and historical events are narrated in the past or present tense.

The oral texts which make up the corpus for the analysis of participant references in the Koroshi Balochi dialect were collected in different parts of Fars province during several field journeys in the period between February 2008 to April 2012. The main part of the material consists of folktales, life stories and procedural texts told by male and female linguistic consultants (20 persons) of different ages (between 40 and 90) with different social backgrounds.

The methodology we follow here is that proposed by Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:127-135).

S1: The subject is the same as in the previous clause and sentence.

S2: The subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence (in a closed conversation).

S3: The subject was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation.

S4: Other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3.

More encoding than the default is used for two reasons:

- (1) to mark the beginning of a narrative unit;
- (2) to highlight the action or speech concerned.

Jahani (2012) argued that, in Southern Balochi, which is split-ergative, the minimal form of reference to an activated subject depends on whether or not the tense displays ergative morphology. In transitive clauses in past tense, the minimum is a pronominal enclitic (PC), whereas elsewhere the minimum is zero. In Southern Balochi and Koroshi Balochi, the default encoding in context S2 depends largely on whether the narrative is a folktale or a contemporary life story. Life stories are mostly told in past tense, so the default there is a PC for

transitive clauses. Because folktales and historical events are normally narrated in present tense, however, the default is zero.

Oral narratives in Sistani Balochi are mainly narrated in past tense, so the default encoding in context S2 is a PC. (Although no longer an ergative language, a PC is frequently attached to the speech verb *gušt* — Barjasteh Delforooz 2010.)

The paper also considers textual examples in which the reference to a subject in context S2 is more than the default, as defined above.

This paper applies Levinsohn's claims to Koroshi Balochi. In particular, it argues that, when a reported conversation of more than two speeches is followed by the narration of a resulting event, the norm is for the reference to the new subject to be a noun or noun phrase.

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"Go up to Miss thingy". "He's probably like a whatsit or something." Placeholders in focus. The differences in use between teenagers and adults in spoken English.

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Lack of precision is one of the most salient features of conversational language (Crystal and Davy, 1975: 111). It is difficult to find an extract of spoken English which does not contain vague words and expressions, these often used with specific communicative purpose (Carter and McCarthy, 1997: 19; Overstreet, 2011). According to Channell (1994: 18), vague language includes three main phenomena: (i) vague additives, mainly approximators with round numbers (e.g. a team *of around* ten people) and general extenders or set markers (e.g. I just do a lot of weights and *stuff like that*); (ii) vagueness by implicature (utterances understood by the interlocutor as having a vague meaning); (iii) vagueness by choice of words, which can be approximators with non-numerical vague quantifiers (e.g. there were *loads of* people) or placeholder words (e.g. the *thingy* coming out's got a big tray). In this paper we will focus on some of the members of the latter group, the so-called placeholders, which may be defined as words that are almost empty semantically, multipurpose in communication, and have no referential meaning, since they express total vagueness, yet their meaning has to be inferred by the listener (Jucker *et al.* 2003: 1749). This category of placeholders includes terms such as *thing*, *thingie*, *thingy*, *stuff*, *thingummybob*, *thingybob*, *whatsit*, *whosit*, *whatnot* and *whatsitsname*. In Part 1 we will identify the most common words in this category in the language of British adults and teenagers, using several comparable corpora, namely COLT (*Corpus of London Teenage Language*), DCPSE (*Diachronic Corpus of Present-Day Spoken English*), BNC (*British National Corpus*) and LLI (*Linguistic Innovators Corpus*), after which we will consider these words from both a syntactic and a semantic perspective. In Part 2 we will address the issue of the pragmatic meanings of these terms by drawing a contrast between their use by adult and teenager speakers. Our preliminary findings suggest that: (i) as claimed in previous studies (Channell, 1994; Stenström, 2002; Jucker *et al.* 2003), the importance of these words lies in their pragmatic rather than their semantic functions; (ii) placeholders are more common in the language of the younger generations than in that of adults; (iii) adults and teenagers share some of the uses of these terms, such as when the name of a particular item is not remembered or is not easily accessed; (iv) in the language of teenagers these dummy words are used in a wider range of contexts and situations and very often have a derogatory value, while also serving to add an informal character to the conversation as part of the in-group marking system typical of the language of adolescents. The paper concludes with a number of reflections intended to contribute to a broader and more accurate picture of this category of words as well as to a more thorough description of spoken English, especially teen talk.

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Parentheticals revisited.

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Topic: It is well known that mental state predicates such as think or know feature a parenthetical use, as in (1), next to their use with a complement clause, as in (2).

- (1) He is not coming to the party, I think.
- (2) I think that he is not coming to the party.

Thompson and Mulac (1991) have postulated that the parenthetical use diachronically originates in the complementing use, via a stage of complementizer omission. In this evolution the tie between the original main clause and the complement is loosened and ultimately the former can be moved around freely in the latter. Since then, several authors have found support for this hypothesis (e.g. Palander-Collin 1999, Apothéloz 2003, Kärkkäinen 2003, Tagliamonte and Smith 2005), but others have offered counterevidence for it (e.g. Brinton 1996, 2008, Fischer 2007, Van Bogaert 2009). Brinton has suggested other source constructions for the parentheticals, such as appositional clauses of the kind in (3), in which the deictic element eventually got deleted.

- (3) He is not coming to the party. So/That I think.

In this paper we will try to throw more light on the debate, by means of a diachronic corpus investigation of four mental state predicates in Dutch which show the grammatical alternation in (1)-(2): denken 'think', denken 'think' (impersonal), geloven 'believe' and vinden 'find'.

Method: We investigate the grammatical structures and meanings of these predicates in corpora from four stages of the language: Old Dutch, Middle Dutch, Early New Dutch and Present Day Dutch. We use samples of 200 instances per verb per period (selected according to criteria such as representativity, e.g. in terms of text genres, and comparability across the periods). For Present Day Dutch we have two separate samples of 200 instances, one written and one spoken.

Results: For Dutch, Thompson and Mulac's hypothesis is problematic because of the different word order in main and subordinate clauses and because of the near absence of complementizer omission. In fact, our diachronic data for the four verbs show hardly any correlation between the evolutions in their complementing pattern and in their parenthetical pattern. Instead, the latter shows clear historical correlations, on the one hand with appositional clauses of the kind in (3), and on the other hand with a pattern with two juxtaposed main clauses of the kind in (4), i.e. the pattern used for introducing quotes in Present Day Dutch.

- (4) Ic ghelooove hy zal noch slagen ghenieten. (Early New Dutch)
'I believe he will get hurt'

Our investigation thus provides empirical evidence for (some variant of) the hypotheses formulated by Brinton (1996, 2008) and Fischer (2007).

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On the nature of case and agreement checking in Basque varieties with differential object marking.

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Certain Basque dialects that are in contact with Spanish have a non-canonical way of assigning case and agreement to the object of transitive verbs (Fernández and Rezac 2010). In these varieties, instead of the canonical absolutive (1), animate direct objects bear dative case and trigger dative agreement (2), as indirect objects do (3). This non-canonical case and agreement assignment is related to a set of phenomena known as Differential Object Marking (DOM) (Bossong 1991, Aissen 2003).

- (1) Ni-k zu-∅ ikusi z-a-it-u-t
I_E you_A see 2_A-ep-2pl-root-1sg_E
'I saw you'
- (2) Ni-k zu-ri ikusi d-i-zu-t
I_E you_D see expl-(root)_{-DF-2_D-1sg_E}
'I saw you'
- (3) Ni-k zu-ri liburua-∅ eman d-i-zu-t
I_E you_D book_A give expl(3_A)-(root)_{-DF-2_D-1sg_E}
'I gave you the book'

Basing on this differential marking, in this paper I put forward a novel and uniform agreement checking for both direct and indirect objects of those varieties with DOM. I propose that there is a single functional head in charge of checking structural dative agreement with both DOM objects and indirect objects (Ormazabal and Romero 2007). Given that in some varieties DOM objects' dative case depends on the dative agreement of the auxiliary verb –there is no DOM without dative agreement–, I suggest that the functional head that checks dative agreement is T_{DAT}. The main evidence suggesting a structural agreement checking for both objects comes from the impossibility of having two dative agreement markers in the very same auxiliary verb (Albizu 1997).

Even though DOM objects and indirect objects check agreement in the same way –i.e., by entering in an Agree relation with the functional head T_{DAT}–, I argue that case is assigned to them in different ways. Basing on the fact that dative marked indirect objects can exceptionally appear without dative agreement, I claim that dative case in indirect objects is inherent –see Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007 for a combination of inherent and structural case in Spanish indirect objects. As for dative case in DOM objects, I propose that it is structural,

since in some varieties (i) dative case marking is out when there is no dative agreement in the auxiliary verb and (ii) DOM objects have to be in a specific position to get dative case and agreement: whereas those DOM objects that are inside small clauses do not check dative case and agreement, those that are in a position with no intervening elements between them and the functional head T_{DAT} , do check dative case and agreement.

As a result, in the present proposal the Differential Object Marking in Basque dialects can be straightforwardly accounted for basing on a uniform agreement checking and different types of case assignment –there is no need to resort to additional mechanisms. Agreement is structural for both DOM objects and indirect objects, while case is inherent for indirect objects and structural for DOM objects.

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Trihedral approach to the position of adjectival modification

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Adjectival order restrictions have been discussed broadly in the literature (Sproat and Shih 1990, Bosque and Picallo 1996, Cinque 2010, among others) cross-linguistically. In (1), the adjective order mirrors the difference between English and Spanish.

- (1) a. an amusing American musical comedy
b. *una comedia musical americana divertida* (Bosque and Picallo 1996:349)

To explain this mirror image order of the adjectives, Cinque (2010) proposes the distinction of direct and indirect modification, and the phrasal movement. In general, the trigger of this movement is agreement of the phi-features (Bosque and Picallo 1996, Laenzlinger 2000, Demonte 2008, among others), and the resulting orders will be (2).

- (2) a. English (Germanic)
AP from reduced RC > "direct modification" AP > N > AP from reduced RC
b. Italian (Romance)
"direct modification" AP > N > "direct modification" AP > AP from reduced RC
(AP = adjective phrase, RC = relative clause) (Cinque 2010:22)

However, this analysis has a problem with languages like Japanese. If the base position of adjective is universal across languages, and the word order difference is derived by an appropriate movement, Japanese should reflect the most primitive hierarchy of the adjective order because Japanese lacks any agreement of phi features. Japanese adjective order is not as strict as English, and the marginal adjective orders in English (3) are possible in Japanese (4).

- (3) a. a beautiful small black purse
b. # a beautiful black small purse
c. # a small beautiful black purse

d. # a small black beautiful purse

- (4) a. *Kirei-na tiisa-i kuro-i(no) saihu*
 beautiful small black purse
 b. *Kirei-na kuro-i(no) tiisa-i saihu*
 c. *Tiisa-i kirei-na kuro-i(no) saihu*
 d. *Tiisa-i kuro-i(no) kirei-na saihu*

This paper, based on some data of English, Spanish and Japanese, contributes to the debate by arguing two points. First, I argue that the factors to determine the adjectival order are not only the movement triggered by feature checking, but also the syntactic relations assumed by each adjective. Although sporadic mention has been made to the syntactic nature of these adjectives in Cinque (2010), I propose that indirect modification adjective has a clausal status with *pro* and (overt or covert) copular verb (Okami 2012). Once it is derived, indirect modification adjective is exempted from further movement to a higher position. Second, I propose that there are two types of direct modification adjectives. Romance languages offer two syntactic positions to direct modification adjectives, and these positions do not suppose the same interpretation.

- (5) a. *las mansas ovejas*
 the docile sheep
 b. *una guerra religiosa fratricida devastadora*
 a war religious fratricidal devastating (Bosque and Picallo, 1996: 373)

Both prenominal and postnominal direct modification adjective in (5) add some properties to the head noun, but they do not restrict the extension of the head noun. Languages like English or Japanese cannot distinguish direct modification adjectives with their syntactic positions. This dual status of direct modification adjective will also be a clue to explain the adjective order restriction cross-linguistically.

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Contact-induced change in 'subordination' structures of immigrant Turkish in the Netherlands.

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While Turkish immigrants in Western Europe are often said to orient themselves to the norms of Standard Turkish, their Turkish is nonetheless constantly being influenced by the European language they also speak (Backus, 2004). As a result of language contact, slowly but surely, new varieties of Turkish seem to be evolving, characterized by, on the one hand, the loss of certain features, and, on the other hand, the influx of words and structures taken from the Western European languages. In this talk, I will focus on Dutch Turkish in the Netherlands, with an emphasis on my recent work, in which I specifically investigate and highlight changes in the domain of *clause combinations*, specifically *subordination*; an empirical domain not investigated much before in the Dutch context but which seems to be heavily affected by contact.

In my on-going project, I am carrying out corpus-based and experimental research on Dutch Turkish in the NL and on Turkish in Turkey. First, six bilingual group-conversations were recorded and analyzed. The follow-up experimental study consisted of individual tasks, executed by second generation Turkish-Dutch bilinguals and monolinguals in Turkey. The experiments included three tasks: *spontaneous speech production*, *sentence repetition*, and *free speech on a given topic*, in both conditions: monolingual and bilingual mode. Most of the test items in the *sentence repetition* tasks were taken from the previously-recorded group conversations. Finally, a judgment task was administered, containing *likert scale* and *forced choice* items, again in bilingual and monolingual mode, and using the same 'attested' data.

Turkish subordinate clauses are claimed to be mostly non-finite (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005), (cf. Ex.1). Spontaneous group conversations displayed an abundance of finite subordination in Dutch Turkish at points where a non-finite option had been possible, which suggests avoidance of non-finite subordination. Remarkably, there was not a single instance of non-finite indirect *Reported Speech* (RS) although Turkish generally employs both finite and non-finite options in this grammatical context. Language contact has apparently led to an increased use of the finite RS construction, the option that is closest to the Dutch equivalent. The *sentence repetition* task confirmed this preference for finite constructions for bilinguals in the Netherlands, whereas the results reflected the opposite for monolinguals in Turkey.

Ex.1: Semra bana de-di "Kız iş **ara-mı-yor**". (finite)
 Semra I-DAT say-Past.3sg "girl job look for-NEG-Pr.Prog.3sg."
 "Semra said to me "The girl is not looking for a job" "

"Semra bana [kızın iş **ara-ma-dıĝ-ı-nı**] söyledi." (non-finite)
 [girl-GEN job search-NEG-FNom-3.sgPoss.-ACC]

I will also deal with a methodological issue: by far the majority of work in contact linguistics so far is based on recordings of spontaneous speech. In my study, I use a range of experimental techniques to investigate how entrenched the changes, suggested by the spontaneous speech data, really are in people's linguistic competence. In my talk, I will also go over the results of the acceptability judgment tasks for *subordination* structures and compare them with the findings for my production data.

Based on these findings, *subordination* in Dutch Turkish is obviously different from *subordination* in TR-Turkish. Finally, I investigate whether these results are better accounted for in a generative or a usage-based framework, or whether these approaches might complement each other.

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Phoneme inventory and (early) bilingualism.

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This paper deals with the relationship between early bilingualism and the configuration of the phoneme inventory. We will propose a specific correction to the rather expanded belief that in minority-languages most or at least many changes are due to the influence of the dominant language. Against this purely quantitative hypothesis a qualitative phonological criterion will be proposed.

Our basic hypothesis is that, when the acquisition of two languages is early enough (previous to adolescence at any rate), contrastive units of both languages should be acquired and become part of the phonemic inventory of the speaker. The bilingual speaker will then be able to use those phonemic units in the perception and pronunciation of any of his/her two languages. Admitting the fact that "new" phonemes will mainly happen in borrowed forms, our proposal will be weighed against the phonological separation of the two linguistic systems suggested by Major (1977) and others after him.

That hypothesis about bilingual acquisition was formulated following the theory of Natural Phonology where the phoneme is conceptualized as "a unit of perception, memory and intention" (Donegan 1995), and relatively marked phonemes are the result of the inhibition of universal processes.

Theoretical expectations seem to be supported by the facts of present-day Basque language, acquired simultaneously with either French or Spanish by practically every L1 speaker of Basque. Data recorded from present-day speakers that will be provided as examples show that phonemes belonging to French or Spanish, but absent in older generations of monolingual L1 Basque speakers, are systematically acquired by the young bilingual speakers (perception tests which are on their way might also be brought up, if ready). This may provide a way of understanding the rather recent increase of several types of marked phonemes in the Basque phonological inventory, such as the interdental fricative (< Spanish), or the labialized front vowels, nasal vowels, voiced fricatives (< French).

However, that obvious external influence does not entail the loss of Basque exclusive phonemes, i.e. those that are not shared by the other language, such as the voiceless palatal stop /c/, the palatal lateral or the alveolar affricates, units absent in both French and Spanish. The influence of the other language in early bilingualism seems therefore to be restricted to the addition of contrastive units.

On the other hand, observed cases of phoneme loss (e.g., the nowadays ongoing deaspiration by Basque-French speakers or palatal delateralization by Basque-Spanish speakers) might be accounted in terms of universals tendencies (see Bybee 2006).

Scientifically, of course, we cannot discard any other explanatory hypotheses. First of all, the influence of the phonological pattern expanded by learners of Basque as L2 must seriously be taken into account. As a first step in this direction, the main differences in phoneme inventory between L2 vs. L1 Basque speakers will shortly be presented, in order to show how Basque L1 (bilingual) speakers seem to accumulate the inventories of their two languages, whereas L2 speakers of Basque tend to subtract those phonemes not present in their L1. The possibility of expanding these findings to other similar bilingual settings will be offered for general discussion.

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Mutatis mutandis. Towards a crosslinguistic typology of consonant mutation.

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The term 'consonant mutation' is generally associated with the Celtic languages and conjures up intricate phonological alternations in various morphosyntactic environments. The Celtic languages are not unique in this respect, with other (non-Indo-European) languages exhibiting consonant mutations. The term has been standardly defined as "a process that increases or decreases the degree of sonority and/or the length and degree of oral stricture of a segment when there is: (i) a purely phonological context in which the mutation always takes place irrespective of speech style [...] (ii) a "mixed morphophonological environment [...] (iii) a morphosyntactic environment that induces mutation" (Grijzenhout 2011:1554-1555). A detailed analysis of one type of consonant mutation (initial consonant mutation) in a dialect of one language (Irish Gaelic) reveals, however, that this definition not only fails to capture some consonant mutations but does not provide a framework to systematically analyse and compare consonant mutation across dialects and languages (O'Neill 2012; cf. Iosad 2010).

This paper offers a novel set of features to categorise and compare consonant mutation from a typological perspective. The proposed framework first distinguishes between the activation and restriction of a mutation (e.g. 1c versus 2c) involving the trigger and target of the mutation (e.g. 1/2a versus 1/2b). Both the target and trigger are secondly categorised according to (a combination of) the specific formal

(morphosyntactic and phonological) and functional (semantic and pragmatic) features which are associated with the activation (e.g. the feminine common singular definite article before a feminine common singular noun as in 1c) and/or restriction of the mutation (e.g. the coalescence of homorganic consonants as in 2c). The mutation of the target may thirdly belong to a group of mutations in a mutational paradigm and be categorised according to types of phonological alternation (a change in the place of articulation, manner of articulation, and/or secondary articulation of a phoneme) or phonological epenthesis/elision (the addition or deletion of a phoneme). A consonant mutation involves in this view the activation of a phonological alternation or phonological epenthesis/elision (which may be specific to a mutational paradigm) in a target as a result of specific formal and functional features of the trigger and/or the target in the absence of specific formal and functional restrictive features of the trigger and/or target.

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|------------------------------------|----|--|----|--|------------------------------------|
| (1) | a. | an
ə(n)
def.com.fsg
'the' | b. | cloch
klox
stone(f).com.sg
'stone' | c. | an
ə(n)
def.com.fsg
'the stone' | chloch
xlox
stone(f).com.sg |
| (2) | a. | an
ə(n)
def.com.fsg
'the' | b. | tine
'tʲi.nʲə
fire(f).com.sg
'fire' | c. | an
ə(n)
def.com.fsg
'the fire' | tine
'tʲi.nʲə
fire(f).com.sg |

The paper begins with a brief description of previous approaches to consonant mutation and attempts at crosslinguistic comparison. The shortcomings of these approaches are addressed and the proposed categorisation and comparative framework is then outlined. The paper employs hereby not only different types of recognised consonant mutations from different languages (such as Fula, Japanese, and Irish Gaelic) but also possibly unrecognised consonant mutations (such as channels of communication in Pirahã). The paper closes with conclusions on the definition of consonant mutation and the applicability of the framework.

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A case for grammaticalization of information structure: the perfective second tense in earlier Egyptian.

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'Second tenses' in Ancient Egyptian are verbal paradigms whose function has long been recognized to be at the intersection of aspect and discourse, following H. J. Polotsky's (1944) essential findings. They can be roughly defined as backgrounding verb-forms whose informational content is left out of focus when the speaker wants some adjunct to be the more salient part of the utterance. There seems to be some consensus among specialists about the basic function of these forms in the later phase of Egyptian language (Coptic). As for Earlier Egyptian, their precise function in structuring discourse for the Imperfective Second Tense (egyptological mrr-f) and even their very existence for the Perfective Second Tense, (egyptological sDm.n-f) is still debated. Much of the discussion focuses on different views regarding what is formally marked by such forms and what is pragmatically inferred by the hearer in discourse interaction.

My paper will aim at reassessing the relevance of the Second Tense approach for the Perfective, mainly thanks to a refined analysis of diachronic data. Earlier Egyptian corpus is often considered as a homogeneous

whole, while a fresh study of various types of documents shows that grammatical changes can in fact be observed. Thus, I will first give a synthetic description of the historical paths explaining the morphogenesis of perfect and perfective grams in Old Egyptian and their evolution in a later phase of the language. Against this background, we can gain a better understanding of how the Perfective Second Tense came to play a role in marking information structure after having emerged as a mere perfective. According to Polotsky's hypothesis, the Perfective second tense would have originated as a nominalized construction in subject function, with an adverbial predicate expressing the focussed circumstantial information. Ancient Egyptian having a \emptyset copula, this basic scheme would go as follows: 'the fact that he did so and so (was) in such and such circumstances'. The proposed analysis will include a diachronic explanation based on more concrete steps that differs from this hypothesis. As will be shown, the path of evolution that results in the Second Tense being marked for information structure can be conceived of as a typologically original side-effect of the well-known aoristic drift: a former perfective gram loses its aspectual function that is taken over by a former perfect gram. Following this systemic change, it acquires a new function as a verbal form marked for backgrounded/shared information, this process involving structural parameters present in the Egyptian language, most importantly the existence of an Imperfective Second Tense whose origin and use conform to Polotsky's nominal analysis.

These Ancient Egyptian facts may be of interest to typologists in that they illustrate how verbal forms can mark information structure in a way that seems to be relatively more common in African languages than in other parts of the worlds.

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The rise of evidentiality? Nominalization as a marker of non-firsthand information source in Aguaruna (Jivaroan)

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Aguaruna (known to its speakers as *iiniá chicham*) is a Jivaroan language spoken in Amazonas, Peru. The language is nominative-accusative, both head and dependent marking, agglutinating with some fusion. Typical clause structure is predicate final, and this is obligatory in non-finite clauses. Clause chaining with dependent verbs marked for switch-reference and tail-head linkage are integral to the grammar.

Finite verbs are obligatorily marked for person of subject and SAP object; tense; and mood/modality – the latter is a single category that covers speech act distinctions (declarative, interrogative etc.) and epistemic modality. There is no fully grammaticalized evidentiality marking in Aguaruna.

A suffix *-u* forms a subject nominalization (i.e. "*one who verbs*"), and is highly versatile in the sense of Noonan (1997). Argument marking in the nominalized clause is the same as in finite clauses. This nominalizer commonly forms relative clauses, and also finds uses in clause chaining and auxiliary verb constructions. The most striking use of these forms, however, is as "stand-alone" nominalizations, where the nominalized verb is the only one in a sentence, with or without a copula marker. This phenomenon is common in Tibeto-Burman languages (DeLancey 2011), but less so in Amazonia. In Aguaruna, the use of nominalized verbs in place of finite tensed verbs is standard in traditional narratives, and functions as an evidentiality strategy (in the sense of Aikhenvald 2004): nominalized verbs mark non-firsthand information source in contrast to finite verb forms that are neutral.

This paper describes the uses of stand-alone nominalizations in Aguaruna and addresses their interaction with the finite mood/modality paradigm. It also suggests some possible areal influences on this nascent evidential marking in the light of the fully developed grammatical systems of evidentiality that are found in many Andean and Amazonian languages (Beier et al. 2002).

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Genitive subjects in Eastern Basque: a case of change in alignment.

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The genitivisation of O (TOGEN henceforth) in nominalised clauses has been described in northern varieties of Basque (Heath 1972). TOGEN has traditionally been one of the features used to demonstrate that Basque syntax is accusative (Oyharçabal 1992; Trask 2002), because of the varieties exhibiting this type of genitivisation mark O (1), and treat both transitive (A) and intransitive (S) subjects similarly:

(1) *Aita-ren ikus-tera noa.*
 father-gen see-nmlz.adl go.1sg
 'I am going to see father.'

(2) *Nahi dut aita-k hori egi-tea.*
 want aux.1sg father-erg that do-nmlz.det
 'I want father to do that'.

In the context of the discussion about the typological situation of Basque syntax, Bossong (1984) attempted to prove that also the genitive marking of S would be possible – however, he started from a misunderstanding of Basque data (Abaitua and Trask 1987). As a result of a far-reaching search in old northern and eastern texts, I am now in a position to provide solid evidence of genitive marking of S in nominalised clauses in the past. In fact, intransitive subject genitives (ISGEN) are present in a range of eastern Basque texts as late as in the 19th century. In most of the cases, the genitivisation rule systematically assimilates S (3) and O (4), whilst A (4) always appears in the ergative:

(3) *Hanitz düzü, sira, zu-re huna ji-tia.*
 a lot be.3sg Sir you-gen here.adl come-nmlz.det
 'It is great that you come here.'

(4) *Ingrat lükezü ni-k zu-re refüsa-tzia.*
 ungrateful be.3sg I-erg you-gen reject-nmlz.det
 'It would be ungrateful that I reject you'.

Although genitive marking of subjects in subordinate clauses has been described in Altaic languages (Kornfilt 1997; Miyagawa 2008; Asarina and Hartman 2010), for a parallel of Basque it is more pertinent to look to the history of English gerund. Indeed, in both languages a former deverbal name has been gaining verbal properties, becoming a gerund at some point. This process would not have been completed yet, with genitive objects (in northern Basque) and genitive subjects (in English) still being the norm (Trask 1995). In my opinion, Trask's hypothesis can also explain the ISGEN now attested in old eastern Basque, even if its author did not know about this phenomenon.

Thus, the aim of this paper is to demonstrate that in subordinate clauses Basque once treated both O and S in the same manner, i.e. in ergative alignment. At this point, ISGEN has two possible explanations: a) it would be an archaism preserved in eastern Basque longer than elsewhere, as a vestige of an ancient general

rule; b) it would represent a non-successful innovation of the eastern dialects, and in this case it would not have existed in pre-dialectal common Basque. Even though there is no decisive evidence for any of these, I will argue in favour of the former explanation.

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Copying of adpositions in northeastern Siberia: Èven dialects in contact with Sakha and Russian.

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It is generally expected that adpositions will be copied more readily than bound case markers or other inflectional morphology (Matras 2009: 156-157). It is therefore intriguing that the Lamunkhin dialect of Èven spoken in the village of Sebjan-Küöl in Yakutia, which has copied a large number of verbal inflectional suffixes from its dominant neighbour Sakha (Yakut; XXX), has copied hardly any adpositions: only five postpositions of Sakha origin are used by more than one speaker in a corpus of oral narratives, with the corresponding native Èven postpositions occurring far more frequently. As will be presented in this paper, these postpositions are not copied as a whole, but show evidence of Èven influence in their construction, both with respect to the case-marking on the relational nouns themselves and with respect to the case of the dependent noun. For example, the relational noun *tus-* 'about', which in Sakha takes instrumental case marking (1a), takes the prolicative case in Lamunkhin Èven (1b), in parallel with the native Èven relational noun *dʒugu-* 'about' (1c). On the other hand, in Sakha the postposition *dili* 'until' governs the dative case (2a), but in Lamunkhin Èven it occurs with locative case-marked dependent nouns (2b), under the influence of the native Èven postposition *įstala* 'until/since' (2c).

(1a) Sakha

ol tuh-unan min manna įstatija huruj-but-um
 that about-INS.3SG 1SG here article write-PSTPT-1SG
 'I wrote an article about him here.'

(1b) Lamunkhin Èven: Sakha copy

ak-mu tus-li-n ... dʒo:ntur-u taŋ-dʒi-m
 brother-POSS.1SG about-PROL-POSS.3SG poem-ACC read-FUT-1SG
 'I will recite a poem about my brother...'

(1c) Lamunkhin Èven: native item

nɔnan Omčeni dʒugu-li-n ukčen-dʒi-m
 at.first NAME about-PROL-POSS.3SG tell-FUT-1SG
 'First I'll tell you about Omčeni.'

- (2a) Sakha
onon *biliŋ-ŋe* *dili* *üleli:* *hiɖʒɖʒ-abin*
 therefore now-DAT until work.IPF.CVB IPF-PRS.1SG
 'So I'm working until now.'
- (2b) Lamunkhin Éven: Sakha copy
ti:ker-re-n *dili* *ne:gi-wre-m*
 now.ADJ-LOC-POSS.3SG until scold-HAB.NFUT-1SG
 'I scold him until now'
- (2c) Lamunkhin Éven: native item
o_l_ihin *ti:ker-re-n* *ɨstala* *tara-w* *kuruk* *ɖʒoŋna-ra-m*
 therefore now.ADJR-LOC-POSS.3SG until that-ACC always remember.HAB.NFUT-1SG
 '...that is why until now I continuously remember that.'

The Lamunkhin Éven data will be contrasted with data from the Bystraja dialect of Éven spoken on Kamchatka, which is under intense contact pressure from Russian. Nevertheless, there is no evidence for copying of Russian prepositions, with all attested instances occurring only in code-switched Russian NPs. This lack of copying of prepositions from Russian can most plausibly be explained by the structural incompatibility between the Russian prepositions and the head-final structure of Tungusic languages, indicating that typological congruence between the languages in contact does play a role in the outcome of copying (cf. Johanson 2002: 306).

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- XXX: references omitted to avoid identification of presenter

Polysemy patterns of Welsh native and borrowed adjectives: the case of 'sharp'

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My paper is a case study in polysemy patterns occurring with the Welsh adjectives *llym*, *miniog* and *siarp*, all denoting 'sharp' as compared with that of English *sharp*, *keen* and *acute*. Both languages are extremely rich in synonyms in this field and therefore represent an interesting case for studying the different ways of how two languages in contact lexicalize it, as well as different possible figurative shifts within the lexical field 'sharp'.

Of the analysed Welsh lexemes the first two are of Celtic origin, whereas the last one is a borrowing from English attested from the 16th c. onwards [GPC 3264]. As a study on the basis of the Modern Welsh corpus (Ellis et al. 2001) shows, in literary Modern Welsh *miniog* is used both with all kinds of sharp objects, as well as in numerous metaphoric and metonymic senses (*dannedd miniog* 'sharp teeth', *pregethu miniog ac apelgar* 'pointed and engaging preaching'), whereas *llym* is only rarely used for describing sharp instruments (though it was the main word for 'sharp' at the earlier stages of Welsh) and is mainly found in contexts like *beirniadu yn llym* 'to judge severely'. As many borrowings, *siarp* is not commonly used in the literary register of Modern Welsh (see Awbery 2010: 423-424), nevertheless some collocations are found in the Corpus (*siarp i'thafod* 'sharp-tongued', *blas siarp* 'sharp taste'), notably not with sharp physical objects.

Therefore the range of meanings for *siarp* is a subset of the meanings of its English source. The range of meanings possible for *miniog* in Modern Welsh is close to that of English *sharp* and *keen*, whereas *llym* seems to intersect with their meanings only partially. An interesting source to examine correspondences between the Welsh adjectives and their English counterparts is the parallel text corpus of the records of the National Assembly of Wales (<http://www.cysgliad.com/cysefin/hebog/>). On the basis of these and other corpus data it is possible to assert that despite a long contact history these Welsh adjectives still preserve some patterns of polysemy which are not attested in their English semantic counterparts.

In cases where we find similar patterns of polysemy for Welsh and English the question arises whether

these should be seen as results of language contact or else as outcome of general cognitive phenomena. To evaluate this I use lexical typological data: German *scharf* in (Fritz 1995), a comparison of German data with English and Latin in Fritz 2005: 118-130, Kyuseva 2012; the database of semantic shifts described in Zalisniak et al. 2012. In this sense, my paper is not only a study of Welsh, but also addresses the more general question of whether we can claim that some semantic patterns are attributable to language contact.

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Locating the verb in reflexive constructions: reflexive strategies in Fijian.

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This paper explores in depth the syntactic, semantic, and lexical characteristics of reflexive constructions in the Fijian language and applies the resulting observations to the hypothesis that the verb plays a determining role in reflexive selection.

To date, little research has been conducted on the phenomenon of reflexive marking in Fijian, and, with the exception of Moyse-Faurie (2008), much of what has been done describes Fijian as lacking a dedicated reflexive marker (Schütz 1985; Dixon 1988; Büring 2005).

This paper takes a close look at reflexive contexts within Fijian through interview, questionnaire, and survey data collected from native speakers, to arrive at the conclusion that the language, in fact, contains three different reflexive types with distinct binding domains and antecedent requirements. Moreover, as demonstrated in (1), different verbs in Fijian reflexive constructions are found to exhibit a certain degree of selective preference for specific reflexive types.

- (1)
- a. O koya e=doma-ni koya
det 3sg.sbj 3sg.sbj=love-tr 3sg.obj
 - b. O koya e=digi-taki koya gā
det 3sg.sbj 3sg.sbj=choose-tr 3sg.obj modif.emphatic
 - c. O koya e=vana-i koya gā vakai koya
det 3sg.sbj 3sg.sbj=shoot-tr 3sg.obj modif.emphatic according.to 3sg.obj

The evidence in favor of dedicated systems of reflexive marking in Fijian adds an interesting perspective to our understanding of anaphoric binding, coreference, and systems of reflexive marking. The existence of multiple reflexive types within Fijian finds it grouped with languages, including Norwegian, Dutch, French, Russian, and Marathi, that cannot be readily described according to the traditional bifurcation of anaphors and pronominals

originally assumed in Chomsky's Binding Theory (1981).

Building upon Dalrymple's (1993) argument that binding constraints are lexically specified by anaphoric elements, the data from Fijian is applied to the hypothesis that reflexive requirements can equally be specified for distinct groups of verbs, an approach which offers another level of descriptive clarity to theories of anaphoric binding and introduces a means of predicting reflexive selection in domains where syntactic constraints do not readily apply and in languages with more than one reflexive type that have overlapping syntactic binding domains.

Interpreting reflexive binding constraints as lexically specified permits much greater descriptive accuracy with respect to the set of reflexive elements in natural language (Dalrymple 1993; Dalrymple 2001; Falk 2001). Yet, though the lexical approach does account for the description of anaphoric elements that are often overlooked in traditional, domain-based theories, it does not account for the presence of a certain degree of inconsistency within the defined constraints of reflexive systems. The observation that certain reflexive types are not always permitted within their recognized antecedent and domain constraints contributes to the hypothesis that factors other than antecedent and domain constraints play a role in motivating and restricting the use of certain reflexive elements within an utterance. Whereas Dalrymple (1993) primarily approaches the problem of multiple reflexives types within a single language in terms of binding constraints that are lexically specified by anaphoric elements, this work puts forward and substantiates the argument that reflexive requirements can be lexically specified for distinct groups of verbs.

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The development of the *conditionnel passé* in French.

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As the perfect equivalent of the *conditionnel présent* in French, the *conditionnel passé* (*j'aurais aimé*, 'I would have liked') only lately integrated the tense paradigm in the history of the language: this form is not attested before the 12th century and, according to Wagner (1939: 231), it is only from the 18th century onwards that its use has superseded that of the past subjunctive in counterfactual conditionals (*Si j'avais su, je ne serais pas venu*, 'If I had known, I wouldn't have gone'). Except for Wagner's study (1939), there is almost no study on this tense and its historical evolution remains rather under-documented.

The present paper contributes to fill this gap by investigating the grammaticalization of the *conditional passé* in French and exploring the mechanisms of linguistic change involved. This study relies on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of a longitudinal corpus extending from Old French to Modern French. The objective is two-fold:

Firstly, we trace the principal stages of the expansion of the *conditionnel passé* in French by looking into its emergence in different contexts of use (*temporal, potential, counterfactual, attenuative and evidential*). We notably show that its usage largely extended in analogy with that of the *conditionnel présent* (cf. Author 1 and Author 2 in print), but that the *conditionnel passé* also developed additional uses where its perfect value (coming from the compound morphology *avoir/être + past participle*) eroded in favor of a past meaning; for instance, in its counterfactual uses, the *conditionnel passé* is not referring to a completed eventuality, but to a past time when the realization of the eventuality was still part of the actual world:

- (1) *Si Marie m' avait prévenu hier,*
 If Marie me had warned yesterday
(demain) j' serais venu à la fête.
 (tomorrow) I be-cond come-pst.ptcp to the party
 'If Marie had warned me yesterday, I **would have come** to the party (tomorrow).'

Secondly, we describe the mechanisms of linguistic change that underlay the described expansion. We thus argue that it is the result of the grammaticalization of new constructions (cf. Trousdale 2010), namely that of the counterfactual conditional construction, attenuative constructions and evidential constructions. These constructionalizations go hand in hand with the conventionalization of pragmatic inferences which we analyze as the development of bridging contexts and switch contexts (cf. Traugott and Dasher 2002, Heine 2002).

The results of this study are finally synthesized by means of an 'implicational' semantic map "(cf. Narrog and van der Auwera, 2011) summarizing the paths of change that led to the development of the *conditionnel passé* in French.

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Discourse function of marked and unmarked verbs in Ȫt-Ma'in narrative.

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The Benue-Congo (West Kainji) language Ȫt-Ma'in [gel] is spoken by approximately 36,000 people in northwestern Nigeria. This paper examines the hypothesis that clauses of the main event line, i.e., propositions which move the narrative chronologically forward, are not marked for tense or aspect (TA). Those clauses that are marked for TA do other jobs in the narrative. This paper shows that this hypothesis accounts for the majority of clauses in narrative texts once one takes into account that direct speech also displays this distribution of TA marked verbs.

Verb stems can only be marked for past tense with the suffix *-g* (as in (1)), perfective with the suffix *-ǰʒsǰ* (always construed as past time), and distal past with the suffix *-ǰn* (which evokes distance in either space or time).

- (1) \bar{e} *nǰŋ-g* *ī-nǎn* *ì-s-rém*.
 class2.pl do-past class.dim-argument class.dim.assoc.mrk-class4-speech
 'They had a debate.' (Lit: They did an argument of speeches.)

Other TA distinctions can be made using a series of auxiliaries: present progressive *ǰ* (see (2)), past progressive *ǰgè*, future *dé*.

- (2) *è-kʰēn* *ǰ* *dʒàk* *s-ǰ-t-hí* *ū-rǰ*.
 class2-indef pres.prog raise class4-assoc.mrk-class6-head class3-god
 'Some are thanking god.' (Lit: Some are raising heads to god.)

Clauses marked for TA are used for various functions like introduction, background information, commentary

and conclusion. Example (1) above occurs in introductory material to a narrative: the verb is marked for past tense. Example (2) occurs as commentary on the final event of a story: the clause is marked as present progressive by the auxiliary. Example (3) advances the chronological time line of a story: the bare verb stems *wā* 'put' and *nòm* 'do' occur unmarked for TA.

- (3) a. *nā* *wā* *ś* *j-ə-r-dəg...*
 3.PL.NonSpec put dog C7-AssocMkr-C5-wilderness
 'They choose wild dog...' (Lit: They put wild dog.)
- b. *jā* *nòm* *ə-r-bən.*
 C7.3SG do AssocMkr-C5-invitation
 'He gave an invitation.' (Lit: He did an invitation.)

The ʁt-Ma'in data contrast with the claim that perfective forms occur in main story line (or "foregrounded") clauses (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994:126); but do support claims that imperfective forms are used for background clauses (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994:126). This contrastive the use of TA marked forms for backgrounded information and the use of unmarked forms for foregrounded information has been noted for other languages in the region (Levinsohn 1994:8, for Gude [gde]; Follingstad 1994:193, for Tyap [kcg]). In ʁt-Ma'in, bare verb stems unmarked for TA appear to occur only as a narrative form and are not found elsewhere in the language.

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How do Swedish learners of Italian as an L2 use the Italian interjection *be'*?

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Primary and secondary interjections are linguistic devices very often used in everyday conversation. They display a wide range of pragmatic functions and they are not easily translatable from one language to another. Interjections are very important from an interactional point of view since they work as turn initiators, relating sentences anaphorically to the preceding stretch of talk (Norrick 2008: 866). Another important aspect to be taken into account about this part of speech is that the meaning and interpretation of these expressions depend largely on their intonation contour. From a semantic point of view interjections - considered as pragmatic markers - feature a procedural rather than a conceptual meaning, specifying how the utterance they introduce should be interpreted by the listener in relation to the preceding spoken sequence (Lauwers, Vanderbauwhede, Verleyen, 2010: 130). Hence, they constitute a typical case of subjectification (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 20). Moreover, being expressions of modal attitudes, they do not contribute to the propositional content of the utterance. This paper aims at analyzing how and to what extent the Italian interjection/pragmatic marker *be'* is actively used by Swedish learners of Italian as a second language. The data analyzed stem from the InterIta corpus, a series of recordings of learners of Italian at different proficiency levels, all students at Stockholm University. The data, which have been transcribed and analyzed from a lexical as well as a morpho-syntactic way, has allowed a classification of the learners at different levels of acquisition. In the recordings, the learners are dialoguing with a native speaker of Italian, and there is also a control group of Italian native speakers (Bardel 2004). Preliminary results indicate that *be'* is used only by the most advanced learners in the corpus. *be'* as a pragmatic marker can be used both as an interactional marker (turn-taking device) and as a metatextual device (helping the speaker in structuring his/her turn): as an interactional marker, *be'* can signal partial agreement, hesitation, disagreement, concession and modulation. We will explore how

our informants cope with this wide range of functions and which functions of *be'* tend to appear first. We will also compare the use of *be'* in the learners to a control group of native speakers of Italian. We adopt a conversation-analytic perspective, which considers talk as a vehicle for action and studies how participants cooperate in building coherent courses of action (Clift, Drew and Hutchby 2006: 40).

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Linguistic expression of existence for weather phenomena: the supremacy of space.

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The goal of the present paper is to argue that the spatial specification prevails over temporal one in the expression of weather phenomena on the basis of verbal structures expressing habituality in French and nominal sentences in Russian.

An English sentence like *It is raining*, without any spatial precision, is interpreted as referring to the location of the speaker. This fact led Bolinger (1973, 1977) to postulate the superfluous character of the spatial specification for meteorological expressions. However, according to Taylor (2001), weather verbs contain spatial reference as part of their lexical sub-syntactic structure. Therefore, the verb *to rain* has a lexically specified argument slot that can be filled by locations. We will show that the expression of location can indeed become obligatory in the domain of meteorology, thus taking precedence over time.

Iterative reading of French weather verbs imposes the space precision. Example (1a) is ungrammatical without the locative argument, even if the speaker is referring to the place where he or she is located.

- (1) a. **Il pleut beaucoup / souvent*
it rains much / often
b. *Il pleut souvent ici / à Paris / dans cette ville*
'It often rains here / in Paris / in this city'

However, if the same phenomenon is present in several places at the same time, we obtain a perfectly grammatical sentence without any further precisions regarding time reference. Example (2) is thus interpreted as referring to different raining events happening at the time of utterance.

- (2) *J'ai cru comprendre qu'il pleut dans plusieurs villes.*
'I figure it is raining in several cities'

We find similar data in Russian where the weather phenomena can be easily expressed through a nominal construction limited to the sole mention of the meteorological noun, like *dožd'* 'rain' or *sneg* 'snow'. Just like in English or French, the absence of all spatial or temporal precisions will entail the *here-now* reading.

- (3) *Moroz i solnce.* (Pushkin, *Zimnee utro*)
frost and sun
'It is frosty and sunny'

A spatial specification, however, can be added insisting on the fact that the phenomenon is taking place

outside, in the place where the speaker is located. Russian possesses several locative expressions for this matter, like *na ulice* 'in the street', *za oknom* 'outside', etc. Example (4) is indeed well-formed and is interpreted as referring to the moment of the utterance.

- (4) *Na ulice / za oknom moroz.*
on street / behind window frost
'It is frosty outside'

It is difficult though to introduce the explicit temporal reference without the locative one, even when it is insisting on the *now*-reading. Example (5a) is thus borderline grammatical.

- (5) a. **Sejčas / ?*Segodnja moroz*
now / today frost
b. *Sejčas / Segodnja na ulice moroz.*
now / today on street frost
'It is frosty outside now / today'

On the basis of the above-mentioned and similar data, we will therefore argue for the supremacy of space over time in identification of meteorological phenomena.

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Maa 'Past', 'Perfect' and Narrative Discourse.

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Tucker and Mpaayei (1955) say Maa (Nilo-Saharan) has "present", "past", "continuous", and "narrative" tenses. Their commentaries suggest that all except the "narrative" have a range of meanings compatible with the profile of aspect rather than of tense (cf. König 1993), and that the "past" corresponds to both past and perfect in English.

In elicitation, bilingual speakers easily translate English past tense verbs with Tucker and Mpaayei's so-called "past tense", and all easily combine it with adverbs like 'yesterday', 'last year', 'before', etc. However, study of over 100 texts shows it neither distributes like the English past tense (though it can occur in past as well as future-time contexts), nor exclusively correlates with the narrative main event line (Labov and Waletzky 1967). Lines 1.1-8 present the beginning of an oral history. Despite the free translations, with one exception there is no verb morphology in the Maa corresponding to English tense or aspect forms. The exception is line 1.3 which has Tucker and Mpaayei's "past tense" (glossed 'PF').

- 1.1 'Long ago, there was a warrior.'
1.2 'Now this warrior, he was very sharp [brave/fierce].'
1.3 *é-tá-ár-á* *apá* *in=jorín,*
3-PF-kill-PF before F.PL=war.parties
'he killed/had killed war-parties,'
1.4 'and he killed warriors'
1.5 'and warriors, he finished,'
1.6 'and he took their cows and donkeys.'
1.7 'Very early in the morning he moved,'
1.8 'and he went to challenge (the) others'

Clauses containing the “past” which at first may seem to express main events usually mark a transition to a different, usually prior, mental space (Fauconnier 1994) or type of discourse information. For instance, 1.3 initiates a mental space of potentially habitual activities elaborating on the warrior’s “sharpness” or fierceness. The chronological main event line begins in 1.7-8. Interestingly, the verbs in 1.7-8 do not carry the “past” form. Altogether, the functional profile of the Maa “past” is more like a ‘perfect’ (Comrie 1976); further, a perfect is coherent with the extension of the form to mark subjunctive or irrealis mental spaces (Langacker 1978).

All of 1.1-8 except 1.2-3 employ the so-called “narrative tense”, marked by *n-*. The fact that *n-* occurs with semantically habitual and stative as well as with eventive predications suggests it is not really a narrative (main event-coding) form. Instead, we argue that *n-* shows high continuity, and is further grammaticalized into some conjunctions and frozen expressions like “once there was”.

Rarely, the PF form and the high-continuity *n-* co-occur, as in 2 where a man looks for a girl for eventual marriage. Here, *n-* relates the content of ‘I have heard’ to the conceptually-connected ‘I have seen’, both concerned with reporting the speaker’s observations prior to the time of speaking.

2	amô	á-tó-dúa-a	n-á-tō-nīŋ-ō
	because	1SG-PF-see-PF	N-1SG-PF-hear-PF
	‘because I have seen you and I have heard you...’		

Altogether, the PF and *n-* forms help structure the mental processing of how pieces of information relate to each other, but neither codes the narrative main event line per se. (495 words)

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On “certainly” and “ciertamente”: a corpus-based study.

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In recent years, epistemic adverbs have received a lot of attention due to their multifunctionality (Aijmer 2005, Simon-Vandenberg 2007). Similar to the study on “certainly” and “zeker” (Byloo et al. 2007), this paper analyses and compares the use of the English adverb “certainly” and its Spanish cognate “ciertamente”. The functional inequivalence between English *-ly* adverbs and Spanish *-mente* adverbs has already been pointed out by previous contrastive studies (Rabadán et al. 2006). This mismatch is attested by a perceived translation tendency to avoid *-mente* adverbs felt as clumsy and burdensome (Ramón García 2009). Using a contrastive analysis methodology, the present contribution goes one step further to explain this lack of equivalence between “certainly” and “ciertamente” from a functional perspective.

The first part of the study investigates the frequency, meanings and functions of “certainly” and “ciertamente” in a monolingual comparable corpus of English and Spanish original texts. In a second stage, we compare the evidence to reveal the quantitative and qualitative similarities and differences in the use of “certainly” and “ciertamente”. Upon discovering an outstanding quantitative difference with “certainly” exceeding “ciertamente”, the study turns to a detailed comparison of the frequency for each function in order to discover whether differences apply equally to them all or whether it is only some functions “ciertamente” is not so prone to express in Spanish. The results show that differences are mainly due to the degree of grammaticalization attained by this adverb in English (Aijmer 2005). The last stage is the examination of a translation corpus as a tool to complete the descriptive analysis. The expected results are to find “ciertamente” as a frequent translation option for functions typically conveyed by “ciertamente” in original Spanish. On the

other hand, we expect a higher frequency of other choices when “certainly” is expressing a function alien to the native use of “ciertamente”.

The comment texts analysed in this paper have been extracted from a large comparable corpus of English and Spanish opinion columns. The source of empirical data is provided by the three most widely read British upmarket newspapers *The Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* and Spanish quality newspapers *El País*, *ABC* and *El Mundo*. The conclusions reached by this study may be valuable both in the field of descriptive linguistics and translation training and practice.

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On the pragmatic origin of clitic doubling in Spanish.

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Clitic doubling (CD) is the linguistic phenomenon where a clause contains both a clitic pronoun and a noun phrase or determiner phrase (DP) with the same syntactic function, as is shown in examples 1a (direct object, DO) and 1b (indirect object, IO), where the clitic is marked in italics and the DP is in bold font:

(1^a) Mi madre murió cuando yo tenía cinco años. Y cuando tuve once *lo* encontré **a mi padre** aquí con una mujer. (Sábato, Ernesto 1961: 135. Buenos Aires, Argentina)

‘My mother died when I was five years old. And when I was eleven, I found my father here with a woman.’

(1^b) ¿Quién *le* dijo **a ella** que el aseo y compostura que gastaba no eran suficientes? (Pardo Bazán, Emilia 1883. La Coruña, España)

‘Who told her that the neatness and composure that she had were not enough?’

In the early literature, some authors considered CD to be redundant (Fish 1968: 865), whereas others accounted for the phenomenon in terms of theta-roles (Aoun 1981) and agreement markers (Rini 1990; García Miguel and Vazquez 1994). However, none of these studies gives a good insight into the semantic or pragmatic nature of the phenomenon and the evolution it has undergone.

Melis and Flores (2004, 2010) argue that the evolution of CD can be explained in terms of Differential Object Marking (DOM). The authors claim that the increasingly frequent marking of animate direct objects with the preposition *a*, as in *vi a Julia* (I saw Julia) invited for a new means to distinguish between the newly marked direct object and the indirect object. According to the authors, speakers differentiate between the two object functions by giving an agreement marker to the verb in the form of a dative clitic. This proposal may be the answer why CD expanded, but it does not answer the question of why it exists in the first place and does not tell us anything about the pragmatic functions that CD has had throughout its history.

We believe that the appearance and the evolution of CD are not caused only by grammatical or structural reasons but that they are also pragmatically driven. On the basis of a XVth Century document, we will analyze which types of actions are related with CD using the categorization proposed by Vendler (1957), in an attempt to discover which semantic fields were the first to be associated with CD. The results regarding the types of actions related to CD will allow us to draw some preliminary conclusions about the semantic and

pragmatic functions that CD had in its early stages. We will also attempt to anticipate which semantic and pragmatic motives will allow for the expansion of CD in the centuries that followed.

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Speech community versus literary language community: does it matter?

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The language policy is all about choices, and the existence of an explicitly codified norm is arguably the most important defining feature of a literary language as opposed to other language varieties. Given that fact, we will analyze the examples of recent practices that serve as an explicit call to re-examination of the choices open to (addressable by) literary language standardization, as well as the status and norms of contemporary literary languages.

Our main goal is to analyze and evaluate the outcomes of the language management activities that were carried out in Croatia. In doing that, we will take into account the institutional attempts, as well as the speakers' resistance to reinforcement of conflicting norms.

We will first examine the role of institutions, especially the tripartite language academy (three institutions actively engaged in language management activities on the national level: The Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, The Council for the Norms of the Croatian Standard Language, and the Institute for the Croatian Language and Linguistics). Representing a fair number of the most influential and politically very active language planners, members of the aforementioned institutions attempted to re-standardize the literary language. The idea of a homogenous literary language community, despite the dialectal variation, was taken as a starting point. Subsequently, the inherent ability of almost every member of this community to recognize "good" Croatian was glorified. Language planners belonging to this group tried to impose mostly symbolic changes to language norms. However, as soon as one analyzes the outdated hierarchy of social and functional styles that was taken to be relevant for re-standardization of Croatian literary language, it becomes clear that the assumption of homogeneity inherent to the model of the literary language community is untenable, because the model does not take into account the changes in a society that this language serves.

For this reason we will undertake a second step and analyze the difference between the usage and the norm in Croatian media: Croatian newspaper texts and news websites, as well as comments on the different news and social networking sites. In choosing the examples, we will account for the constant interplay between internal and external linguistic norms, but also for the symbolic nature of proposed normative changes.

In combining quantitative (statistic) and qualitative approach, we hope to be able to show the interplay between the literary language community and the speech community. To analyze this relationship, we will show that the acceptance of symbolic changes within the linguistic norm of already established standard language is not undermined by the "uneducated" and "careless" language users, often labeled as members of speech community who do not care about literary tradition. Namely, our analysis will show exactly the contrary

– that systematic rejection of new norms comes from those who chose not to repress the literary values of the recent past.

**Analogy, frequency and system-dependent competition in grammaticalization:
the show is (going) (about) to begin.**

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The development of a prospective future function of *be going to* INF remains a dragon's hoard for linguists to pillage. The common assumption is that a main verb *go* 'go somewhere' + purposive adjunct was reanalyzed into an auxiliary *go + to + infinitival main verb*, marking (immediate) future. Analogy has usually been assigned a secondary role in this process, and proposed analogues have been mostly convincingly dismissed as unlikely (e.g. Traugott's 2012).

This talk discusses the constructions (i) [*be about to* INF] and (ii) [*go about to* INF] and the major role they played in the grammaticalization of (iii) [*going to* INF]. My data come from an off-line corpus-conversion of the huge EEBO database of Early Modern English.

- (i) *pis lupere wummen weren ... A-boute to bringue lupere þou3t.*
'These evil women **were... about to bring** evil thought.' (c1300)
- (ii) *This false iuge gooth now faste aboute ('busily about') To hasten his delit.* (c1390)

The original sense of (ii) is spatial ('go to several places in order to do something'), but from around 1530 a sense 'try to' and, more generally, prospective aspect appeared, as in (iib), which is also an early instance of participial *go*.

- (iib) *They shall begyle your simple playnesse with feyned communicacion, not going about to wynne you vnto Christe.* (1549)

(iii) [*going to* INF], which unlike (iib), remained limited to cases of motion with a purpose until the end of the sixteenth century:

As they were goynge to bringe hym there, ... cometh one Piers Venables (1439)

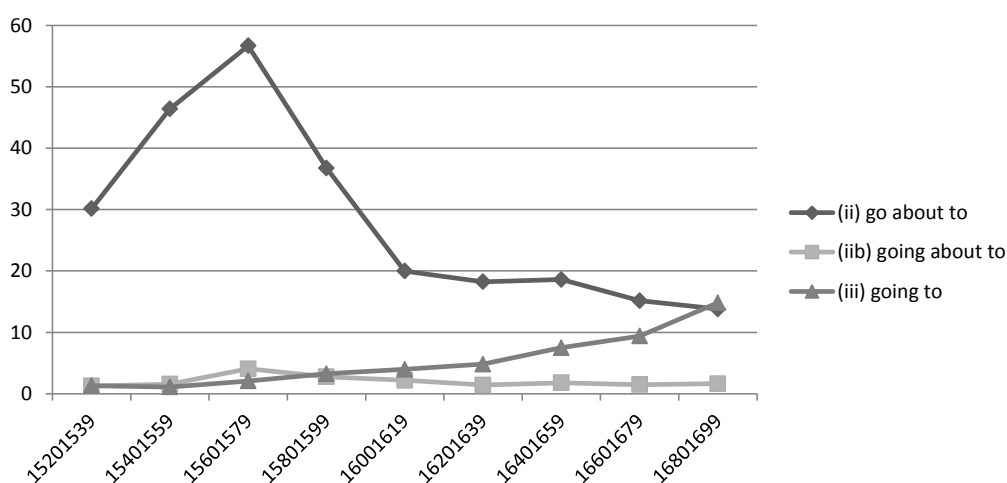


Figure 1: Frequencies per million words (motion/no motion) (N = 16,544)

Figure 1 suggests that prospective [*go about to* INF] was common enough – making its absence in the literature quite problematic – to model for [*going to* INF]. More importantly, while [*going to* INF] caught up with [*go about to* INF] only around 1700, it overtook [*going about to* INF] more than a century earlier, around the time

when [*be Ving*] (the ‘progressive’) started to grammaticalize (Elsness 1994). At this point, only [*go about to* INF] had developed prospective aspect uses without motion. I argue that the grammaticalization of the progressive, though, led to production pressures: *be going to* was phonetically much lighter, and hence extended to *going about to*’s motionless uses through formal and semantic similarity. Only much later did *going to* outcompete *go about to* in general.

My talk draws attention to various theoretical issues. First, the formal and functional similarity between *be about to*, *go(ing) about to* and *going to*, together with their frequency histories, corroborates the importance of analogy in the grammaticalization of *going to*, and may serve as a starting point for operationalizing the distinction between what Traugott (2012) calls ‘analogical thinking’ (which is everywhere) and ‘constructional analogization’. Second, the relation between the success of *going to* and the progressive construction illustrates how grammaticalization may be triggered by a shift elsewhere in the grammatical system (see e.g. Petré and De Smet 2012).

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Negation patterns in contact in Southern Amerindian languages.

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This paper reports on some common typological traits on negation and negative morphemes spread in South Amerindian languages. We search for common traits on negation likely due to contact in a group of languages: Quechua, Aymara, Awajún (Aguaruna) and Spanish. We base our analysis on data from languages with non-shared ancestry, but with similar negation pattern, similar negation morphemes and a (probable) history of contact in a linguistic area. Our data have been collected in fieldwork and from bibliographic records. The data are analysed and classified according to the criteria of standard negation and non-standard negation, double marking negation and single marking negation (preverbal and post-verbal negation).

The purpose of this paper is, firstly, to typify characteristic effects of two types of grammatical transfers of negation markers: grammatical borrowing and grammatical imposition, following Van Coetsem’s (2000) theory and, secondly, discuss why a negative pattern in contact might acquire a second marker, while another does not. The introduction of a new marker into a negation pattern is the beginning of a Meillet spiral or one of the Jespersen Cycles (van der Auwera 2009, 2010). The approach of this study is from a perspective of the diachronic syntax of negation in interaction with language contact factors.

The languages under examination are spoken in the Andes. We will discuss why Quechua and Aymara provide us a model of likely grammatical imposition of a negative pattern (Pineda-Bernuy 2012). In contrast, Santiago del Estero Quichua and Spanish offer a model of grammatical borrowing of negative morphemes. The striking similarities of the negative morphemes between Quechua and Awajún (Jíbaro language family) (Adelaar 2004; Overall 2000) challenge us to investigate any discernable features of language contact, more specifically between Awajún and Ancash Quechua.

Different outcomes of negative patterns in contact are a result of the differences between language contact types. This is basically a difference between grammatical borrowing and grammatical imposition where the concept of agentivity is fundamental, following van Coetsem (2000)’s framework.

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Development of Estonian conjunction *kuna* 'while, because' during the 20th century.

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In Estonian, there are three causal conjunctions: *et*, *sest*, and *kuna*. Conjunction *kuna* 'while; as, because' is quite a young causal conjunction; it has changed from temporal (1) to causal (2) conjunction mainly during the 20th century.

- (1) Luges weel kord üle ja siis wiskas kirja käest laua pääle, **kuna** ise kärsitult edasi tagasi sammus.
'S/he read the letter one more time and then threw it onto the table, **while** marching impatiently back and forth'.
- (2) Paraku ei saa Eesti vanu rehve seal kasutada, **kuna** elektriijaamal ei ole oma kummipurustusseadet,
'Unfortunately Estonia cannot use old tyres there, **because** the power station does not have a device for destroying tyres'.

The main questions analyzed are how and when the change from the temporal to the causal meaning took place; and how the development of *kuna* has changed the system of Estonian causal conjunctions.

The sentences I have analyzed are taken from the Corpus of Written Estonian of (from 1890 to 1990). Both fiction and newspaper texts from the period have been used.

The change from TEMPORAL to CAUSE is one of the well-known grammaticalization paths (e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2002: 291). The temporal use of *kuna* prevailed at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. However, the latter part of the 20th century brought about changes and the use of causal *kuna* began to dominate. In the paper this change is followed.

During the first half of the 20th century Estonian language planners took a strong prescriptive approach. In the discussion about the development and usage of *kuna* I take into account also the strict attitude of Estonian language planning towards the change of *kuna*.

In order to find out, whether and how the change has influenced the system of Estonian causal conjunctions, Sweetser's (1990) threefold division of causal relationships is taken into account. Sweetser argues that causal conjunctions can be used in the content (3), epistemic (4), and speech act domains (5).

- (3) John came back because he loved her.
(4) John loved her, because he came back.
(5) What are you doing tonight, because there's a good movie on.

She also claims that in some languages (for example in French), one conjunction is used to mark epistemic and speech act clauses, while another is used for content clauses (Sweetser 1990: 82). Do some of Estonian causal conjunctions tend to be used either in content, epistemic or conversational domain? How the evolving of the new causal conjunction *kuna* has changed the system?

The development of causal conjunction *kuna* has changed the system of Estonian causal conjunctions. If *kuna* marks a clause that precedes the main clause, it is used mostly in the content domain (in these cases *kuna* has at least to some extent replaced conjunction *et*); if it marks a clause that follows the main clause, it is mostly used in epistemic or speech act domain, so that conjunction *sest* is used more in the content domain now.

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Polysemy in language contact. Borrowing of the Greek-origin adposition κατά in Coptic.

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Adpositions tend to be highly polyfunctional. While some approaches to lexical semantics search for abstract basic meanings, recent research indicates that polysemy is probably a more insightful analysis of the one-to-many form-function mappings associated with adpositions (e.g. Hagège 2008, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2008, Grossman and Polis 2012). The recent burst of work on semantic maps (see e.g. the special number of *Linguistic Discovery* 8/1, 2010) has provided a useful tool for evaluating the empirical validity of polysemy.

The aim of the present paper is to examine an aspect of the semantics of adposition borrowing, focusing on the extent to which polysemy networks associated with a source-language adposition are borrowed. Taking the Greek-origin adposition κατά (Luraghi 2003, Bortone 2010) in Coptic as a test-case, I show that adpositions are usually not borrowed with their entire polysemy networks.

In order to demonstrate this point, I will build a semantic map of the spatial (motion from, downwards, towards, etc.), temporal (extension, duration) and conceptual senses (conformity, comparison, cause, distributive, iterative) covered by the preposition κατά in Greek, based on existing semantic maps and additional typological evidence. Thanks to this map, it is possible to ground a contrastive analysis of the senses associated with the preposition κατά in Greek, on the one hand, and with kata in the various Coptic dialects, on the other.

In terms of adposition borrowing, the semantic maps method allows one to show (1) that a small part of the polysemy network associated with the preposition in Greek is borrowed, (2) that spatial meanings are hardly borrowed, while conceptual ones can easily be, (3) that the polysemy network of kata in Coptic is fairly different from one dialect to another. This, in turns leads to an interesting question, which can be evaluated empirically: do the ways in which adpositions are borrowed shed light on the Connectivity Hypothesis associated with semantic maps?

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In search of strange strings. Phraseological patternedness in translated texts.

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The present paper is an exploratory study on the 'untypical collocations hypothesis' suggested by Mauranen (2000, 2006, 2008) whose results showed that: a) translated texts favour collocations and colligations which are possible in the target language system, but rare or absent from actual texts; b) translated texts often have few or no instances of combinations that are frequent in target language texts (2006: 97).

Although the features of 'translationese' (Gellerstam 1986) – in terms of 'translation universals' (Baker 1993, Laviosa-Braithwaite 1996 and their further research) or 'laws of translation' (Toury 1995) – have been extensively tested in corpus-based translation studies (e.g. Olohan 2000, 2004; Mauranen and Kujamäki 2004),

not much research has been carried out yet on testing the ‘untypical collocations hypothesis’ (cf. Dayrell 2007: 377). In this respect, studies have tended to concentrate on collocational differences or phraseological distance between original (O) and translated (T) texts (Kenny 1999, Mauranen 2000, Jantunen 2001, 2004, Baroni and Bernardini 2003, Nilsson 2004, Anderson 2006, Dayrell 2007, Maldussi 2012), rather than focusing on the actual ‘strangeness’ of T language’s combinations.

The present paper aims at testing and answering the above-mentioned research questions (a-b) in the Italian judicial language. By relying upon a previous pilot research (Pontrandolfo 2011, 2012) conducted on Italian O and T criminal judgments, this quantitative and qualitative study compares a selected number of phraseologisms (Gries 2008: 6) in a larger, balanced, genre-based monolingual comparable corpus, with a view to confirming or rejecting the existence of (un)typical patterns in T texts. The O-subcorpus is a subset of COSPE, a trilingual – Italian, English, Spanish – comparable corpus of criminal judgments (Pontrandolfo, forthcoming). In particular, it is the Italian component of the subcorpus COSPE-Sup, which gathers criminal judgments delivered by the Italian Supreme Court (*Corte Suprema di Cassazione*) between 2005 and 2012. The T-subcorpus is made up of judgments, dealing mostly with criminal cases, delivered by the *European Court of Human Rights*, as well as the *Court of Justice of the European Union*, translated into Italian by both professional and semi-professional translators. As for the size of the monolingual comparable corpus, it totals approximately 2 million words (roughly 1 million tokens per subcorpus).

The quantitative and qualitative analysis focuses on a selected number of patterns, especially *lexical collocations* (Corpas Pastor 1996: 53-87, Benson et al. 1997, Urzi 2009), *complex prepositions* (Biber et al. 1999: 75-76, Granger and Paquot 2008: 42, Serianni 2003: 116-117, Prandi 2006: 321) and *routine formulae* (Wright 1997: 16, Nystedt 2000, Pontrandolfo 2011: 219-224), chosen for being lexico-syntactic categories prone to show prototypical and combinational features of Italian judicial language. Patterns have been retrieved semi-automatically by means of concordance tools (*WordSmith Tools v. 5.0*, *ConcGrams 1.0*).

The findings of the present study are also seen against the backdrop of two different varieties of judicial language: the O- (national) vs. the T- (supranational) judicial language, the latter being the reflection of a EU community language or EUese (Baroni and Bernardini 2003: 369).

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**Subject expression in Spanish and Portuguese grammaticalizing constructions:
the case of *creo* and *acho* 'I think'.**

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Subject expression in Romance null-subject languages is often presented as a general, language-wide phenomenon conditioned by sociolinguistic or information-structural factors (cf. Posio 2013; Aijón Oliva and Serrano 2010). Adopting a usage-based perspective, this paper argues that subject expression should also be examined in specific local contexts where it exhibits patterns diverging from general tendencies. The study analyzes the expression of first person singular subjects in high-frequency epistemic constructions containing the verbs *creer* 'think' in Peninsular Spanish (PS) and *achar* 'think' in European Portuguese (EP) spoken corpora. The objective is (1) to account for the variable subject expression in these constructions and (2) assess their degree of grammaticalization in the light of previous research on the grammaticalization of *I think* (e.g. Thompson and Mulac 1991, Bogaert 2011). Quantitative analysis of the data shows that *creer* and *achar* are mostly used in a small number of epistemic constructions, while their use in other contexts is rare (see Tables 1-

2). Their grammaticalization is evidenced by a series of formal, functional and distributional properties including the fixation of word order, specialization and de-categorialization.

In general, pronominal subjects are more frequently expressed in EP than in PS: in 1SG, the expression rate is 49% in EP but only 35% in PS (Posio 2013). However, in the analyzed constructions subject expression is significantly more frequent in PS than in EP. Previous research on Spanish has attributed frequent use of subject pronouns with mental verbs to an alleged need to “emphasize the subject of verbs expressing opinions” (e.g. Enríquez 1984), but clearly the explanation does not hold for EP, where epistemic constructions do not diverge from the general tendency.

I argue that the different rate of subject expression in the PS and EP epistemic constructions is favored by the entrenching effect of high frequency (Bybee 2010, Erkel and Guy 2012). Given that the verb form *creo* ‘I think’ has a high token frequency in PS (occurring 16 times per 10,000 words), the specific subject expression pattern has become entrenched with that verb form. EP *acho* ‘I think’ has a significantly lower frequency (6 occurrences per 10,000 words) which does not support the entrenchment of a specific subject expression pattern.

In conclusion, while both PS and EP epistemic constructions tend to grammaticalize, only PS has developed a construction-specific subject expression pattern due to the high frequency of the construction. The study suggests that usage frequency of constructions leading to the entrenchment of local patterns is a key factor in accounting for variable subject expression.

Table 1. PS constructions with *creer* in 1SG

Construction		#	proportion
<i>yo creo que</i>	‘I think-1sg that’	421	56%
<i>creo que</i>	‘think-1sg that’	217	29%
[<i>yo</i>] <i>creo</i>	‘[I] think-1sg’	74	10%
[<i>yo</i>] <i>creo</i> [en X]	‘[I] believe [in X]’	15	2%
other		30	4%
Total		757	100%

Data: COREC (interviews and conversations, 455,703 words)

Table 2. EP constructions with *achar* in 1SG

Construction		#	proportion
<i>acho que</i>	‘think-1sg that’	138	39%
<i>eu acho que</i>	‘I think-1sg that’	133	38%
[<i>eu</i>] <i>acho</i> X [<i>que</i>]	‘[I] find (it) X [that]’	26	7%
[<i>eu</i>] <i>acho</i>	‘(I) think’	9	3%
other		36	10%
Total		352	100 %

Data: CdP (spoken, Portugal; 548,288 words)

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Pattern replication in Molise Slavic spatial Ps.

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Pattern replication in Molise Slavic spatial Ps Molise Slavic (MS) is a south-slavic language spoken in Molise (southern Italy). Though genetically close to Croatian, MS features both lexical and grammatical borrowings from the Italo-Romance dialects spoken in its vicinity, due to centuries of intensive language contact (cf. Breu 1990).

I will focus on spatial P(reposition)s. In MS, core local meanings are encoded by means of Slavic inherited material: e.g. *zgora* 'on; above' (cf. Slovenian *zgoraj* 'above'), *zdola* 'under' (cf. Croatian *dolje* 'down'), *utra* 'in(side)' (cf. Croatian *unutra* 'inside'). Though, these items display a janus-faced government pattern that is not found in South Slavic: their object can be realized on their right, if phrasal ((1)); or attached to the verb, if clitic ((2)):

- (1) *zgora* *zdile*
on plate-gen.sg
'on the plate' (Re_setar (1997:185))
- (2) *mu* *sa* *hiti* *voda* *varena* *zgora*
3sg.m.dat refl.3sg pour-inf water-gen.sg hot-gen.sg on
'one pours hot water on it.' (Re_setar (1997:183))

Interestingly, in (1) the object bears genitive case, whereas in (2) it bears dative. In Croatian, a consistent group of spatial Ps (cf. Bašić 2007) follows the strategy in (1) ((3)). Nonetheless, the government pattern in (2) is ungrammatical, whatever the case assigned to the clitic ((4)):

- (3) *iznad* *grada*
over city-gen.sg
'over the city'
- (4) **helicopter* *je* *ga/mu* *letio* *iznad*
Helicopter aux.3sg 3sg.m.acc/3sg.m.dat y-ptcp.m.sg over
'a/the helicopter ew over it.'

I argue that structures like (2) are cases of what Matras and Sakel (2007) call 'pattern replication'. In Italo-Romance dialects, spatial Ps (like Molisan *nkoppə* 'on') assigning dative case (marked by the grammatical P a 'to') to their object ((5)) can realize it also as a dative clitic on the verb ((6)):

- (5) *nkopp(ə)* *a* *nu* *pratə*
on dat a meadow
'on a meadow'
- (6) *ce* *mettènne* *na* *preta* *nkopp(ə)*
dat.3sg set-past-3pl a stone on
'(they) put a stone on it.'

Given this picture, I will tackle the following questions: (i) do the two observed aspects of pattern replication (dative case; clitic realization) necessarily cluster together, or is it possible to find data where they do not (dative right-hand objects; genitive clitics)? (ii) is non-adjacent realization of the object constrained to clitics, or is it possible in other cases, too (e.g. with *wh*-phrases)?

The working hypothesis is that MS resorts to pattern replication as an additional strategy for otherwise

non-licit government possibilities. In the inherited grammar, spatial Ps strictly license their object in the sister node, which is structurally associated with genitive case (cf. Bošković to appear); in order for the object to appear in other positions, it must be marked with dative case, as in the contact language(s). Therefore, the prediction is made that right-hand NPs will only be marked with genitive, whereas clitics (and fronted wh-phrases) will only be marked with dative.

A formal analysis will be offered within Lexical-Functional Grammar (Bresnan 2001). The methods to be employed are scrutiny of oral corpora (Breu and Piccoli 2011; Breu and Piccoli in press) and data elicitation by means of questionnaires.

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Turco-Mongolic lexical contact in South Siberia and neighboring areas: the case of interrogative and demonstrative verbs.

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The territory of present-day South Siberia has been a melting-pot of peoples, cultures, and languages over a long time. Several languages of this area belong to the so-called "Ural-Altai" language type, i.e. Turkic, Mongolic and Samoyedic. Long-lasting contacts have formed isoglosses between such varieties, whether genealogically related or not.

The present contribution will focus on cases of isomorphism of Turkic and Mongolic interrogative and demonstrative verbs derived, respectively, from the proximal, distal and interrogative pronouns 'this', 'that' and 'who/which one?' plus a verbalizing suffix. For instance, the Sayan Turkic set includes: *in̄ja-* 'to act like that', *m̄in̄ja-* 'to act like this' and *gan̄ja-* 'to act in which way, to behave how' from *m̄in-* (<*bo 'this (one)'), *in-* (<*ol 'that (one)') and *qan-* (<*qa- 'which (one)'), whereas Khalkha Mongolian displays *inge-*, *teg-* and *yaa-*, 'to do so (in this way), to be in this way', 'to do so (in that way), to be so (in that way)', 'how to act', derived from the pronominal roots *e, *te and *ya, respectively (Janhunen 2012: 132). Samoyedic displays verbs of pronominal origin as well, e.g. *qatampi* 'what to happen?' (Helimski 1998: 565).

Such pronominal verbs have a high functional load in the spoken languages. Besides filling finite slots, many non-finite forms, especially converbial forms, function as conjunctive and modal adverbs (Ragagnin 2010: 301, 308). Some examples:

- (1) *Bid odoo yaana!*
We now act how-PRES
'What should we do now!' (Khalkha Mongolian, Ragagnin, 2010: 308)
- (2) *Ažildī doostum, inčangaš dištanip bolur.*
work-acc finish-past-1sg act like that-V.DER-CB relax-cb become-intra.lf
'I finished the work, therefore I can relax' (Tuvan, Pal'mbax 1953: 594b)
- (3) *Am ganjaar pis ?*
now act how-part we
'What will happen to us now' (Dukhan, Ragagnin 2010: 301)

On the other hand, genetically related more western Turkic languages have different strategies.

Interrogative and demonstrative verbs are typologically rather unusual. Each of the types is quite rare in general, but having both at the same time is extremely uncommon and calls for special scrutiny. Among the rare languages which display both interrogative and deictic verbs are Dyrbal and Rundi (Hagège 2008: 20).

Viewing the main morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of the Turkic and Mongolic interrogative and demonstrative verbs, this contribution aims at distinguishing among contact-induced lexical convergence and genetic inheritance.

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Complex possessive reflexives in Hungarian.

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Complex reflexives fall into two broader typological classes (Faltz 1985). One strategy combines a pronoun with an emphatic marker to form a reflexive anaphor (like the English *himself*), and another creates reflexives out of body part nouns. Reflexives in the second group often have a possessive structure, which can be more or less grammaticalized. Interestingly, such complex body part reflexives sometimes have a morphologically more complex variant, which tends to be less constrained syntactically than the basic reflexive, as has been argued for Turkish *kendisi* (Kornfilt 2001), Chinese *ta-ziji* (Pan 1998) or Hungarian *önmaga* Rákosi (2009).

This talk aims at studying the effects of such morphological variation on the syntax and the interpretation of complex possessive reflexives by focusing on data from Hungarian. I argue that these data provide further arguments to an approach to reflexivization that treats the non-pronominal part of a complex anaphor as an element that forms a complex predicate with the verb and reflexivizes it (see Reinhart and Reuland 1993, Anagnostopoulou and Everaert 1999, Reuland 2001, 2011). It is this kind of complex predicate formation that is blocked in the case of complex possessive reflexives, and that has important consequences on their the syntax and semantics.

The primary Hungarian reflexive, *maga* 'himself', is a highly grammaticalized possessive body part reflexive. Even though its original semantics has been bleached, I show that it has retained certain grammatical reflexives of its possessive structure. This primary possessive reflexive has four, morphologically more complex variants: *ön-maga* 'self-maga', *jó-maga* 'good-maga', *saját maga* 'own maga', and the reduplicating variant

maga-maga (somewhat archaic and only used in non-nominative contexts). As I show, these reflexives each have their own specialized uses, but share at least the following properties in common: (i) unlike the primary reflexive, they readily allow for coreference readings, and may even disallow binding in certain contexts, (ii) they are preferred for proxy-readings of different sorts (see Reuland 2001, 2011), and (iii) they generally have a broader syntactic distribution than the primary reflexive *maga*. This broader distribution includes cases where the complex reflexive is the subject of the clause or it is the non-verbal part of the predicate, long-distance uses, and even strong logophoric uses with discourse antecedents only. In other words, complex possessive reflexives are *less* constrained syntactically than the primary reflexive.

I show that these properties follow from the rich morphology of these reflexives. On the one hand, the extra morphology may *shield* the internal structure of the body part reflexive, which allows the complex reflexive to survive in syntactic contexts where the basic anaphor *maga* is ungrammatical (see Reuland 2001, 2011). On the other hand, the extra morphology may also contribute to a *reactivation* and *expansion* of the underlying possessive structure, resulting once again in a syntax that is not expected of anaphors par excellence. Finally, I show how this account can motivate the core semantic properties of Hungarian complex anaphors.

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La difficulté de traduire les marqueurs discursifs méta-énonciatifs du français en espagnol.

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Parmi les marqueurs discursifs, il existe un ensemble d'unités qui renvoient à l'acte énonciatif : c'est ce qu'on appelle les marqueurs méta-énonciatifs. Nous partons de la définition d'énonciation proposée par Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1999 : 34), qui la considère comme le mécanisme d'engendrement d'un texte, le surgissement dans l'énoncé du sujet d'énonciation. Dans le processus de création de son message, le locuteur y laisse forcément des traces, des marques permettant de repérer sa présence dans le discours. Ce sont ces marques qui vont centrer notre attention, étant donné qu'elles sont très fréquentes dans tout type de texte bien que, paradoxalement, elles aient été très peu étudiées d'un point de vue traductologique ou contrastif.

Nous mettrons d'abord l'accent sur les difficultés existant lors de la traduction des marqueurs méta-énonciatifs, difficultés notamment liées à la prise en considération du fonctionnement discursif de l'unité en question. En effet, il faut tenir compte non seulement du rôle du marqueur en tant qu'organisateur textuel mais aussi de la composante énonciative qu'il véhicule et qui nous montre, par exemple, l'attitude du locuteur vis-à-vis du message qu'il est en train de produire. On peut donc constater la difficulté qui entraîne la traduction de ces marques méta-énonciatives, d'autant plus que beaucoup d'entre elles reçoivent un traitement lexicographique insuffisant.

C'est le cas d'un des marqueurs envisagés dans notre communication : *pour tout dire*. Après avoir consulté la base de données Frantext, on a établi un corpus d'analyse assez divers, où on a pu distinguer l'existence de deux emplois discursifs de cette locution. D'une part, on a recueilli des exemples de *pour tout dire* en tant que connecteur conclusif :

- Faut dire ça mieux, mon lieutenant ! R'marquez un peu : ça va être la première fois d'puis l' début qu'on va r'tourner au même patelin d'où qu'on était monté aux lignes. On y r'trouvera les mêmes maisons, les mêmes granges, les mêmes civils, les mêmes habitudes, **pour tout dire**... Et faut pas s'y tromper : c'te vie-là va durer longtemps. (Maurice Genevoix, *Ceux de 14*)

D'autre part, il est de nombreuses occurrences où le signifié de ce marqueur change complètement, car il fonctionne en tant qu'opérateur méta-énonciatif :

Pauline avait pris part aux jeux, elle tournait dans la ronde et chantait. Le préau était gris, les enfants semblaient tristes, dansant sur commande et obéissant mécaniquement aux ordres que leur donnait la maîtresse. **Pour tout dire**, je ne me sentais pas très bien. J'étais passé dans une sorte d'hallucination calme et nauséuse. (Philippe Forest, *L'enfant éternel*)

Pourtant, les dictionnaires consultés (Le Robert, Lexis, Académie Française, Ashraf and Miannay) ne tiennent compte que du fonctionnement en tant que connecteur, alors que dans pas mal de cas il est impossible de traduire ce marqueur par des formules exprimant la conclusion ou la récapitulation. Alors, comment traduire *pour tout dire* en espagnol? Il s'avère nécessaire d'étudier ces unités méta-énonciatives de plus près afin de bien cerner leurs emplois discursifs et proposer ainsi des équivalences en espagnol qui puissent être utiles pour la traduction ou l'enseignement du français L2 à des apprenants espagnols.

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The syntax-discourse interface in the extraposition of RCS.

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This paper investigates the division of labor between syntactic restrictions and discourse constraints in one particular German word order phenomenon: the extraposition of relative clauses. I will argue that the factors that has been pointed out as syntactical restrictions for extraposition (Haider, 1997; Resi, 2011 amongst others) are not enough to explain all different possible cases and that discourse related constraints must be integrated to account for a complete analysis of this phenomenon. Starting point of this analysis is the syntactical assumption that the extraposition of the restrictive RCs is compatible with topicalization and scrambling of the antecedent while non-restrictive relative clauses cannot extrapose if the antecedent is in a higher position of the *Mittelfeld* or in the *Vorfeld* of the sentence.

- (1) a. *Studenten, haben mit dem Professor gesprochen, die die Prüfung nicht bestanden haben.*
b. **Karin hat mit dem Professor gesprochen, die die Prüfung nicht bestanden hat.*
- (2) *Mit wem haben Studenten gesprochen, die die Prüfung nicht bestanden haben?*
c. *# Studenten haben mit dem Professor gesprochen, die die Prüfung nicht bestanden haben.*

This analysis tacitly assumes that example like (1a) is acceptable independently of any context; but the example (2) shows that the same sentence is ungrammatical when embedded in a specific context. We claim that what

determines the acceptability of a sentence within a certain context is its focus-background structure. The following contrast in grammaticality exemplifies the same need of researching other levels of analysis.

- (3) *Welche Bilder hast du gekauft?*
 a. *Die Bilder habe ich gekauft, die auf dem Tisch liegen*
 b. *#Die Bilder von Mary habe ich gekauft, die auf dem Tisch liegen*
- (4) *Welche Bilder von Mary hast du gekauft?*
 a. *Die Bilder von Mary habe ich gekauft, die auf dem Tisch liegen*

According to syntactical condition the example (3a) is grammatical because, as we said, restrictive RCs can extrapose from the Vorfeld. How can we account for the ungrammaticality of (3b)? The presence of a specifier *von Mary* is not a plausible constraint for the unacceptability of (3b), because of the acceptability of (4a). We observe in fact that *die Bilder* can be interpreted contrastively because it implies that there are other *Bilder von Mary*. In (3b) *Mary* is more likely to be interpreted as the focus because, according to Féry, 1993 and de Kurthy, 2002, focus in German naturally falls on the last noun of a complex NP. The examples are taken from a sample of data collected within native speakers who were asked to judge grammatical sentences within appropriate contexts. The aim of this analysis is to provide evidence for the integration of syntactical restrictions with contextual factors, in particular the fact that extraposition of restrictive RCs is influenced by the discourse function of the antecedent and its determiner. On the basis of data those nouns that qualify as focus cannot license an extraposition of the RC from the Vorfeld; it is always the focushood of the determiner that determines the extraposition.

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Demonstratives in Catalan parliamentary debate.

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Demonstratives are usually defined as situational deictics, i.e. as markers of exophoric space reference. However, corpus analysis shows that exophoric demonstratives are not the most frequent ones in real texts (cfr. Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Thavenius, 1982; Ariel, 1990, among others).

This is the case in narratives written in Catalan and English (cfr. Ribera and Cuenca, 2013), where non-situational uses outnumber situational ones and subjective factors have an influence on the use and translation of demonstratives. As a consequence, the subjective and intersubjective perspectives activated in discourse must be often taken into account, as it has already been pointed out by Lyons (1977) and Wu (2002), among others.

This presentation aims at describing the use of demonstratives in Catalan argumentative texts and at illustrating to which extent it can be related to argumentative strategies in parliamentary discourse. For this purpose, a corpus consisting of transcripts of debates run in the Catalan Parliament is analyzed.

Specifically, the Catalan demonstratives (namely, *aquest*, *això* –proximal deictics– and *aquell*, *allò* – distal deictics– and its morphological variants)) are identified and classified considering, firstly, whether they are situational (exophoric) or non-situational (endophoric, basically text-deictic demonstratives).

Assuming that non-situational demonstratives are metaphorical extensions of the situational use, the discourse function of each text-deictic token is analyzed and categorized according to its specific meaning and reference. Finally, in the case of lexical demonstrative NPs, the semantic content of the noun and its potential for subjectivity is also taken into account.

The main hypotheses tested in this research are the following: (i) non-situational uses are more frequent than situational ones, although oral interaction may induce a narrower difference than in narrative texts; (ii) a higher frequency of proximal demonstratives is expected, as the Catalan deictic system expresses both the addressor's and the addressee's space by means of the 1st degree; (iii) intersubjective functions of Catalan demonstratives can be blurred, as to show opposite positioning of the addressor and the addressee; (iv) argumentativity can be enhanced by means of the semantic content of the noun in demonstrative NPs.

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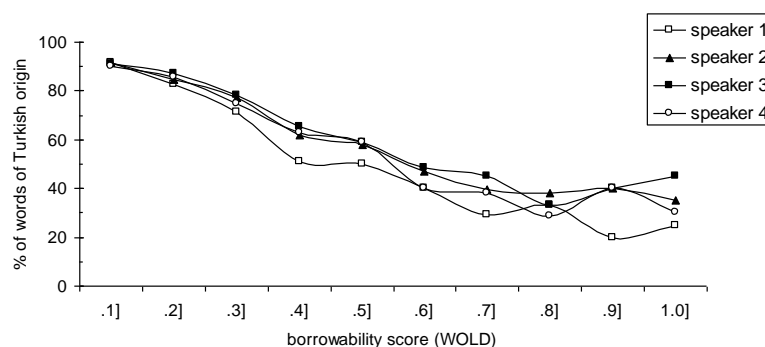
Borrowability score as evidence for the identification of language substrata.

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It is widely known from historical linguistics that the basic vocabulary tends to resist language change, whereas peripheral lexical items are frequently borrowed; this is the basic assumption of the comparative method used in the reconstruction of genetic relations between languages. The empirical research on the study of lexical borrowing has undergone significant advances through the recent study of the WOLD (=world loanword database) project; see Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009). The world list of WOLD was the basis for our lexical inventory of Urum, a non-documented and not previously described language of the Minor Caucasus. The inventory involves some marginal deviations from the original list (whenever necessary for culturally relevant reasons). Our data consist of the spontaneous translations of these concepts by four native speakers of Urum.

Fig. 1 presents the averages of words of Turkish origin in this data (including conservative vocabulary that is not available in Modern Turkish), plotted in relation to the WOLD scores of borrowability. The further items in the elicited vocabulary were words of Russian (24.1%), Georgian (1.8%) or Greek (.2%) origin. We observe in Fig. 1 that the four speakers display some individual differences (e.g., speaker 1 provided less words of Turkish origin in total), but share the same general tendency. The crucial point for our talk is the fact that the percentage of words of Turkish origin proportionally decreases with the increase in the cross-linguistic score of borrowability: while 96% of words with borrowability score .1 are of Turkish origin, the proportion of such words is only 41% in the lower level of borrowability scores (see .9-1.0). This observation provides lexicological evidence for the fact that Turkish is the basic substrate of Urum and shows that the approach of lexicological sampling introduced through WALS offers powerful diagnostics for research on language contact.

Fig. 1 Percentages of words of Turkish origin (in the data of four Urum speakers, averages of word lists of 1419 lexical items)



The data in Fig. 1 is elicited, hence they provide evidence for lexical knowledge; the interesting question is how this evidence relates with language use. For this purpose, we created a corpus containing narratives of 24 native speakers (each speaker produced 5 narrations). Our presentation will address the question, what is the impact of lexical knowledge on language use. In particular, which strategy do speakers select in order to overcome restrictions in lexical knowledge: do they stick to the core vocabulary or do they switch to Russian? Our first estimation of the collected data leads to the hypothesis that switching to Russian varies in the production of different individuals but this variation is independent from lexical knowledge. On the other side, the frequency of core vocabulary items is strongly influenced from the lexical competence of the individual speakers. The exact frequencies and statistic estimates of this ongoing study will be presented in the conference.

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Is it "Speakers and their languages" or "languages and their speakers"? On biologism and speciesism in historical linguistic thought.

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Attempting to make their ideological foundations explicit and thereby disputable, this paper discusses two apparently different ways in which historical linguists have constructed the relationship between speakers and their languages. The first construction is based on a generalized version of Darwinism and views languages as replicator systems whose properties may be strongly constrained by the physiological and psychological make-up of human speaker organisms, but cannot be reduced to the goals, intentions and interests of human selves or communities of such. The other construction views languages as tools for communication and cognition and derives their properties from the uses to which they are put by their speakers.

Interestingly, both constructions have been gaining popularity in the historical linguistic community during the last decades. Generalized Darwinian views have been expressed, for instance, by Lass (1980, 1990, 1997), Croft (2002), Blevins (2004) or Ritt (2004), while speaker-based functionalism has gained in popularity together with the usage based approaches to language variation and change favored by the advent of computerized corpora. Outspoken representatives are, for instance, Joseph and Janda (cf. e.g. 2003), or Traugott (cf. eg. 1989, Traugott and König 1991, Traugott and Dasher 2002). - Clearly, the two constructions do not only seem to be different, at least at first sight, but are often felt to be incompatible. Thus, from the perspective of speaker-based approaches, attempts to think of language and language change in Darwinian terms appear biologistic, misleadingly metaphorical, and fundamentally misguided in a discipline dealing with human thought and human culture (cf. e.g. Joseph and Janda 2003) Conversely, evolutionarily inclined linguists have criticized speaker-based functionalism for over-applying the intentional (or 'hermeneutic') stance (cf. particularly Lass 1980).

After analyzing and comparing the fundamental beliefs on which the apparently incompatible views of the speaker-language relationship rest explicit, my paper discusses (a) to what extent they are axiomatic and/or ideologically biased, (b) whether the two approaches are really as incompatible as some of their proponents claim, and (c) to what extent their claimed incompatibility may itself be a social construct reflecting emotional and/or ideological inclinations of their proponents.

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Concreteness and semantic richness: two semantic constraints influencing agreement choices.

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According to the Minimalist tradition (Chomsky, 1995), agreement is a formal, serial and encapsulated phenomenon that works independently of semantic information. However, psycholinguistics has long identified a number of semantic variables that affect attraction error rates and that prove that agreement does not go solely on syntactic rails. Semantic constraints such as distributivity (Eberhard 1999), plausibility (Thornton & MacDonald, 2003) or semantic integration (Gillespie & Pearlmutter, 2011), have confirmed those ideas in the last years, since it has been demonstrated that the presence of these variables increase the probability of putting at risk the normal agreement resolution of a sentence; notice the well-known common mistakes ‘*The label on the bottles ARE blue’, ‘*The album by the classical composers WERE praised’ or ‘*The drawing with the flowers WERE nice’.

For the purpose of this talk, two extra semantic constraints will be presented in connection with attraction errors, namely ‘concreteness’ and ‘semantic richness’. Moreover, these constraints will be analyzed in two different and morphologically distinct languages; English and Spanish, through a series of off-line tests. The idea is basically that in both languages, whenever an abstract head noun in the singular is followed by a concrete plural local noun (as in ‘The design of the T-shirts’), the probability of making attraction errors of the kind ‘*The design of the T-shirts WERE nice’ is three times larger. Such a robust effect must be due to the abstract status of the head noun, since abstract words are less frequently subjects than concrete ones. These results were confirmed by comparing those sentences to control ones formed by two concrete nouns, as in ‘The bedroom of the boys WAS nice’. Interestingly enough, the percentage of errors made in each of the two languages here analyzed differ dramatically. This is connected to issues related to the morphological richness (or lack of it) of each of the two languages.

Moreover, we have also been able to find a second (and closely related) semantic constraint, which is that of ‘semantic richness’ (Pexman, Hargreaves, Edwards, Henry & Goodyear, 2007). By this term, we refer to the degree of semantic autonomy that words may have (measured through their number of features, associates, etc). In this vein, we can see that some words such as ‘shape’, for instance, lack the amount of semantic richness that other words such as ‘office’ for example (which has a clear visual referent and a higher number of both features and associates) may have. As a consequence, whenever a semantically poor noun is in head noun position, the possibilities of making a wrong agreement connection increase, as in ‘*The size of the presents WERE huge’ (notice the similarity in terms of meaning with ‘The presents were huge’). Again, strong differences in the number of attraction mistakes were found in the two languages under analysis. All these facts indicate that agreement is not an encapsulated operation, but is rather open to various sources of semantic interference.

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The cycle that isn't Jespersen's: cyclic grammaticalization from preposed negative verbs to negative suffixes.

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The term "Jespersen's cycle" has been specifically associated with a recurrent process of negator renewal whereby an initial single negative, such as French *ne* is reinforced by another negative, such as *pas* 'step', and subsequently the *ne* is falling into disuse, thus yielding a pattern with just *pas* (van der Auwera 2009, 2010). Grammaticalization cycles, however, are not restricted to the development of clause negators. Even before Meillet's ([1912], 1921: 140-141) reference to recurrent waves of grammaticalization in terms of a 'spiral', it was already recognized that language change in general is cyclical (von der Gabelentz [1891] 1972: 256, Bopp 1856). Moreover, grammaticalization cycles involving negatives are not restricted to prototypical Jespersen's cycles.

In this paper, I will explore one such cycle of development of clausal negation that isn't Jespersen's, notably the recurrent renewal in some SOV languages whereby preposed negative verbs develop into negative suffixes. The focus will be on the Transeurasian languages, a large group of geographically adjacent languages, traditionally known as "Altaic" consisting of the Japonic, Koreanic, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic families, but attention will also be paid to other language families such as Uralic and Dravidian.

The grammaticalization of negation in these languages will be argued to involve three interrelated processes: (1) the development of an independent negative verb into a verbal negator; (2) the gradual development of a preposed negative auxiliary verb to a postposed negative which fuses as a deverbal negative suffix and; (3) the transfer of inflection from the negative auxiliary to the lexical verb. These grammaticalization patterns can be regarded as cyclic because they can be reconstructed for more than one clausal negator in the languages under discussion.

Relying on data from historically attested and contemporary varieties of the languages under discussion, I will combine the classical method of historical comparative linguistics with diachronic typology to reconstruct the linguistic prehistory of these grammaticalization processes.

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Interrogation in Wolof: two strategies and a puzzle for *wh*-question words.

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Wolof (Niger-Congo, Senegal) makes a typologically interesting use of noun class markers in its constituent question (or *wh*-question) words. As in other languages with noun class systems, the nominal lexicon is distributed into classes governing characteristic agreement schemes. In Wolof, the ten class agreement morphemes take the form of a bound consonantal morpheme C- : *k-*, *b-*, *g-*, *j-*, *w-*, *m-*, *s-*, *l-* (for singular), and *ñ-*, *y-* (for plural). The class agreement morphemes are used to form grammatical noun modifiers (mostly postposed to the noun modified) such as the definite and indefinite articles (as exemplified in 1) and, demonstratives, quantifiers and relative pronouns. To the set of noun class morphemes should be added the two adverbial classifiers for space (*f-*) and manner (*n-*) which take the same suffixes as the noun class markers.

- | | | | | |
|----|-----|------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| 3) | (a) | <i>nit</i> | <i>k-i</i> | 'the person close to the speaker' |
| | (b) | <i>nit</i> | <i>ñ-i</i> | 'the people close to the speaker' |
| | (c) | <i>xaj</i> | <i>b-i</i> | 'the dog close to the speaker' |
| | (d) | <i>xaj</i> | <i>y-i</i> | 'the dogs close to the speaker' |

These noun class morphemes are also used to form interrogative proforms, e.g. *k-an* 'who?', *f-an* 'where?', *b-an xaj* 'which dog?'. The *wh*-question words formed with noun class markers are actually organized into two parallel sets according to a general pattern whereby a common interrogative morpheme is affixed to different noun class markers. Across the two sets, the same class consonants are used as a base to which a common interrogative stem, either *-an* or *-u*, is suffixed. These two parallel sets of interrogative pronouns and pronominal adverbs trigger different verb inflections: the Null Tense conjugation for the *-u* set and one of the three focusing conjugations for the *-an* set, as illustrated in (2) and (3):

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| 4) | <i>F-an</i> | <i>la</i> | <i>dëkk?</i> |
| | where1 | COMPFOC3SG | live |
| | <i>Where does he live?</i> | | |
| 5) | <i>F-u</i> | <i>mu</i> | <i>dëkk?</i> |
| | where2 | NULL3SG | live |
| | <i>Where does he live?</i> | | |

The existence of this dual system is quite puzzling at first since the two patterns for content questions are apparently in free variation and seem to have the same meaning and uses. Why then does Wolof have these two parallel sets of constituent question words with apparently identical referential value? How might they differ?

In this talk, we will first present the neat system of Wolof for content question words, paralleling the one for noun modifiers, and then show that the two stems used to form these interrogative pronouns correspond to two different communicational strategies for constituent questions,

- (1) one based on *indefiniteness*, using a spatial suffix *-u* used for suspensive pronouns (Van den Eynde and Mertens 2003), and indicating that the designated entity is not spatially localized,
- (2) the another one (with the *-an* set) using strong interrogative pronouns in *focusing constructions* (Heine and Nurse 2008)

By contrast with *-u*, *-an* appears to be the only dedicated interrogative marker for content questions in Wolof. Eventually, his origin as a former locative question word (*where?) is revealed by the study of an irregular interrogative (locative) predicate (*ana*).

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An evidential marker in medieval French: *Il m'est avis que vos sainniez*.

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The diachronic study of French evidential markers has not yet been done. We intend to study here the semantic function of a lexical unit of Medieval French – *il m'est avis/ ce m'est avis* – which concerns at the same time the field of modality and evidentiality. The complex verb *estre avis* presents a double construction. As *il/ce m'est avis que p*, it governs a complement clause introduced by *que*. Besides, the complex verb *estre avis* may function as a parenthetical clause, very often in first person, present tense: *ce m'est avis*.

We will describe for *il m'est avis que p/ ce m'est avis*, on the one hand, the modal uses, linked to the reliability of knowledge (Aijmer 1997) and the speaker's attitude, on the other hand, the evidential uses, linked to the nature of the source, that is the way the speaker obtains or creates the information.

Il m'est avis que p/ ce m'est avis are epistemic modalities expressing the belief of the speaker in the truth of an assertion. Both structures, which are generally classified as opinion verbs, are polysemic, their meaning varies depending on the context. They belong to the two large groups of assertive verbs established by Borillo (1982), since they are connected with belief (*je crois, je pense*) as well as with knowledge (*je sais, je me rends compte, je vois, je suis sûr*). This is why their meaning is difficult to establish.

Both structures have an evidential as well as a modal value. Their modal value varies on the scale of the reliability of knowledge, going from probability (speculation) to (almost)-certainty. They usually correspond to a high degree of certainty.

Both *il m'est avis que p* and the parenthetical clause *ce m'est avis* have the same uses in Medieval French. Due to their etymological value, they strongly favour direct visual perception. They are perception markers: the information can be directly seen, or inferred from a visual perception. Besides, in their inferential use, they express an opinion based on a personal judgment which results from the speaker's experience. They manifest an operation of creation of information (Dendale 1994). The speaker bases his personal judgment on evidence, from which he infers a conclusion.

The only difference that can be established between *il m'est avis que p* and *ce m'est avis* is related to their frequency. In Old French *Il m'est avis que p* is more frequent when there is a visual perception. The parenthetical *ce m'est avis* favours the inferential use, the expression of an opinion, a judgment, an evaluation made by the speaker. The paper will study how *il m'est avis que p/ ce m'est avis* evolve from Old French (12th-13th c.) to Middle French (14th-15th c.).

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Meillet's spiral and a final-clause negator: the case of Gbaya, an Ubanguian language of Central Africa.

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This presentation is based on a corpus of spontaneous oral texts collected in the field between 1971 and 2012. Gbaya, an SVO isolating language, has only one negator, *ná*, that has been reconstructed in proto-gbaya. It can neither be related to the adverb "no" nor be considered as an adverb. It is a verbal specifier always placed clause finally. I shall distinguish three contexts to suggest a possible evolutionary process following Meillet's spiral.

In standard negation (ST) – declarative clause with a verbal predicate – this negator appears after all the complements and adverbs. Only two adverbs, a restrictive and an additive one, can follow it. It can also be followed by an epistemic clause final modifier and by the interrogative word (placed at the very end of the clause). Gbaya verbs are only categorized in terms of mood and aspect, not in terms of tense, person or number. While negatives clauses do not differ from declaratives in the Irrealis mood, there is no symmetry between negatives and declaratives for the two other moods. Perfective forms – those considering the process as a whole – are not attested; only imperfective forms – those considering the ongoing nature of the process – are found.

In no ST – non-verbal negation – Gbaya uses the same clause final negator, but needs a verb to support it. The 'potential' verb *be* is then added, either replacing the copula, occurring before it, or occurring between the two constituents of a nominal clause. This situation leads to the appearance of the clause having two negative elements: *be (+TAM).... ná*.

Furthermore, in ST, when a grammaticalised form of the potential verb *béè* is placed at the beginning of a negative verbal clause, it changes the scope of the clause final negator, which no longer specifies the verbal predicate but focuses on another word in the clause. This creates the double negation *béè... ná*. In all these contexts, the negative meaning is always and only supported by the negator *ná*.

Strategies of human impersonal reference in German-English and German-Russian parallel corpora.

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In this talk we present a comparative corpus-based study of ways of expressing human impersonal reference in English, German and Russian. In using the term human impersonal strategies we refer to pronouns and constructions that generalize over a group of human referents such as Germ. *man* in (1) or Russ. 3rd plural form of the verb in (2):

- (1) *In Spanien isst man spät.*
(2) *V Ispanii edât pozdno.* 'In Spain they eat late.'

Different means of impersonal reference have been described for a range of European languages (see e.g. Giacalone-Ramat and Sansò 2007, Moltmann 2010, Siewierska 2011, Siewierska and Papastathi 2011, Zifonun 2001). Such pronouns and their equivalents vary in terms of their semantic properties and distribution, which can be described with binary features such as universal vs. existential reference, veridical vs. non-veridical, generic vs. episodic, speaker-inclusive vs. speaker-exclusive, etc. Our investigation aims to determine correlations between these features and context types in order to make predictions about the distributions of the strategies and compare their usage in Eng., Germ. and Russ. on the basis of a multifactorial research design. Our investigation is based on data from a German-English parallel corpus (EuroParl) and a selection of German-Russian parallel corpora (Russian National Corpus and ParaSol). The quantitative evaluation includes multifactorial statistical methods such as association rule mining, conditional inference trees and logistic regression.

Preliminary results have shown that in Russian 'impersonal' modal verbs and infinitives are typical translation strategies of universal *man* with an 'internal perspective' ('generalizing detached self-reference' in

terms of Moltmann 2010) in ‘non-veridical’ contexts (in terms of Zwarts 1995), whereas the 3pl-strategy is a more common translation of *man* having an external reading in veridical contexts. In English the pronoun *one* is basically found in generalizing contexts, while pronouns like *you* and *we*, which predominantly have a personal reading, often occur in conditionals with impersonal reference. Such interactions of strategies and context conditions will be identified and discussed in our talk.

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Psycholinguistic evidence for a division of labor in reference assignment processes in Germanic languages.

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Referential dependencies for pronouns and reflexives can be established at different linguistic levels. According to Reuland (2001), syntactic dependencies are computationally ‘cheaper’ than semantic dependencies, which are ‘cheaper’ than discourse dependencies. Psycholinguistic research supports this hierarchy (e.g., Burkhardt, 2005): for English and Dutch reflexives, results show that when discourse operations are needed (proposed for 1a) interpretation is more costly than for interpretation based on syntactic dependencies as in coargument relations (1b). Similarly, semantic bound-variable interpretations (2b) have been shown to be ‘cheaper’ than discourse-based coreference interpretations (2a).

- (1a) John_i puts the chair behind himself_i/him_i
 (1b) John_i washed himself_i/*him_i
 (2a) The athlete_i hopes that he_i will stay healthy
 (2b) Everyone_i hopes that he_i will stay healthy
 (3a) John_i stellt den Stuhl hinter sich_i/*ihn_i
 (3b) John_i wäscht sich_i/*ihn_i

In German (3a), unlike English and Dutch, complementarity obtains and only the reflexive is allowed. Reuland relates this to a closer relationship between V and P (related to case) in German, leading to a coargument-like representation, which is why the pronoun is ruled out. The question then is whether German *sich* (3a/b) shows the same processing difference as English and Dutch reflexives. Based on Reuland (2001), no difference is expected for *sich* in (3a/b), whereas German is expected to pattern with English concerning fewer demands for bound-variable (2b) over discourse interpretation (2a).

Using the cross-modal lexical decision interference paradigm, reaction times (RT) to a visually presented unrelated probe presented at crucial time points (control position: 400ms before reflexive/pronoun, experimental position: immediately after reflexive/pronoun) are measured during auditory presentation of the sentence. Higher RTs reflect higher processing costs exerted by cross-domain operations, i.e. here syntax<semantics<discourse. We report data from 64 German students.

The results confirmed our language-specific predictions. No differences between conditions were observed prior to the reflexive/pronoun at the control position. Hence, any differences observed at the experimental position could be attributed to referential interpretation. At the experimental position, the

coreference condition resulted in significantly higher RTs than the bound-variable condition ($p < .01$), supporting previous findings, and demonstrating that semantic bound-variable interpretation is less costly than the establishment of a discourse-based coreference relation (Piñango et al., 2011, Vasić et al., 2006). Yet in contrast to English and Dutch, no difference was found between the two reflexive entities ($p = .49$). This supports the typological view that reflexive interpretation in German differs fundamentally from that in English and Dutch – along the lines outlined in e.g. Reuland, 2001. Reflexives that occur in PPs in German depend on the same interpretive mechanisms as so-called coargument reflexives, indicating that the underlying syntactic configuration differs from that in other Germanic languages. Overall, the data support models of anaphora resolution that allow for interpretative processes at different linguistic levels. We discuss the results in relation to accounts that consider anaphora resolution a multi-domain phenomenon. The data further indicate that a simple form-function correlation cannot be applied in anaphora resolution (as proposed by traditional models like *Binding Theory*), but that language-specific mechanisms must be implemented.

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The rise of the definite article in the Slovene dialect of Resia.

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This talk investigates the exact stage of the grammaticalization of the definite article in Resian, a Slovene dialect spoken in the province of Udine, by examining a range of syntactic and semantic contexts where the fully-fledged weak demonstrative/article-like element *te* appear.

In Resian, *te* is never found with bare nouns, in the contexts where in languages with articles, the use of definite articles would be obligatory, demonstratives being illicit:

- (1) Wnedějo si šla na ženetka. (*Te) Novyć jë bil karje vesel.
sunday AUX.1sg went to wedding te spouse AUX.3sg was very cheerful
'On Sunday I went to a wedding. The spouse was very cheerful.'

Instead, it is mandatory in [+definite] contexts in the presence of adjectival modifiers, both pre-nominal (2) and post-nominal (3), and as a licenser of nominal ellipsis.

- (2) Pojütro se pije *(te) bili kafe.
morning one drink te white coffee
'In the morning, people drink white coffee.'

- (3) Somo naredili din vliki kop kafe toga bilaga.
aux.1pl made one big soup ladle coffe.GEN te.GEN white.GEN
'We made a big soup-ladle of white coffee.' ((3) is from Steenwijk 1992)

Despite *te* being mandatory with adjectival modifiers, the following properties disfavour an analysis in terms of adjectival extended projection (see Marušič and Žaucer, to appear): (i) *te* is agrammatical in indefinite contexts; (ii) *te* is not iterable - only one instance of *te* is admitted *per* noun; (iii) only the highest among multiple adjectives can be preceded by *te* (except for possessives); (iii) *te* is not compatible with strong

demonstratives; (iv) generally, *te* cannot be split from the adjective by degree words.

Since the position of *te*+ADJ w.r.t. the noun gives rise to semantic differences, I focus on the comparison between *te*+ADJ+N and N+*te*+ADJ sequences, and propose two different structures. For *te*+ADJ+N, I suggest that the position of *te* is lower than 'DP layer' due to the availability of Left Branch Extraction (SpecDP is vacant and thus can serve as an escape hatch for the extraction out of nominals (Giusti 1997)); see also Lyons (1999):

- (4) TAA NAJMLOJŠA si vidla sina [, nĕ taa najstarajša]
 te.ACC youngest.ACC aux.1sg seen son not te.ACC oldest
 'I saw (his) YOUNGEST son [, not the oldest one]'

For N+*te*+ADJ, I propose an analysis along the lines of Marchis and Alexiadou's (2009) account of *cel* construction in Romanian. The relevant structure is in (6), consisting of two conjoined DPs, whereby the second DP (*cel frumos* or *te*+ADJ in the case of Resian) is treated as appositive specificational clause.

- (5) băiatul cel frumos
 boy.the that beautiful

- (6) [and:P [DP baiatul], and: [DP cel [CP [C' [IP Ø AP]]]]] (MandA: 2009)

Evidence in support for this structure comes from the fact that the noun's internal arguments, which are excluded from predicative positions, are ungrammatical in this configuration.

- (7)* sin te Sandrina
 son te Sandor.GEN
 'the son of Sandor'

The data come from a small corpus (transcripts of spontaneous oral production data, written articles and stories) and elicited data (including grammaticality judgments).

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Morphology and (morpho-)syntax in contact-induced development: once more on external possession construction in Balkan Romani.

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In their insightful article on external possession constructions (EPC) in Romani dialects, Peter Bakker and Mily Crevels concluded that "[i]n many cases the Romani dialects differ from the coterritorial languages in the treatment of EP phenomena. This is especially surprising in light of the fact that it seems such an areal phenomenon, and hence subject to influence from other languages" (Crevels and Bakker 2000: 180).

The materials that became available recently, first of all, those of the Romani Morpho-Syntax Database (RMS) allow us to rethink, at least partially, this suggestion. Haspelmath (1999) included the major Balkan languages into the area with Dative external possessor (EP), despite the morphological Genitive-Dative syncretism characteristic of these languages. Recent investigations (Krapova 2009) show, however, that the

situation is more complex: some of those constructions in Balkan languages (especially in Bulgarian and Romanian) that are the likeliest candidates for EPC status in fact allow for ambivalent syntactic treatment and may be interpreted as a development of internal possession constructions (IPC).

It can be argued that a partially similar analysis can be suggested for some Romani dialects which have the so-called short genitive forms (especially characteristic of Vlakh and some Balkan and Central Romani dialects). In many dialects the use of these forms led to some ambivalence in the treatment of sentences with possessive constructions:

- (1) oj xrandela o bala pe čhija-ke
 she combs ART hair her daughter-DAT/GEN.OBL
 'She combs her daughter's hair'. (BG-011, Goli cigane, Bulgaria, RMS)

In such examples the interpretation of possessive constructions as EPC or IPC cannot be based on the surface form but can only be achieved only with the help of in-depth syntactic analysis.

The material of some Romani dialects of Balkan area will be analyzed and compared with that of dialects outside Balkans, which, on the contrary, are characterized by direct syntactic calquing (e.g., in the North-Eastern dialects). In this respect I pose and try to solve the following more theoretical questions:

- 1) Might this partial overlap of Genitive and Dative forms (which emerged in Romani and, possibly, without any contact influence) might have led to the appearance of such a "latent" Balkanism, which shows up differently in Romani dialects?
- 2) What is a "pivot" (see, e.g., Matras 2009) in this development: did the morphological (or even morphonological) processes that triggered the formal coincidence create the necessary conditions for the syntactic change, or, on the contrary, did contact-induced syntactic processes promote the choice of suitable morphological means?
- 3) What is the role of more surface (analogy) and more deep (reanalysis) processes in the contact-induced development of this kind?

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Evidential and epistemic adverbs in Lithuanian in different types of discourse.

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In the recent decade the realizations of evidentiality and epistemic modality in European languages have received a great scholarly interest and resulted in important investigations concerning the relation between evidentiality and epistemic modality, their means of expression and pragmatic extensions in various types of discourse (Squartini 2007; Diewald and Smirnova 2010a; Wiemer and Stathi 2010). In Lithuanian, the major focus has been laid on the evidential participial constructions (Lavine 2006; Wiemer 2006; Holvoet 2007) and particles (Wiemer 2007, 2010) as well as on the cross-linguistic coverage of verbs of perception (Usonienė 2002, 2003) and epistemic adverbs (Usonienė and Šolienė 2010; Šolienė 2012; Šinkūnienė 2011). The present paper deals with the adverbs *akivaizdžiai* 'evidently', *aiškiai* 'clearly', *ryškiai* 'distinctly, brightly', *matomai* 'visibly', which derive from the source domain of perception, and the epistemic necessity adverbs *tikriausiai* 'most probably', *veikiausiai* 'most probably', *greičiausiai* 'most probably', *būtinai* 'necessarily' and *neabejotinai* 'undoubtedly'.

The aim of the paper is to explore the morphosyntactic properties of the adverbs when they are used as evidential or epistemic markers and compare the distribution of their evidential and epistemic functions in Lithuanian fiction and academic discourse. The study examines the influence of discourse type upon the types and sources of evidence the adverbs refer to, their degrees of commitment and possible pragmatic implications. The present study is corpus-based and makes use of quantitative and qualitative methods of research. The data have been drawn from the Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language (<http://donelaitis.vdu.lt>), namely from the subcorpus of fiction, the Corpus of Academic Lithuanian (<http://www.coralit.lt/>) and the bidirectional translation corpus *ParaCorp_{E-LT-E}* (see Usonienė and Šolienė 2010).

The preliminary results of the study suggest that in Lithuanian the adverbs *akivaizdžiai* 'evidently', *aiškiai* 'clearly', *ryškiai* 'distinctly, brightly' function more frequently as manner adverbials rather than evidential sentence adverbials or show semantic ambiguity between the manner and evidential use and can be regarded as 'semantic blends' (Hasselgård 2010). The epistemic adverbs, *tikriausiai* 'most probably', *veikiausiai* 'most probably', *greičiausiai* 'most probably', *būtinai* 'necessarily' and *neabejotinai* 'undoubtedly' are the primary adverbial markers of epistemic necessity in Lithuanian; the only adverb that can function as an adverbial of manner is *greičiausiai* 'most probably', but it is not frequent in this function. The sentence adverbials originally deriving from the source domain of perception usually display evidential (inferential) interpretation, whereas the adverbials of epistemic necessity reveal evidential-epistemic syncretism (van der Auwera and Plungian 1998; Plungian 2001; Squartini 2007; Cornillie 2009). The functional peculiarities of the adverbs under study corroborate the idea that evidential markers not necessarily exhibit epistemic meaning components, while epistemic markers include evidential meaning components (Plungian 2001). In both fiction and academic discourse, the inferential basis is made up of 'perceptual' and/or 'conceptual' sources of evidence (Diewald and Smirnova 2010b). However, in fiction, perceptually-based inferences are more prominent than in academic discourse, in which conceptual evidence (publications of other researchers, questionnaires, reports) prevails and adds to the author's argumentation.

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The translator's other invisibility: stylometry in translation.

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The stylistic relationship between the author and the translator has been at the centre of mainstream translation studies (Baker 2000); it is equally significant in the discipline's corpus-based and stylometric varieties, as evidenced by a growing body of scholarship (Olohan 2005, Oakes and Ji 2012). Stylometry based on multivariate analyses of word frequencies is a well-accepted approach in authorship attribution, exemplified by such studies as Mosteller and Wallace (1964), Burrows (2002, 2007), Hoover (2004, 2004a, 2007), or Smith and Aldridge (2011). When applied to translation, however, the same methods tend to identify the author of the original rather than the translator (Rybicki 2010); sometimes, this success varies from translator to translator (Burrows 2002a). Only when translations of the same author are compared is there any hope for stylometric machine-learning methods to tell translator from translator (Rybicki 2012a, Heydel and Rybicki 2012).

This study applies Cluster Analysis to normalized most-frequent-word (MFW) frequencies in texts, one of the most precise methods of "stylistic dactyloscopy." A script written for the R statistical environment, converts the electronic texts (full novels) to produce complete MFW frequency lists, calculates their z-scores in each text according to the Burrows Delta procedure (Burrows 2002); selects words for analysis from various frequency ranges; performs additional procedures for better accuracy (Hoover's culling and pronoun deletion); compares the results for individual texts; produces Cluster Analysis tree diagrams that show the distances between the texts; and combines the tree diagrams made for various parameters (number of words from top frequency strata taken for analysis; degree of culling) into a bootstrap consensus tree (Dunn et al. 2005, quoted in Baayen 2008: 143-147). The script (Eder and Rybicki 2011) has been used since at a variety of workshops and courses around the world; its ever-evolving versions are available online (Eder and Rybicki 2011a). The consensus tree approach, based on numerous iterations of attribution tests at varying parameters, has already shown itself as a viable alternative to single-iteration analyses (Rybicki 2011, Eder and Rybicki 2012).

This proposal investigates this interesting phenomenon by showing how difficult it is – despite the high accuracy of this procedure with originals – to quantitatively identify translatorial style, and addressing the possible reasons why multivariate methods of authorship attribution continue to provide good identification of the original authors despite the fact that analyses of this kind, based as they are on comparisons of normalized frequencies of the most frequent words, obviously exclude any one-on-one word correspondence between the original and the translation(s).

To illustrate, consider two corresponding sets of texts: one is a collection of 23 English novels by a variety of authors (Austen, C. Brontë, E. Brontë, Conrad, Dickens, Faulkner, Galsworthy, Montgomery, Woolf), and the other consists of Polish translations (by various translators) of the same novels. A bootstrap consensus tree is produced for both sets for 100, 200, 300... all the way to 1000 MFWs. As can be seen, the graph for the originals (Fig. 1) perfectly clusters together books by the same author; in the graph for the translations, clustering occurs (in most cases) by original author rather than by translator. Also, of the translators who translated more than one novel in this collection, the works of only one (rc) exhibit enough similarity in terms of most-frequent-word usage to be clustered together in the graph.

MFW-based stylometry is less helpless when its task is to differentiate between two translators of the same author or, better, the same novel. In another case study, the Polish translation of Virginia Woolf's *Night and Day* was studied where one translator (Magda Heydel) took over from her predecessor (Anna Kołyszko). In this experiment, I was only told that the first chapter was translated by Kołyszko and the final one by Heydel; the aim of the experiment was to find the exact location of the transition from translator to translator. As can be seen in Fig. 3, the procedure described above shows that equal-sized novel fragments of the final part of the book – beginning with sample 26 – cluster together with Heydel's final chapter. The fact that this was indeed the transition point has been then confirmed by the translator.

Figure 1. Clustering of the original novels.

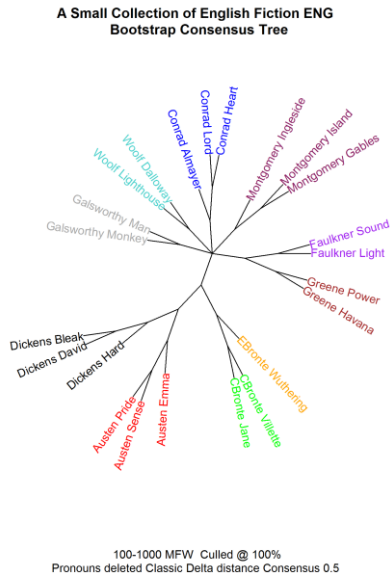


Figure 2. Clustering of the translations (translators are indicated by initials).

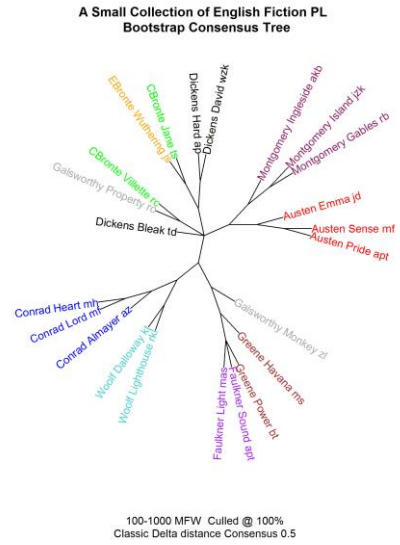
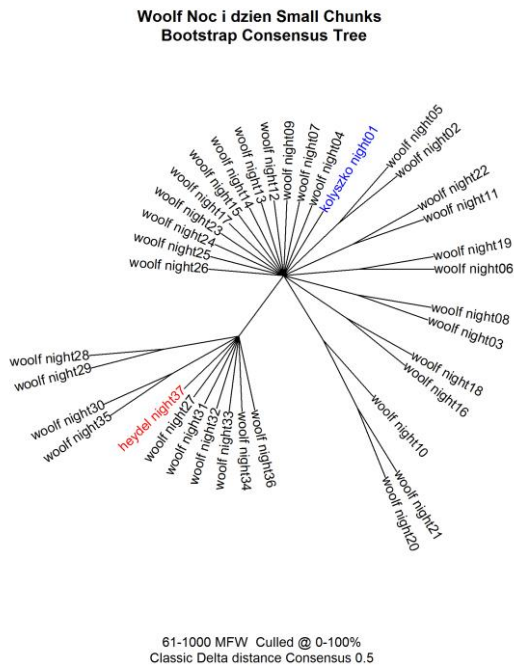


Figure 3. The two Polish translators of Woolf's *Night and Day*.



This addresses directly the 3rd research question of the proposed workshop: How can new, elaborate statistical methods (e.g., in terms of data visualisation) help unravel hitherto unobserved patterns in translations (see e.g. Delaere, De Sutter and Plevoets, 2012)? How can new (multivariate) statistics be used to disentangle and precisely quantify explanatory factors in corpus-based translation studies (see e.g. Neumann, 2011)?

This methodology's *data visualisation* indeed helps to highlight *unobserved patterns in translations*: the fact that most-frequent-word frequencies in translation are still more indicative of the original author rather than the translator. This is a *multivariate* method; and while the results seem at first to entangle rather than *disentangle* mechanism of translation, further research might in fact result in novel insights into translation and,

possibly, language, as well as the underlying mechanisms of lexical choice in translation.

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Discourse Connectives in Broader Sense.

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The paper is based on the annotation of discourse relations in the Prague Dependency Treebank (PDT). The recent study of the Czech discourse examines the possibilities of how discourse relations may be realized, i.e. which language means have an ability to signal that a certain part of a text is related to another.

Discourse relations in Czech are already annotated in the upcoming version of PDT (cf. Mladova et al., 2011). However, this version of the corpus captures only such relations that are expressed by explicit discourse connectives. Nevertheless, the annotation revealed that some of these relations are realized also by other means – cf. the example from PDT (translated into English):

- (1) *The Brazilian football player attacked his opponent in today's match.*
This is the reason why he will not play in the next three matches.

It is obvious that there is a relation of "reason – result" indicated by the expression *the reason was*. It is also possible to replace it by a connective *therefore* – cf.:

- (2) *The Brazilian football player attacked his opponent in today's match.*
Therefore, he will not play in the next three matches.

This example clearly demonstrates that relations within a text may be signaled also by other means than “classic” connectives (like *therefore*), by the so called alternative lexicalizations of connectives (AltLex’s) – e.g., *this is the reason why* (cf. Halliday et al, 1976; Prasad et al., 2008, 2010). However, PDT does not contain yet a complex annotation of AltLex’s and further research is indispensable.

The aim of this paper, therefore, is to carry out a more complex research on AltLex’s in PDT and to compare them with connectives. The paper will examine which types of discourse relations may be expressed by Czech AltLex’s, i.e. whether AltLex’s have an ability to signal all types of discourse relations or whether there are certain relations expressed only by the “classic” connectives.

Another task is to examine by which means the individual discourse relations may be realized (e.g., a relation of “reason – result” may be signaled by the expressions like *therefore*, *because of*, *the reason is*, *to give reasons why* etc.).

Another point of the research is to examine the Czech AltLex’s in terms of their scope. It is remarkable that AltLex’s significantly differ right in their scope. While some of them signal a relation between two adjacent sentences, another may refer over a large number of sentences – cf. the example from PDT (translated into English):

- (3) “Here is the tattoo as an expression of our own convictions still in the beginning,” says Zdenek.
 [15 sentences of direct speech]
 “*But we certainly reject this,*” *adds* Zdenek.

The AltLex is here the verb *to add* which has a connecting function to the verb *to say*. It seems that Czech AltLex’s are a heterogeneous group not only lexically and syntactically but also in terms of their scope.

It is obvious that Czech AltLex’s offer a wide range of linguistic study and their research may significantly improve the annotation of discourse relations.

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Jingle bells. Sound symbolism of expressive verbs in Finnic languages

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In our poster presentation, we will view language as a symbol, a phonetic imitation of the world around us. In Finnic languages, the idiosyncratic and spontaneously created means of expression include words called descriptive, onomatopoeic, expressive or imitative words. The abundance of imitative words in Finnic languages reflects the limitless possibilities music can have in terms of sounds (Hakulinen 2000: 328). Language and music translate into a voice that changes over time, onomatopoeic vocabulary imitates sounds of nature through its phonemic composition; it is expressive and nuanced.

The vocabulary is based on the sound symbolism inherent in a language.

Sound symbolism is the term for a hypothesized systematic relationship between sound and meaning (Hinton, Nichols, and Ohala 1994, Wichmann, Holman, Brown 2010).

The phonetic form and phonotaxis of expressive words often differ from the phonotaxis of conventional words. The majority of the word group is made up of verbs.

The planned poster presentation will provide an insight into the onomatopoeic verbs in the languages

spoken in the region of the Gulf of Finland, in the Estonian, Finnish, Votic and Ingrian (Izhorian) languages. By using comparative descriptive morphophonological analysis, we use onomatopoeic verbs to study language as a symbol, i.e. how the phonetic system reflects the world around us:

1) The means of expression for affective vocabulary on the level of the morpheme: use of untraditional means characteristic of affective vocabulary, eg. a consonant cluster at the beginning of a word: Est *pragiseb* (**crackles**), Vot *präkisee*, Izh *präGisöö* (Fin *rytisee*, *rätisee*); e *kröbiseb* (**rattles**), vdj *kröpizöb*, (sm *rapisee*); e *krabiseb* (**rustles**), Izh *krapisoo* Fin *rapisee*. In Votic and in the Lower-Luuga dialect of the Ingrian (Izhorian) language, the affective verbs may have a voiced plosive at the word beginning, e.g. Vot *birozöb*, e *piriseb* (**cries, buzzes**), Fin *pirisee*; Vot *durizöb*, Est *müriseb* (**rumbles, makes a loud noise**), Fin *jyrisee*, Izh *jürizöö* ~ *jüräjää*, Izh *bamahtaa*, Fin *pamahtaa*; Izh *bomahtaa*, Est *põmatab* (**bangs**); Izh *bomisoo* 'kõmiseb' (**rumbles**).

2) Common features of the morphophonological model for onomatopoeic-descriptive verbs in closely related languages, e.g. the same derivation model serves a basis for series of affective verbs with different meanings, variable internal vowels and initial consonants, eg. Fin *kahisee*, Est *kahiseb*, Izh *kahizoo* (**rustles, swishes**); Fin *kihisee* ~ *kuhisee*, Est *kihiseb*, Izh *kihizöö* (**fizzes**); Fin *kohisee*, Est *kohiseb*, Izh *kohizoo* (**murmers, sighs**); Est *pahiseb*, Fin *pahisee*, *lahiseb*; (**rustles**), Izh *šahizoo*, *sohizoo* 'sosistema' (**to whisper**); Fin *suhisee*, Izh *suhizoo*, Est *sahiseb* (**to rustle**); Vot *šumizöb*, Est *sumiseb*, Fin *surisee* (**buzzes**); Vot *dumizöb*, Fin *tömisee*, Est *tümiseb* (**rumbles**); Vot *bumizöb*, Izh *bomisoo* (**rumbles**), Est *kumiseb* ~ *kõmiseb*, Fin *kumisee* (**dins, rumbles**). The internal vowel *e* is the only vowel that does not occur in the first syllable in any of the languages in question.

3) differences in the use of the morphological model, and a lack of universal transparency in related languages: cf Vot *ampaat klagizövad*, Est *hambad plagisevad*, Fin *hampaat kalisevat* (**teeth are chattering**) and Izh *rahat trilizööD i träliZööd kormunas*, Fin *raha kilisee taskussa*, Est *raha kõliseb taskus* (**money is clinking and clanking in the pocket**).

The linguistic data analysed originates from dictionaries and research papers, whilst the dataset of the Votic and Ingrian (Izhorian) languages has been updated by field studies in Ingria (Russia).

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On the syntactic typology of reciprocals.

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Reciprocal readings induced by specialized morphology or anaphora are typically local, limited to the coarguments of a predicate P or arguments to which P assigns Case. This holds whether or not the readings are induced by predicate affixes (e.g., Central Bantu) or by reciprocal nominals in argument positions (English). We propose a uniform syntactic analysis of reciprocal constructions (couched in minimalist syntax) which explains why the locality effects for both reciprocal types are the same, and support the result with empirically independent typological generalizations predicted by our analysis.

Siloni (2012) posits two sorts of reciprocal constructions marked on predicates; lexically-formed ones, restricted to a subset of verbs, and productive ones, formed in syntax. Both kinds reduce verb diathesis by bundling two thematic roles of a transitive verb into one complex thematic role. Non-affixal argument anaphors like *each other* in English are assumed to introduce reciprocal semantics, but are treated as typologically different. We argue instead that argument anaphors marked for reciprocity (RCAs) appear in structures analytically parallel to Siloni's affixal anaphors. Thus RCAs do not contribute to reciprocal interpretation at all; Rather the RCA is just a variable in an argument place spelling out agreement with the reciprocal operator that

binds it (sometimes also with features of its antecedent), as schematized in (1) (RCA and its antecedent are italicized and RCM= reciprocal operator /marker).

1) [ClauseDP ...[vP DP [v-RCM [VP V RCA]]]] In minimalist syntax (e.g., Chomsky, 2001) 'little v' is the syntactic head that introduces the external argument (e.g. agent of a transitive verb) to complete the argument structure of a transitive predicate (V selects direct object). The RCM takes Spec vP (the external argument) as first argument, RCA as second argument and modifies the predicate relation between them to induce reciprocal readings.

This proposal (a) brings reciprocal constructions with overt argument anaphors into a tighter typology of reciprocal types - all three reciprocal constructions are induced by a reciprocal operator, (b) unifies the syntax that supports local reciprocal readings, (c) predicts that overt argument anaphors can be unmarked for reciprocity in sentences with reciprocal readings (d) predicts that there are languages with constructions in which RCM and RCA overtly co-occur, and (e) suggests an account for the absence of long distance reciprocals by contrast with long distance reflexives.

An analysis of Lubukusu complex reciprocals (Safir and Sikuku, 2011) shows prediction (d) is realized and independent of diathesis reduction (contra Siloni, 2012, and others), and analyses of languages with anaphors ambiguous for reciprocal/reflexive readings shows that (c) is not only true, but optimally so, for languages with multiple markers ambiguous in this way (e.g., Urhobo, cf., Aziza and Safir (2005)); Ambiguity is reduced to the presence/absence of the RCM – not stipulated for each argument anaphor. Tamil, which also supports prediction (d), supports hypothesis (e); Only a local Tamil argument anaphor can support reciprocal readings. Additional evidence from other languages to support each prediction is also presented. Together, evidence for (c), (d), and (e), supports premises (a) and (b).

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Reflexive verbs and anticausatives in the Finnish language from a typological point of view.

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The Finnish language has a series of so-called reflexive suffixes, *i.e.* -U-, -tU, -UtU, -(V)VntU- and some others. According to the previous studies, *e.g.* Koivisto(1991,1995), Kulonen-Korhonen(1985) and Siitonen(1999), intransitive verbs with a reflexive suffix, reflexive verbs henceforth, can indicate three different kinds of meaning. One of the meanings they indicate is a reflexive relation between an agent and a patient. In this case like the sentence (1), the subject is not only an agent but also a patient. Since the referent of the subject is usually an animate entity, the described event can be regarded as an action caused by a volitional agent. On the other hand, some reflexive verbs indicate a passive-like meaning, as is shown by the sentence (2). In this case, the subject is not an agent but a patient. The verb indicates an event caused by some volitional agent. However, the agent is never expressed overtly. In traditional grammar (*cf.* Hakulinen *et al*(2004)), sentences like (2) are sometimes treated as personal passive sentences, since their subject corresponds to the object of active sentences. Reflexive verbs can also indicate an automative meaning, as is the case of the sentence (3). 'Automative' means that some event occurs or occurred spontaneously. In this case, the subject of reflexive verbs is also a patient. But no volitional agent is entailed. The described event is brought about by some natural force, for example, rather than caused by some volitional agent.

From the description above, it follows that there are considerable differences among their meanings. However, a closer look will reveal that they have more common properties than they seem to have. In this paper I discuss the Finnish reflexive verbs from a typological point of view, with a special reference to

anticausativity (cf. Haspelmath (1993)), and I claim that the meanings conveyed by different kinds of reflexive verbs are only apparently different. First of all, what is described by reflexive verbs indicating a reflexive relation is a resultant state brought about by an action of a volitional agent rather than the action itself, as is shown by the contrast between the sentence (1) with a reflexive verb and the sentence (4) with a reflexive pronoun. Moreover, whether or not a described event is caused by a volitional agent is essentially irrelevant to reflexive verbs, as is evident from the sentences (5)-(6). The former is an impersonal passive sentence. In this type of sentence a volitional agent is firmly entailed. On the other hand, an unspecified causer of the reflexive verb in (6) can be something other than a volitional agent. If these things are the case, the differences among three kinds of reflexive verbs are much smaller than once believed. What is common to all of the reflexive verbs is that a resultant state of the referent of the subject is described and a causative event is not an essential part of the description. This amounts to say that reflexive verbs can be characterized as anticausatives, irrespective of their accompanying meaning.

- (1) *Tyttö pese-yty-i nopeasti.*
girl-NOM.SG wash oneself-3SG.PST quickly
The girl washed herself quickly.
- (2) *Kirja käänt-y-y suome-sta ruotsi-ksi.*
book-NOM.SG turn-3SG.PRES Finnish-ELA.SG Swedish-TRA.SG
The book is translated from Finnish into Swedish. (Koivisto 1995:44)
- (3) *Vene tempa-utu-i virra-n vie-tä-vä-ksi.*
boat-NOM.SG be carried away-3SG.PST current-GEN.SG bring-PASS-PTCP(VA)-TRA.SG
The boat was carried away by the current. (Koivisto 1995:42)
- (4) *Tyttö pes-i itse-nsä nopeasti.*
girl-NOM.SG wash-3SG.PST herself-GEN.SG quickly
The girl washed herself quickly.
- (5) *Puu kaade-tti-in.*
tree-NOM.SG fall-PASS-PST
The tree was chopped down.
- (6) *Puu kaat-u-i.*
tree-NOM.SG fall-3SG.PST
The tree fell down.

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The imperative vs. free-standing Que-clauses in Spanish.

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This synchronic study presents a functional account of the Spanish imperative and the independent uses of *Que*-utterances with a directive or optative meaning, as in (1) and (2), in different varieties of Spanish.

- 1- *Que entre.* 'Let her come in.'
- 2- *¡Que tengas mucha suerte!* 'May you be very lucky!'

The paper will compare *Que*-utterances with imperatives and other directive expressions, in order to clarify how free-standing *Que*-clauses function within the domain of directives and to account for the functional division of labour between them.

Free-standing *Que*-clauses have received some attention in the Hispanic linguistic tradition: Bello (1847), Dumitrescu (1992b, 1994, 1998, 2006), Pons (1998a: 221; 2003), Porroche (2000, 2009), Etxepare (2008), Rodríguez Ramalle (2008a; 2008b; in press) and Gras Manzano (2011; in press), among others. However, previous studies have been concerned with peninsular Spanish exclusively, most of them are based on introspective judgements or constructed examples and they do not take into account the conversational discourse structure. Moreover, many of these studies focus on the declarative uses of independent *Que*-clauses, neglecting the directive and optative uses.

In contemporary Spanish, free-standing *Que*-constructions are the marked alternative for directive constructions such as imperatives, infinitives and verbal periphrases of obligation. Based on Searle's (1969) felicity conditions and Takahashi's (2012) parameters of Force Exertion, we will interpret each utterance in context and provide a more accurate semantic characterization of the imperative and *Que*-clauses. We claim that the imperative realizes the more prototypical commands -alongside other less prototypical uses which hardly convey directive force at all-, and the free-standing *Que*-clauses realize variations on the prototypical command. Therefore, the relation established between them is not one of competition but of functional differentiation.

The study is based on the analysis of conversations among adolescents aged between 13 and 18 years old, who are native speakers of Spanish from Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile and Madrid (COLA corpus), and will offer an explanation for the meaning and function of the imperative and *Que*-clauses in Spanish and a deeper understanding of these phenomena through special references to other Romance languages. This paper aims at contributing to the existing body of research on directive strategies by providing new insights into the relations between syntax and discourse and into real language usage by native speakers of different varieties of Spanish.

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Andare 'go' + past participle: the emergence of a deontic passive in Italian.

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The study of the grammaticalization of deictic motion verbs ('come'/'go') is as old as the very notion of grammaticalization is, but recent research has sparked new interest in the "unusual" paths through which these two verbs develop grammatical or pragmatic functions (Devos and van der Wal, *forthc.*). In this paper we analyze the emergence of a deontic passive construction in Italian which is unknown to the other Romance languages and also cross-linguistically infrequent (Bourdin, *forthc.*).

This construction, formed by the verb *andare* 'go' + a past participle and exemplified in (1), has a deontic meaning that refers to a requirement imposed by (social) norms that are independent from human volition (participant-external modality, in the sense of van der Auwera and Plungian 1998).

Unlike other passive constructions of Italian, this construction does not admit the overt expression of the agent and is only possible with non-compound tenses (with the exception of the simple past):

(1) *la domanda va fatta su carta libera (*da-i partecipanti)*

the application go:PRS.3SG do:PPT on paper free by-the applicants

'The application must be done (lit: goes done) on simple (i.e. not stamped) paper.'

The diachronic analysis carried out on a historical corpus of Italian reveals that the earliest nonambiguous attestations of the construction date back to the early 17th century. We will show that the emergence of the construction is the consequence of a blend between two different uses of *andare* + a predicative element (either past participle or adjective) that are widely attested throughout the 15th and 16th centuries:

(i) on the one hand, as exemplified in (2)-(3), *andare* is used as a copula in combination with a past participle or an adjective. The verb has lost any motion meaning and the construction has habitual overtones (i.e., the state depicted by the participle or the adjective is a constant, enduring feature of the subject);

(ii) in the second use, exemplified in (4), *andare* has a meaning roughly paraphraseable as 'to be meant for a given place' and the participle specifies the position of the item that is planned for a given place:

(2) *a scriver-lo come va pronuntiato si farà*

to write-it as go:PRS.3SG pronounce:PPT REFL do:FUT.3SG

con l'aspirazione in questa forma, "Oh"

with the aspiration in this form "Oh"

(Alessandro Vellutello, *Commento alla Commedia*, 1544)

'To write it as it is (generally) pronounced, one must use the aspiration, in this form: "Oh"'

(3) *se bene molto maggiori cose facesse, non andrebbe così*

even if much greater things do:SBJV.3SG NEG go:COND.3SG so

lodato per la successione de-gli uomini

praise:PPT through the sequence of-the men

(Pietro Bembo, *Prose della Volgar Lingua*, 1525)

'even if he would do much greater things, he wouldn't be so universally praised'

(4) *un modellino d' un pendente, dove andava legato*

a little.model of a pendant where go:IPFV.3SG bind:PPT

dentro quel diamante grande

inside that diamond big

(Cellini, *Vita*, 2, 64; 1558)

'a little model of a pendant where that big diamond was meant to be mounted (lit. went mounted inside)'

We will show that (i) the emergence of *andare* as a deontic passive auxiliary presupposes a stage in which *andare* has already developed a copular function with generic/habitual overtones, as in (2)- (3), and (ii) the "destination" meaning of *andare* in cases such as (4) has reinforced the meaning shift from habitual/generic to necessitive.

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Conversion in cross-linguistic research.

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Research questions. Conversion is a non-iconic word-formation process that is however reported to be productive or highly productive in a number of languages. In these languages, its economy of use and its semantic versatility apparently outweigh its non-iconicity (cf. Dressler 1987: 105, 116, Plag 1999: 225-226). This resolution of the conflict between iconicity and economy raises questions in cross-linguistic research. Specifically in this paper, to what extent can it be said that conversion exists in other languages and, if so, how does it manifest itself?

Background. It has been claimed that the development of conversion is closely related to the complexity of the inflectional system of a language, such that highly inflectional languages preclude conversion whereas poorly inflectional languages use conversion (for a review, cf. Pennanen 1984). This statement has been called into question for example in English: in contemporary English it can be described as the word-based expression of the strategy whereby word-class transfer took place in Old English with the minimum possible change (Kastovsky 2000). The latter word-class change process, which is in fact a stem-based interpretation of conversion, existed not only in Old English, but also in other ancient Indo-European languages, like Latin and Sanskrit (cf. Biese 1941, Pennanen 1984: 88, Sanders 1988: 170).

Method and data. In order to assess whether conversion exists cross-linguistically, and to analyse the main features that are shared by conversion in a range of languages, this paper reviews the description of conversion in a sample of approximately fifty languages (Štekauer 2008, cf. also Müller, Ohnheiser, Olsen & Rainer to appear). To this aim, it takes into consideration Bauer's (2010) methodological remarks on the difficulties inherent in cross-linguistic research on word-formation. The study therefore relies mainly on specific descriptions of conversion available in the literature (e.g. Don 1993, Vogel 1996, Neef 1999, Bauer 2005, Kiefer 2005, Manova & Dressler 2005) and in online databases (*The Typological Database System project*, <http://language.link.let.uu.nl/tds/index.html>).

The analysis takes into consideration that the description of conversion is influenced by the inflectional properties of the languages studied, but also by very different linguistic traditions. The latter show a greater influence than may have been expected and therefore such concepts as paradigmatic derivation or transflexion are taken into consideration in relation to conversion. As a consequence, conversion may be more widespread than expected, because it may have been described in the past using other concepts with which conversion may partly overlap.

Results. The resulting picture shows the extent to which a view of word-based conversion is inappropriate outside certain language-specific approaches, especially in the context of the various morphological frameworks considered here, how relevant conversion is cross-linguistically and, interestingly, that some of the

difficulties that are well-known in the description of conversion in English, e.g. the influence of historical and of syntactic processes (cf. Dokulil 1968a, 1968b) are not language-specific but inherent difficulties in the concept of conversion, because they occur cross-linguistically.

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Space/time asymmetry in anchoring new referents: a corpus-based typology of verbs used for predication of existence.

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In this paper we compare the constraints of presence of spatial vs. temporal locative PPs in existential sentences composed of an indefinite subject, a verb and a PP in French, as in [1] with a spatial PP vs. in [2] with a temporal PP:

- [1] *Un feu de bois brillait dans l'âtre*
'A wood fire glowed brightly in the hearth'.
- [2] ?? *Un feu de bois brillait pendant le dîner*
'A wood fire glowed brightly throughout the dinner'

We examine, in a corpus of French novels (Frantext), the classes of verbs that are used in this structure: motion verbs, manner of motion verbs or posture verbs (*pass, come, climb, slide, jump, float, hang out, stand* etc.), verbs of noise emission (*yell, chime, barking, gnashing, sing, roar* etc.), verbs of visual manifestation (*shine, glitter, twinkle, shimmer* etc.), various action verbs (*beat, burn, play, burst, work*, etc.), and verbs more directly related to the notion of existence (including verbs of appearance or disappearance).

These existential sentences, similar to impersonal constructions, have been described as unaccusative constructions. However, although a large number of verbs in this construction are unaccusative, there are also many unergative verbs. Many authors (cf. Jones (1996), Cummins (2000), Hoekstra and Mulder (1990)) have argued that the presence of spatial locative PP is in fact required with verbs which are not unaccusative. They claim that the spatial locative PP denotes a location that makes the semantic content of the verb redundant and thereby transforms the verb into an existential predicate, which is unaccusative. However, we will show that the locative PP occurs with great frequency in this structure (temporal PPs remain rare), not only with inergative verbs but also with unaccusative verbs.

We will show that the constraint of the presence of spatial locative PP arises because of the need to determine the subject, and disappears when the subject is definite. Drawing on the ontology of Zemach (1979), we suggest an explanation as to why the presence of spatial locative PPs is pragmatically required in existential predication: as things are continuous in time but discontinuous in space, space becomes the first criterion in establishing the existence of a new entity, to individuate and anchor it in a scene. This property of things in space can provide an explanation as to why, in contrast, temporal locative PPs cannot fulfil this function of individuating and of anchoring and posit the existence of entities, in the way that space does.

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Interference and standardisation in trainees translators' renditions of scientific texts: applying Toury's descriptive-hermeneutic model of translation performance.

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The systemic contrastive analysis of translation shifts in selected textual instances allows the examination of translational behaviour on the level of sociolects and of certain features of the translation act, in terms of both process and function, and on the level of the translation product as such.

The experimental focus of the proposed paper is a systemic view of translation as envisaged by Toury's seminal work on the probabilistic laws of linguistic interference and growing standardisation. Our research presents a synchronic analysis of the lexico-semantic and stylistic performance of trainee translators in technical and scientific discourse, in the EN-EL language pair. More specifically, the research reported presents the findings from analysing a systematic parallel (learner) corpus consisting of two original EN technical documents and 80 (2x40) learner translations into Greek. The choices of the trainee translators have been recorded in semantically and stylistically delineated chunks of text and subsequently analysed on their respective lexico-semantic and stylistic levels (Batsalia and Sella 2010).

The translation choices were then codified in two classification levels:

- one schematising marked translational deviations from registerial norms (in terms of field, tenor and mode; cf. Halliday 1978) and thus codifying translation "errors", based on the initial translation error matrix suggested by the Institute of Linguists (IoL DiplTrans, 2006); and
- one positing instances of lexical interference, syntactic interference and standardisation.

The findings on the two levels have been annotated in GATE (gate.ac.uk) and matched against one another.

Moreover, the paper combines the statistical processing of the data from the above classification schemata with the explication devices (i.e. targeted translation comments) required from the trainee translators, so as to further explore the processes of textual and linguistic mechanisms of interference and standardisation.

The results and our observations underpin the assumption that interference and standardisation can be regarded as deliberate and mutually complementary linguistic devices, to which the trainee translators resort in order to “play it safe” (Pym 2012: 108), i.e. to avert a perceived translation risk. Moreover, the results point to the conclusion that such a perception of risk boils down to the translator's fear of non-compliance with the assumed norms of linguistic behaviour in the specific sub-codes (sublanguages) and contextual settings. In this sense, we posit that trainee translators exhibit a rationale of risk aversion, similar to the one exhibited by experienced translators, albeit with a different, and perhaps loosely perceived, substantiation of norms and of norm-conformity. It can therefore be argued that risk-aversion and intervention, together, are the single underlying standard of “loyal” translation performance, one that guides the complementary –and hence not mutually exclusive– linguistic devices of (registerial) interference and standardisation.

Finally, relying on the exploitation and causal explanation of our corpus data, our paper proposes a systemic schema of the above linguistic devices, expanding Toury's initial systemic depiction of the “Adequate Translation” – “Acceptable Translation” continuum (cf. Munday 2008: 113).

Preliminary findings of the reported research were first presented at the 10th International Conference on Greek Linguistics (University of Thrace, Komotini, Greece, 1-4 September 2011; selected paper of the conference proceedings forthcoming).

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On narrative template and Emai's past perfect.

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The study of correlations between specific linguistic properties and various narrative functions has provided a narrative template with wide currency for some time (Labov and Waletzky 1967, Hopper 1979, Fleischmann 1990). Of special interest for this paper is the distribution of a particular grammatical aspect in a West Benue Congo language relative to main storyline or foreground clauses in its associated oral narrative tradition. We thus explore the aspectual nature of narrative template in a West African setting.

Emai is an Edoid language spoken across 10 villages in southern Nigeria. It manifests lexical and grammatical tone, little inflectional morphology and complex predicates utilizing verbs in series as well as verbs with postverbal particles. Over a number of years, we have developed a grammar and dictionary for Emai in addition to a substantial collection of oral tradition texts, one of which “The origin of mucus in the nostrils” we analyze for this paper.

Grammatical aspects associated with Emai narrative discourse are expressed by tone or by segmental forms marked for tone. The past perfect (PP) is expressed by a grammatical subject phrase with right-edge high tone (*ikpéèkpéhímí áín*) and a verb phrase with a downstepped left-edge high tone (*héén'*), as in *ikpéèkpéhímí áín héén' ékpété lí ózèèà* [millipede that climb stool R third] ‘That millipede climbed the third stool’ or *ikpéèkpéhímí fán' á kpáí* [millipede snap CS sharply] ‘The millipede snapped off sharply.’ PP articulates foreground storyline clauses. Storyline resolution or climax, especially for older, experienced storytellers, however, can be signaled by imperfect continuous with a right-edge low tone subject (*ò* ‘it) and a left-edge low tone verb (*ò* ‘enter’), as in *ikpéèkpéhímí àín, ò ó ò òí vbí ihùè* [millipede that it C enter her L nose] ‘As for that millipede, it is entering her nose.’

Additional tense and aspect expressions occur in foreground clauses with PP. Most also appear elsewhere in the narrative template. Among these forms are Terminative (TERM) postverbal particle *lee* ‘already, finish’ (*óli ikpéèkpéhímí àín, ó héén' ékpètè òkpá léé* [the millipede that it climb stool one TERM] ‘As for that millipede, it finished climbing one stool’), aspectualizer preverbs Punctual *ghe* ‘just’ and Additive *gbo* ‘also,’ as well as relative tense Anterior *ke* ‘afterward.’

PP is not restricted to foreground clauses. It appears in storyline background, where it is primarily restricted to dependent clauses, e.g. relatives as well as circumstantial (*ébé ikpéèkpéhímí áín ghé' è ó ré vbí iwè* [as millipede that PCT MAN enter arrive LOC house] ‘Just as soon as that millipede entered the house’) and conditional subordinate expressions, or main clause ‘say’ verbs that redirect storyline to a second background setting. Finally, PP appears selectively in template orientation (*édòkpá nà ó dé'gbè ré* [day this it eventually arrive] ‘It is this day that eventually arrived’) and coda (*ááín lí ólí ókhá sé'ì* [there PF the story reach-F] ‘It is there that the story ended), where it surfaces in positive focus constructions.

Future tenses in South Slavic languages as morpho-syntactic features of the “Balkan Sprachbund”.

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Proceeding from the time of Old Church Slavonic/Old Bulgarian with more than one way of indicating futurity, namely with the verbs “to will”, “begin”, “to have” and “to be” and considering South Slavic languages of today, Bulgarian has the largest number of future tense paradigms. Beside the future tense formed with *šte*, we find future tenses in the perfect, future tense in the past, future perfect in the past and two evidential future tense paradigms. All these paradigms are formed with the verb “will” (= *šte*) with unchangeable and changeable forms, only the negated future is formed in Bulgarian with *njama da* + verb. There are only a few forms where the verb “to be” is used in Bulgarian future tenses, e.g. *štjach da sâm (bâda) pisal*. The Bulgarian system of future tenses is analytic much as the Macedonian system is, where the future tense is formed by *k'e*, corresponding to Bulgarian *šte*, but in negated sentences with *nema*+verb, as in Bulgarian. In Serbian and Croatian we find two ways of indicating futurity by means of *ht(je)eti* “want”, namely an analytic one like *pisat će* and a synthetic one, in Serbian like *писаću*. But here we find also a second form, the future perfect formed with the auxiliary verb *biti* “be”, e.g. *budem došao*. These forms remind us of the future tense in Slovene, which is a South Slavic language, but not a member of “Balkan Sprachbund”, e.g. *bom delal, boš delal* “I/you will do”, etc.; correspondent future tenses are to be found also in West and East Slavic languages outside the Balkan area. Only in Ukrainian do we find beside future tenses with *budu* “be” + infinitive” as well as synthetic forms with the verb “to have”, e.g. *znatimu*. The difference between synthetic and analytic forms does not seem to be a criterion for Balkan languages, since beside developments of analytism we have also developments towards a new synthetism as in Serbian.

One can assume that there is a Balkan centre of future tenses proceeding rather from a Greek centre, not a Romanian one, to Macedonian and Bulgarian, and that there is a transition area in the formation of future tenses with Serbian and Croatian up to Slovene in the north with future tenses formed by “to be” as in West and East Slavic languages. The question of future tenses in South Slavic languages must be supported by the facts of dialectology in all these languages, as is addressed in this paper.

Typologically relevant peculiarities of the switch-reference system in Yukaghir

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The switch reference system in Yukaghir exhibits certain characteristics that supplement and partly correct some of the typological generalizations formulated in Haiman and Munro (1983:ix-xv). The following is based on fieldwork data, Kurilov (2001) and Maslova (2003a).

Haiman and Munro (1983:xi, B) assert that switch-reference ‘is redundant where either subject is first or second person’. Indeed, when both subjects are in singular, there is no question of the subject referent being different in two consecutive clauses and thus no need in switch-reference being indicated in any way. However, in plural, to be more precise when the number of potential referents exceeds two, allowing combinatorially for different referent sets of *we* or *you*, one may expect **different subject** verb forms. Careful analysis of the data from Tundra Yukaghir confirms this expectation:

- (1) *Mit l'ukuoleqa mer ilen'ejli.*
mit l'uku-ŋol-eqa mer=ile-n'e-jli
 1pl small-be-1/2pl.ds vf=reindeer-com-intr.1pl
 ‘When we were small, we owned reindeer.’ Kurilov (2001:93, *ilen'e-*)

A concomitant observation concerning (1) is that it presents an instance of exclusivity encoded in the verbal paradigm. Unlike the usual pattern, which differentiates between the included and excluded addressee in 1pl, the marking clause of (1) does not make this distinction. Instead it signals that its subject is a reduced set of referents, while the referent set of the reference clause, including adult family members, who can own reindeer, is complete. Constellations with varying sizes of referent sets are, naturally, possible in 2pl and 3pl as well. A targeted cross-linguistic research in this direction can reveal a new aspect of the typology of in-

/exclusivity expressed via switch-reference.

Apart from this kind of strictly semantic considerations, which seems to have been ignored so far, application of switch-reference rules can be determined by pragmatic considerations. Maslova (2003a:370-371) reports that in Kolyma Yukaghir, the closely related language, same subject verb forms can occur when the referent of one of the subjects constitutes part of the group referred to by the other subject. In other words, a pragmatic communicative intention of the speaker to identify two subjects ranks over conflicting semantic considerations, which are normally decisive for establishing co-/disjoint reference. Thus, 'grey areas' in distinguishing non-distinct arguments (e.g. those that differ only in number) do not, contrary to Haiman and Munro's (1983:xi, C) assumption, have to result from overlooking on part of the speaker but are instances of deliberate violation of semantic consideration for rhetoric purposes.

Different subject verb forms are gerunds in Tundra Yukaghir. In certain syntactic context, e.g. when functioning as arguments, gerunds can trigger the application of switch-reference rules in the marking clause but remain themselves insensitive to them, i.e. they do not carry exponents of this category and, consequently, do not have reference clauses. This is not to be confused with the lack of adjacency of a marking clause and a reference clause, mentioned in Haiman and Munro (1983:xiii, G). Existence of such ruptures in marking switch-reference does not seem to be adequately reflected in the typology of switch-reference.

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'I haven't spoken to him about it': a discourse-analytical approach to evidentiality in White House press briefings.

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In White House press briefings, Obama's press secretary Jay Carney regularly informs journalists about activities of the current administration. The details that the press secretary has at his disposal are commonly based on personal encounters and conversations with the president or meetings with other members of the government. Hence, he can draw on both direct evidence, relying on his personal experience, and indirect evidence, referring to recent announcements or proposals by officials. Owing to the often critical and persistent inquiries of investigative journalists, however, the press secretary frequently tends to evade questions, refusing to use logical inferencing in his function as a mouthpiece of the administration, since speculations might be potentially harmful when given to the press. Consequently, the paradigm of evidentiality is a highly promising approach to the investigation of this dialogic genre from a discourse-analytical perspective.

Evidentiality is here defined as a "functional category that refers to the perceptual and/or epistemological basis for making a speech act" (Cornillie 2009). In other words, the basic meaning of this "semantic-functional domain" (Diewald/Smirnova 2010) is information source, whenever speakers mark the way in which they acquired their facts. The categorization of evidentiality regarding the direct (sensory) and indirect (reportative or inferential) type will serve as the foundation of the study. The corpus consists of twelve press briefings from March 2011, when Carney started to work as chair, to February 2012. The White House website contains a large online archive of transcripts, which are updated on a daily basis. In order to get a representative and random sample, I picked the first briefing of each of the twelve months. Thus, the corpus comprises almost 100,000 words and contains 588 minutes of dialogic interaction.

On the one hand, I will discuss formal realizations of giving evidence, which range from modal adverbs and verbs to collocations of first person pronouns and cognitive verbs (e.g. *I think*). On the other hand, contextual functions of such devices will be analysed, as the press secretary's primary communicative goal is to provide journalists with sufficient and reliable information without committing himself to unconfirmed projections. A special role in performing such evasiveness is played by metacommunicative acts (e.g. *I haven't spoken to him about that*). Moreover, journalists occasionally doubt the secretary's evidence or mention additional evidence in the form of government declarations, asking the press secretary for confirmation or

denial, which results in an intricate bilateral negotiation of evidentiality. Thus, it will become clear that evidentiality is not only a language-typological parameter but also shows conventional genre-specific uses regarding both its semantic categories and pragmatic functions.

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Orthography in contention.

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Orthographic systems have a remarkable capacity for providing their users with points of conflict. The object of contestation can be the orthographic system itself, as when different parties support competing orthographies for the same language; but it is also possible for conflicts to focus on small sub-parts of an orthographic system - individual word spellings, letters, digraphs or even diacritics. Historically there are ample examples of conflicts over both scripts and orthographies. Attempts at orthographic reform are particularly instructive as they frequently revolve around what – in the greater scheme of things – are small points, which affect small numbers of words or small sub-sections of vocabulary such as foreign words. Nevertheless reforms may be extremely contentious and result in a political backlash and/or refusal by some parties to accept the changes (Johnson 2005). The adoption of orthographies for previously unwritten languages has similar potential for controversy, especially in postcolonial situations and where social stresses already exist (Vikør 1988; Schieffelin and Doucet 1994; Herrero Valeiro 1993; and many others). Practices involving deviation from established norms (as in the case of the language of SMS messaging) are often also a source of controversy, if not conflict as such.

The pervasive potential for orthographies to undergo iconisation at different levels, and for orthographic icons to become points of contestation, seems to derive from the special role that orthographies have in societies as 'language on display'. This in turn seems to be linked to the fundamental role that orthographies have as technologies underlying literacy, thus being bound up in a web of educational, social and economic norms and relationships (Street 1984) which makes the orthographies, or identifiable parts of the orthographic systems, potential proxies for social conflicts of various types.

In this paper I will discuss some of the types of orthographic iconisation that occur and which have given rise to conflicts in different situations in recent history, exploring and attempting to account for the complex ways in which orthographies construct and reflect the identities of their users.

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A comparison of Nalu (Atlantic) and Yeyi (Bantu) so-called ‘null tenses’ in past narratives.

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Both Nalu (Atlantic) and Yeyi (Bantu) feature a marker, **ti-** for Nalu and **ku-** for Yeyi, both of which share several similarities with a set of features which Robert (2010, 1995) subsumes under the term of ‘null tense’ or ‘aoriste’. Both function as so-called narrative tenses to carry sequential mainline events and can also be found in subjunctive uses. Interestingly, the two tenses work and operate in tense-aspect systems that differ considerably. Most notably, the Nalu tense marker **ti-** works in system that emphasizes aspect over tense, and it shares its narrative function with a narrative marker **bi-** in a similar fashion to Badiaranke (cf. Cover 2010). The Yeyi marker **ku-** shares the function of narrating mainline events with the past marker **riku-** which is the predominant tense for most mainline events in a Bantu tense-aspect system that places a strong emphasis on the concept of hodiernality. What both markers have in common is that in past narratives they are implemented in a ‘create and then elaborate’ construction in which an introductory tense marker sets the temporal scene/domain and the sequence of events that follows is presented with either of these two markers on the mainline verbs. Here they seem to operate at a level that transcends the phrase or sentence to create a ‘macro event’ (cf. Wolfson 1982).

As a whole the behavior of these two markers indicate similarly to Crane’s (2011) findings for Totela that tense-aspect systems are not necessarily solely governed by semantics of temporality (i.e. tense and aspect). Part of the answer for tense in narratives has been to work with concepts of dissociation (detachment, ‘Zeiten der Ferne’) and association (e.g. Waugh and Burston 1986, Weinrich 1993, see also Botne and Kershner 2008). In addition to describing and comparing these two tenses in Nalu and Yeyi this paper is also an attempt at working with the concept of dimensionality (Waugh and Burston 1986) to understand aspect in narrative and single sentence utterances.

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Meaning transfers and gender shiftability: on the correlation between mass-count flexibility and agreement variation in Dutch.

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The mass/count distinction is not only fundamental in the nominal domain, but can also be seen as a window into human cognition and categorization: world entities may be arranged on a continuum of individuality (Sasse 1993) and common dichotomies like ‘countable’ vs. ‘uncountable’ and ‘bounded’ vs. ‘unbounded’ suggest that

individuation has a key role in mass/count conceptualizations. If we assume this distinction to be a conceptual one based on different degrees of individuation, mechanisms of type coercion (Krifka 1995) and near-synonymic expressions (Talmy 2000) are easy to explain and imply that the noun's type is not tied to the lexical item itself, but is computed at the noun phrase level (Pelletier 1991; Bunt 1985). In fact, while speaking we choose suitable words and expressions to convey a specific perspective on a certain entity (Middleton et al. 2004) either by means of lexicalized expressions, i.e. near-synonyms like *foliage* and *leaves*, or selecting *on line* specific syntactic constructions, i.e. *some bread* vs. *a slice of bread*. In other words the mass/count distinction is not only language-specific (Wierzbicka 1985) but also context-sensitive (Wisniewsky 2009). Interesting confirmations about the way this conceptual dichotomy affects morphosyntactic choices come from the analysis of gender agreement for Dutch double gender nouns (and beyond): in case of gender uncertainty agreement is triggered according to different degrees of individuation of the referent, i.e. the neuter for uncountable/unbounded entities and common gender for countable/bounded referents, i.e. *het marspein* 'marzipan' vs. *de marspein* 'a piece of marzipan'; a pattern that is gradually affecting even stable nouns, i.e. *de/*het boter* (Semplicini 2012a; 2012b). This suggests that the basic conceptual distinction between stuff and objects not only governs the selection of different morphosyntactic constructions or specific lexical choices, but may also play a key role in the transition towards a (more) semantic gender system.

The aim of this paper is twofold. On the one hand, I will provide examples of gender shiftability in Dutch NP-internal and external agreement to display the existence of common semantic pathways which strongly suggest the re-categorization of Dutch gender to be pervading the system as a whole. On the other hand, I will discuss the cross-linguistic significance of gender renewals based on the mass/count flexibility and consequent meaning transfers, assessing the oddness of any distinction between gender agreement and gender assignment (Corbett 1991) in systems like Dutch, where gender is covert: in languages where gender is only visible in context the emergence of ungrammatical agreement patterns based on the mass/count perception of the referent may represent the best cue to spot the cognitive reasons lagging behind the development of new conceptual systems.

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Independent Partitive (Genitive) as an isogloss of the Eastern Circum-Baltic area.

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Introduction. The syntactically dependent partitive case in Finnic and the partitive genitive case in East Slavic and Baltic area have been extensively discussed in the literature. It constitutes a firmly established feature of

the Eastern part of the Circum-Baltic language area (cf. Larsson 1983; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001; Koptjevskaja-Tamm/Wälchli 2001: 649-669). The partitive genitive in East Slavic and Baltic exhibits functional correlations with the partitive case in the Finnic languages that "...are typologically too infrequent to be explained by a coincident parallel development." (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001:540f). However, much less attention has been paid to the syntactically independent correlate. The latter is however remarkable with respect to both its typologically specific functions and a certain consistency across the languages of the eastern part of the Circum-Baltic area.

From the typological point of view, the typical semantics of Case is to encode "the type of the relationships the dependent nouns bear to their heads" (Blake 1994:1-2). Differently from the "regular" cases, the function of the IP(g) pertains to such domains as aspect and quantification, referentiality and discursive prominence in East Slavic, Baltic and Finnic.

In the present paper I will discuss some specific properties of the independent partitive genitive in Baltic, East Slavic and the partitive case in Finnic that pertain to the domain of quantification and aspect.

Quantificational properties. One of the common innovations of Baltic, East Slavic and Finnic is that the implicit quantifier invoked by the IP(g) extended its domain of application from originally an NP-internal quantifier (*D(eterminer)-quantifier*) into an *A(dverb)-quantifier* that applies on the clause level. It becomes sensitive to the quantificational adverbs, incorporated verbal quantifiers and verbal aspect. While acknowledging language-specific differences in the quantificational value of the implicit quantifier in every particular language, I claim that there is, nevertheless, a semantic core that is common to all three language branches, and certain differences may be explained as motivated by the differences in, e.g., the aspectual organization of every language of concern. The discrepancy between the syntactic position (NP-internally) of the implicit quantifier and its domain of application (clause-level) is typologically rare, cf. the overview in Corbett (1994:202; 2000:251) where such a quantifier is said to be unattested. This makes this correlation particularly telling with regard to language contact.

To give an example, consider the *temporal-transfer-reading* induced by the implicit quantifier of the IP(g) (that overrides the accusative case-marking here):

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------------|
| (1) | <i>Duok man peiliuko</i>
give me knife:gen.sg
'Give me a/the knife for a while!' | (Eastern Lithuanian) |
| (2) | <i>Daj lošadi</i>
give horse:gen.sg
'Give a/the horse for a while!' | (North Russian) |
| (3) | <i>Anna-han tänne kirvestä-ni</i>
give:impv-prt here ax:part.sg-poss.1sg
'Give here my ax (for a while)! (from Larsson 1983:87) | (Finnish) |

The regular, canonical accusative case-marking of the objects in (1)-(3) would not induce the implication 'for a while'. The implicit indeterminate quantifier induced by the IP(g) quantifies here the phase after the transfer event has taken place, inducing the meaning 'the result will last a specific period of time'. This is so, because the transfer verbs (achievements) do not presuppose a (preparational) phase that could be measured by the quantifier which has to resort to the after-phase.

Another example represents the delimitative aspect (= cessative). The delimitatives entail that the process had been running for a while and was stopped for whatsoever reason without reaching a natural end (if such an end (*telos*) is presupposed by the lexical semantics of the verb at all). The typical implication here is that the action could have lasted longer and was not fully exhausted (cf. Sasse 2002:206). The delimitatives require the IP(g) marking of the direct object (instead of the structural accusative). It is only Standard Russian that allows accusative here too.

Conclusions. One finds a number of typologically striking correspondences across the languages of concern. Even though the IPg is an inherited category in Baltic and Slavic, most of its synchronic properties are not attested in the ancient IE languages and are thus likely to be recent innovations of Baltic and Slavic. Even more, the IPg shows a greater functional correspondence with the IP in the Finnic languages than with its

etymological counterparts in the ancient IE languages. Interestingly, most of the properties not inherited from Proto-IE in Baltic and Slavic – as far as I can judge from the data available – are not inherited in Finnic either. This means that these properties were created relatively recently, and that the major part of these properties is the result of common developments in Baltic, Finnic and East Slavic.

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Productivity of selected deadjectival suffixes in Czech.*

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Productivity has become one of the central issues of research into word-formation in recent decades; it has mostly been studied on the basis of corpus data. In the respected literature on word-formation in Czech, however, the productivity of word-formation means has been indicated only generally, based usually on existing dictionaries and using scales like “very productive / less productive / unproductive” (cf. Dokulil 1962, Daneš et al. 1967, Šmilauer 1971, Hauser 1980, Dokulil et al. 1986, Karlík et al. 2000).

In our paper, we present a pilot corpus-based study of productivity of selected suffixes used for deadjectival derivation of nouns in Czech. After an introductory comparison of how productivity is defined across approaches (cf. Baayen 1992 and 2001, Bauer 2001, Štekauer – Lieber 2005), and a brief survey of selected approaches to measuring productivity in languages other than English (e.g. Bolozky 1999, Evert – Lüdeling 2001, Gaeta – Ricca 2006, Pustynnikov – Schneider-Wiejowski 2009), we focus on the suffixes that compete in deriving names of qualities from adjectives in Czech: the suffixes *-ost/-nost*, *-ota* and *-da* are used to derive feminine names (e.g. *lehkost* ‘lightness’, *kritičnost* ‘criticality’, *samota* ‘loneliness’, *pravda* ‘truth’), *-ství/-ctví* and *-í* occur in neuter derivatives (e.g. *slabošství* ‘fecklessness’, *pokrytectví* ‘hypocrisy’, *zdraví* ‘health’). The analysis is based on recent language data stored in representative sub-corpora of the Czech National Corpus (SYN2000, SYN2005 and SYN2010). The productivity of the suffixes is determined according to their token frequency, type frequency and to the count of their hapax legomena in the corpora (Baayen 1992). The results obtained will be compared with results from several corpora of journalistic texts (Prague Dependency Treebank 2.0, SYN2006PUB, SYN2009PUB) on the one hand, and with the frequency data from the recent dictionary of Czech (Filipec et al. 1998) on the other.

The analysis of productivity is completed with an analysis of the lexical meaning of the derivatives, which enables us to detect the differences among competing suffixes, to describe the polysemy of the derivatives (and the suffixes), to speculate on reasons why some adjectives are compatible with more than one of the suffixes while with other adjectives only one suffix is used, and to ask further related questions. For instance, the suffix *-ost* is expected to be the most frequent (and most productive) one among suffixes used for derivation of names

of qualities (type frequency), nevertheless, if there are several nouns derived from the same base adjective, the noun with the suffix *-ost* is often less frequent than the others (token frequency; e.g. *mládí* vs. *mladost* 'youth' with 3853 vs. 101 tokens in the SYN2010 corpus, *veselí* vs. *veselost* 'merriment' with 987 vs. 185 tokens in the same corpus).

The presented analysis might be a considerable, real data-based contribution to the theoretical discussion on which component of the linguistic description productive derivatives belong to in Czech, i.e. whether they should be considered a part of the lexicon or of the grammatical component. Our paper concludes with a discussion of dis/advantages of both possibilities.

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Examining the role of structural features upon that/zero variation in verbs of locution: a diachronic corpus-based multivariate analysis of say, tell, assert, declare, and state.

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Most of the attention following Rissanen (1991) and Finnegan and Biber's (1995) seminal research on the rise and predominance of the zero-complementizer form as an object-clause link in PDE has focused on the mental state verbs (i.e. think and know) while considerably less has been directed at the equivalent claims and conclusions made regarding the remaining 50% of their data set namely say and tell aka verbs of locution

(Fillmore, 1983)

1. I think that/zero there's in thee something devilish. (CoHAE: 1810)
2. I know that/zero a prison is a gulf that swallows wealth with appetite unbounded. (CoHAE: 1810)
3. I say that/zero I do not understand (CoHAE: 1811)
4. You could hardly tell that/zero they were eyes at all. (CoHAE: 1832)

Furthermore, considerable follow up synchronic and diachronic corpus-based research, again primarily with mental state verbs has been used to claim empirical support for several structural factors within and between the matrix and complement which facilitates the use of the zero form.

This paper examines the diachronic development of that/zero complementation alternation with five verbs of locution (VoLs), viz. say, tell, assert, declare, and state. We build upon previous work and related findings/claims by exploring the diachrony of that/zero complementizer variation in the verbs say/tell/assert/declare/state from 1640-2012. Using Wordsmith, a total of 28,000 hits (for all 5 verbs) were randomly extracted from separate parallel spoken and written corpora: CEEC and Old Bailey Corpora (1640-1913), CMET and CLMETEV (1640-1920), London Lund (1960-1990), ANC (1990 - 1993), COHAE (1810-2012), BNC spoken (1980-1993) COCAE (1994-2009) and the Alberta Unset (2010-2010) corpus. 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. Statistically sufficient sample sizes ($n > 40$) for all historical periods were extracted and a diachronic multivariate regression analysis is used to examine the statistical significance of 13 structural factors (as summarized in Kaltenböck 2004 and presented in Torres Cacoullos and Walker 2009) in regards to the selection of that/zero development in both spoken and written genres for all five verbs. The results reveal varying degrees of significance for each of the 13 matrix and complement clause features, however; stronger significance and implications are revealed when additional variables (e.g. polarity, length of the subject, the effect of time as a variable etc) are incorporated via a 'weighted' variable analysis. These findings are used to identify the structural factors which are diachronically significant in predicting the presence of the zero complementizer form within this set of locutionary verbs and to set up a discussion concerning the implications for using this type of statistically driven diachronic approach. (441 words)

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'Narrative forms' and coded dependencies in three African languages.

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The function of certain verb forms in some African languages has been described as signaling main narrative storyline and that of others as incompatible with such contexts. Specifically, verb forms in Maa (Nilotic, *n-*

“narrative tense”, Tucker and Mpaayie 1955), Coptic (Egyptian, “circumstantial”, Shisha-Halevy 1986) and Swahili (Bantu, *ka-*, e.g., Hopper 1979) have been claimed to signal narrative (dis)continuity. (1)-(2) are from the narrative storyline where all verbs are in the “narrative” verb form. In this paper, it will be argued that the narrative distribution of these forms is a common but special case of a more general function, that of signaling pragmatic or “situational dependency” (Robert 2012).

(1) *a-ka-enda ... bedui a-ka-toa askari a-ka-wa-ambia ... wa-ka-m-fuata*
 3sg-NAR-go 1.beduian 3SG-NAR-choose 2.army 3SG-NAR-3PL.OBJ-say 3PL-NAR-3SG.OBJ-follow
 'and the Beduian went, and he got an army and he said to them ... and they followed him' (Swahili, Steere 1917)

(2) ... *n-e-nyor-iki ... n-e-ipiri-ōki n-ē-ar ... n-e-mir ...*
 NAR-3-find-APPL NAR-3-jump-APPL NAR-3-kill NAR-3-chase
 '(and when he looked back) he found (them striking him), and he jumped and smote them and chased them with his bare hands' (Maa, Holis 1905)

These forms distribute beyond storyline narrative contexts, and don't strictly code the temporal sequencing of events or perfective aspect, demonstrated by comparing (1)-(4). In (3), a monkey explains that monkeys habitually leave their hearts behind and take a walk without them. (4) is the beginning of a narrative, setting up the main participant.

(3) *Sisi tu-ki-tembea mi-oyo yetu hu-acha mi-tini tu-ka-tembea vi-wiliwili tu*
 1PL 1PL-when-walk 4-heart our HAB-leave 4-tree 1PL-NAR-walk 8-body only
 'when we walk, we leave our hearts in the trees and we walk with only our bodies' (Swahili, Steere 1917)

(4) *e-tii apa en-gitōjo n-e-ton t-or-reyyet*
 3-sti long.ago FSG-rabbit NAR-3-live OBL-MSG-river
 'Once there was a rabbit, and he lived by a river' (Maa, Holis 1905)

This distribution is similar to the one described in Robert (1991, 2012) for the Wolof “narrative” form, claimed there to code “situational dependency” of a proposition on another known fact (Robert 2012). The clauses with *n-* or *ka-* verb forms in (1)-(4) are syntactically independent. Their verbal morpho-syntax codes their relation to previous discourse: either in the same position as TAM markers (Swahili) or by a verbal prefix (Maa). These “situationally dependent” clauses share TAM and narrative functions with previous clauses, or inherit them from discourse structure. These forms code this dependency and code TAM marginally or not at all.

Finally, some languages have verb forms coding a situation as one on which another communicated fact is circumstantially dependent (e.g., Maa *tēn-*, the Coptic “circumstantial”, Shisha-Halevy 1986). This is, in a sense, the reverse function of the dependency coded by the forms in (1)-(4). Thus, it seems like in these languages, some verb forms don't code (solely) tense and/or aspect, but code the category of “taxis”, signaling the proposition's “relation to another communicated fact” (Jakobson 1957 in Nedjalkov 1995, Güldemann 2005).

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As a language, you need norms to live (by).

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In the wake of the implementation of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, the linguistic landscape of Europe has experienced a variety of normative interventions, both in the sense of “status planning” and “corpus planning”. The Netherlands has recognised three West-Germanic varieties, which are all in an “organic” continuum with Dutch and even often perceived (by laymen) as Dutch dialects: Frisian, Low-Saxon and Limburgian. This contribution analyses the specific interventions and discourses in the Netherlands in the recent years, combining the sociolinguistic methodology (Lane 2011) with the methods from the science and technology studies, most prominently the new materialist agential realism (Barad 2007).

First of all, the analysis will address the material-discursive practices in the institutional standardisation of the recognised regional languages, and the eternal candidate for the status – Zeelandic. These practices will be analysed in terms of Baradian *agential cuts*, aimed at claiming the status of a full-fledged (minority, heritage, regional, non-dominant autochthonous, but still) *language*. In an emergent normative matrix, this status emerges as a condition for a dignified survival. In the *apparatus* in which these cuts are made, dialects are viewed as already invested in the standard language, whereas only real languages are seen as aggregates of uniqueness and diversity, which deserve state protection.

Features of this normative matrix will be located in two specific “outsider” discourses. In 2007, for a couple of days, the Dutch political arena was dominated by a language/dialect (worth it/not worth it) dilemma on Frisian in the personal development of the then education, culture and science minister Ronald Plasterk. Some of the specific cuts made in and around this discourse will be scrutinised. The other set of specific examples will be obtained from the advice to Belgium concerning the recognition issued by the Dutch Language Union in 1999. This advice was negative and strongly based on the assumption that “speakers of recognised languages cannot be considered Dutch native speakers”.

Finally, interesting identity cuts will be shown to be made with respect to “organically” connected linguistic varieties. Most interestingly, even though most of the references are produced in Dutch, the role of standard Dutch as the source of most (if not all) lexical enrichment and unification seems to remain too precarious a business to be explicitly discussed. The fact that most of the terminology of these standards is derived from Dutch using the productive correspondences internalised by bilinguals – inter-language mappings (Simonović, under review) – so receives no explicit attention. The productivity of the mappings can be illustrated by the term for the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in the three languages.

Dutch: Europees Handvest voor regionale talen of talen van minderheden

Frisian: Jeropeeske Hânfêst foar regionale talen of talen fan minderheden

Limburgian: Europees Haandvest veur regionale talen of talen van minderhejen

Low Saxon: Europees Haandvest vör regionaal tale of tale van minderhede

This final feature will serve as a basis for a discussion of the implicit norms concerning multilingualism and “entangled” linguistic varieties in what seems to be a model underlying much of linguistics.

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The universal and the particular in the order of elements in the Balkan verbal complex.

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Linguists drawn to study the striking parallels in grammar found across various languages of the Balkans have long recognized both the importance of the interplay of universal aspects of language structure and language development with language-particular aspects that are specific to individual languages on the one hand and the need to balance both of those against the effects of contact among speakers of different languages in the region on the other. In this paper, these factors are examined against the empirical backdrop of the order of elements in the verbal complex of various Balkan languages.

The verbal complex consists of the verb and various markers that modify it, especially for tense and modality, for negation, and to some extent also for argument structure, as indicated by the occurrence of weak pronoun forms. These elements are not only of the same status -- monosyllabic and generally unaccented -- across the different languages but they also line up in strikingly identical ways, occurring in precisely the same order, as illustrated in (1):

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|------------------------------|-----|--------|--------|-------|----------|-------------------|
| (1) | a. | s' | do | të | j | a- | jep | (Albanian) |
| | | NEG | FUT | SUBJVE | him/IO | it/DO | give/1SG | |
| | b. | ðe | θe | na | tu | to | ðóso | (dialectal Greek) |
| | | NEG | FUT | SUBJVE | him/IO | it/DO | give/1SG | |
| | c. | nu | o | să | i | -l | dau | (Daco-Romanian) |
| | | NEG | FUT | SUBJVE | him/IO | it/DO | give/1SG | |
| | | 'I will not give it to him'. | | | | | | |

These parallels cry out for an explanation. Yet, in order to explain the parallels here, no single causal factor is sufficient, and ultimately, one needs to invoke a mix of language contact, language universals, and language-particular idiosyncrasies. The effects of universals are seen in the fact that negation is leftmost in the complex, a cross-linguistic generalization noted by Jespersen and Horn, and the effects of contact are seen in the positioning of the future marker and the subjunctive marker, since the future formation has been explained as a calque on a Greek prototype. Even with the explanatory power offered by universals and contact, the language-specific cannot be discounted. For instance, of all the languages, only Albanian has a preposed stand-alone -- but nonetheless monosyllabic, like the other verbal complex elements -- aspectual marker (*po*, for imperfectivity), and Greek modal negation, contrary to what is found in other combinations, occurs to the right of the mood marker.

The need for such interplay makes sense when one realizes that even in cases of contact, languages, at some level, do go their own way, thus allowing for the particular, but nonetheless remain members of the set of human languages, thus answering to the dictates of language universals.

Marqueurs discursifs et variations traductionnelles.

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La présente communication s'intéresse au rôle des marqueurs discursifs dans la structuration des discours traduits et, plus particulièrement, aux variations traductionnelles liées à l'emploi des marqueurs discursifs.

Son cadre théorique et méthodologique est constitué par le modèle genevois d'analyse du discours de type modulaire (Roulet 1999, 2006 ; Roulet *et al.* 2001). Il s'agit d'un modèle d'analyse de la complexité de l'organisation du discours qui dispose d'un instrument d'analyse précis, susceptible d'être appliqué à l'étude systématique des différents types et genres du discours ou à une description plus approfondie des aspects isolés des productions discursives effectives, en fonction des objectifs fixés par l'analyste.

Nous avons centré notre analyse sur l'emploi des marqueurs de relations textuelles et des marqueurs anaphoriques, dans le cadre de l'analyse des formes d'organisation relationnelle et informationnelle d'un corpus de textes authentiques.

Le corpus étudié réunit les traductions réalisées dans un contexte d'évaluation des apprentissages et

des compétences (un concours de recrutement de traducteurs organisé par une agence de traduction de Zagreb, Croatie) par 60 traducteurs, locuteurs natifs de la langue source (le croate) ou de la langue cible (le français). Il comprend 10 textes sources (TS01-TS10) appartenant aux différents domaines de spécialité et 120 textes cibles (TC01-TC120).

L'analyse comparative des textes cibles nous a permis d'observer que les discours traduits dans un contexte d'évaluation des apprentissages et des compétences présentent un degré élevé de variation voire d'écart par rapport aux textes sources. Nous avons pu remarquer que les variations traductionnelles répertoriées sont très souvent liées à l'emploi des marqueurs de relations textuelles et des marqueurs anaphoriques.

Exemple des variations traductionnelles liées à l'emploi des marqueurs de relations textuelles :

TS01 **U protivnom**, smatrat ćemo da niste zainteresirani.

TC01 **Dans le cas contraire**, nous considérerons que vous n'êtes pas intéressé.

TC31 **Sinon**, on considérera que Vous n'êtes pas intéressé.

TC11 **faute de quoi** nous allons considérer que vous n'êtes pas intéressé pour ce poste.

TC03 **Si cela n'est pas le cas**, nous considérons que vous n'êtes plus intéressés.

TC02 **Sans réponse de votre part dans ce délai**, nous considérerons que vous n'êtes plus intéressé par ce poste.

TC10 **Sans nouvelle dans ces délais**, nous estimerons que votre réponse est négative.

TC20 **En cas contraire**, nous allons vous considérer désintéressé.

TC22 **Au cas contraire**, nous allons considérer que vous n'êtes pas intéressé.

TC33 **Dans le cas inverse**, nous allons considérer que Vous n'êtes pas intéressés.

TC15 **Autrement**, nous considérerons que vous n'êtes pas intéressé par le poste proposé.

TC18 **Au contraire**, nous allons considérer que Vous n'êtes pas intéressé.

TC25 **Contrairement** on considérera que vous n'êtes plus intéressé.

La fréquence et la portée de ces variations nous amènent à conclure que le choix des marqueurs discursifs dans le texte cible devrait s'appuyer, ce qui ne semble pas être toujours le cas, sur une analyse préalable de l'organisation relationnelle et informationnelle du texte source, ainsi que sur l'analyse contrastive de l'emploi des marqueurs discursifs dans la langue source et dans la langue cible.

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What is non-emphatic Double Negation? - the case of Swedish.

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In this presentation I will give an overview of literature on non-emphatic origins of double negation (Schwenter 2005 and 2006 and Van der Auwera 2009) and introduce the case of three dialects of Swedish (Standard, Jarssemål and Forsamål). The aim is to question the role of emphasis in the development and function of double negation (henceforth DN).

The classical interpretation of the grammaticalization of DN known as Jespersen's Cycle or Meillet's Spiral is based on the notion of emphasis, but, as Schwenter 2006:3 notes, emphasis has never been defined in explicit terms. What is emphasis and are there other possible functions and/or origins of DN?

In recent years researchers such as van der Auwera (2009) and Schwenter (2005 and 2006) have presented data supporting other sources for DN than emphasis. Van der Auwera (2009) discusses the need for exploring non-emphatic origins such as 'semantic strengthening' and Schwenter (2006) puts forward information-structure as a potential factor.

What is the function of DN in Swedish? Standard Swedish has a DN-construction and so does a number of other dialects of Swedish (Munther 2007, Skirgård 2010). The dialects in this study are spoken in Stockholm

and Hälsingland. The DN-construction consists of the Standard Negator (SN) in its usual position (post-verbal or clause-initial) and second clause-final negator. In Standard Swedish this second negator is a repetition of SN and in Jarssemål and Forsamål it is a particle described as 'e' or 'eh', as in (1).

(1) Jarssemål dialect, Swedish (Skirgård 2010:31)

men	Jô	sir	att	du	ä=nt	rekit	insöa,	E
but	1sg	see	that	2sg	COP=NEG1	really	snowed.in	NEG2

'but I see that you're not really snowed -in'

The function of this construction have not been thoroughly analyzed, there are only studies of the syntactic distribution of the dialectal constructions (Munther 2007) and the overall frequency in small corpus (Skirgård 2010). These studies show that the construction is very frequent, over 64% of negated clauses in Forsamål contain the DN-construction. If there the second negator ever was a marked of emphasis, that can no longer be the case. It is probable that the construction have developed through the cycle/spiral or a process similar to it. It is not however obvious that it originate in an emphatic context. Native speakers have suggested that DN in Jarssemål and Forsamål is a marker of obvious/shared/undisputable knowledge (Munther 2007:25) or clarification/semantic strengthening (Franck 1989).

This presentation will cover the previous analysis of DN in Swedish and results from a pilot study. The pilot study will be conducted during the spring of 2013 and consist of a questionnaire and consultations with mother tongue speakers of the three dialects. The aim is to investigate what function DN has in Swedish today: emphasis, 'semantic strengthening', information structure (discourse-active or inference) or neither. No specific theory of grammar will be applied, this is a qualitative study within a functional framework.

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Rome, Carthage, and the Maltese language question: fighting the fourth punic war.

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In this paper, I discuss, with the aid of contemporary sources, the debate which took place in the 1930s over the status of Maltese, showing that the arguments for and against its status as a national or official language were linked to false assertions about its origins. Not only is this a specific demonstration of how ideology may lead to a systematic distortion of historical linguistics, as the discipline is harnessed, without regard for scholarship, to serve geopolitical ends; it has a broader general significance as an instantiation of historicism (Popper 1957). Historicism infers both future events and moral values from claims about history. It is deterministic and is hostile to both empiricism and rationalism; it is therefore inimical both to scholarly values and to democratic pluralism.

Maltese is a modern descendant of Siculo-Arabic, whose vocabulary has been transformed by a

massive influx of Italian items (by most estimates, over 50% of the lexicon) — Hull (1993); Brincat (2004, 2011). It is the national language of Malta (current population approximately 400,000), which has been independent from Britain since 1964 and a Republic since 1974; it has also been a full official language of the European Union since 2007.

The Maltese archipelago had long had strong cultural affinities with Italy, but had been a British colony since 1814. In the 1930s, therefore, English (the language of administration) and Italian (the language of the Church and the intelligentsia) were to some extent rival languages in Maltese society, despite the preponderance of the latter, whilst Maltese was far from enjoying the status it has today. Hancock (1935) notes: 'Maltese is everybody's daily speech; but successive rulers of the island have confined it for centuries to the farm and the kitchen'. Its position was deliberately enhanced by the British, as part of an attempt to counter the pervasive influence of Italian. Indeed, the most interesting aspect of the linguistic debate concerns the attitudes of the pro-Italian and pro-English factions to the Maltese language itself, ranging from Mussolinian irredentist claims that it was merely a dialect of Italian to the equally implausible assertion by Strickland, the British-Maltese Prime Minister of the island from 1927 to 1932, and his supporters that it was 'modern Phoenician' or 'modern Punic'. The discourse used — postulating a Roman or a Carthaginian origin for a language which is clearly in essence Arabic — at times seems to be a proxy for a Fourth Punic War, pitting two empires against each other, although in this case the empires are those of Italy and Britain. With its strong historicist overtones, this unscholarly and belligerent discourse, in the decade immediately preceding the Second World War, foreshadows the later conflict. Not only is it a striking example of the subversion of historical linguistic accuracy in the cause of geopolitical conflict; it is also typical of the deterministic political discourse of the time, and is a salutary reminder that historical linguistics, like any study of history, can be subverted by those who practise historicism rather than historicity.

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Obese bodies, indebted families, and good students: justifying the austerity policies in Portugal through the use of metaphor.

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This paper analyses the conceptual metaphors that structure the discourse of implementing harsh austerity policies by the Portuguese government aiming to solve the serious financial and economic present crisis in Portugal. In April 2011, Portugal had to seek for external financial assistance and the new Portuguese government has ever since sought to implement harsh successive austerity measures that were recommended by the Troika, i.e. European Commission, European Central Bank and International Monetary Fund. The analysis uses corpus-based methodology and relies on a corpus of news and opinion articles extracted from Portuguese national and economic newspapers and published between June 2011 (shortly after the application for financial help and Troika visit to Portugal) and October 2012. It follows the promising convergence between Cognitive Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis (see Chilton 2004 and Charteris-Black 2005, among others) and more specifically it follows the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999) and the corpus-based approach to metaphor (Stefanowitch and Gries 2006). In addition to the description of the conceptual metaphors regarding austerity policies, the paper investigates the experiential and cultural motivations of the austerity metaphors as well their influent rhetorical and ideological functions.

The corpus-based analysis reveals three main conceptual metaphors used in policy responses to the economic crisis and the implementation and justification of harsh austerity policies. The first conceptual metaphor is the metaphor of diet and slimming. Diet and slimming metaphors are used to conceptualize the

historical cuts addressing the social expenses of the State, billions of Euros refunding, wages reductions, taxes and public services increase. The second conceptual metaphor addresses family debts control: national economy needs to fasten their budgets and reduce expenses likewise in indebted families; it is necessary to reorganize the national and European households. The third conceptual metaphor refers to good students and national honor: Portugal must fulfill the Troika goals, must meet the budgetary goals, must be different from Greece, must be regarded as a good example of the austerity measures, and must honor our commitments.

The slimming, indebted family and good student metaphors are grounded on *image schemas* (Johnson 1987, Hampe 2005) from bodily experience. The *embodiment* of austerity metaphors turns them into cognitive models with important *ideological* functions (Dirven, Frank and Pütz 2003). The slimming, indebted family and good student metaphors serve the ideological agenda of austerity that was offered by Troika as if they were the only solution to be taken by the Portuguese government. These metaphors foster the belief that austerity policies will help the economies to revert to their long-term growth. Consequently, the austerity metaphors legitimize the drastic cuts on State expenses.

We will argue that the corpus-based and cognitive discourse analysis of metaphor provides empirical evidence about the relevance, hierarchy and typical configurations of metaphorical source domains and about the rhetorical and ideological role of metaphor in the political discourse.

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Areal typology and Balkan (morpho-)syntax.

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The paper deals with the presentation of theoretical, methodological and practical results, obtained by the international research team in the field of the comparative Balkan grammar and especially of (morpho-)syntax, thus showing that cross-linguistic comparison of syntax involving Balkan languages is truly possible. The study of "comparative syntax of the Balkans" can, but should not obligatorily discover parts of the "comparative Balkan syntax".

The major theoretical issues of general linguistics ("universal principles of grammar" vs. "relative principles of grammar (i.e. genetically or areally or contact determined)"), language typology ("universals" vs. "areally or socially restricted phenomena") and (traditional) dialectology will be addressed. The methods of fieldwork, descriptivism and geolinguistics (collecting the morphosyntactic data, their presentation and contrastive analysis) will be presented.

Some important particular phenomena will be discussed, in particular:

- (1) redundancy in Balkan grammar (ex. *mu dadoh na čovekutomu* 'I gave to the man'; *!i dzāku a-li muleari* 'I say to the woman');
- (2) contact-related convergent syntactic structures (in the majority of the Balkan languages);
- (3) contact induced morphosyntactic changes (ex. Greek patterns in Aromanian like preposition of the attribute if expressed by a Greek loan word: *suntu ka ti anapuđi lukri, ři bisearka nu li va aćali*. 'Those are wrong things

which the church don't like');

(4) borrowability hierarchies (in the history of the Balkan languages, the balkanisms will more likely be at the highest level of the borrowability hierarchies, whereas the anti-balkanisms will be at the lowest level of these hierarchies (ex. modal future > aspectual future > future tense) will be discussed and illustrated, thus addressing the issue "which are the grammatical properties and distinctions that can be borrowed and which cannot be borrowed".

The (Balkan) Sprachbund theory will be revisited, and some new definitions will be proposed, e.g. Sprachbund as "a language group defined by functional, not substantive properties", or Balkanisms as "the shared common Balkan features" vs. anti-Balkanisms "features that were never shared (borrowed) despite similar conditions of contact", like Albanian hypertrophic suppletivity (*ka ~ qe, bie ~ ra, yt ~ juaj*), peripheral cases like ablative (*një tufë lulësh*) or the infinitive of the Gheg type (*me punue*)).

The causes of Balkan convergence thus are to be seen in multiple language shifts (substratum phenomena) rather than in balanced bi- or trilingualism.

About semantics and pragmatics of hearsay adverbs in Polish.

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The paper addresses the variation observed in semantic-pragmatic features of propositional modifiers indicating hearsay in Polish (*rzekomo, jakoby, podobno*). These hearsay markers have been claimed to carry epistemic overtones by which the actual speaker transmits his/her doubts into the content of the message referred to. Corpus-based research shows that these lexemes do so to a varying extent: with some of them, e.g. *podobno*, epistemic overtones arise only via conversational implicature, while for others, e.g. *jakoby* and *rzekomo*, they seem to form part of their inherent semantics and are not cancellable in most contexts (Wiemer 2006). This analysis leads to an ordering according to degrees of epistemic strength:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|------|----------------|
| (1) | 'I think that P might be not true.' | Pol. | <i>podobno</i> |
| (2) | 'I think that P can be not true.' | | <i>jakoby</i> |
| (3) | 'I think that P is not true.' | | <i>rzekomo</i> |

The main problem with the scale is the paraphrase of *rzekomo*: 'I think that P is not true' by which it is too strongly distinguished from *jakoby* (cf. Socka 2011). Therefore Stępień (2010:53f.) ascribes to these both propositional modifiers the same epistemological doubt component, while she treats *podobno* as a mere *hearsay*-marker with just an agnostic epistemic component. In the paper I will argue that the difference between *jakoby* and *rzekomo* is not primarily the degree of the expressed doubt. There is rather another component, responsible for the fact that *jakoby* is preferred in persuasive contexts in which the speaker not only doubts the reported original utterance but also conveys his own opinion and tries to convince the hearer. In the case of *rzekomo* ascertaining the truth is relevant too, but the speaker does not participate in it and does not persuade the hearer. It is rather typically used when:

- there is no need for further ascertaining the truth or convincing the hearer, because information from the context identifies the proposition in scope of *rzekomo* as undoubtedly false,
- the speaker (author) utters statements for which s/he can be made juridically responsible, such as reports on court trials, activities of the police, etc.,
- a journalist is not able to verify his information with the due diligence according to the duties of care,
- the truth cannot be ascertained because of a time distance.
- Furthermore *rzekomo* is probably the only Polish hearsay adverb which can be used generically.

I argue that the meaning of *rzekomo* contains the feature [+distance] with respect to which *jakoby* is not marked. At the same time both are epistemically marked and share with *podobno* the hearsay meaning component.

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The acquisition of affirmation in Spanish by L2 Italian learners.

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Research questions. Metaoperators of affirmation like *sí, vale, de acuerdo, claro, desde luego, naturalmente, por supuesto, sin duda, ciertamente, en efecto* and *efectivamente* play a key role in the construction of a conversation. The Spanish language displays a complex microsystem grounded on the implication of the utterer and his comments on the predicative relations he builds. Despite the importance, the study of the process of discourse marker acquisition in Spanish is beginning now.

We know that the acquisition of the metaoperators of affirmation in the speech of Italian speakers is incomplete. It is therefore necessary to describe the characteristics of their competence at the various stages of learning in order to project didactically effective interventions that can lead to a greater awareness in the use of these markers.

Method and Data. We will describe the use of these operators in the speech of L2 Italian learners that have followed a guided teaching at the university. The empirical basis of the analysis consists of the Salerno oral corpus texts and the E.L.E.I. (Spanish Second Language in Italy) oral corpus: semi-spontaneous conversations elicited in the three years of a Spanish course with different elicitation techniques (Task-Oriented Dialogues, Symmetric and asymmetric talks).

The results obtained will be compared with the use of native speakers, Spanish and Italian within the Salerno corpus and the corpus Pr.ATID (Pragmatics Annotation Tool for Italian Dialogues).

Approach. The data analysis will reveal a need for a more abstract and meta-linguistic description of the functioning of such micro-system. We will use in order to interpret this data the meta-operational hypothesis.

Expected results. The hypothesis is that in the speech of L2 speakers the most basic operators of affirmation (*sí, vale, de acuerdo* and *claro*) are emerging gradually from the early stages of learning. Metaoperators like *por supuesto* and *sin duda* may occur sporadically in later levels. However, some fail to appear in the speech. Moreover, these operators are not always used consciously and unwanted implicatures are generated by the non-native speaker.

The aim of this paper is to test these hypotheses and describe unwanted implicatures in the interlanguage discourse.

Seeing, thinking and speaking across languages

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Although human cognition is traditionally thought to be universal and language-independent (Chomsky, 1993; Fodor, 2008), recent typological and cross-linguistic research reveals the need to place linguistic diversity at center stage in order to better understand the nature of cognitive processes (Evans and Levinson, 2009). In the domain of space, variability is realized with spatial semantic elements mapped across languages in very different ways onto lexical/syntactic structures. For example, *satellite-framed languages* (e.g., English) express

Manner in the verb and Path in satellites; while *verb-framed languages* (e.g., French) lexicalize Path in the verb, leaving Manner implicit or peripheral (Talmy, 2000). Some languages are harder to classify into these categories, rather presenting *equipollently-framed systems* (Slobin, 2004), such as Chinese (*serial-verb* constructions) or Greek (parallel *verb-* and *satellite-framed* structures in equally frequent contexts). Such properties seem to have implications not only on the formulation/articulation levels (Hickmann, et al. 2009; Slobin, 2005) but also on the conceptualization level (Soroli, 2012; Flecken, 2011), thereby reviving questions concerning the language-thought interface.

The present comparative study investigates experimentally the relative impact of language-independent and language-specific factors on spatial representations across three typologically different language groups (English, French and Greek) and discusses new typological classification perspectives for these languages. It examines how speakers perform three tasks coupled with an eye-tracking paradigm involving motion events: a production task (describing visual scenes in controlled situations), a non-verbal categorization task (grouping visual stimuli), and a verbal categorization task (deciding which visual stimulus best corresponds to a sentence describing an event).

The findings show that speakers' verbalizations differ substantially across groups as a function of language-specific factors. French speakers focus mostly on *Path* information (lexicalized in the verb), English speakers express *Manner* in the verb and *Path* in other devices, while Greek according to a *Verb*-coding may express either *Path* using both verbs and other devices, or according to a *Satellite*-coding show a preference for *Manner/Motion* verbs together with *Path* in prefixes and/or adverbials. The non-verbal data (categorization tasks) show stronger preference for *Manner* choices in English and Greek, than in French. Finally, although the fixation lengths show no significant language effect, variation is found significant with respect to the objective components of motion in that French fixated more frequently *Path* areas than the other language groups.

In conclusion, the findings indicate the need for a more complex (*orbital*) representation of the systems and support a moderate version of the relativity hypothesis according to which universal and typological factors co-occur in the same levels of processing.

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Adposition borrowing and complement position in Northern Songhay.

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Moravcsik (1978:112) claims that source language word order is preserved in the borrowing of adpositions. This proposed universal has held up rather well; Campbell (1993:103) noted the difficulty of finding counter-examples. Such apparent exceptions as have been reported are amenable to an alternative analysis as relational nouns in the source language, the recipient language, or both; thus Basque *kontra* < Spanish (cited by Trask (1996:314), countered by Curnow (2001:431)); or Urdu *bād* < Arabic (cited by Matras 2009:220), which

governs the genitive and can receive case marking. Testing this empirical typological claim, and understanding what makes it work, requires a detailed examination of contact situations in which the source and recipient languages position adpositions differently with respect to one another, and in which contact is rather intensive (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:74).

Songhay languages allow both prepositions and postpositions. The Northern Songhay languages have borrowed most of their vocabulary – including a number of adpositions – from Berber and Arabic, both strictly prepositional, in an ongoing situation of majority bilingualism which began several centuries ago. They therefore provide an ideal testing ground for this hypothesis. The state of Northern Songhay documentation is now sufficient to provide multiple independent examples of adposition borrowing; detailed grammatical studies of Korandjé (Souag 2010) and Tadaksahak (Christiansen-Bolli 2010) are now available, along with less detailed but usable materials for Tasawaq (Alidou 1988; Wolff and Alidou 2001; Kossmann 2007) and Emghedesie (Barth 1851; Lacroix 1981), and these studies are supplemented by unpublished data.

The available data confirms the claim for this subgroup, with a twist: in almost all cases, prepositions are borrowed only in contexts where prepositions would be expected across Songhay, while spatial relational nouns are borrowed as nouns explicitly linked through a genitive construction, rather than as adpositions proper. In short, Northern Songhay normally obeys both Moravcsik's claim and the seemingly contradictory requirement to preserve recipient language word order, by strongly disfavoring the borrowing of adpositions for which these requirements would be in conflict, and by developing a preference for relational nouns over postpositions – not just in loans, but also language-internally.

Wolff and Alidou (2001) reported the Northern Songhay genitive marker *n*, identical to Berber except in the order of possessor and possessed, as a Berber loan, which would directly violate Moravcsik's claim. However, an alternative account deriving it from proto-Songhay **wane*, as tentatively suggested by Kossmann (2007:85), appears more plausible in the light of comparative Songhay evidence. Among Arabic loans, Kwarandzey shows a few instances where a preposition appears as the translation equivalent of a postposition in other Songhay languages, notably “before”, “after” and “between”. However, these too turn out to be explicable in light of general principles: across Songhay, adpositions which can also govern clauses are always prepositional, and whereas spatial adpositions marking source/location/goal are postpositional, delimiting spatial adpositions are prepositional. All potential exceptions observed thus fit the rule on closer examination.

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On deriving principle A.

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In reflexive interpretations, two arguments of the same (local) predicate receive the same value. Principle A (PA) has been used to derive such interpretations by forcing the insertion of a (local) binding operator in the presence of a reflexive anaphor. It is, thus, a co-occurrence restriction. PA has been recognized to be stipulative and recent work is devoted to reducing it to independently needed mechanisms. We first discuss why all existing attempts are unsuccessful for SELF-anaphors, like English *himself* or Greek *o eaftos tu*. They all attempt to derive obligatory reflexivization on the basis of *self/ eaftos* being a relational noun denoting identity between the agent and theme arguments of a predicate. Since making a statement that two objects are identical is crucially different than forcing a semantic representation in which two co-arguments have the same value (a fact not usually recognized in the relevant literature), to derive obligatory reflexivization on the basis of identity semantics, researchers the following options. They should either demonstrate how the identity semantics lead to a reflexive interpretation with simple coreference (and no binding operator), or they should demonstrate how the identity semantics lead to the obligatory insertion of a binding operator, but, crucially, without using a co-occurrence restriction. Reuland and Winter (2009) take the latter path, but link the insertion of a binding operator (the z-operator) to the presence of *self*. Others assume an ad hoc rule of composition that interprets incorporation of *self* into the predicate but cannot apply to incorporation of any other relational noun (e.g. Relation Modification in Spathas 2010 for Greek, Patel 2011) (so this is again a re-statement of Principle A) and do not demonstrate why coreference is excluded or how it necessarily leads to a reflexive interpretation. Implementations that assign the identity semantics to a designated Reflexive Voice head that is licensed in the presence of *self* (Ahn 2012, Dechaine and Wiltschko 2012) (yet another co-occurrence), suffer from similar problems. This paper develops and explores three semantic tests that distinguish between reflexivizers (in the sense of Bach and Partee 1980) and identity semantics; the type of alternatives that are generated by SELF-anaphors in focus (Spathas 2010, 2013), a SELF-anaphor's (in)ability to stand as antecedent to a paycheck pronoun (Spathas 2010) and a SELF-anaphor's (un)availability in reciprocal contexts (Murray 2008, Cable, to appear). We show that that, unlike *o eaftos tu*, English *self* is a reflexivizer and requires no version of PA. We also show that *o eaftos tu* does contain a relational noun, and provide a semantic account of obligatory reflexivization cast in the system of Schlenker (2005). The account builds on the fact that *o eaftos tu* is interpreted as a guise (Heim 1993) and independently needed restrictions on the availability of using guises to obviate Binding Theoretic principles.

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Differential subject marking in Pontic Greek: case features and morphological realization.

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Pontic Greek (PGr; an Asia Minor Greek dialectal group) (Dawkins 1931, 1937, Papadopoulos 1955, Oeconomides 1958 among others) presents a phenomenon which qualifies as a Differential Subject Marking construction: Although subjects are marked with nominative case, a certain class of nouns appear in the accusative case when they head definite DP-subjects:

- (1)
- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. | epiyen | o | kaloyeron... |
| | go-past.3sg | the _{MSC-SG.NOM} | monk _{MSC-SG.ACC} |
| | 'The monk went...' | | |
| b. | erθen | enas | kaloyeros... |
| | come-past.3sg | a _{MSC-SG} nom | monk _{MSC-SG.NOM} |
| | 'A monk came...' | | |
| c. | estilen | ton | kaloyeron... |
| | send-past.3sg | the _{MSC-SG.ACC} | monk _{MSC-SG.ACC} |
| | 'He sent the monk...' | | |

Facts. (i) PGr is not an ergative language but a typical nominative-accusative language (subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs are marked with nominative and objects with accusative); (ii) the alternation is not between non-zero vs. zero morphology, since nominative and accusative are marked with separate suffixes (-s for nominative, -n for accusative); (iii) the subject that carries the differentiating case (accusative) is the more typical subject according to the Hale/Silverstein hierarchies (Hale 1972, Silverstein 1974), and it is therefore expected to be the one that does not carry the differentiating marking according to Aissen's (2003) approach to differential argument encoding; (iv) although the noun appears in the accusative, the article which marks definiteness appears in the nominative; and (v) the phenomenon occurs only with the nouns of a specific inflectional class, namely masculine nouns ending in -os.

Claims. PGr DSM cannot be accounted for by typological/functionalist accounts that refer to markedness hierarchies (e.g. Aissen 2003). It presents evidence (a) that DSM does not result from banning case assignment to the DP-subject (the differentiated subject carries overt case marking for accusative) and (b) that the DP-subject has been assigned nominative case (the definite article is marked with nominative).

Proposal. PGr DSM is morphological in nature and results from the interplay between (a) operations affecting the feature constitution of the inflectional terminal node of the noun and (b) the feature constitution of the formatives that fill in this node. These operations are conditioned by the [+definite] specification of the D head and the inflectional class of the noun. The proposed analysis builds on a feature decomposition approach to case (Calabrese 1996, Halle 1997, Halle and Vaux 1998, McFadden 2004, Alexiadou and Müller 2008 among others). Two alternatives will be explored: (a) PGr DSM is the effect of an impoverishment rule that erases the relevant case feature of the N head, which distinguishes nominative from accusative case marking (see Keine and Müller 2008 for a similar approach to differential argument encoding); (b) PGr DSM results from a rule that fixes the relevant case feature with a certain value in the given environment. The two alternatives will be evaluated against (a) a feature-based analysis of PGr nominal morphology, and (b) similar definiteness-triggered Differential Object Marking phenomena from Cappadocian Greek (another Asia Minor Greek dialectal group) (Dawkins 1916, Janse 2004, Spyropoulos and Tiliopoulou 2006, Spyropoulos and Kakarikos 2011, Karatsareas 2011).

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**Location as the third basic category for describing textual entities
and its relevance to semantics and pragmatics.**

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The present author introduces location as the third basic category – in addition to form and signification – for defining or describing textual entities/elements. While a textual form is the shape or composition of a phonic substance, and signification is the capability of a textual form to represent a class of elements of the extratextual reality, location is the (actual or potential) occurrence of a textual form in a given environment (context or speech situation) but it is not the environment, i.e. *locans*, itself.

The aim of the paper is to show how location works in the processes of encoding and decoding at the semantic and pragmatic levels. In that case, of course, it is necessary to define the relation between semantics and pragmatics. For that purpose, at first, two different approaches are discussed, namely those of Levinson (1983: *Pragmatics*) and Kalisz (1993: *Pragmatyka językowa* (= Linguistic Pragmatics)). The former, on considering various possible definitions of pragmatics, says that “The most promising are the definitions that equate pragmatics with ‘meaning minus semantics,’ or with a theory of language understanding that takes

context into account, in order to complement the contribution that semantics makes to meaning” (Levinson 1983: 32); the latter describes pragmatics “as the domain of linguistics which is concerned with man’s effective activity through the use of linguistic means ([...])” and he does not want to create a boundary between pragmatics and semantics (Kalisz 1993: 9).

The author of the present paper does not give up a clear distinction between semantics and pragmatics. Neither does he accept the solution that ‘pragmatics equals meaning minus semantics.’ According to him, semantics deals with the basic (direct) meaning of the utterance, i.e. its representational value, and the realm of pragmatics is the relation between the basic meaning and the intended (indirect, implied) meaning of the utterance, its aim being the description of the conditions in which the intended meaning is conveyed in encoding and received in decoding.

At the level of semantics, intratextual location may be a grammatical formative (e.g. the preverbal vs. postverbal position of the noun with regard to the verb in the active voice in English) and then its role is passive in encoding but active in decoding. If location is not a grammatical formative, then its role is active in both encoding and decoding. In encoding it may select a particular variant of a form, and in decoding it selects a particular value of a polysemous expression.

At the level of pragmatics, one can speak of a pragmatic function, which should be differentiated with regard to the process of encoding (Function A) and that of decoding (Function B). In both cases, the independent variable of the function is the set of possible locations, which means that a given (actual) location is a selector, and thus its role is active. However, the dependent variable is not the same for the two functions. In the case of Function A (encoding), the dependent variable is the set of possible utterance forms each of which has such a basic meaning whose set of (logical or conventional) implicatures includes, among others, the intended meaning. In turn, in the case of Function B (decoding), the dependent variable is the set of meanings which are the set of (logical or conventional) implicatures of the basic meaning of the reconstructed utterance. As an example, one may consider the conditions of the choice of the utterance *John has a wife and children* to convey a particular intended meaning in encoding and those of the choice of the intended meaning in decoding.

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The imperative and the infinitive in German: two strategies in competition.

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In German the infinitive is used as a functional equivalent of the imperative, since both can be used as directives. In this function the two strategies are in competition, as is shown by the two equivalent utterances (1) and (2), produced by the same speaker during a yoga session:

(1) **Atme-t** tief durch die Nase ein.
 breathe-imp.2pl deeply through det nose in
 ‘Take a deep breath through the nose.’

(2) Tief durch die Nase **einatm-en**.
 deeply through det nose breathe.in-inf.prs
 ‘Take a deep breath through the nose.’

Whereas the imperative is considered the unmarked directive strategy, little is known about the directive infinitive (but see Heinold 2012). Grammars and the few existing studies note that the infinitive is the conventionalized form in recipes (3), appears on information signs (4), or is a routinized formula (5). Engel (1996: 48) considers the directive infinitive rude, impolite and impersonal:

(3) Fein gehackte Pinienkerne **zugeb-en!** (Glaser 2002: 165)
 Finely chopped pine nuts add-inf.prs

'Add finely chopped pine nuts.'

(4) Nicht **hinauslehn-en!** (Sign in German trains) (Engel 1996: 48)
 neg lean.outside-inf.prs
 'Do not lean outside!'

(5) Alle mal **herhör-en!** (Zifonun et al. 1997: 654)
 everybody ptl listen-inf.prs
 'Listen everybody!'

It can be inferred from the relevant literature that the directive infinitive has a peripheral status in the language. This view is challenged in the present contribution. The talk seeks to identify the factors determining the choice between the two strategies. Both formal and functional principles are involved: the phonological and morphological structure of the verb, the use of negation and particles, the frequency of the verb, politeness strategies etc. The identification of the determining factors allows us to test whether there is a division of labor between the two competing strategies.

The paper adopts a usage-based approach. It assumes that an understanding of the difference between two grammatical strategies requires the study of language in use. Methodologically, the study draws on naturalistic data, i.e. systematically collected authentic utterances. The corpus consists of one thousand utterances overheard in spontaneous conversation, in which speakers use either the imperative or the directive infinitive. The data is analyzed using multifactorial analysis, which is the appropriate method of dealing with the simultaneous effects of many factors.

Preliminary results suggest that the directive infinitive plays a more central role than has hitherto been assumed. This has important consequences for the grammatical description of German. From a theoretical perspective an explanation is required for why these particular strategies show such a high degree of competition. An attempt is made to identify the principles that strengthen or weaken the competition between functional equivalents.

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Cooccurrence of antonyms in discourse: for a description of semantic exhaustiveness in a semantico-referential perspective.

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Only a few studies are dedicated to cooccurrence of conventional antonyms. Among these studies, the corpus-based description of discourse functions fulfilled through antonymic cooccurrences made by Steven Jones (2002) became a reference. We will focus our communication on one function in particular : the coordinated antonymy supported by syntactic frames such as **X and Y, X or Y, X as well as Y**, where X and Y are antonyms. Through this function, cooccurrence of antonyms can express exhaustiveness, i.e. "all points on the given scale, not just the two specific points mentioned" (Jones 2002 : 66). It's the case for instance in the following example : [...] *the government will encourage everyone, rich and poor, to rely for their retirement mainly on money they invest in private pension funds* (voir Jones 2002 : 61). By searching into a French corpus constituted by articles from *Le Monde* (1987-2002 and 2010-2011), we found examples of antonyms in cooccurrence which express exhaustiveness within equivalent of syntactic frames identified by Jones (see example a) below), but also within syntactic frames not associated with coordinated antonymy (see examples b) and c) below).

- a) *Déjà en tête des ventes, quelques jours à peine après sa sortie, Mafia II prouve que le monde de la Mafia continue de fasciner sur **grand** ou **petit** écran.* (Le Monde 19/09/2010, "Dans les pas de Vito, petite frappe de la mafia", Guillaume Fraissard).
- b) *Les **absences** de Federer sont aussi intenses que sa **présence**.* (Le Monde 02/06/2011, "En 2 D ou en 3 D, le vent reste invisible", André Scala).
- c) *Les tours se **rejoignent**, **s'écartent**, **s'allument**, **s'éteignent**, la lumière règne en magicienne.* (Le Monde 30/04/1987, "Comédie musicale "Dreamgirls" : Harlem en V.O.", Danièle Heymann).

In light of these examples, two questions arise : 1) In which syntactic frames (with or without grammatical connector) is exhaustiveness expressed by antonyms in cooccurrence?, 2) How to define semantically and referentially the exhaustiveness expressed by antonyms in cooccurrence?

To answer the first question, we will expose our analysis of a lot of contexts, extracted from our corpus, where antonyms in copresence are used to express exhaustiveness. This analysis is based on the Meaning-Text Theory (Mel'čuk 2004) which is useful to describe the syntactic and semantic relations of actance between cooccurrent antonyms and the other elements of the same context. This description will highlight the syntactic and semantic conditions for antonyms to express exhaustiveness and will give us elements to discuss the status of discourse function of the coordinated antonymy, that seems to be more a syntactic mechanism to link antonyms syntagmatically while the expression of exhaustiveness is a real discourse function.

To answer the second question, we will describe antonyms as lexemes who designate referential prototypical categories. In this perspective, exhaustiveness subsumes the difference between two categories designated by antonyms. Two referents categorized in antonymic categories are uncategorized so that their conjunction may express a totality in regard to a semantic dimension. We will also define precisely the semantic dimension following Arthur Mettinger (1994).

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Contrasts in English-German cohesion – frequencies, functional motivations, registerial variation and some impacts on translations.

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This talk addresses contrasts in English-German cohesion and some implications for properties of translated texts. Its empirical base is a multi-layer linguistically annotated corpus of English and German originals and their translations into the respective other language. Data will be reviewed on relative frequencies of cohesive devices (proforms, ellipses, lexical chains, conjuncts; cf. Halliday and Hasan. 1976) and on frequencies, length and density of the cohesive chains into which they enter. Contrasts will then become apparent between the two languages and between registers within those. Differences will be highlighted between originals and translations both as (aligned) source and target texts inter-lingually, and within the same language and register as intra-lingual difference between originals and translations. Our particular interest is in the different extent to which the languages, the registers and the translations tolerate ambiguities, vagueness, and generally underspecification of antecedent-proform patterns. Overall, we assume that local underspecification and thus increased processing effort is counterbalanced by global contextual parameter settings, deriving from factors such as register and contrastive pragmatic norms.

Some initial hypotheses are formulated against the background of contrastive systemic differences German-English on the one hand, and against some registerial and wider "pragmatic" constraints on the other. Across several cohesive mechanisms, a scale of "identifiability" in the marking of referents is assumed, ranging from *0 > substitute > (personal/ possessive/ demonstrative) reference > general nouns/ verbs > fully lexical items*. Our hypotheses relate to different proportions between cohesively anchored and cohesively non-

anchored phrases, different degrees of local ambiguity in antecedent-pro-form links, different ambiguities of structural focus, division of labour between different cohesive mechanisms, different strength of the spoken-written register distinction, and different strength of the distinction between specialized registers and non-specialized language use. These differences are assumed to obtain between the two languages, between registers within those, and between originals and translations.

In terms of an explanation of the differences observed, we assume that translators' (sub-)conscious awareness of the complexities in processing source texts and of the potential conflict between ease of processing and expressive power of target texts to be produced (on which cf. e.g. Blum-Kulka, 1986, Doherty 2006, Hansen-Schirra et al 2012, Steiner 2012, Kunz and Steiner 2012) constitutes an important and as yet little-understood aspect of translators' competence. This awareness is a potential explanation for assumed properties of translated texts, such as explicitation and disambiguation of proform-antecedent chains, or the tendency in target-texts towards normalization and leveling-out. Statistically evaluated data from our comparable and parallel corpora using unsupervised clustering techniques, in particular principal component analysis, and supervised classification techniques such as classification trees and support vector machines (cf. Amoia 2013, Joachims 2006, Karatzoglou et al 2006, Diversy et al to appear, Wiechmann 2011), will illustrate some particular challenges against the background of English-German contrasts in cohesive mechanisms.

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More on switch-reference in Kotiria (Wanano, East Tukano).

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Kotiria (also known as Wanano/Guanano) is an East Tukano language spoken in the Vaupés river basin in the Brazil-Colombia border region in northwestern Amazonia. Longacre's contribution to Haiman and Monro's

seminal volume on the subject of switch-reference (1983) offers some preliminary considerations on the Kotiria switch-reference system and identifies two basic marking patterns. The first pattern occurs in sentences composed of a series of uninflected verbs followed by a fully inflected verb. Such sentences can be interpreted as constituting chains of conjoined events in which a same subject (SS) interpretation is implicitly understood, as long as the context and lexical content of the verbs indicate that the events occur in temporal sequence, as is the case in (1). Where there is explicit indication of partial temporal overlap, an unmarked chain is implicitly understood to involve different subjects (DS).

- (1) $\sim a=yoá$ $tí\sim da$ $thuá\text{-}ta\text{-}p\#$ $\# +re$
 so=do/make ANPH-PL return-come-LOC manioc+OBJ
 $\sim dá\text{-}thuá\text{-}tá$ **wuhá** **sóá** **wipé** **yoá+ra**
 get-return-come peel grate sieve do/make+VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 '(After working in their gardens), they (Kotiria women) go home, taking manioc (and they) peel, grate, (and) sieve it.'

The second pattern identified occurs in sentences composed of matrix and subordinate clauses, the latter with explicit morphological marking by a SS suffix (coding person/gender/number features of the subject), as in (2a) or a generic DS marker *-ch#* (2b). Chains with explicit marking may indicate temporal overlap, consequence, purpose, contingency, or other type of direct relation between the clauses.

- (2) a. $\sim bari$ $khé+ro\sim ka$ $wa'á\text{-}dua\sim da$ $wa'á\text{-}ka$ $w\# \text{-}ria=\sim be're$
 1PL.INC be.fast+SG-DIM go-DESID-(1/2)PL go-ASSERT.IMPERF fly-CLS:rnd.elong.=COM/INST
 'When **we** want to go (somewhere) quickly, **we** go by plane.'
- b. $\sim bari$ $\sim khóá\text{-}wá'á\text{-}h\#$ $khuá\text{-}y\#du+ra$
 1PL.INC throw-go-SW.REF be.dangerous-INTENS+VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 'When **we** take off, **it's** very dangerous.'

This paper offers further analysis of the reference-tracking and pragmatic functions of switch-reference marking in Kotiria, building on Longacre's initial insights and incorporating more recent work on the language (Waltz and Waltz 1997; Stenzel 2013) and investigation of extensive textual data. It begins with a concise overview of Kotiria subordination strategies, pinpointing the subordination contexts in which explicit DS/SS reference marking occurs. It then discusses use of switch-reference marking in 'tail-head' linkage constructions (Thompson and Longacre 1985), which serve to promote text cohesion and flow by foregrounding and backgrounding events and participants. Finally, it examines how switch-reference marking interacts with other means of participant reference identification in discourse: use of pronouns, definite lexical NPs, and nouns marked by a 'contrastive subject' suffix *-se'e*, whose use indicates a unique set of actions by a different subject taking place concurrently with the actions of an already-mentioned participant in discourse. The men and their activities in (3) contrast and are current with those of the women in (1), an earlier line in the same descriptive text about daily life in a Kotiria village.

- (3) $\sim bu +a\text{-}se'e$ $tí\sim da$ $bo're\text{-}ka'a+ro+re$ $biátó$ $ch\#$ $tu's\#$
 man+PL-CONTR ANPH-PL be.light-do.moving+SG+OBJ pepper/fish.stew eat finish
 $tí\sim da\text{-}\#$ $wesé\text{-}p\#+re$ $wa'á+ra$
 ANPH-PL-ADD garden-LOC+OBJ go+VIS.IMPERF.2/3
 '(Kotiria) **men**, after eating breakfast, they also go to the gardens.'

All discussion is amply illustrated by naturally occurring language data collected primarily through the Kotiria Documentation Project (HRELP/MDP-155).

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Spatial case system in Nanai: unidimensionality or bidimensionality?

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Two main types of spatial case systems are attested across languages, see Creissels 2008. “Poor” unidimensional systems have simple directional distinction of essive / lative / elative. “Rich” bidimensional systems multiply this distinction by the “localization” distinction ('in' / 'at' / 'on' etc.). However it seems that there is no clear borderline between these two types. “Mixed” systems which can be described as basically unidimensional with elements of bidimensionality are of a special interest in this context. Some field data from on locative cases in Nanai which seem to form such a system will be presented in the paper.

Case systems in Tungusic languages do not tend to be very large. Nanai basic spatial case system is known as a simple unidimensional system: *-že(a)ž(i)/-ž(i)ə(ž(i))* – elative (“ablative”), *-či* – lative (“directive”) and *-do/-du* – essive-dative (“dative”), cf. Avrorin 1959: 163–182. Apart from these cases there is so-called “locative” *-la/-lə/-dola/-dulə*, its most productive use (among some others) is prolative (cf. Kile 1981).

However our field data from Middle Amur dialect (Najkhin) reveal two other spatial forms which have not been systematically described yet. The first one *-žeala/-ž(i)ə* is symmetrical to the elative *-že(a)ž(i)/-ž(i)ə(ž(i))* in the case paradigm. It is used in in-relative contexts:

- (1) Koaŋsa-**žeala** amtaka-wa žapu!
basket-elat2 berry-obl take.imp
'Take berries from the basket!'
- (2) Naonžokan gujčə-**ž(i)əži** / *gujčə-**ž(i)ə** tuu-xə-ni
boy roof-elat1 / roof-elat2 fall-pst-p.3sg
'The boy has fallen from the roof.'

Used with geographical names it has the special meaning 'from the area of X':

- (3) Andaxa-sal Maŋbo-**žeala** ži-či-či
guest-pl Amur.river-elat2 come-pst-p.3pl
'The guests came from Amur region.'

The second one *-č(i)a/-č(i)ə* is symmetrical to the lative *-či*, it is used predominantly in apud-lative contexts:

- (4) Mapa žog-**č(i)a** ži-či-ni
old.man house-lat2 come-pst-p.3sg
'The old man approached to the house.'
- (5) Mapa žog-**či** / *žog-**č(i)a** ii-xə-ni
old.man house-lat1 / house-lat2 enter-pst-p.3sg
'The old man entered the house.'

In fact, however, the use of *-žeala/-ž(i)ə* and *-č(i)a/-č(i)ə* is more complicated and reveals some variation across speakers.

These forms make the picture more puzzling. They shift simple unidimensional Nanai spatial case system towards bidimensionality. The important difference from the canonical bidimensional system is that the opposition between two lative / elative forms remains “privative” but not “equipotent”. The specialized *-žeala/-ž(i)ə* form is connected to a specific localization ('in'). Its counterpart *-že(a)ž(i)/-ž(i)ə(ž(i))* is semantically unmarked: it can be used in a wide range of elative contexts, including in-relative. The same picture is observed for the pair

-či vs. -čīa/-čīā.

The enlarged Nanai case paradigm is asymmetrical. Thus, it deviates from the "ideal" bidimensional system. First, localization+direction combinations are developed only for directional cases and not for essive. Second the directional cases develop different localization+direction combinations. The lative direction is combined with 'apud'-localization, while the elative one is combined with 'in'-localization. These facts reflect primarily the unstable, intermediate status of the system. However a particular question arises if such asymmetry is occasional or predetermined from the cross-linguistic and functional point of view.

One more question to be discussed is the formal status of the forms -žēala/-žīāla and -čīa/-čīā. There are pros and contras for treating them synchronically as full members of case paradigm and for treating them as single units or segmenting them.

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The system of metaphorical conceptions of mind and soul in Dostoyevsky's original БРАТЬЯ КАРАМАЗОВЫ (The brothers Karamazov) and its Polish, Croatian and English translations.

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Given that our understanding of Mind and Soul is almost purely metaphorical, this paper will provide a comparative cross-linguistic analysis of the system of metaphorical conceptions of Mind and Soul in Dostoyevsky's original *Братья Карамазовы* and its Polish, Croatian and English translations. Special attention will be paid to those metaphors that are translated differently between the variant translations, either in conceptual or linguistic terms.

In the paper, we follow the path of cognitive-linguistic approach to Mind (Reddy 1979, Sweetser 1990, Lakoff and Johnson 1999) accepting the major findings of cognitive science: that the mind is inherently embodied, that thought is mostly unconscious and that abstract concepts are largely metaphorical (Lakoff and Johnson 1999:3). We apply conceptual metaphor theory in general (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987, Grady 1997, Lakoff 1999, Kövecses 2000, Lakoff 2009 etc.). Specifically, our theoretical and methodological approach is based on Sweetser's (1990) work on analyzing the system of metaphors for knowledge, on Lakoff and Johnson's (1999) systematic analysis of the metaphorical conceptions of Mind and Self, and on Štrkalj Despot, Skrynnikova and Ostanina Olszewska's (2012) comparative analysis of metaphorical conceptions of *ДУША/DUSZA/DUŠA* ('soul') in Russian, Polish, and Croatian.

Metaphors for Mind and Soul will be examined in parallel corpora (understood in the broader sense as a collection of texts in different languages that convey similar information and are produced under similar pragmatic conditions) that consist of Dostoyevsky's original *Братья Карамазовы* and its Polish, Croatian and English translations (Dostoevskij, F. M. 1993; Dostoyevsky, F. M. 1960; Dostoyevsky, F. M. 2005; Dostojevski, F. M. 2004.)

The paper will provide an analysis of the extensive subsystem of metaphors for Mind (in which Mind is conceptualized as a body with main general mappings: The Mind Is A Body and Thinking Is Physical Functioning as well as special cases of this general mapping that include four different kinds of physical functioning: *moving, perceiving, manipulating objects, and eating*).

The system of metaphors for Soul (which is fashioned in terms of the disembodied Soul metaphor combined with the conceptions of soul as being either the locus of emotions, moral judgment, will, essence or reason) will be analyzed as well. Results will be compared between different translations in the parallel corpora. The main questions that this research will attempt to answer are: which metaphors for conceptualizing Mind and Soul are shared by all languages in question? Which of those are primary, and hence grounded in embodied experiences that are universal? If metaphors are translated differently, is the difference conceptual or linguistic? Does the urge to translate one metaphor with a different one depend on a type of metaphor or on cultural specificity?

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Differential subject (DSM) and object marking (DOM) vs. ergativity in Indo-Aryan. Hierarchies revisited.

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The aim of the present paper is threefold. First, I will attempt to demonstrate how subject marking was introduced in the ergative domain of early NIA, secondly, the differential object marking will be dealt with and

thirdly, I will show how the two differential systems interplayed with the animacy hierarchy.

Certainly Indo-Aryan (IA) is a branch which has been very well documented as regards DSM since it is the problem closely related to the emergence and decay of ergativity. There has been a number of studies devoted to the problem of DSM from both diachronic (cf. Bubenik 1996) and typological perspectives (cf. Verbeke 2011). Diachronic explanations pertaining to DSM focus on the disintegration of the former inflectional system of OIA past tenses which has been replaced by an ergative construction of MIA (either through a reanalysis of a passive (cf. Bubenik 1996; 1998) or maintenance of the ergative character of the OIA construction based on the past passive participle with A marked by an instrumental (cf. Klaiman 1978; Hock 1986)).

In the present paper I focus on the early NIA stage in which one can observe stadial introduction of the postpositional A marking with absence of O marking. I attempt to demonstrate the following: that in early NIA optionality of A marking does not preclude maintaining of ergative pattern of agreement, synthetic A marking does not have to be replaced by an analytical one, A marking can but does not have to follow Silverstein's (1976) hierarchy (relatively high variation between ergative and nominative forms of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns in the inspected corpora). For contemporary dialects such as Rajasthani, Kumauni or Kului (cf. Ṭhākur 1975) I will argue that there might be areal pressure which can trigger recession of the A marker (Rajasthani dialects) or its extension to the domains of obligation or modal future (Kumaoni, Garhwali, Kului) or its replacement by a marker used in a standard language used in the area (Kumaoni).

The next step will be to trace the historical development of DOM. Preliminary research carried out by Wallace (1981) for early Nepali and Khokhlova (1992) for Rajasthani has already proved that DOM started in the imperfective domain and then it was introduced to the perfective one. In the present paper this will also be confirmed for less explored languages such as Kumauni, Chambiyali and Braj. The process of introducing DOM will be verified diachronically against the animacy hierarchy, i.e. even though contemporary standard languages such as Hindi-Urdu, Punjabi or some minor dialects belonging to the Rajasthani group (cf. Stroński 2011) follow Silverstein's hierarchy as regards pronominal O marking, several early NIA dialects had unmarked pronominal O and some of them have not introduced pronominal O marking even today.

This preliminary research aims to answer the question what was the interplay between DSM and DOM in IA from diachronic and typological perspective and what grammatical and pragmatic factors have played major role in both processes.

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Grammatical variation in written and spoken World Englishes: a comparative analysis of the ICE corpora.

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This paper is concerned with the linguistic and cognitive constraints which operate in the grammatical variation of World Englishes. Previous research on the expression of the perfect in some Asian varieties of English (Hong-Kong, India, Singapore and The Philippines) confirms the existence of different grammatical codifications for the four widely recognised types of perfect meaning (Seoane and Suárez-Gómez 2013; see also Dahland Hedin 2000: 385-388; Miller 2004: 230), as follows: the expression of resultative meaning is mainly codified by *have*+past participle (e.g. *As you can see, I've already **recovered** from smallpox*); recent past is predominantly conveyed by the preterite form (e.g. *She just **returned** from her trip abroad*); and both experiential and persistent meanings tend to be encoded in a more varied number of forms, including *have*+base form (e.g. *I **have never think** about it*) and *be*+past participle (e.g. *Travelling abroad **is** always **been** traumatic for me*). As shown in Seoane and Suárez-Gómez (2013) and Suárez-Gómez and Seoane (2013), the variants involved are statistically significant and cannot therefore be considered performance or transcription errors, but are, rather, productive forms within the perfect paradigm in these varieties.

In this paper we intend to (i) extend this analysis to other varieties of English, in order to compare the results obtained for Asian Englishes with new data from American and African varieties of English (Jamaica, Kenya and Tanzania); and (ii) examine the factors that determine variation in the codification of perfect meaning in all these varieties. With data from the *International Corpus of English* (using the ICE-GB and ICE-USA as benchmark corpora) we filtered all the occurrences of the ten most frequent verbs in our database, with the exclusion of *be* and *do* (*come, finish, get, give, go, hear, see, say, tell* and *think*, c. 60,5000 tokens) and selected those forms expressing perfect meaning (c. 3,000 examples). The factors considered to account for the variation observed in the data are (a) the impact of cognitive constraints typically associated with language contact situations, with special emphasis on processes of grammatical simplification and complexification; (b) superstrate influence, particularly the geographical variety of English involved (British vs American English), and the historical period in which the superstrate established contact with the substrate (e.g. 18thc. in the case of India and 19thc. in Singapore); finally, (c) the influence of (con)textual factors, such as the presence/absence of adverbial support indicating time, mode of discourse (spoken vs written) and type of text (e.g. spontaneous conversation vs scripted spoken discourse, printed vs non-printed writing, academic vs popular writing). This study will allow us to assess the role and strength of the different linguistic and cognitive factors conditioning variation in the paradigm of perfect meaning in World Englishes.

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A perspectival strategy to reflexivity: the Tamil "kol" morpheme.

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In many languages, such as Romance, Greek, Slavic (Chierchia, 2004; Embick, 2004; Medová, 2009) unaccusatives and reflexives are identically marked, motivating the thesis that reflexivity is a species of voice-phenomenon. In the Dravidian language Tamil, a verbal morpheme *koí* marks both unaccusatives and reflexives, seemingly lending further credence to this idea (see e.g. Lidz (2001) for a predicate-detransitivizing treatment of Kannada *kol*):

- (1) Pa:næ oɖænɖũ-kko-ɳɖ-adũ.
pot.nom break-kol-pst-3nsg
“The pot broke-kol.”
- (2) Raman_i tann-æ_{i,*j} kaɳɳaɖi-læ paarttũ-kko-ɳɖ-aan/*paar-tt-aan.
Raman.nom anaph-acc mirror-loc see-kol-pst-3msg/see-pst-3msg-comp
“Raman_i saw himself_{i,*j} in the mirror.”

However, closer inspection reveals for Tamil, that *koí* doesn't influence predicate-valency in any way. First, *kol*-suffixation on unaccusatives is fully optional. Relatedly, the verb (as in (3)) is marked as intransitive even before *kol*-suffixation - as indicated by the phonological voicing of the verbal-stem:

- (3) Pa:næ oɖæ-nɖ-adũ/*oɖæ-čč-adũ.
door.nom break-intrans.pst-3nsg/*break-trans.pst-3nsg
“The pot broke.”

Second, *koí* optionally marks non-reflexive transitives:

- (4) Raman Krishnan-æ paarttũ-kko-ɳɖ-aan/paar-tt-aan.
Raman[nom] Krishnan-acc see-kol-pst-3msg/see-pst-3msg
“Raman saw Krishnan.”

What, then, is the syntactico-semantics of *koí*? The sequence in (5) shows that *koí* attaches above Voice (Kratzer 1996) and an aspectual head (which, I will show, instantiates a resultative semantics), and takes an eventpredication in its scope:

- (5) Surface position of *kol*:
VerbRoot - (Voice) - Asp - *kol* - Tense - Agr

As for its meaning contribution, a close examination of the differences between *koí*- and *koí*-less structures for different verb-classes will show that, with *koí*-suffixation, the highest argument of an event-predication comes to hold the mental/physical result-state of this event. I.e. it denotes a mental/physical perspective-holder.

- (6) $[[kol]]^{c,g} = \lambda Q_{\langle s,s,t \rangle} \lambda x \lambda e' \exists s. Q(s) \wedge Get(e') \wedge Locus(e', x) \wedge Theme(e', s)$

Thus, in (4) and (3), Raman and pa:næ come to hold the mental and physical result-states of Krishnan-seeing and pot-breaking, respectively. Further support for this thesis comes from the compatibility of *kol* across different verb-classes: verbs whose meaning inherently subsumes a mental/physical perspective, attributed to the external argument, such as psych-verbs, are incompatible with *kol*.

What is the relevance of *kol* for reflexivity? Reflexivity in Tamil -be it local, long-distance, “backward”, or “logophoric”- I will show, is perspective-driven: a potential antecedent denotes a mental/spatio-temporal perspective-holder toward the minimal predication containing the anaphor; the so-called “subject” orientation of the Dravidian anaphor can also be shown to follow from this. The addition of *koí* renders a DP to qualify as a perspective-holder toward the event predication in its scope; when the DP is the external argument of the anaphor (e.g. Raman in (2)), this is also the minimal predication containing the anaphor. As such, *kol*-suffixation allows a co-argument of the anaphor to qualify as a potential antecedent for that anaphor. When the predicate

(e.g. a psych-predicate) is inherently perspectival, local binding obtains only in the absence of *ko í*, thus validating the analysis:

- (7) Raman-ũkkũ_i tann-æ_{i,*j} piđi-tt-adu/*piđittu-ko-ŋđ-adu.
 Raman-dat anaph-sg.acc like-pst-3nsg/*like-kol-pst-3nsg
 ‘‘Raman_i liked himself_{i,*j}.’’

The Tamil data is significant for two reasons: 1. it shows that reflexivity does not constitute a voice-phenomenon in all languages, and 2. that perspective plays a central role in the syntactico-semantics of reflexivity in some (a fact that has been recognized but seldom structurally formalized). Based on these insights, I will develop a formal two-step model of binding which involves the core thesis that perspective is structurally represented and plays a central role in mediating the relationship between a potential antecedent and the anaphor. The analysis may be easily extended to other languages with perspectival binding patterns, such as long-distance binding across subjunctives in Italian (Giorgi, 2006) and Icelandic (Sells, 1987; Sigurđsson, 1990; Reuland, 2001), empathy binding in Japanese (Kuno, 1987) and binding of spatial PPs in Dutch (Rooryck and vanden Wyngaerd, 2011) and Norwegian (Hellan, 1988).

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Past- and perfective-based directive strategies: a cross-linguistic comparison.

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The present paper is intended for presentation at the workshop ‘‘Imperatives and other Directive Strategies’’. It relates most closely to topic 4 of the call for papers, ‘‘Do similar alternative constructions do the same thing in different languages?’’, but is also relevant for topic 2: ‘‘What are the differences between imperatives and alternative constructions?’’.

In the languages of the world we find various cases of past tense and perfective aspect markers functioning as first- and second-person directives, as well as expressing certain futures (a closely related function). Japanese examples such as *Doi-ta, doi-ta!* ‘Get out of the way!’ and *Make-ta, make-ta!* ‘We’re going to lose!’ can be compared with Persian *Xor-di-yo zud umæ-di*. ‘You may drink and come back quickly.’ (Tavangar and Amouzadeh 2009) and *Ma bāxt-im!* ‘We’re going to lose!’ Languages with similar directive usages include

Swedish: *Kom så gick vi!* 'Let's go!', German: *Still ge-blie-ben!* 'Keep quiet!' and Russian: *Pošel!* 'Go!'. References to related phenomena in other languages are found in (among others) Bybee et al. (1994), Aikhenvald (2010), and Mauri and Sansò (2011). A phenomenon that appears particularly common is the use of past/perfective forms with verbs of movement to convey the meaning of "I'm off!/let's go!", as seen in the Swedish example above.

The main research questions of the presentation are:

1. What similarities in usage properties are found in directive strategies of this kind?
2. How similar are they in terms of their historical development?
3. How can we account for their development/function?

The present study compares some of the attested constructions, using examples from Japanese, German, Russian, Polish, Persian, Mandarin Chinese, and Swedish. The approach is primarily a comparative one. Using the Japanese *-ta* directive strategy as a baseline, past/perfective-based directive strategies are compared focusing on properties such as usage restrictions, productivity, and theorized paths of grammaticalization. Data was gathered through elicitation sessions with native consultants, interviews with experts on the languages concerned, and by comparing previous descriptions found in the literature. It is concluded that although the constructions vary in diachronic origin and synchronic productivity, they appear to often share properties such as informality, situational immediacy, and perfectivity.

Possible ways of accounting for the development and properties of these constructions, such as the hypotheses advanced by Tavangar and Amouzadeh (2006) and van der Auwera et al. (2009), are discussed. The presentation also touches upon the question of whether languages that employ past/perfective markers to express the certain future are more likely to also express directives through their use than languages that do not (and vice versa).

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Le potenzialità ana-cataforiche dei pronomi dimostrativi italiani 'questo' e 'quello'.

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La linguistica testuale conosce bene i concetti di anafora e di catafora, ovvero il rinvio al cotesto precedente e a quello susseguente, rispettivamente. L'ana-catafora, termine introdotto nella linguistica francese dallo studioso polacco Marek Kęsik, è una relazione endoforica (diaforica) a vettore esistente, il che significa che l'espressione ana-cataforica rinvia simultaneamente al cotesto precedente e a quello che segue l'occorrenza linguistica e che l'interpretabilità di quella espressione dipende dal contesto linguistico sia anteriore che posteriore rispetto all'espressione stessa. I dimostrativi pronominali italiani, il prossimale *questo* e il distale *quello*, nelle loro varianti sia variabili che invariabili, se sono stati analizzati nell'ottica testuale o pragmatica, sono stati molto spesso associati al funzionamento deittico e anaforico, valori discernibili in entrambe le forme, o cataforico *tout court*, valore reputato tipico del prossimale. Finora nessuno si è interessato del loro valore testuale misto, che, a nostro parere, offre degli interessanti spunti per una riflessione linguistica, non solamente nell'ambito della linguistica testuale, che ha come oggetto dello studio le relazioni di coerenza e quelle di coesione, ma anche dal punto di vista referenziale, pragmatico e sintattico. Il nostro lavoro analitico ci ha permesso di osservare in

quale delle due forme differenziali si nota la prevalenza del funzionamento ana-cataforico, nonché di individuare, cercando di continuare ed approfondire le ricerche nel campo del francesista lublinese, diversi tipi di funzionamento testuale a vettore esitante, in base al numero di termini operativi e alla presenza o meno del tratto deittico testuale o situazionale. Le nostre analisi sono state condotte sui corpora NUNC (NewsGroup UseNet Corpora), elaborati dagli studiosi dell'Università di Torino, che rispecchiano le tendenze di evoluzione dell'italiano perlopiù colloquiale. Le osservazioni che proponiamo sono arricchite dalle statistiche quantitative e qualitative degli usi testuali, non solamente ana-cataforici, per ciascuna delle forme in questione, che sono tali da permettere di trarre le conclusioni circa le peculiarità funzionali, in molti casi simmetriche, di entrambe le forme.

Defining “Lithuanian”: orthographic debates at the end of the nineteenth century.

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One of the key ingredients defining national identity in the discourse of Lithuanian nation-building at the end of the nineteenth century was a linguistic one, while a ‘national’ element often underlay the reasoning in debates on linguistic, and especially orthographic, choices. The orthographic debates at the end of the nineteenth century came to the forefront of public discourse for several reasons. In 1865, the Russian Empire limited the use of the Lithuanian language in official domains and imposed a ban on the use of the Latin alphabet for Lithuanian by implementing the use of Cyrillic. In response, a wide campaign of book and newspaper publishing began in East Prussia and the United States. These clandestine publications printed in Latin alphabet, as well as ongoing debates on orthographic choices, started shaping Standard Lithuanian and led to the standardization of its orthography.

Thus, the Lithuanian-speaking community at the end of the nineteenth century faced two major orthographic conflicts: competition between two scripts (Cyrillic vs. Latin) and competition between different proposals for standardizing the orthography of the emerging Standard Lithuanian in Latin script. In order to investigate, articulate and define the linguistic ideologies which underlie these conflicts, in my presentation I will approach them as ideological debates, i.e., as “various representations of reality which are pitted against each other – discursively – with the aim of gaining authority for one particular representation” (Blommaert 1999: 9). My analysis will be based on public debates (at the turn of the twentieth century) represented in both print and personal correspondence on the implementation of Cyrillic, its evaluation and validity for Lithuanian, as well as debates on spelling strategies (choice of specific graphemes) for the emerging Latin standard. I will attempt to identify the symbolic meanings associated with different writing and spelling systems and their iconic relationships to social and power structures.

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On the encoding of spatial relations in Estonian.

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The *goal-over-source* principle first reported by Ikegami (1987) and elaborated by Verspoor et al. (1998) argues that the goal is more salient than the source, which in turn is more salient than the trajectory. This tendency is explained as the goal being the most interesting (Verspoor et al. 1998) or informative element referring to space in the sentence (Ungerer and Schmidt 1996). Indeed, a number of studies in different languages have found that there is a goal bias in the encoding of motion events (e.g., Pajusalu et al. 2013, Lewandowski 2012). However, most of the studies of the encoding of spatial relations have not dealt with a fact that different types of motion verbs may act differently with respect to the *goal-over-source* principle. Other studies, in turn, have focused only on the source and goal excluding the trajectory and location from the study (e.g., Lakusta et al. 2007, Lakusta and Landau 2005). In fact, literature has emerged that offers contradictory findings about the

goal bias. For example, Stefanowitsch and Rohde (2004) have shown that in the case of manner of motion verbs like *cruise* and *stroll* one does not need to have the goal present, as the motion event is successfully conceptualised without it. Moreover, in some languages it has been argued that manner of motion verbs may not combine with goal phrases (Nikitina 2009, Jones 1996).

Based on previous corpus studies, the presentation suggests that there is a consistent windowing tendency as a major factor influencing the encoding of space instead of the *goal-over-source* principle in Estonian. Developing Talmy's (2000) approach to the path windowing, the consistent windowing hypothesis proposes that the motion verb and the locative expression have a tendency to window the same portion of the path (e.g., the initial (source), medial (trajectory/location), or final (goal) portion of the path).

This presentation provides the results of two pilot studies in testing the consistent windowing hypothesis. The first study is a corpus study of the encoding of spatial relations focusing on different types of motion verbs in Estonian. The second study provides data about a sentence production task conducted with the same verbs. Given the consistent windowing hypothesis, it is expected that source verbs (e.g., *lahkuma* 'depart') would most preferably occur with source expressions (e.g., *linnast* 'from the town'); manner of motion verbs (e.g., *kõndima* 'walk') with trajectory or location expressions (e.g., *mööda teed* 'along the road', *aias* 'in the garden'); and goal verbs (e.g., *minema* 'go') with goal expressions (e.g., *majja* 'into the house').

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Oceans of energy, mountains of evidence and oodles of money.
The case of vague non-numerical quantifiers (English-Czech Interface).

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There are countless communicative situations in which we are intentionally vague - for various reasons and with various communicative intentions in mind - and the significant share of vague language in those rituals is beyond any doubt. The present paper is based on the assumption that if vagueness is both intrinsic and important in the language system (being present in a great deal of language use in a whole spectrum of communicative functions), then any integrated theory of language should have vagueness as its integral component, systematically studied and described. Theoretically anchored in Channell's monograph (1994), this sketchy survey of a larger project focuses on a subtype of intentional vagueness represented by vague non-numerical quantifiers (VnQ,) structurally based on the prototypical sequence [VnQ + of + N] as in *bags of fun, oceans of energy, mountains of litter*, in their figurative meaning (cf. *bags of talent* vs. *bags of sand*).

Within the framework of functional and systemic grammar, as advocated by the Prague scholars and their followers, these overt language manifestations of informal interaction will be approached from *quantitative* and *qualitative perspectives*, with the activation of both the vertical axis of alternation (*bags of/seas of/oceans of/mountains of...*), and the horizontal axis of co-occurrence (*mountains of directives/litter/evidence...*).

The aim is twofold: (i) to give evidence of how 'armchair' linguists (Fillmore, 1992) can profit from the resources of corpus linguists, and (ii) how the quantity of data emergent from the corpora opens up space for a more delicate qualitative taxonomy of VnQs on which to base a more consistent cross-language (and cross-cultural) comparison. Samples of English (BNC) and Czech (ČNK) data will be projected onto an imaginary gradient ranging from (+for quantity), to (-for quantity), with the focus in the discussion section on the domain of *immensity*, and its tentative data-based sub-categorization into immensity perceived as spreading on the surface (*seas of energy*), or piling up (*mountains of litter*).

My research tasks are the following: Is the semantic domain of immensity saturated in both the compared languages by similar VnQs? Are there any significant typological differences between analytical English and synthetic Czech in manifesting vague quantification? Are there any significant differences in collocability between English and Czech (cf. *bags of fun* in English vs. *kopec srandy* [*a hill of fun*] in Czech) ?

The results are expected to give evidence of the usefulness of corpus-based data for the 'follow-up' theorizing about emergent tendencies, and to demonstrate how the relational meanings of [VnQ+ of + N] sequences are negotiated on the basis of contextual clues and socio-cultural preferences (norms) of a given community of language users.

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Forms and functions of asides in print media interviews.

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Print media question-answer interviews in the Dutch-speaking press show a formal characteristic which is not widely spread in other languages: in the answers of the interviewee, often side comments made by the interviewer are incorporated, between brackets. These comments can take the form of a finite verb (e.g. 'winks'), a participle (e.g. 'shrugging') or a qualifying adjective (e.g. 'sad'), sometimes elaborated into longer phrases. The general use of these qualifiers is to indicate the atmosphere in which the interview is taking place

or to describe the tone in which the interviewee is communicating.

We can consider these comments to be 'asides' in the sense Goffman (1981) assigned to the term, in that they address an *overhearing audience* in a metadiscursive way. The term originates from dramatic arts and narrative theory (Georges 1981) but several scholars have applied it to different communicative situations. For example, Strodt-Lopez (1991) describes the use of asides by professors in university lectures. Seizer (1997) characterizes them as part of the linguistic footing performers employ for telling jokes. In a study of newspaper interviews, Temmerman (2011) points out the possibility of asides to be used as a way of corroborating the competence of the interviewer.

The purpose of this study is to describe the different forms these asides take in question-answer interviews in Flemish popular magazines and to analyze their functions in the discourse. I have assembled a corpus of 81 interviews from two different popular magazines (*Humo* and *Dag Allemaal*), which resulted in a list of 865 asides, containing 358 different tokens.

I have categorized the different asides according to their functions in the text. Apart from the overall metadiscursive role they have of setting up a communication with the imagined reader (Makkonen-Craig 2011:684), five different functions can be distinguished, namely (1) adding factual information the reader is not presupposed to have, (2) describing the setting in which the interview takes place, (3) describing non-verbal behaviour of the interviewee, (4) describing emotions shown by the interviewee, (5) assessing the conversational behaviour of the interviewee.

It will be shown that interviewers who integrate asides in their written-out interviews, stage themselves and the readers as participants in the conversation and that this can have several pragmatic functions, such as adding innuendo or emphasizing their own competence as journalists. Moreover, the analysis of asides shows that written interviews should be considered as a form of discourse in which three participating parties are involved and in which communication in four directions takes place (interviewer-interviewee, interviewee-interviewer, interviewer-reader, interviewee-reader), rather than as an account in written form of a conversation between interviewer and interviewee.

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Grammaticalization of the Estonian *võtma* 'take'.

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High frequency verbs with the meaning of TAKE are grammaticalized to various extents in many languages of the world (e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2002, Kopecka and Narasimhan (eds) 2012), this is also true for Estonian. In the paper we examine the dynamics of the grammatical uses of the polysemous verb *võtma* 'take' in written Estonian from the 16th century to the present.

The aim of the study is to determine the scope of the grammatical use of the verb *võtma*, based on literary language texts and taking into account the argument structure and dynamics of the grammatical functions of constructions. Based on literary language data we examine the grammaticalization paths of *võtma* while also analyzing why the meaning of future expressed by *võtma* has not survived in present day Estonian and why was another causative construction (*võtma*-construction) needed in addition to the existing constructions. We investigate whether *võtma*-constructions show signs of foreign influences, which are

noticeable in many grammatical constructions because of the strong German influences in older literary Estonian, or whether these are vernacular constructions.

The study is based on grammaticalization theory. We describe aspects of verbalizing the event of taking on a broad functional and cognitive background. The data come from the corpora of Estonian from old literary Estonian (the Corpus of Old Literary Estonian; 16th - 19th century) to modern unedited language use (The Mixed Corpus of Estonian).

võtma + *da*-infinitive is widely and productively used in old literary Estonian, especially during early 18th century. The construction is used for expressing future:

(1)

Kui ta lõppetab poiad kandmast, siis wottab talluda seält seest neid waglad kerre seest wälja, lessed kissuwad nemmad ärra. (Thor Helle 1732, 401)

'When it finishes bearing offspring, it **will trample** from in there these maggots out of the body, the widows tear them off.'

However, in modern Estonian *võtma* + *da*-infinitive constructions are relatively rare and express volitional processes with discernible inchoative meaning. Such constructions are usually stylistically marked, having humorous or ironic connotation, e.g. *võttis öelda* 'said' (lit. took to say), or are fossilized as idioms, e.g. *kuulda võtma* 'listen to someone's advice' (lit. take to hear).

The second construction in our study is *võtma* + *ma*-infinitive in a causative construction which characterizes the change of activity or state of the causee. This construction is not present in old literary language. In modern Estonian *võtma* + *ma*-infinitive is productive mainly with descriptive verbs:

(2)

Tütre sünd võttis tal jala värisema.

'The birth of his daughter **made** his leg **tremble**'

The results of the study can be compared to data from other languages to find similar and different paths of development. Furthermore, the development of the grammatical use of Estonian *võtma* had not been systematically studied until now. We hope to show that a detailed analysis of one language can be interesting and beneficial for the comparative study of other languages as well. As a result of the study we will explain how the constructions present in modern Estonian emerged and why *võtma*-constructions have developed in this way.

Data sources

Corpus of Old Literary Estonian <http://www.murre.ut.ee/vakkur/Korpused/korpused.htm>

The Mixed Corpus of Estonian (new media) <http://www.cl.ut.ee/korpused/segakorpus/uusmeedia/>

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Are as/so-parentheticals evidential?

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The paper is devoted to the analysis of the results of the quantitative and qualitative corpus-based study of *as/so*-parentheticals (Potts 2002; Brinton 2008: 98-101, 136-139) in Lithuanian. The formal representation of the construction in Lithuanian is as follows: *kaip/kiek* + Praed and the realization of the Praed position is various one-word forms of cognition verbs like *žinome/žinote* 'know'PRS.1PL/PRS.2PL, *žinoma* 'know'N.PRS.PASS.PTCP, *manoma* 'think'N.PRS.PASS.PTCP, *matyti* 'see'INF and nouns like *žinia* 'message'F.SG.NOM used in the following type of examples:

1) *Pirmąsias gripo epidemijas aprašė Hipokratas. Lotyniškasis*
 'The first flue epidemic outbreaks were described by Hippocrates. The Latin
pavadinimas influenza *siejamas su XIX amžiaus epidemija Italijoje, kurią,*
 term *influenza* is related to the 20th century epidemic in Italy which
kaip manoma,
 as think.N.PRS.PASS.PTCP (= as [it is] believed)
sąlygojo žvaigždės (lot. influenza). (CorALit)
 was caused by the stars (lot. *influenza*).'

The semantics and function of the given construction type will be contrasted to the *as*-less construction, namely one-word-form parenthetical CTPs like *manoma* 'think'N.PRS.PASS.PTCP ('be believed to'), *žinia* 'message'F.SG.NOM ('the message is/it is known') which can function as inferential and reportive evidentials. Consider the following two examples:

2) *Nėra žinoma, kaip skruzdės sugeba įvertinti <...> atstumą,*
 'It is not known how ants are able to estimate distance
bet įvertinant kryptį, manoma,
 but when estimating direction think.N.PRS.PASS.PTCP (= [it is] believed)
svarbiausias vaidmuo tenka saulei. (CorALit)
 the most important role is played by the sun.'

3) *Sprendžiant iš <...> aprašo, kapelos repertuaras*
 'Judging from the description the repertoire of the band
turėjo būti įvairus ir turtingas. Žinia,
 must have been diverse and extensive. message.SG.NOM (= [it is] known/reported)
paskutiniaisiais S. Batoro valdymo metais kapeloje tarnavo 11 pūtikų. (CorALit)
 during the last years of S. Bathory's reign there were 11 wind players in the band.'

The data have been collected from the Corpus of Academic Lithuanian (CorALit) and from the sub-corpus of fiction of the Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language (CCLL).

The analysis has been carried out in the light of the theoretical approach and the template of the database of evidential markers in European languages (Wiemer and Stathi 2010) and it has taken into consideration such issues as the role of the context, semantic (=inherent) potential of the expression as well as its scope, syntactic distribution, addressability (Boye and Harder 2007), and epistemicity (epistemic modality and evidentiality) (Boye 2010). Preliminary results based on a pilot study suggest that *as*-parentheticals in Lithuanian can function as markers of inferential and reportive evidentiality, their usage is referential, they are inherently non-addressable and they can acquire an interactive function.

Data sources

CorALit Corpus Academicum Lithuanicum (<http://coralit.lt/>)

CCLL Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language (<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/>)

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Causal coherence relations and pronoun resolution in German child language.

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It is well known that the interpretation of anaphoric pronouns is influenced by syntactic factors (syntactic roles of antecedents, structural parallelism) and by semantic factors (animacy of antecedents, thematic roles and implicit of causality of verbal predicates), as well. From the perspective of discourse organisation, pronoun resolution crucially depends on the coherence relations construed in particular discourse segments (Kehler 2002, Kertz et al. 2006).

Our study focuses on the contribution of implicit causality of interpersonal verbs (Pyykkönen and Järvi­kivi 2010), and of clausal connectives (Stevenson et al. 2000) to the construal of causal coherence relations and their role in the acquisition of pronoun resolution strategies in monolingual German children.

In the literature implicit causality is defined as a semantic property of verbs which guides the attribution of causation to the subject (1) or to the object referent (2) and has been attested for typologically different languages.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----------|----------------------------|
| (1) | Lisa apologises to Tom, because she ... | apologise | subject-biasing / NP1-verb |
| (2) | Lisa admires Tom, because he... | admire | object-biasing / NP2 verb |

In a preliminary study we determined the implicit bias of a list of interpersonal German verbs applying the standards sentence continuation task and went on posing the following questions:

- Do children construe a causal coherence relation integrating information from the connective used and from implicit causality of the predicate?
- Are these cues of equal weight in child and adult language?

In order to answer these research questions we designed an experiment with the factors connective type (and, because) and implicit causality bias (NP1, NP2 verbs). Applying a picture based comprehension task we tested 2 groups of monolingual German children (5- and 7 year-olds) and a control adult group. All participants were presented with drawings of situations expressed by the sentences like (3) and asked to identify the referent of the anaphoric pronoun.

- (3) Die Möwe grüsst / liebt die Eule, weil sie sehr nett ist. Wer ist nett?
The seagull greets / loves the owl because she is very kind. Who is kind?
(greet – NP1 verb, love – NP2 verb)

The results suggest that the connective plays a prominent role in child and adult pronoun resolution. Children and adults clearly take into account the connective used: in and-sentences they resolve the pronoun to the subject antecedent, in because-sentences – the object antecedent is clearly preferred. We also found different effects of implicit causality on the pronoun resolution of adults and children: Children consider implicit causality in both conditions. On the contrary, adults rely on implicit causality as an anaphoric cue only in because-sentences. These findings bear implications on not only for the acquisition of linguistic causality markers but also for the theoretical conception of causal relations as the basic type of discourse coherence relations (Sanders et al. 1992).

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An insight into three Estonian adverbs used as pragmatic markers.

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This presentation is about three Estonian adverbs (*lihtsalt* 'easily, simply; just', *tegelikult* 'in reality; actually', *praktiliselt* 'practically, virtually') and how they have been used since the 19. century, arguing that over the course of time they have developed more pragmatic functions. Excerpts from written Estonian fiction and newspaper texts demonstrate the use of these words as autosemantic words (adverbs) as well as synsemantic items (pragmatic markers). The present paper introduces two different ways of using these words, presenting clear criteria for distinction, and also answers the question what has happened on the way. Consider two illustrative sentences; in the first (a) *tegelikult* is used as an adverb, and in the second (b) as a pragmatic marker.

(a) *Kas ole-d ka tegelikult nii enesekindel, kui paista-d?*
Q be-2SG also in_reality so self-confident as seem-2SG
'Are you **actually** as self-confident as you seem?' (CELL, Kroonika 12/01/2001)

(b) *Tegelikult on rahvaarvu kiire vähenemine samasugune viitsütikuga_pomm.*
actually be.3SG population quick decrease
same_kind_of time_bomb
'The quick decrease of the population is **actually** the same kind of time bomb.' (CELL, EPL 08/09/2005)

Similar words to those studied in this paper often fulfill many different functions (see Brinton 1996; Simon-Vandenberg, Aijmer 2007) and have a tendency to grammaticalize (see e.g. Traugott, Dasher 2002), displaying generalization in meaning content, occurrence in new contexts, decategorization, and loss of phonetic substance (*tegelikult* > *tegelt*, *tgl* etc.). This means that the pragmatic markers carry other functions than the adverbs that have an identical written form. As pinpointing subtle semantic differences is always a challenge, this study proposes some tests for the varying functions.

The data come from the Corpus of Estonian Literary Language and from the Balanced Corpus of Estonian with some additional examples from current colloquial usage. While the corpora only display data from the 19. century onwards, earlier literary sources are explored for the origins of the adverbs.

Sources

BCE = Balanced Corpus of Estonian; <http://www.cl.ut.ee/korpused/grammatikakorpus/>
CELL = Corpus of Estonian Literary Language; <http://www.cl.ut.ee/korpused/baaskorpus/>

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A typology of negative quantifiers: the Jespersen cycle and negative absorption.

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The Jespersen Cycle (JC) is known to affect indefinites. After all, the second element of the standard French negator *ne...pas* used to be an indefinite noun meaning 'step'. Parallel to *pas*, other indefinites like *rien* 'nothing' (from Latin *rem* 'thing') and *personne* 'nobody' (from Latin *persona* 'person') were affected by JC as well; like *pas*, *personne* and *rien* can express negation on their own, at least in informal French:

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) | Informal French | |
| | a. Sentential negation | b. Negative Quantifiers |
| | Je sais pas. | Je vois rien/ personne |
| | I know not | I see nothing/nobody |
| | 'I don't know.' | 'I didn't see anything.' |

Not only in French but also in other European languages that underwent JC, one can see an interaction between sentential negation and indefinites, but this time of a slightly different nature. As in French, the English and German sentential negators *not* and *nicht* are indefinite in origin and indefinites like *nobody*, *niemand* pattern as negative quantifiers, meaning that they can express clausal negation without sentential negation, as in (1b). Unlike in French, however, these indefinites are complex forms that contain a negative element.

Haspelmath (1997:203-210) describes two types of changes leading to negative quantifiers: JC, as in French, and negative absorption, where the verbal negation gets "absorbed" into the indefinite, as with preverbal constituents in Egyptian Arabic, as shown in (2a) and (2b).

- | | | | |
|-----|--|------------------|--|
| (2) | Egyptian Arabic: negative absorption with preverbal constituents | | |
| | a. <i>ma šaf-nī-š</i> | <i>ħadd/ħada</i> | |
| | SN see.PRF.3MSG-me-NEG | anyone | |
| | 'No one saw me.' | | |
| | b. <i>Ma-ħaddi-š aja</i> | | |
| | NEG-INDEF-NEG come.PRF.3MSG | | |
| | 'No one came.' | | |
| | (Lucas 2009:206-7) | | |

Haspelmath (1997:209) only holds JC responsible for negative quantifiers in English and other European languages where JC has taken place. However, the Old English data in (3) taken from the Northumbrian Lindisfarne Gospels suggest that English negative quantifiers were also the result of negative absorption:

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|--------------|----------------|-----------------|
| (3) | English: negative absorption with preverbal constituents | | | |
| | a. nemo | tollit | a vobis | |
| | <i>ne</i> | <i>nimeð</i> | <i>ænigmon</i> | <i>from iuh</i> |
| | not | take | anyman | from you |
| | 'Nobody shall take from you.' (Lindisfarne, John 16:22) | | | |
| | b. nemo | potest | venire | ad me |
| | <i>naeningmonn</i> | <i>mæge</i> | <i>gecuma</i> | <i>to me</i> |
| | nanyman | may | come | to me |
| | 'No man can come unto me.' (Lindisfarne, John 6:65) | | | |

On the basis of Old English bible translations and data from Ingham 2006, I will point out that that complex indefinites in languages like English are the result of negative absorption, which was followed by a stage of negative concord and eventually leading to the present-day pattern as a consequence of the Jespersen Cycle.

On the basis of a representative set of 179 languages, as sampled by Miestamo 2005, I will further show that negative absorption plays a far more important role than JC in the formation of negative quantifiers in languages across the world. I have found no non-European instances of negative quantifiers resulting from JC, as in French, whereas 27 of 179 languages have negative indefinites through negative absorption, 19 of which pattern as negative quantifiers, i.e. as sole contributors of negation.

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Three is company? On the use and characteristics of augmentation in English absolutes.

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This paper addresses the differences between the two main types of absolute construction (AC) in English, the unaugmented (1) and the augmented (2) variant, with a focus on the Present-day English (PDE) period. The AC is a non-finite construction which, in its standard unaugmented form (1), consists of two core elements: a (pro)nominal head and a predicate. The predicate is often a participle, but it can also be an adjective, adverb, noun phrase, prepositional phrase or even infinitive. The AC typically expresses an adverbial type of relationship with its matrix clause, e.g. anteriority, cause, concession, etc. When a third element, a preposition, introduces the AC, it is called augmented as in (2). In PDE, augmentor choice is largely limited to *with* (and to a minor extent *without*) (Berent 1975: 11), but in earlier periods of the language other prepositions, such as *after* (3), could be used as well.

(1) *Jaime let him go, his missing sword hand twitching.* (Game of Thrones 1996)

(2) *Guillermo del Toro was originally slated to direct the film, with Jackson producing and collaborating on the script.* (<http://www.richardarmitagenet.com/images/articlescans/Hobbit/EW-3Jul12-2.jpg> 2012)

(3) ... *after which Solempnyte fynysshed an honorable feest was holden within the great Halle of Westmynster...* (The new chronicles of England and France 1516)

Although augmented ACs tend to be simply described as 'regular' (unaugmented) ACs preceded by a preposition, there appear to be several differences -- subtle as well as more striking -- between the two types (Kortmann 1995). For instance, a pilot study has shown that the *with*-augmented variant is around five times more common in spoken language use than the unaugmented variant, while in various written genres, the augmented ACs' share is 50% or less. This noticeable difference suggests that it is worth looking into further differences between the two AC types. More specifically, it will be investigated how the choice between augmented and unaugmented ACs correlates with the following factors (that is, how the following factors condition the choice of AC): i. the semantic relation with the matrix clause (temporal, causal, etc.), ii. ease of processing, as transpires from, for example, coreferentiality preferences (Kortmann 1995: 213), iii. degree of productivity, and iv. occurrence in various text genres. Although the emphasis lies on PDE, the findings will be compared to the information on augmentation available for the preceding periods of the English language. Finally, the results will be discussed in the light of broader linguistic developments involving ACs, especially their gradual diffusion into the spoken language and their high productivity in PDE when compared to the other Germanic languages.

The research will be based on a corpus investigation encompassing among others the COHA corpus, the PENN-parsed corpora, Wordbanks Online, and the BNC. The relevance of the findings will be supported by statistical techniques whenever appropriate.

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Switch reference in the upper Amazon and Andean regions.

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The upper Amazon and adjacent Andean mountain range harbor some of the greatest genealogical diversity in the world. The structural diversity of the area is likewise formidable (see e.g. Dahl 2008). As a result of the increase in the body of knowledge on South American languages in general in the last decades, however, scholars have started to note some recurrent typological features, shared across language families. In very rough terms, this line of research in South America often has the following characteristics:

- (i). There are roughly into two macro-areal camps: the Amazonian (e.g. Derbyshire and Pullum 1986, Payne 1990, Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999) versus the Andean (e.g. Büttner 1983, Torero 2002, Adelaar 2008) research tradition.
- (ii). The features are more often than not binary (presence versus absence).
- (iii). Shared features in contiguous areas are often assumed to be attributable to diffusion through contact.

Although the importance of these studies is clearly acknowledged, the current state of our knowledge on South American languages allows us to take the discussion a step further by trying to overcome the limitations of the three points mentioned above by taking a closer look at each of the shared features proposed in the literature.

In this contribution I look at one of the features that cross the border between these two areas is the presence of switch reference systems. Switch reference is common in languages more closely associated with the Andes (Quechuan, Barbacoan families), but also found in a number of Amazonian families (Panoan, Jivaroan, Tucanoan). Geographically, the latter group of families is found in western or upper Amazonia, towards the Andean mountain range. This skewed distribution suggests that these switch-reference systems are horizontally transmitted, through contact. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that a few (semi-)isolate languages in the intermediate area between the Amazon and the Andes have developed a switch-reference system (e.g. Cofán, Cholón, Yurakaré, Uchumataqu). Moreover, switch reference is among the shared features in two putative linguistic areas, the Guaporé-Mamoré in Bolivia/Brazil (Crevels and Van der Voort 2008) and the Vaupés in Colombia/Brazil (Aikhenvald 2002).

However, switch reference is a rather broad phenomenon with many potential differences between systems. So even if two languages or language families have a switch-reference system they can be quite different, making it less likely that the presence of SR is the result of diffusion. What is needed, therefore, is a multi-factorial typology of switch-reference systems to evaluate the differences between SR systems that exist in western South America. Such a typology can be based on relevant parameters proposed to describe the typological variation of switch-reference systems (e.g. Haiman and Munro 1983, Jacobsen 1983, Foley and Van Valin 1984, Stirling 1993, Bickel 2010, McKenzie 2012, Matic et al. forthc.). In this way, by overcoming points (i) and (ii) above, we can hope to give a more refined answer to (iii) for switch reference, as it allows us to think more specifically about contact scenarios, if any, that may have given rise to the patterns found.

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(In)alienability and the evolution of possessive agreement.

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This paper focuses on the diachronic development of bound agreement markers from free possessive pronouns, which proceeds along two paths of grammaticalization: (1) A loss in referential potential, i.e. the functional transition of a marker with a deictic/anaphoric value to a referentially vacuous marker, and (2) an increase in cohesion, i.e. the formal transition of a free-standing marker to a fusional form via affixation and clisis. A presumed major factor in these grammaticalization processes is the presence of an (in)alienability split, i.e. the use of dedicated morphology for possessed nouns that are inherently related to their possessors, like kinship terms and body parts ('inalienable'), versus possessed nouns that are not ('alienable'). Across languages with such a split, inalienable morphology is claimed to be (a) less referential and (b) more cohesive than alienable morphology (Nichols 1988: 579, Dahl 2004: 152, Haiman 1983: 782, Haspelmath 2008: 15, 18-22). However, these claims have never been investigated independently, since the processes in (1) and (2) are typically considered to coincide; an assumption also known as the 'parallel path hypothesis' (Traugott 1980: 47, Lehmann 1982: 237-241, Bybee et al. 1994: 20, Dahl 2001: 28). The present paper seeks to fill this void, by pursuing two aims. First, it independently investigates claims (a) and (b) by considering the referential potential and formal cohesiveness of alienable versus inalienable person/number/gender morphology in a typological sample of 38 languages. The second aim of this paper is to determine the interdependence of the processes in (1) and (2), by investigating the pairing of referential potential and formal cohesiveness in each possessive marker.

Results confirm both claims (a) and (b): Inalienable morphology is at least equally referential and cohesive as alienable morphology, and often less referential and more cohesive. Unlike explanations in terms of frequency (Haspelmath 2008), iconicity (Haiman 1983: 793-795, Croft 2008) and contextual salience (Dahl 2004: 148-153), this asymmetry is argued to be essentially semantics-based: Whereas possessors are semantically evoked by inherently relational nouns, possessors of non-relational nouns are not. As a result, the possessed status of the former type of nouns is more predictable to language users than that of the latter type, which is reflected in the relative functional and formal redundancy of inalienable morphology. Furthermore, it is shown that neither alienable nor inalienable markers ever reach the endpoint of grammaticalization process (1), i.e. agreement with an obligatorily present (pro)nominal possessor. The fact that a (pro)nominal possessor always occurs optionally economically reflects the functional optimality of person/number/gender markers for referent tracking: they identify the possessor without requiring information to be expressed twice (cf. Lehmann

1988: 62, Van Gijn 2011). Finally, referential potential and formal cohesion are demonstrated to co-evolve, but only in a relative sense, e.g. referential markers are affixal only when agreement markers show the same degree of cohesion. These findings shed light on the co-evolution of meaning and form in general, and of referentiality and cohesion in possessive morphology in specific.

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The default case for non-macrorole arguments in Finnish.

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In this presentation, I will attempt to determine what the Finnish default case for non-macrorole arguments is in Role and Reference Grammar terms.

Kiparsky (1998) has characterized the Finnish partitive as a hybrid case; as a case that shares features of structural and semantic case. The partitive has been observed to have various properties which Kiparsky groups into aspect-related functions and NP-related functions. The NP-related function basically entails that a quantitatively indeterminate NP receives the partitive, whereas quantitatively determinate NPs receive the accusative:

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|-------------|
| 1) | Juo-n | kahvi-a |
| | drink-1.SG | coffee-PART |
| | "I drink some coffee" | |
| 2) | Juo-n | kahvi-n |
| | drink-1S.SG | coffee-ACC |
| | "I drink the coffee" | |

As far as the aspectual function is concerned, Kiparsky states that [α bounded] is crucial: If a verbal predicate expresses boundedness, the verb will license an accusative object. If unbounded, a partitive object will appear (Kiparsky 1998: 2ff):

- | | | |
|----|----------------|-----------|
| 3) | Ammu-i-n | karhu-a |
| | shoot-PST-1.SG | bear-PART |

"I shot at the bear"

- 4) Ammu-i-n karhu-n
shoot-PST.1SG bear-ACC
"I shot the bear dead"

Kiparsky's boundedness shares parallels with the Aktionsarten's [α telic] feature. Consider the following excerpt (Van Valin 2005: 33):

State:	[+static], [-dynamic], [-telic], [-punctual]
Activity:	[-static], [+dynamic], [-telic], [-punctual]
Accomplishment:	[-static], [-dynamic], [+telic], [-punctual]

RRG is a monostratal grammatical framework (Van Valin 2005: 3ff). Every verb is decomposed into its logical structure using a system of decomposition based on Dowty (1979). Consider (Van Valin 2005: 47 and 2009: 105):

- 5) Carl ate snails **do'** (Carl, [**eat'** (Carl, snails)])
6) Mary learned French **BECOME know'** (Mary, French)

Linking the semantics and the morphosyntax occurs in several steps: After the semantic representation is "complete", the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy (AUH) determines which argument receives the Actor-macrorole and which gets the Undergoer-macrorole by determining the position of each argument on the hierarchy relative to the other. The AUH is an "agentivity" hierarchy with the more agentive elements to the left (e.g.: 1st argument of **do'** (x...)) and the less agentive elements to the right (e.g.: 2nd argument of **pred'** (x, y)). Macroroles are the result of neutralizing the semantic distinctions between thematic relations to a strictly binary opposition (Van Valin 2005: 54). Three-place predicates have three arguments but only two will be macrorole arguments, the other is the non-macrorole argument (NMR). The dative is the default case for NMRs. Van Valin's (2009: 108) summary of the linking system shows that the morphosyntactic realization of the arguments is largely language-specific. Consequently, the choice for dative as default case is language-specific too. Finnish has a partitive instead of a dative. However, it seems unlikely that the partitive functions as default case. In even the most prototypical of 3-place predicates, the 'indirect object' in Finnish is marked with the allative and not the partitive. I will attempt to show that using decision trees, one can devise rules for case assignment in Finnish. Finnish might not have a default case in the strictest sense of the word, but rather *multiple* cases as markers for oblique phrases, each with special conditions on their application.

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Infixes in Dutch dialects.

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Booij en Van Santen (1998:4) posit in their handbook on Dutch morphology "Infixen, gebonden morfemen binnen het woord, komen in het Nederlands niet voor, maar wel in andere talen." [Infixes, i.e. bound morphemes inside the word, do not exist in Dutch, but they do in other languages (my translation)]. In my contribution, it is maintained that there do exist infixes in Dutch, namely in some (?) Dutch dialects.

Thanks to the onomasiological arrangement of the *Woordenboek van de Vlaamse Dialecten* (WVD) (Dictionary of the Flemish Dialects), the geographically differentiated dialect words are grouped together in 'concepts' (see Rys and Van Keymeulen 2009). Thus, the different dialect words (the so-called heteronyms) -

which often demonstrate different historical stages of language development - can be compared, and hence interesting etymological and semantic insights can be gained. This circumstance is in my opinion the most important advantage of the onomasiological arrangement (next to the possibility of mapping the lexicographical data).

The etymology of some words in the dictionary articles of the WVD can only be explained if the existence of infixes is accepted. It is indeed the case that the words with and without the infix occur next to each other: eg. *kunst* next to *kadunst* 'somersault' (in WVD III, 6: 339-340) or *kletteren* next to *klabetteren* 'to rattle' (in WVD III,6:300). This insight is corroborated by word material taken from other dialect dictionaries - some 19th century amateur lexicographers have already noticed the phenomenon. Their observations - however naive the wording of their insights may be - are to all probability in principle correct: De Bo (1892) eg. gives a list of words with 'eenen lasch' (a joint), such as *blamot* (= *blot* 'bruised'), *fladakken* (= *flakken* 'to flatter') etc.

In my contribution, I will try and present an explorative investigation about this intriguing phenomenon. We dwell upon both morphological and semantic questions. On the basis of word material taken from the WVD and amateur dialect dictionaries, we will demonstrate that the *-ad-*infix (+ its allomorphs) occurs in a number of words (mostly verbs). The infix is distributed over two syllables and has the effect of changing the rhythmical and stress pattern of the word by lengthening it. Semantically, its function is to heighten the expressiveness of the word. The phenomenon is most of the time optional, although in some cases the word with the infix is lexicalised. Even some standard Dutch words are affected by the phenomenon.

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Mood, modals and modification: the imperative in English and Dutch.

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This paper takes a corpus-based look at the imperative's distribution, its illocutionary flexibility or potential (i.e. the functions that it can fulfill) and profile (i.e. the functions that it fulfills in usage), its correlation with modifiers (i.e. utterance-internal markers altering its strength) and its alternatives in English and Dutch. It can be considered a Dutch, contrastive complement to work by, among others, De Rycker (1990) and De Clerck (2006) on English.

On the basis of a comparable corpus of dialogues from the *International Corpus of English – Great Britain* (Survey of English Usage 2006) and the *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* (Nederlandse Taalunie 2004), it is shown that the imperative is much more widespread in English than in Dutch and that in spite of a similar illocutionary potential –which includes, inter alia, willful (e.g. orders), non-willful (e.g. pieces of advice), commissive (e.g. permissions) and expressive (e.g. utterances of wonder) directives (cf. De Clerck 2006 for details about this taxonomy)– the Dutch imperative is not often used for non-willful and expressive directive purposes. Somewhat paradoxically, the data point out that the English imperative is hardly ever modified (i.e. tag questions, *just* and the like are all very infrequent) while modifiers such as modal particles abound in its Dutch counterpart. It is argued –contra Vismans (1995) among others– that the numerous modifiers in Dutch do not make the imperative more flexible than in English but, unlike the modifiers in English, are simply required to express certain functions. This difference ties in nicely with recent work in the spirit of Hawkins (1986), which suggests that, at the surface level, English is vaguer than Dutch (and German).

The second part of this study is based on a parallel corpus of plays. It confirms the previous findings in two respects. On the one hand, the imperative is shown to function in roughly the same way in the source texts as in the comparable corpus. On the other hand, the target texts reveal that the English imperative, unlike its Dutch counterpart, is frequently translated by alternative directive strategies and, most notably, by the directive

infinitive and the modals *moeten* 'must' and *mogen* 'may' in the functions that are rarely fulfilled by the Dutch imperative. This last result contradicts Nuyts et al.'s (2010: 30) hypotheses about the distribution of labor between mood and modals in the directive domain: the comparative lack of modifiers in English does not make the imperative less easily usable for permissions, which does not lead to "a relatively higher frequency of performative uses of permissive modals in English than in Dutch". The translation data do back up Mortelmans's (2010: 141) results for 'must' in English(, German) and Dutch and her characterization of *moeten* as a modal pervading all domains of necessity, including directivity.

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Artificial language: norms without usage.

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One definition of the notion 'artificial language' is: a language in which the existence of norms (a prescriptive grammar) precedes any kind of actual usage. This raises several questions: (i) what is the basis of norms in this case? and (ii) how does actual usage later on affect these norms.

This paper discusses these questions on the basis of the history of Esperanto. We analyse the way in which norms have developed in this language, analysing in particular the way in which prescriptivism and descriptivism have interacted. We first analyse the so-called 'first book' (Zamenhof 1887) in which the language was presented and show how concepts of 'clarity', 'learnability', etc., were defined and implemented. Furthermore, we show how Zamenhof actually did use a concept of 'usage', as he declares that he has tried out all forms of the language himself: in other words, the usage of one speaker has been examined, by introspection – a rather limited version of usage, by necessity.

A second stage is reached in 1894, when the language has actually acquired several thousands of speakers, and Zamenhof's previous norms have been partially criticized. Zamenhof responds by presenting a new set of norms, which get partially adopted by the community, but interestingly not completely. It is worth seeing why some changes were accepted immediately (e.g. replacing the adverb *ian* 'sometimes' by *iam*, while others, like abandoning the accusative case marking did not make it). In the twenty years after this, the language becomes stabilized by a 'Fundamento', a small book which contains a small grammar and a lot of exemplar sentences, which together are considered to be untouchable. Again, we analyse the rhetorical structure of this Fundamento, and the effect of its containing both a set of rules and a set of examples.

The third stage involves the establishment of an *Akademio de Esperanto*, a society of Esperanto poets, journalists, grammarians, etc., which is supposed to be authoritative in issues which are not foreseen in the Fundamento. On the basis of some discussions in the history of the Akademio, we analyse what kinds of arguments were used to establish new norms, and study their relative success in the debates. We show that

actual usage played a very marginal role in most discussions, but that inversely these discussions also did not much to change this usage.

In this whole discussion, I concentrate in particular on usage-based arguments. A very striking property of the Esperanto language community is that 'model users' are very rarely native speakers. The question then is: where does the idea of a 'good' speaker come from?

The polyfunctionality of the enclitic particle =e:t in Beja (North-Cushitic).

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Beja, the sole language of the North-Cushitic branch of Afroasiatic, presents an intriguing polyfunctional pattern for one of its enclitic particle =e:t. =e:t, which can be further split up into two morphemes, an embedding morpheme =e: and a feminine indefinite determiner =t (see Appleyard 2007), is used as (i) a feminine relative and complement marker, as (ii) a similitive marker for plural entities, and as (iii) a recipient marker with bound pronouns for ditransitive and motion verbs.

- (i) *[wana i-dilib=e:t] ti=qiq?a:=t=e:b da:ji*
at_dawn 3sg.m-sell=rel.f def.f=shoe=indf.f=loc.pl good
girf-a mir-a:=b=u=it
money-pl find-cvb.mnr=indf.m.acc=cop.3sg=csl
'since he had got a good price from the shoes he had sold in the morning'
- (ii) *gibit-ti d?-i:ti:t e:n*
drink_milk-cvb.csl do-cvb.ant prox.pl.m.acc
e:=jam=e:t
def.pl.m.acc=water=sim.pl
'and he gulped the milk down like water'
- (iii) *e:n e:-f?a u:n u:=bo:j*
prox.pl.m.acc def.pl.m.acc-cow\pl prox.sg.m.nom def.sg.m.nom=blood
dha:j e:-fi=je:=na=ka ti-jaw-n=e:t=i
dir 3msg-be_there\ipfv=rel=thing=distr 2-give\ipfv-pl=rcpt=obj.1sg
i=gu:g=i diw-i:ni i:-di
def.m=mood=poss.1sg.nom sleep-ipfv.3sg.m aor.3sg.m-say
'he said: if you give me all the cows that have blood on them, I'll keep quite.'
- (iii) *tu:t tu:=na ti=bajar=i*
prox.sg.f.nom def.sg.f.nom=thing def.f=body=poss.1sg.acc
i-miri=je:t to:=kina
3sg.m-find\pfv=rel.f def.sg.f.acc=owner
e:ti=je:t=i han
come\aur.3sg.f=rcpt=obj.1sg also
'Even if this thing that my body felt came to me'

Diachronic evidence from Afroasiatic seems to rule out a case of homophony, and advocates instead for a common origin. Based on first hand spontaneous data collected in Sudan, this presentation will

- examine the diachronic hypothesis
- discuss the various functions
- examine a possible unitary explanation of the polyfunctionality within the framework of enunciative theory.

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(In)definiteness Effects under Negation.

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At least since Milsark's (1974) analysis of 'there' in English existentials, most researchers agree that existential constructions are incompatible with presuppositional (definite/specific) DPs (list readings aside). Thus in neutral contexts, English existentials of the kind "There are **the* cats in the garden" are considered infelicitous. This constraint seems to be valid not only in English:

- (1) V sadu est' (*moi/*eti) koški. (Russian)
in garden be/have_[-AGR] *my/these cats_{INDEF/*DEF}
- (2) V gradinata ima kotki(*te). (Bulgarian)
in garden-the have_[-AGR] cats-*the_{DEF}

Building on evidence (mainly) from Bulgarian, and to a lesser extent from Russian, I propose that definiteness/specificity effects in genuine existentials – at least in the languages under investigation – are about the ban on structural Case within the domain of existential closure (ν P or VP in the sense of Diesing 1992). Furthermore, these languages provide robust empirical evidence in favour of approaches, which take morphological case and the overt realisation of definiteness to belong to the same syntactic process, i.e. abstract Case/DP/Person licensing (e.g. Vainikka & Maling 1996; Danon 2006).

Yet, there are apparent contexts when the internal arguments of existential predicates can escape the restricting effects posited by the domain of existential closure. Ample empirical evidence from Bulgarian and Russian shows that the obviation of Definiteness Effects can happen under negation. Bulgarian comes in handy because in this language the definite/specific arguments of existentials are both unambiguously marked by a definite marker and obligatorily clitic-doubled (unlike Russian, whose existential arguments under negation are marked with the Genitive of Negation):

- (3) Kotkite gi njama v gradinata. (Bulgarian)
cats_{DEF.PL} CL_{ACC.PL} NEG-have_[-AGR] in garden_{DEF.F}
~'There aren't (specific) cats in the garden/The cats are not in the garden.'

Thus, in the scope of negation, a property can turn into a definite/specific argument, which is forced to move out of the domain of existential closure. But the DP may also remain (apparently) in situ:

- (4) V gradinata gi njama kotkite. (Bulgarian)
in garden CL_{ACC.PL} NEG-have_[-AGR] cats_{DEF.PL}

To account for these facts I apply the cartographic method, which allocates discourse features (Topic/Focus) in a higher ν P domain (Belletti 2005). This domain can be split much along the lines of Rizzi's (1997) left periphery:

- (5) [_{Cp}Force.. Topic.. Focus.. Fin [_{TP}.. T_φ.. [_{NegP}...Neg [_{VP} [_{TopP} Top [_{Foc} Foc [_{Top} Top... [_{VP}_{phase} (NP) [VP (NP)]]]]]]]]]
NP move out of existential closure

Combining the insights gained from the cartographic studies with the tenets of Phase Theory (Chomsky 2001 et seq.), this paper explores the syntactic nature of Slavic existential/impersonal constructions under negation, as well as the interplay of morpho-syntactic reflexes such as case and agreement.

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The complexities of second language morpho-syntax: on the acquisition of impersonals and voice alternations in L2 German.

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Optionality has proven to be a pervasive feature of second language (L2) grammars (cf. Sorace 2005, a.o.). In this talk we discuss the sources of this variability with regards to the L2 acquisition of impersonal and unaccusative constructions. Using the technical equipment provided in contemporary generative research with respect to the morpho-syntactic nature of voice alternations, impersonal constructions and argument structure (Kratzer 1996; Embick 2004; Schäfer 2007, a.o.), we examine the phenomenon of L2 indeterminacy, while arguing in favour of a representational account which allocates L2 optionality at the syntax-morphology-discourse interfaces. For these purposes, ample empirical evidence from L2 German is provided. This evidence comes from a cross-sectional study elicited among L2ers of German (n=213; from different L1 backgrounds and four different levels of L2 proficiency).

The study has demonstrated that L2ers do not willingly accept non-canonical constructions. Thus, with respect to impersonal passive constructions (IMP PASS) in L2 German, the informants (regardless L1 background and level of acquisition) showed a firm tendency to insert a redundant expletive in [Spec,TP]:

- (1) Der Bär sah, [_{CP} dass [_{TP} (*es) [_{VP} in seinem Bett geschlafen worden war]]].
the bear saw that (*EXPL) in his_{DAT} bed slept_{PRTCPL} become_{PRTCPL} was
'The bear saw that someone had slept in his bed.'

(German)

The impossibility of merging an expletive in German IMP PASS constructions is guaranteed by the inactivity of VoiceP/vP (unaccusative syntax in the sense of Embick 2004; cf. also Varley 2013), which is signalled by the ungrammaticality of the embedded PRO clause in (2):

- (2) [_{CP} Gestern wurde [_{TP} (*es) [_{VP} getanzt, [_{SC} *um PRO sich zu unterhalten]]]].

yesterday became *EXPL danced at PRO self_{REFL} to enjoy_{INF}
 Intended: 'People were dancing yesterday for the sake of entertainment.'

(German)

In German, there is no slot available for an expletive merger in these constructions. As we are going to argue, when L2ers vote for the version with a redundant expletive, they overgenerate an expletive functional projection while sticking to the canonical rule of thumb that German is a non-pro-drop language. That the observed deficiency does not bear on the L2 knowledge of voice alternations is evidenced by the L2ers' neat performance on canonical passive constructions in their L2 German.

Accordingly, we discuss this particular expletive overgeneralisation in L2 German grammars as the result of representational deficits in the morphological component, while also referring to the syntax-discourse interface. In this context, we take the expletive "es" to be a "learner default" in the sense of Tsimpli (2011). Thus, due to its manifold meanings and interpretations, "es" is a good candidate to be theorised as a salient (yet unmarked) participant in interlanguage grammars.

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A study in *rosa* – A case of conceptual and lexical contact induced change in Western Europe.

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The contemporary Swedish and German word *rosa* and the Icelandic *bleikur* (historically 'pale') cover the same region (PINK) in the color space: the lexeme *rosa* is a relatively new lexeme, however, and while *bleikur* has also come to cover only the PINK region, historically it covered a much larger area in conceptual color space. The Danish *lyserød* ('light' + 'red') refers to the same PINK color region, and I will show that this term is in conceptual complementary distribution to *rød* 'red'. I will define this PINK region using data from our work with the Evolution of Semantic Systems (EOSS) color experiments on Indo-European languages (Majid et al 2010).

Cross-linguistically, the PINK region is a late addition to color inventories (Kay et al 2007, HardinandMaffi 1997). I will argue that this color region became independent from the RED region during the last few centuries in these languages, and that this development is a good example of contact induced conceptual change. An increase in the popularity of hue based color concepts began in Italy in the 14th century, and spread through Europe (Casson 1997). The increase of PINK fabrics and a strengthened interest in dyeing and color hues lead to a growing conceptual independence for the PINK region, and to several linguistic lexicalization approaches (borrowing, narrowing, semantic change) to meet this need.

The research is based on both diachronic and synchronic data. The diachronic data will focus on historical botanical data for Swedish and German as well as historical dictionary data for Swedish, German, Danish, English and Icelandic. The synchronic data is taken from the comparative EOSS database (forthcoming). The diachronic data for Swedish *rosa* (first attested in 1773 according to SAOB 120501) comes from descriptions of a number of *rosa* flowers. Their descriptions in eight botanical lexicons (1868 to 2012) shows that they were often described as *röd* 'red' or *rosenröd* 'red like roses' up until early 20th century. Etymological dictionaries show a similar development in German in the mid-18th century - a color region that had previously been seen

as part of the red color space developed its own color term. First, like in Swedish, through a simile with the Rosa genus of flowers (rosenrot 'red like roses'). Later, the term rosen could be used on its own, until the present day form rosa took over (DWDS 120501).

In addition to this case study, the talk will briefly survey and present the forthcoming EOSS database of color terms.

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Ergativity splits and DSM in Cabécar (Chibcha).

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The crucial question in differential subject marking (DSM) is where the differences in the coding of subjects come from (Woolford 2008). The present contribution deals with an ergative language (Cabécar, Chibchan, Costa Rica, see previous related studies, Quesada 1999, Margery Peña 2003). DSM in this language relates to (a) the presence/absence of the ergative suffix and (b) the choice among two different ergative suffixes. The conditions that determine DSM are highly complex (prominence of the argument, aspect, clause type). This talk presents a detailed description of these conditions (based on competence data elicited in three fieldwork periods and observational data from a corpus of 150 narrative texts) and develops a unifying account that sheds light on the determinants of DSM in this language and its relation to prominence asymmetries as established in previous research in argument structure, see Aissen 1999 and discussion with respect to DSM in De Hoop and De Swart 2008.

We first establish that ergativity is a syntactic phenomenon in Cabécar (based on raising facts and argument dropping facts). The root of the asymmetries between ergative and non-ergative arguments lies in a strong syntactic constraint in this language, according to which the lowest argument (i.e., the object of transitives or the single argument of either unergatives or unaccusatives) is strictly left adjacent to the verb (the only possible order permutations are SOV, OVS, SV). This is the absolutive argument, which is not case-marked; ergative marking only appears with the subjects of transitive verbs (and not with subjects of unergatives as in some other languages). The following instances of DSM are observed:

- (a) ergative marking is obligatory for postverbal subjects and optional for preverbal subjects (dropped with indefinites).
- (b) ergative marking is obligatory in the imperfective/habitual/future and optional in perfective past (dropped with indefinites).
- (c) ergative marking does not occur with reflexive and reciprocal constructions.
- (d) the ergative marker is *të/te* in affirmative and *wã* in negative contexts (see Margery Peña 2003:xii).

We claim that the sources of these instances are multiple: The properties (b) and (c) reflect the fact that negation and non-perfective aspects involve changes influencing the thematic properties of transitive subjects (see Blaszcak 2008 for a similar account on Polish). The property (c) reflects the fact that the subjects of reflexives/reciprocals are absolutives in this language (independent evidence comes from word order). The property (a) reflects the asymmetry between canonical and non-canonical orders, which is expected since the latter are more likely to give rise to ambiguous interpretations than the former.

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The diachrony of motion event encoding in Indo-European: stories from a parallel corpus.

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Linguistic diversity in motion event encoding has become an important topic of inquiry in cognitive linguistics and linguistic typology in recent decades (Talmy 1991, Slobin 2004). However, linguistic change in motion event encoding has not often been the focus of these investigations. In this paper, an overview of studies that investigate change in motion event encoding in a balanced sample of twenty Indo-European languages is presented. The sample includes: English, German, Dutch, Swedish [Germanic], French, Italian, Portuguese, Romanian [Romance], Russian, Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Lithuanian, Latvian [Balto-Slavic], Hindi, Nepali, Persian [Indo-Iranian], Albanian, Armenian, and Modern Greek. The data come from a parallel corpus consisting of two novels: *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (Lewis Carroll) and *O Alquimista* (Paulo Coelho).

The diachronic investigation is conducted using traditional linguistic methods as well as phylogenetic comparative methods. These latter methods are commonly employed in biology but are increasingly being used in linguistics as well (Dunn 2011). A range of different questions are considered. I will show that a single syntactic change, namely the merging of the ancient Indo-European path-encoding preverbs with verb roots, has taken place in all Indo-European languages. In some languages (Romance, Indo-Iranian) this lexicalization process has eradicated the ancient preverb system completely, while in others (Germanic, Balti-Slavic) some form of the preverb system survives, resulting in different contemporary motion event encoding systems. I will also show that evidence for this syntactic change can be found in the etymological origins of manner of motion verbs and path of motion verbs.

In addition, I will report on investigations into the interactions between syntactic change and lexical change will also be investigated: do languages that use certain motion event encoding constructions often also use certain types of motion verbs often? I will show that there is some evidence that languages that use the satellite-framed motion event encoding strategy often have a large manner of motion verb lexicon, and that languages that use the verb-framed motion event encoding strategy often have a large path of motion verb lexicon.

An assessment of the benefits and downsides of using parallel corpora for typological studies and the study of motion event encoding will also be made.

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**Between language and discourse: a fresh look on the localization of the mass-count distinction.
The case of fruits and vegetables in French**

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Intuitively, it seems that names for fruits and vegetables (in French) can accommodate both count and mass usages, depending on whether they are used to denote inherently bounded, individuated objects (*un citron* 'one lemon', *des potirons* '(some) pumpkins') or edible substances, tastes, or other homogenous aspects (*du citron* 'some lemon', *du potiron* 'some pumpkin'). However, since fruits and vegetables ontologically are individuated objects, a common assumption is that the count use be default and the mass use be somehow marked, coerced, i.e. the result of some kind of "transfer". Accounts for the morphosyntactical flexibility of specific lexical domains are numerous (Ostler and Atkins 1991, Nunberg and Zaenen 1992, Copestake and Briscoe 1995, Kleiber 1999, Nicolas 2002 – all of which focus essentially on names of "edible animals"), and include notions of "automatic / systematic / semi-productive polysemy", "transfer functions", "conversion rules" – all conveying in one way or another the idea that the mass use is subordinate to the count one, or at least derived from it.

In this contribution, we reexamine this issue in light of an extensive corpus-analysis of the actual use of names of fruits and vegetables in French. Using data from *WebCorp*, we observed the morphosyntactical behavior of 18 lexical items (number of occurrences per item between 225 and 1,074, average of 580.27), taken to be the most frequent representatives of three distinct botanic sub-categories (*Liliaceae Allium*, *Rutaceae Citrus*, *Cucurbitaceae*). Our investigation of both quantitative (distribution) and qualitative (semantic effects) patterns yielded two main observations: 1) nouns denoting fruits and vegetables are indeed readily used as mass nouns, with diverse semantic implications (in essence an "indeterminacy in form and quantity"), and 2) these mass occurrences, although much less frequent than their count counterparts, do not seem to convey any specific sense of markedness (let alone pose any problems of acceptability), with certain contexts actually requiring them. Moreover, regarding categorical coherence, we observed: 1) that, based on our data, each item has its own distributional profile, with flexibility being the only constant, 2) that, nevertheless, the contexts most prone to mass usage are the same across items, and 3) that the notable morphosyntactic behavior of certain "outsiders" (*ciboulette* 'chive', *ail* 'garlic', *calebasse* 'calabash', *cornichon* 'gherkin') goes hand in hand with a situation in the periphery of the (semantic-pragmatic) group of fruits and vegetables.

These observations lead us to propose an original model of the morphosyntactical flexibility of the names of fruits and vegetables (potentially applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to other flexible lexical domains), based on a 'Principle of double inheritance', sensibly different from traditional "transfer function" accounts. We postulated that the names of fruits and vegetables are actually both count and mass, but inherit each sense in a different way. Hence, they would be count on a lexical level, by virtue of the ontological characteristics of their referents, and mass on a super-lexical level, as members of the pragmatic-semantic class of "fruits and vegetables" (in the common, culinary, not necessarily botanic sense of these terms). As such, both usages are supposedly equally part of the semantic system of the language (hence the equal acceptability), without being both 'lexicalized' – in the narrow sense of that term.

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Information structuring by multilingual speakers: code-switching and the categorical-thetic transition.

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In communication, speakers structure their propositions according to the *relative communicative value* of each discourse referent (e.g., a person, a concept), i.e., the extent to which it contributes to the development of the interaction in comparison with the other referents of the proposition (Firbas 1992; Hajičová, Partee and Sgall 1998). Information Structure (IS) refers to how speakers' assumptions about relative communicative value are reflected in the formal structure of a clause. As for this form-function relationship, a well-known distinction is the one between (a) *categorical* and (b) *thetic* propositions (Lambrecht 1994; Erteschik-Shir 2007).

- (a) X: *What is John doing?* - Y: *As for John, he is writing an abstract.*
 (b) X: *What is happening?* - Y: *John is writing an abstract.*

Categorical propositions add a qualification to a discourse referent (i.e., person, object). In (a), Y presumes that the addressee is able to identify *John* and utters a clause expressing a proposition about John. *Thetic* propositions present an entire event/state-of-affairs as new information in the discourse context. In (b), Y does not attribute a property to an identifiable discourse referent, but reports an event (i.e., *the writing of an abstract by John*) bounded in a temporal and/or spatial setting (*here-and-now* in the case of (b)).

It is well-known that speakers organize the distinction between categorical and thetic propositions through a range of linguistic resources, such as word order (e.g., the *as for*-construction above (Gundel 2002)) and prosody (Zubizarreta and Vergnaud 2005; Féry 2010). By contrast, no systematic attention has yet been devoted to intersentential code-switching (CS), the locally meaningful "juxtaposition of two languages within one speech exchange" (Auer 1999). This paper therefore investigates whether and to what extent multilingual speakers in interaction use intersentential CS in order to mark a transition from categorical to thetic propositions (or vice versa).

The analysis starts from concrete multilingual data compiled from four sample corpora (24 conversations) in the digital LIDES database: Dutch-Turkish (Backus 1996), German-English (Eppler 2010), French-Dutch (Treffers-Daller 1994) and English-Spanish (Moyer 1992). The study draws on Role and Reference Grammar's (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005) formal representation of focus structure, in

combination with studies on discourse markers and coherence (Rhetorical Structure Theory (Taboada and Mann 2006)), in order to corroborate the interpretation of clauses in these corpora as expressing categorical orthetic propositions.

First, by relating CS to a basic distinction in IS research, the paper intends to shed light on possible general mechanisms accounting for divergent conversational functions typically associated with intersentential CS (e.g., direct quotation, side-comments). Although such functions have been widely covered in many studies on CS (Gumperz 1982; Auer 1998; Gafaranga 2005), up to now most researchers have employed a rather descriptive approach, avoiding any generalization at this point. Second, the paper also shows that manifestations of multilingual speech can offer many clues about language use in general, and about distinctions within language that people consider relevant in communication.

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The semantic field of Swedish motion verbs mirrored in multilingual corpora.

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This presentation will present an analysis of Swedish motion verbs from a contrastive and typological

perspective based on two parallel corpora. The first one is The English Swedish Parallel Corpus (ESPC; Altenberg and Aijmer 2000) consisting of original texts in English and Swedish together with their translations into the other language, and the second one is The Multilingual Parallel Corpus (MPC) being compiled by the author consisting of Swedish original texts (around 700 000 words) and their translations into English, German, French and Finnish and to a limited extent a number of other European languages. Both corpora can be used as parallel translation corpora. The ESPC can also be used as a comparable corpus and makes it possible to compare originals in two languages, whereas the MPC allows multilingual comparison. Material from some non-European languages based on a questionnaire will be presented for comparison as well.

The typological distinction between verb-framed and satellite-framed languages (Talmy 2000, Slobin 2004) is informative but is today regarded rather as a continuum and needs to be supplemented with more fine-grained distinctions. One way of doing this is to look at the structuring of various subfields of the semantic field of motion verbs. Deictic verbs such as 'come'/'go' (Wilkins and Hill 1995) and other goal- and source-oriented verbs (e.g. 'arrive'/'disappear', 'leave'), which are frequent even in satellite-framed languages, are different from typical Path-incorporating verbs like 'enter'/'exit' etc. An earlier study (Viberg 2003), which contrasted Swedish *komma* and English *come*, will now be extended with similar comparisons with the languages in the MPC corpus. Another study, which compared English *put* with the Swedish postural verbs *sätta/ställa/lägga* (Viberg 1998), will be complemented with data from other European languages with postural verbs of putting to show that *sätta* 'put in a "sitting" position' has a language-specific semantics in Swedish (cf. Kopecka and Narashiman 2012 for the typological perspective). An important distinction in Swedish is whether motion involves a vehicle. Swedish *gå* can only be used (with a human subject) to refer to motion by foot (walking), whereas another verb *åka* must be used to refer to motion in a vehicle (*åka bil/buss* etc 'go by car/bus'). This characteristic is shared with a number of areally related languages in Europe (i.a. German and Baltic and North Slavic languages), but a further contrast between traveling as a passenger (*åka*) and travelling as a driver (*köra*) is more language-specific (cf. German *fahren*, which covers both) even within this group of languages (see Viberg 2013). An extended set of data will be presented also for vehicle verbs. In all cases, the study started with a detailed study of one language (Swedish), but in spite of that the analysis has turned up a number of parameters which are important for a systematic comparison of European languages (and by extension also for general typology).

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Official orthographies, spelling debates and nation-building projects after the fall of the Spanish Empire.

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Theoretically my work falls into the field of studies that Sebba (2007) named the *sociolinguistics of orthography*, in which the socio-political dimension of spelling is emphasized. In particular, my research on the history of the Spanish language has focused on public debates that revolve around the codification and implementation of standard spelling norms. Understanding orthographic conflicts as *language ideological debates* (Blommaert 1999) allows me to address the following questions: How does the codification of standard norms relate to political processes such as the centralization of administration or the development of national education systems? To what extent and in what manner do public discourses about orthographic norms reflect socio-political tensions that transcend the linguistic terrain?

The collapse of the Spanish Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century appears as a historical period when the sociopolitical dimension of language and linguistic conflicts becomes particularly salient. The end of Spain's control over American territories brought about a need to reorganize the former colonial space in independent countries by creating territorial, political and identity boundaries in Spanish-speaking America. Both the former metropolis and the new republics had to invest in nation-building projects that would (re)define each country and its citizens. As part of those projects, the development of a national language was understood as a crucial instrument in the configuration of both a modern Spain and the newly independent republics in America.

This paper studies some salient moments of those processes of linguistic standardization that stress the significance of spelling as an identity marker and a political tool. I will first examine the debate surrounding the officialization of the orthographic system defended by the Royal Spanish Academy in Spain (Villa 2012). A group of elementary school teachers, that had actively opposed the centralization of education, contested this official recognition and tried to sabotage its implementation in Spain's schools. Second, I will analyze the public controversy over the spelling simplification proposed by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento in Chile (Narvaja de Arnoux 2008, Ennis 2008). His orthographic reform, which emphasized the phonological differences between Peninsular and American Spanish, had to confront a strong resistance from Chile's intellectuals and politicians. This public debate led to the officialization of another orthographic system that was closer – but yet different – to the one officialized in Spain. Finally, focusing on the figure of Domingo F. Sarmiento, I will study some significant connection between these two parallel processes of orthographic conflict. This prominent Argentinean intellectual was at the center of the public debate in Chile, came into contact with Spain's spelling reformists and, during his official trip to Europe, published an article in Spain's newspapers that made Spain's linguistic authorities aware of Spanish America's linguistic emancipation.

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The development of lexical subjectivity in Dutch journalism: quotatives.

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The development of informalization and conversationalization (Fairclough 1992) in public discourse has been a topic of interest ever since. Following Vis 2011 informalization can be seen as an aspect of subjectivity as

formulated in Traugott 2010. Biber 2004 and Vis 2011 demonstrate this development for English and Dutch, respectively. They show an increasing use of linguistic elements like modals, direct speech etc. in journalism. These are taken as indicators of subjectivity. Both authors document grammatical as well as lexical phenomena. In accordance to Sanders 1994 and Sanders 2010 Vis distinguishes between character i.e. source subjectivity and speaker, i.e. journalist subjectivity. This view will also be taken in this talk. Whereas Vis takes a wide range of grammatical and lexical elements into account, I will concentrate on one particular aspect of the development of lexical subjectivity, namely the development of the use of quotatives in Dutch journalism. My claim is that they may function as an introduction of both source and journalist subjectivity. Observations and arguments supporting this claim are taken from Michel 1966, Waugh 1995 and Sams 2009.

The data in this corpus study are from the B corpus in Vis 2010. This corpus consists of 2719 texts (565.041 words) of five Dutch newspapers: *Algemeen Dagblad*, *NRC*, *Telegraaf*, *Trouw*, *de Volkskrant* from 1950/1 and 1947 texts (558.991 words) from 2002. Special attention will be paid to the those quotatives beyond the category of communication verbs like *continue*, *laugh* or *chuckle*: "I get a lot of people being very nice to me, even when I don't want them to be," the former Smith chuckles, pointedly. (The Guardian, Friday 11 January 2013, Web. 11 January 2013).

The results show that the use of quotatives in post position indeed increased from 186 (*zeggen* ('say') 96) in 1950/1 to 1534 (*zeggen* ('say') 778) at the end of the 20th century in these five Dutch newspapers. Moreover, whereas in the 1950s some 30 verbs were used as quotatives, in 2002 there were around 160 verbs. In lack of representative Dutch historical data from this and other genres during the whole of the 20th century I looked additionally at data from the German Digital Dictionary (DWDS). This lexicographic corpus of the German vocabulary of the 20th century (1900-2000) consists of 100 million tokens in several registers (27.02.2012). Data taken from its fiction and journalism registers suggest that especially the use of quotatives like *chuckle* and *laugh* had their origin in fiction and have been used in journalism only from the second half of the 20th century on.

An explanation for the development sketched above might be the need for journalists to attract and guide the attention of their readers. The obvious snag, of course, is the transition from an informative to a more persuasive text.

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**Greater Efficiency and Increasing Readability.
How Printing Houses Changed German Spelling in Early Modern Times.**

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Using the example of Frankfurt am Main, we can demonstrate how conflicts that arose in the printing shops at the end of the 16th century had an impact on German spelling. Technical innovations led to an acceleration of the printing process, so that the printers increased their daily workload considerably. This speeding-up of the printing process put the typesetters under pressure too. The Frankfurt guild regulations demonstrate how the typesetters were put into a tight spot: They were assumed to be responsible for the printing process not being delayed, which meant making their printing forms available on time as well as for the proofreader having sufficient time to check the text prior to it going to press. This increase in efficiency in order to reduce production costs led to a reduction of variant spellings and supported semiographic (morphological) spellings.

By these conflict-ridden changes in the printing shops an innovative development was set in motion that would support reception by the reader. A new strategy of readability emerged, aimed at accessing new consumer groups: inexperienced readers, particularly women. For this purpose one needed new contents (prose novels), smaller formats, cheaper paper, but also new spelling means such as noun capitalization, syllabic spellings, or punctuation to mark sentence boundaries.

The formation of the characteristic peculiarities of German orthography was negotiated to a large extent in the printing houses. It was a balancing act between increased efficiency on the one hand and costly specialization on the other. Unlike in other countries, the grammarians in Germany seem to a great extent to have overslept and to have missed these developments.

How myths persist: on Jacob Grimm, the long hundred and duodecimal counting.

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In academic reasoning, the difference between a tentative suggestion, a hypothesis (ideally a plausible one) and a conclusion based on solid evidence seems to be fairly obvious. Yet, when it comes to common knowledge or the state-of-the-art of a discipline, our wisdom can at times be equally solid irrespective of which of the three pathways it was unfolded on.

In my paper, I wish to demonstrate how what was first an assumption mentioned in passing, was received and accepted without suspicion and was later provided with alleged evidence. While I will touch upon examples from several sub-disciplines of linguistics and from different times in the history of our discipline, I would like to focus on a rather marginal, albeit historically interesting case: the claim that the Germanic languages once employed a duodecimal counting system.

The hypothesis of a duodecimal numeral system in the ancient Germanic languages is old and it still finds mention today. Claims in this direction can be traced back to Jacob Grimm (1785-1863). Grimm himself brings up his idea repeatedly, but at every occasion he does so with visible caution and with varying explanations. Ever since, several idiosyncrasies of the numeral systems of the Germanic languages – whether overcounting in Old English ('tenty-ten', 'tenty-eleven', 'tenty-twelve' for '100', '110', '120', respectively), whether a break in the morphological structure of the expressions for multiples of ten in some ancient Germanic languages (the set up to '60' was formed differently than that from '70' onwards), or whether a solitary instance of an odd numeral form in the Gothic bible. Moreover, early modern phenomena like non-metric measure systems or special coin values were all dated back into the Germanic pre-history – for no other reason than Grimm's tentative remark.

I will show in this paper that none of the evidence brought forth in this context by Grimm or any of his followers is tenable and that the Germanic languages all through his history employed an unambiguously decimal numeral system. Moreover, I will show how gradually a tentative remark was transformed into common knowledge. The case is interesting and paradigmatic for several reasons: it expands over a long history of more than a century and a half, it can be traced back uninterruptedly via references from quite recent publications to Grimm's original remark, and, most importantly, it can be shown both that the evidence has not been tested

and that posthumously false or inconclusive evidence was provided thus cementing the 'fact' of duodecimal counting in Germanic.

The paper wishes to contribute to the workshop *Ideology in historical linguistics – Historical linguistics in ideology* by claiming that ideology does not need to be founded on political interests of whatever kind, it can also rely on a person's renown – as for instance the authority that Jacob Grimm enjoyed in the nineteenth century – or on the inertia of the academia which at times cherishes attractive ideas for the sake of their attractiveness – or of course, as in our case, on a combination of both.

**Automating procedures: The areal typology of Slavic using a word aligned,
morphosyntactically annotated parallel corpus.**

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Previous research involving data from ParaSol, a parallel corpus of translations into the Slavic standard languages, has shown that using parallel corpus data as a proxy to innerslavic variation can provide valuable insight into differences in the use of grammatical categories across Slavic (Waldenfels 2012, forthcoming).

Using a corpus-driven approach based on ParaSol, Waldenfels (2012) could confirm Dickey's (2000) broad division of Slavic aspect use into an Eastern and Western Group as well as Benacchio's comparable finding (2010) for aspect use in the imperative. A similar finding for aspect use in negated past events is reported in Waldenfels (forthcoming), broadly confirming Dickey and Kresin (2009). Both these studies relied mainly on manual coding of equivalent corpus attestations. For a related question concerning the variation of reflexive or middle coding in Slavic, however, it emerged that manual coding was inefficient due to a higher noise level, and the automatic extraction of relevant data was shown to give promising results (see Waldenfels, forthcoming).

In the proposed paper, I describe an improved system where automatic morphosyntactic annotation and lemmatization using a variation of systems (see Waldenfels 2011) is used in combination with word alignment (Tiedemann 2003) to automatize the procedure of deriving feature variation data from the corpus. The results of this automatic procedure can be assessed by directly comparing with results of the manual annotation in prior studies. First results indicate that visualizations of both approaches coincide in key characteristics, indicating the validity of the approach.

This more automatized system based on word alignment can then be used to investigate a much larger variety of variables than using manual coding. It affords a more comprehensive, usage based assessment of variation in the Slavic standard languages as represented in this corpus. In my talk, I will present further results.

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The Jespersen Cycle in and around New Guinea.

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The paper reports on the clausal negation strategies of both non-Austronesian and Austronesian languages in and around New Guinea (Nusantara, Maluku, New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland and the Solomon Islands) with respect to two questions. First, can some of the negation strategies be accounted for in terms of the stages of a Jespersen cycle, i.e., the process through which typically a preverbal negation turns into a postverbal one via a doubling stage (e.g. French *ne* > *ne pas* > *pas*). Second, is there evidence for contact interference? To this purpose we collected reasonably representative data for both non-Austronesian and Austronesian languages, see (1) and (2).

(1) non-Austronesian clausal negation

Languages surveyed	Preverbal single	Double	Postverbal single
219	106	40	73

(2) Austronesian languages clausal negation.

Languages surveyed	Preverbal single	Double	Postverbal single
164	91	32	41

The answer to the first question is positive. Evidence includes the fact that both single preverbal negation (like early French *ne*) and single postverbal negation (like modern colloquial French *pas*) occur as preverbal, respectively postverbal parts of doubling strategies (like modern formal French *ne pas*). For example, for non-Austronesian, *e/(e)ro*; *e/è*; *'e* occur as single preverbal negations in Vanimo (Dumo) and Manikion (Sougb) but as the preverbal parts of doubling strategies in Bukiyip (Arapesh, Mountain). Similarly, *ba/bar/-be/big* are the single postverbal negations in Telefol, Dadibi and Foi (Foe), Numfor and the postverbal parts of the doubling strategies in Mian and Ekari. For Austronesian, *mai/maa* occurs as the single preverbal negation in e.g. Sudest (Papuan Tip) and as the preverbal part of double negation in for instance Sarasira (North New Guinea). Also, the postverbal negative *ima*² is the postverbal single negation in Aribwaungg and the postverbal element of a doubling strategy in Aribwatsa and other languages of the Markham Valley in PNG (North New Guinea).

The extent to which Jespersen Cycle has played a role, however, remains unclear, especially for the Austronesian languages, because for the single postverbal outcome of the cycle, a contact hypothesis has been proposed. For the Bird's Head region of New Guinea, which is taken to be part of a linguistic area stretching to the west, the postverbal negation of the Austronesian languages has been claimed to be borrowed or calqued from non-Austronesian languages (Reesink 2002a, b; Klamer et al 2008). Thus the postverbal single negation *ba* of Austronesian Biak, Wandamen and Mor would come from non-Austronesian **ba~βa~(u)wa*. Forms of non-Austronesian *(u)wa* turn up as postverbal negations in non-Austronesian Tidore (Ternate-Tidore) but also in the Austronesian Reefs Island language Natügu.

The opposite kind of transfer is also attested: *nda/nde* (< *tidak*, Indonesian, Ewing 2005) is found in several non-Austronesian languages, Mandobo and Rao (postverbal single), Tsaukambo and Abun (postverbal part of double negation) and Wantoat (preverbal single). We will evaluate the contact phenomena for the entire area and focus on the interaction with the Jespersen Cycle.

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Three Southern shibboleths. Spelling features as conflicting identity markers in the Low.

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Over the course of the long eighteenth century, a distinct southern Dutch linguistic identity emerges in the region now known as Flanders, and spelling features are at the heart of this developing linguistic autonomy. By analyzing eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century normative and metalinguistic comments about three highly salient spelling variables (the spelling of the long vowels *a* and *u*, the ending <-n> or <-ø> in masculine adnominals, and the orthographic representation of etymologically different *e* and *o* sounds), we will show how seemingly insignificant features increasingly came to be portrayed as representing an unbridgeable linguistic gap between the Northern and Southern Low Countries. At the time of the reunion of both parts of the Dutch speaking territories under the Dutch crown (1815-1830), this perceived gap then gave rise to different voices rejecting or embracing these shibboleths of linguistic 'Southernness', and we will illustrate how spelling features came to represent conflicting political and even religious identities.

In addition to a discursive analysis of these metalinguistic and normative debates, we will also report on a variationist study tracing the occurrence of the discussed features in actual language use at the time. By drawing on a range of formal and less formal handwritten documents, including court indictments, witness depositions, police reports and private letters, we will show how metalinguistic representations do not necessarily reflect linguistic reality. Nonetheless, an exploration of different sociolinguistic dimensions of orthographical variation reveals how scribes consciously and unconsciously used spelling to express changing identities in politically turbulent times. We will conclude that the linguistic breach between the Northern and the Southern Netherlands was mainly constructed at a metalinguistic level, whereas actual language use suggests that this symbolic North-South divide may not have been as deep as it was often claimed to be.

Ossetic verb – Iranian origin and contact influence.

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The paper deals with the Ossetic verb, which has a number of features unusual for other modern Iranian languages.

Ossetic is one of the modern East Iranian languages spoken mainly in the Caucasus. According to the generally accepted belief, Ossetic has been heavily influenced by neighbouring languages of the Caucasus, though it has retained its basic lexical stock and morphology of its Iranian origins (Abaev 1964). Though there are some modern studies of the Caucasian influence to different aspects of Ossetic grammar (e.g. Ershler 2009), the impact of the Caucasian languages to the Ossetic verb and in particular to the grammatical semantics of the Ossetic verbal markers has never been a subject of a separate research.

An Ossetic verb usually has a person/number paradigm. It has a developed system of moods (five moods: Indicative, Conjunctive, Counterfactive, Optative and Imperative) which is not common for other modern Iranian. The Ossetic moods are formed from a present or past stem of a verb by different person/number markers. Only Indicative has tense forms: Present, Past and Future.

Ossetic Optative and Conjunctive originate from Old Iranian flexion. Optative was in Old Iranian and in some Middle Iranian languages, however, most of modern Iranian lack Optative (besides Ossetic, it is found in Talysh). Note that Optative is found in all North-Caucasian and some South Caucasian languages [Dobrushina, van der Auwera, Goussev 2005: 299]. Both Turkic languages of the Caucasus, Karachay-Balkar and Kumyk also have morphological Optative, which is atypical for other Turkic [ibid.]. I argue that the preservation of Old Iranian Optative in Ossetic is due to the Caucasian influence.

The Ossetic verb has a dedicated transitivity suffix *-t-* which is used together with special person/number flexion in Past Indicative and Counterfactive. Past Indicative and Counterfactive originate from the combination of a past stem (ends in *-d/t*) and the verb *wævæn* 'to be' in Conjunctive (for Past Indicative) or Optative (for Counterfactive). The transitivity suffix is a result of assimilation of *dw* to *dd* (*d* is the last consonant of the verbal stem and *w* is the beginning of the auxiliary *wævæn* 'to be') [Abaev 1949: 565].

While there is the category of transitivity in some Iranian, the verbal morphological transitivity is not common for Iranian languages. However, note that geographically close to Ossetic Caucasian languages (namely, Northwest Caucasian, South Caucasian and Nakh languages) also do not have dedicated transitivity verbal affixes. The Ossetic transitivity suffix is likely to be neither the Iranian feature nor the result of the Caucasian influence.

Among other potentially non-Iranian Ossetic features I will investigate impersonal suffix *-æ-*, conative-imperfective verbal marker *-cæj-* and some (voice, modal, aspectual etc.) constructions formed by a verbal derivate and an auxiliary.

The paper aims to estimate the influence of the Caucasian languages (geographically close to Ossetic, namely, Northwest Caucasian or Abkhazo-Adyghean, South Caucasian or Kartvelian, and Nakh languages) to the Ossetic verb.

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Narrative markers in Kakabe (Mande).

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The main issue of my talk is the interaction of modal and aspectual categories and the discourse function in Kakabe.

The marker which is most widely used in narratives to describe the events in the main story line is the preterit maker *ka*. Its function in general is the expression of irrelevant past and in the aspectual system of Kakabe it is opposed to the perfect marker *bati*. However, the latter also occurs in the narration: when there is a shift from one episode of a narration to the other one there is used a construction with *bati* in the first clause. Interestingly, in contrast to *ka*, the marker *bati* is never used if there is a focused constituent in the clause. Thus, there is a neutralisation of the aspectual opposition perfect vs. preterit in context where a focused constituent is present, see the example below where *ka* is used in both clauses, though regarding aspectual semantics of the clauses *bati* would be expected:

(1)	à	kà	wóó	sòtò	kámá	lè?
	3SG	PST.TR	that	get	how	FOC

kó,	à	kà	wóó	sòtó	sèné	tò	lè
say	3SG	PST.T	that	get	field	in	FOC

'Where have you found the meat? – I've found it in the field'.

According to (Hymann and Watters 1984) perfect as an aspectual category is intrinsically auxiliary focused

(predicate-centered focus in the terminology of Güldemann 2003) and for this reason in grammars of certain languages perfect is incompatible with a constituent focus. In connection with this I will discuss the issue of what is the relation between predicate vs. constituent focus and background vs. foreground events in a narration.

There is another marker which can be used to express events in the main story line, though its distribution is limited. Surprisingly, the originally deontic modal marker *ni*, as in (2), can also be used in clauses where its only function seems to be to mark the dependent status of the clause without any relation to modality, as in (3):

(2) ì bítaŋè-nù ní fáábó-è nààti
 2SG brother.ART-PL MS present-ART bring
 'Your wife's relatives should bring a contribution'.

(3) án mán' tágà, à n' à fóó, à búú-è
 3PL CON go 3SG MS 3SG say 3SG stomach

b' á dúmé-lá
 be 3SG pain-GER
 'When they came, he told (*ni*) them that he had a stomach ache'.

However, there is a semantic link between these two seemingly distant usages. It has been claimed for example in (Nordström 2010) that modal meanings and the dependent status of a clause are related phenomena because they are both characterized by the lack of illocutionary force. An analogous idea is expressed by Robert (Robert 1991; 2010) in her analysis of the Wolof data. In my talk this semantic synchronic explanation will be combined with an analysis in a diachronical perspective.

In contrast to *ka*, the marker *ni* is not widely used in narration. It is much more common in such genres as descriptions and explanation. I will discuss the difference of the distribution of these two markers in my talk.

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Scrutinizing a model of mass-count flexibility in Brazilian Portuguese: language-specific and cross-linguistic implications.

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Romance, as well as many other Indo-European languages, make(s) relatively limited use of mass-count or count-mass transfers. Precisely this fact has actually provoked the interest in this rather curious (and apparently more often than not idiosyncratic) part of grammar where such mysterious machines as universal grinders (1), packagers (2) and sorters (3) are at work, or "aspectual singulars" (4) (Meisterfeld 1998, Kabatek 2008) are reported, which give rise to very special meanings in the linguistic material fed into them.

(1) After the accident there was dog all over the road.

(2) Trois bières s'il vous plaît!

French

three beer._{pl} please
'Three beers, please!'

(3) las aguas del Caribe
 the._{pl} water._{pl} of-the Carribbean
'the waters of the Carribbean'

Spanish

(4) Já estou a ver para aí muito carro parado.
 already be._{prs.1sg} pp see to there much car._{sg} parked
'I'm already seeing lots of parked cars overt there.'

European Portuguese

In Brazilian Portuguese (BrP), however, mass-count flexibility is omnipresent, at least in one direction: while in other Romance varieties certain 'count' nouns seem to be more flexible than others, in BrP all of them may freely occur as mass nouns (usually labeled as "bare singulars"). Interestingly, this does not make the 'special meanings' found in other languages more easily available or systematic. Instead, at least two additional readings are available: the so-called "kind" (5) and "wallpaper" (6) readings known from languages like e.g. Mandarin (Cheng, Doetjes and Sybesma 2008).

(5) Baleia está em extinção.
 whale._{sg} be._{prs.3sg} in extinction
'Whales are on the verge of extinction.'

(6) Tinha cachorro pela parede toda.
 have._{imp.3sg} dog._{sg} on+the wall all
'There were dogs (pictures) all over the wall.'

Pires de Oliveira and Rothstein (2011) provided a first principled account of the Brazilian data in terms of a 'mass' analysis. In their formal system (simplifying somewhat), COUNT and MASS operations apply to root nouns. The authors propose that languages differ in a principled way as to the availability of the operations for each noun: while in English-like languages the default is "either/or" (with some exceptions), this doesn't hold for BrP, where MASS applies to all nouns yielding a kind interpretation. Other readings arise through syntax/semantics mismatches.

In my talk, I will discuss a number of possible answers this approach offers to the issue of mass-count flexibility, among them (i) that flexibility probably has to be modeled at more than one point in the grammar, irrespectively of whether one of them is the lexicon or not, (ii) that an asymmetry w.r.t. transfer direction is expected, and (iii) where the limits of flexibility could be.

Furthermore, I will try to assess the consequences of this approach for the syntactic characterization of BrP, namely a rich abstract syntax and a "parallel" system of nominal determination for 'count' nouns. Most importantly, there is a general tendency in the language to drop plural marking, which might lead to unwanted interactions since Pires de Oliveira and Rothstein's account crucially relies on the strict separation of the mass and count domains.

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Normativity, mythology and political struggles: “mythical creatures” on China’s Internet.

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This paper explores the emerging phenomenon of “mythical creatures” and its underlying processes of “mythologization” as a (counter)cultural means and political strategy employed by Chinese grassroots netizens to challenge state censorship and normative control on China’s Internet, a space that is heavily regulated and imbued with power struggles (cf. Meng 2011, Tai 2006, Tsui 2003, Wang 2012, Wang, Juffermans and Du 2012). We pay attention to both micro and macro aspects of this phenomenon: on the one hand, we ask what specific linguistic and discursive strategies are used in the creation of the “mythical creatures”, and on the other, we seek to address the sociopolitical and cultural conditions, purposes, as well as implications of such practices in the context of China. Several of the ten most known “mythical creatures” will be drawn into discussion, especially the one called Grass Mud Horse (or *caonima* in Chinese), and a range of discursive practices surrounding it that render it “mythical” – including the use of language, images, stories, music, videos, objects and other relevant semiotic devices, through mainly digital but also offline communications. Taking the perspectives of online ethnography (Kozinets 2010), multimodal discourse analysis (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001), and cultural semiotics (Barthes 2012), we show that the creation of “mythical creatures” involves not only the coining of the names of fantasy animals – as homonyms and puns of extreme Chinese profanities – that are circulated in online discourses, such as Grass Mud Horse, but also a range of further multimodal discursive practices, such as allegorical narratives and mockumentaries, that contribute to the making of these creatures as mythical. What emerges out of such strategies and processes is a form of modern mythology, used by Chinese netizens as a way of avoiding censorship while intentionally sabotaging linguistic and sociopolitical norms online. In doing so, a new genre of political protest and contention is produced in which language play that begins as an obscene pun turns into a collective grassroots production of a whole multimodal mythology of made-up animals, serving as a figurative and satirical discourse for netizens to symbolically address freedom of speech, censorship and state control. We suggest that the production of mythical creatures on China’s Internet is a process of mythology making, i.e. “mythologization”. While we draw on the Barthesian understanding of myth as “metalanguage” (Barthes 2012), here mythologization is not connected with the rhetorics of those in power or the ideological processes of normalization, but is understood as a form of political struggles – realized through figurative and satirical discourses – against the normative hegemony. By exploiting the semiotic potentials of various modes of language use in particular ways, mythologization blends online activism and *kuso* culture in order to stage a grassroots form of protest, ridicule and counter-ideological response to the state-controlled normativity in the public sphere in China.

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Towards a construction grammar account for bilingual language use.

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The last decades have witnessed a lively research on the linguistic outcome of bilingualism. This activity has also produced a proliferation of terms and approaches. Researchers in the area of bilingualism are interested in various types of code-mixing (Muysken 2005), loan translation (Backus and Dorleijn 2010), transfer (Sarhima 1999) and foreign accent (Vieru et al. 2011), to name only a few. Attempts to unify at least some of these approaches, however, are seldom. In this talk I want to present a constructional model for bilingual language use which, by combining grammatical theoretical insights with psycholinguistic findings, is designed to overcome at least some of the problems bilingual language use poses (cf. Wasserscheidt to appear). The core of the approach is construction grammar and related understandings of language developed in the works of Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor (1988), Goldberg (1995, 2006) and Croft (2001). The overarching principle of construction grammar is that the whole linguistic system is based on more or less complex and schematic pairings of signifiers and significates, whereas meaning is strictly tied to form and a change in form signifies also a change in meaning (Stefanowitsch 2011).

I argue that these pairings are inseparable entities which must be preserved also in bilingual speech. Neither form nor meaning can be transferred alone. This especially holds true for loan translations, where all of a complex construction (Verhagen 2009) needed to convey the construction's meaning must correspond to the specifications of the source language – except for the realization of the concrete morphological forms.

Code-mixing in a constructional framework is possible at all slots a given construction offers. In morphologically marking languages, the only elements specified by highly schematic constructions like argument structure constructions (Goldberg 1995) are case markers. The frame they offer very much resembles Myers-Scotton's notion of the matrix language frame (Myers-Scotton 2007). I argue, that the notion is problematic insofar, as a speaker cannot select or produce languages, but rather discrete linguistic items. A construction, on the other hand, can be regarded as a specific linguistic element with a clearly defined surface. Hence, I suggest that in code-mixing only constructions serve as matrix and provide all necessary morphemes once selected. Additionally, a usage-based constructional approach can incorporate constructions that exist in neither of the languages involved (and therefore pose a problem to matrix language accounts) but only in the bilingual community like the *X yapamak* or *X machen* constructions along Turkish speakers in the Netherlands and Germany (Doğruöz and Backus 2009, Kallmeyer and Keim 2003).

In this talk I want to outline the main assumptions of the model and discuss various examples from different domains of bilingual language use. Furthermore, I present corpus data and analyzes from a Serbian-Hungarian bilingual community which show that constructions indeed preserve both meaning and form in most cases regardless of the bilingual strategy employed.

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Switch-reference marking in coordination of full-fledged clauses?

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Abstract: One of the most debated questions concerning switch-reference (SR) is in which syntactic contexts it occurs. It has been shown that SR marking is found extensively in clause-chaining constructions and (probably) in subordination contexts. However, there have been several claims, mostly against the background of an existing formal theory (e.g. as in Stirling (1993), McKenzie (2011), Keine (to appear)) that SR marking is also found in coordination of complete, full-fledged clauses. In this talk, I examine all five languages for which this claim has been made explicitly (Lakhota, Pitjantjatjara, Yakunytjatjara, Kiowa, Nêlêmwa). I will show that these languages exhibit a surprisingly homogeneous pattern inasmuch they behave identical with respect to three independent and cross-linguistically rare parameters:

- These languages are the only ones where we find SR in coordinated full-fledged clauses.
- These languages are the only ones in which the SR morpheme is free and expressed as a conjunction between the two clauses.
- In all languages we find an exorbitant use of non-canonical (Stirling's terminology) marking, that is, a discourse-based choice of marking, rather than a syntactic one.

I show that these factors even pattern within the languages above. The free morpheme SR marker goes hand in hand with coordination of complete clauses and non-canonical use. SR marking in adverbial subordinate clauses is always expressed by a bound morpheme and it is obligatorily canonical. I therefore argue that this kind of marking is different from SR-marking (a view that is mainly shared by the author's of the respective grammars: Dahlstrom (1982) for Lakhota, Goddard (1985) for Yakunytjatjara and Bril (2004) for Nêlêmwa). I will show that this phenomenon resembles much more something common amongst Oceanic languages, namely tight vs. loose coordination (cf. Haspelmath (2007), Moyse-Faurie and Lynch (2004)). Languages with tight vs. loose coordination make use of two distinct conjunctions to express whether both conjuncts are some kind of kind of natural pair or not (cf. (1)).

(1) Noun Phrase Coordination in Mangap-Mbula

- a. mbeN ma aigule
 night and day
 'Night and day.' or 'All the time'
- b. serembat mi tuumbu mi zeere...
 Sweet.potato and pitpit and edible.green.plant
 'Sweet potatoes, pitpit and edible green leaves...' Bugenhagen (1995)

Several Oceanic languages like Mangap-Mbula carry this distinction over to conjunctions of clauses. According to Bugenhagen (1995) *ma* conjoins "successive aspects of a single event" whereas *mi* encodes "distinct events":

- (2) Am-kann ma am-win mi am-keene.
 1PL.EXCL-eat and 1PL.EXCL-drink and 1PL.EXCL-sleep
 'We ate and drank and slept.' Bugenhagen (1995)

All parameters that were characteristic for alleged cases of SR marking in coordinated clauses also apply to Mangap-Mbula: The use of the different conjunctions is not solely dependent on the (non)-identity of subjects, the syntactic relation is coordinate and the alleged SR-marker is a free morpheme. This suggests that the cases of SR-marking in clausal coordination are to be reanalysed as tight vs. loose coordination.

This would narrow down the definition of SR in two respects: First, SR marking could uniformly be analysed as a verbal category and second, the syntactic contexts would be restricted to adverbial subordination and clause-chaining.

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On abstract A-movement to non-theta and theta positions in Spanish

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This paper argues that Spanish examples such as (1a) and (2a) involve abstract raising of the complement subject, which is overtly realized in the complement clause:

- (1) a. Antes, solían [hacer {las mujeres/ellas} el pan en casa]
 'In-the-past, used-3rdp.pl. [to-make {the women/they-fem.pl.nom.} the bread at home]'
 "In the past, {women/they} used to bake bread at home."
- b. Antes, {las mujeres/ellas} solían [hacer el pan en casa]
 'In-the-past, {the women/they-fem.pl.nom.} used-3rdp.pl.nom. [to make the bread at home]'
 'In the past, {women/they} used to bake bread at home.'
- (2) a. Antes, querían [hacer {las mujeres/ellas} el pan en casa]
 'In the past, wanted-3rdp.pl. [to-make {the women/they-fem.pl.nom.} the bread at home]'
 "In the past, {women/they} wanted to bake bread at home."
- b. Antes, {las mujeres/ellas} querían [hacer el pan en casa]
 'In-the-past, {the women/they-3rdp.pl.nom} wanted-3rdp.pl. [to-make the bread at home]'
 "In the past, {women/they} wanted to bake bread at home."

Specifically, the paper argues that in (1a) and (2a) the 3rd person plural verb forms *solían* (used-to) and *querían* (wanted) agree with an abstract copy of the embedded subject {las mujeres/ellas} ({the women/they}) and that this abstract copy has raised to the matrix clause by virtue of feature-driven movement (cf., Chomsky (2000)), leaving its phonological matrix behind. The paper further argues that in Spanish, A-Movement may optionally displace a D/NP phonological matrix while deleting it in its original position as in (1b) and (2b), or leave it behind as in (1a) and (1a). In this view, traces are equivalent to the Complex Symbols of Chomsky (1965) less their phonological matrices.

The movement analysis is non-controversial in the case of the examples under (1) since Spanish *soler* (used to) is a raising verb. The phenomenon exhibited by (1) also occurs with other raising and modal verbs in the language. These verbs do not assign a theta role to their subjects.

As far as example (2a) is concerned, it constitutes a prima facie challenge to the standard analysis of control since it involves the presence of the verb *querer* (want), which does assign the theta role EXPERIENCER to its subject. A-Movement into theta marked positions is prohibited by the Theta Criterion.

However, in the light of evidence such a (2a), the paper argues that control verbs such as Spanish *querer* (want) are to be reanalyzed as raising verbs and that the theory should allow for A-Movement into both non-theta and theta positions following Hornstein (2007). The advantage of this approach is that it gives a unified account to the problem posed by examples such as (1a) and (2a), which would otherwise remain unexplained.

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Detecting discourse-functional templates in medium-sized data sets.

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Usage-oriented research into the nature of linguistic knowledge has proposed that complex linguistic structures may become unitary storage and processing chunks with dedicated discourse functions (Fox and Thompson 1990, 2007, Goldberg 2006). The 'anchoring relative construction' in (i) may serve as an example:

(i) *Anchoring relative construction*

Schematic: [_{MC}[demonstrative + BE + ref1_{NEW}^{FOCUS} RC[\emptyset ref2_{GIVEN} Relation(ref1, ref2, ...)]]]

Instance: *This* *is* *the guy_i* *we* *met* *__i at the party*

The *anchoring relative* is a sentence-level construction with defining properties from various levels of organization (structural, semantic, information structural). Its function is to introduce a new referent into the discourse by relating ('anchoring') it to a discourse-given referent (cf. Fox and Thompson 1990, 2007, Wiechmann 2009).

A promising way of identifying such form/function-pairings is to search for complex associative relationships among linguistic attributes, as features that co-occur with above-chance frequency are potentially jointly mapped onto a specific semantic or discourse-pragmatic function.

We present a method that combines predictive modeling and pattern recognition techniques as an analytical pipeline for the identification of such constructions, which comprises five steps:

1. Selecting a target structure (e.g. relative clauses)
2. Extracting instances of target structures from (minimally) two corpora representing language use from (1) a register of interest and (2) a control register
3. Extensive theory-guided linguistic annotation of all extracted data points

4. Complexity reduction: Identification of variables that strongly discriminate between the registers (via data mining/predictive modeling techniques)
5. Pattern recognition: Cross-classification of discriminating variables and searching the state-space for patterns that occur with above-chance frequencies (via *Configural Frequency Analysis*)

We will illustrate the method on the basis of case studies investigating sentence-level constructions containing relative and adverbial clauses.

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Mapping Semantic Space in Comparable Corpora. Token-level semantic vector spaces as an analysis tool for lexical variation.

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Background. Conceptual space can be carved up linguistically in different ways. The mapping between a set of related concepts and a set of forms need not be one to one and can differ both between varieties of the same language and between different languages. Recently, a number of studies have combined quantitative corpus analysis with visualization techniques to study form-meaning mappings on the exemplar level, both cross-linguistically and within one language: Wälchli (2010) used distributional similarity in parallel corpora and Multi-Dimensional Scaling to visualize how the exemplars of local phrase markers divide up the semantic space between themselves in different languages. Levshina (2011) coded exemplars of Dutch causative constructions for many different features in comparable corpora of different varieties and then used MDS to visualize how they carve up the causativity space. In this study, we present such an exemplar-level analysis and visualization for referentially rich lexical categories, rather than the less referential, grammatical categories studied by Wälchli and Levshina. We argue that the rich semantics of full lexical categories can be captured in a bottom-up, automatic way by token-level Semantic Vector Spaces (Turney and Pantel 2010; Heylen, Speelman and Geeraerts 2012) and we visualize how the individual occurrences of a set of near-synonyms carve up their concept's semantic space in a comparable corpus of different language varieties.

Case Study, data and methods. As a case study, we look all the occurrences of lexemes used to refer to the concept IMMIGRANT in a 1.3 million word corpus of Dutch and Belgian newspapers from 1999 to 2005. A token-level Semantic Vector Space (Heylen, Speelman and Geeraerts 2012) is then used to structure these occurrences semantically based on the similarity of their contextual usage. Multi Dimensional Scaling allows us to represent these contextual similarities in a 2 dimensional semantic space. With an interactive visualization, we can analyze the different dimensions in the semantic space and their contextual realization, as well as the differences in form-meaning mapping between the Netherlands and Belgium and different newspapers. We also look at the change in the space and form-meaning mappings during the period 1999-2005.

Results. In both countries, the semantic space seems to be initially dominated by three dimensions: (1) the effect of immigration problems on the local political system (election results, voting rights); (2) racism and discrimination as an ethical issue; (3) immigrants and crime. Although these topics remain in the discourse, there is a clear shifts to two new topics towards the middle of the decade: (1) a more practical discussion of how to increase the socio-economic opportunities of immigrants; (2) a focus on new immigration (as opposed to the immigrant population from the wave of immigration in the 50s, 60s and 70s). In general, the distribution of lexemes over topics is similar in both countries but the shift to new topics occurs later in the Netherlands than in Belgium, and more clearly in the high-brow newspapers than in the popular press.

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On the theoretical prerequisites of the crosslinguistic database on evidential markers.

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I will start with two seemingly self-explaining statements. First, as the ultimate aim of a database of distinct linguistic units we can consider their lexicography. Second, every crosslinguistic comparison requires a unified basis on which languages (language varieties) can be compared, both regarding their semantics and their structural properties (phonology, morphology, syntax). Thus, we have to find both a unifying onomasiological starting point for defining domains of meaning and a unifying morphosyntactic theory (with interfaces toward semantics-pragmatics); cf. Wiemer/Stathi (2010). This seems trivial. Less trivial is the realisation of a research programme which, first, brings all theoretical prerequisites under one roof and, second, to design the format for entries of a database which can be used as an instrument of verification. My talk will focus on a few selected, but central problems of this complex task and explain how these problems could be solved in operational terms.

First, one has to clearly distinguish between units and meanings (functions). This provided, second, we need a lexicographic format which allows for a comprehensive handling of information on the chosen entries. This information must distinguish, at least, (a) their morphological and syntactic format on different levels (free—bound cline, relation to constituency, syntactic distribution, etc.), (b) their relative lexical vs. grammatical status, (c) the interaction with the grammar, (d) conventional(ized) components of meaning (--> semantics) vs. meaning effects arising only from different sorts of implicatures and interaction with some sort or other of context (--> pragmatics), (e) the range of meanings (functions) both within evidentiality and neighboring domains. A format that satisfies this requirement can in principle be modelled following Apresjan's conception of an integrative dictionary (cf. Apresjan 2004; 2009), although with adaptations due to the specific notional domains and the crosslinguistic comparison involved. All aspects listed under (a-e) above presuppose theoretical decisions for which no unitary framework exists: (a) can be based on accepted approaches in functionally oriented syntax and morphology, (b) can be pursued on the basis of criteria worked out by Boye/Harder (2009; 2012), (c) should be guided by Apresjan's considerations hinted at above, but also by known approaches to the syntax-pragmatics interface (e.g., Functional Discourse Grammar, Role and Reference Grammar) taking account especially of scope phenomena, while the treatment of (d) heavily depends on one's decision as for the border between semantic and pragmatic meaning resp. whether one draws such a borderline at all (cf. Ariel 2008). Here such a borderline has to be drawn, because one has to decide what is to be counted as one lexical unit or the collocation of more than one. This decision has to be taken also with regard to (e); at least within the evidential domain a (partially taxonomic) network of functions seems to have been acknowledged after Plungian (2001; 2010), Aikhenvald (2004), Squartini (2008), among others. However, practice shows that evidential units are often heterosemic (in the sense of Lichtenberk 1991), and there are cases when units are on the verge of coalescing (e.g., in Balkan languages), and lexicography has to take a stance toward how to "count" such units (for some suggestions cf. Wiemer 2010). Moreover, some contributions to this workshop can demonstrate that there are criteria essential for the functioning of evidential markers that have hitherto left unnoticed (see abstracts by Letuchiy and Socka).

My talk therefore will make an attempt at bringing these different threads together without becoming eclectic, but in order to sketch an integral theory that is guided by the endeavor to delimit the field of

evidential meanings, to show its internal diversity and regularities and, finally, to represent them in a unified lexicography.

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Revisiting hierarchical alignment in Kartvelian: inheritance vs. contact.

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Kartvelian languages are not the first place one looks for hierarchical alignment, but in fact one subtype of ditransitive construction manifests hierarchical alignment in a number of Kartvelian languages: the so-called person-function constraint in Georgian, Megrelian and Svan. In this talk, I will argue that this fact arises from the peculiar combination of (1) primary object marking on both types of transitives, (2) the failure to mark second objects in normal ditransitive constructions, and (3) the peculiarities of morphological blocking paradigm construction.

The basic facts are as in (1) (see also Harris 1981). Although ditransitives and transitives share the same complicated system of morphological blocking well known for Georgian, they differ in that ditransitives betray an interesting gap in the syntactic distribution of features and grammatical functions not seen in transitives: first and second persons may be associated with recipients of ditransitives and the themes of monotransitives, they may not be associated with themes of ditransitives. However, Georgian has two ways to circumvent this problem. As in (2), one can convert the illicit first or second person pronoun into a third person possessive phrase headed by *tavi* 'head, self' (aka 'tavization'); or one can exceptionally agree with the secondary object instead of the primary object. Because this is the only context in which verbs ever agree with secondary objects, we can say that Georgian in fact has ditransitive hierarchical alignment without also having monotransitive hierarchical alignment. This much would be interesting in itself, but the same facts hold in other Kartvelian languages ((3) and (4)).

This talk will argue that such an unusual constructional situation can arise only when there is a mismatch between the arguments required by a verbal predicate and the arguments that actually get encoded on the head verb. If other languages of the region fail to manifest this construction type, therefore, that is because one or more of the necessary conditions for it to arise are lacking.

- (1)
- a. *vano-m (šen) še-a-dar-a givi-s
 Vano-narr 2Sg pvb-prv-compare-Aor3Sg Givi-dat
 'Vano compared you to Givi'
- b. *vano-m (me) še-a-dar-a givi-s
 Vano-narr 1Sg pvb-prv-compare-Aor3Sg Givi-dat
 'Vano compared me to Givi'
- (2) a. Tavization:
 1 or 2 Obj (agr); 3 [< 1 or 2] Obj2
 Vano-m še-a-dar-a Anzor-s *šen-i* *tav-i* / (*šen)
 Vano-Narr pvb-prv-send-Aor3Sg Anzor-dat 2SgPoss-nom head-nom 2Sg
 'Vano compared you to Anzor'
- b. Second-Object Agreement: 3 Obj; 1 or 2 Obj2 (agr)
 vano-m še-g-a-dar-a Anzor-s šen
 Vano-narr pvb-2-prv-compare-Aor3Sg Anzor-dat 2Sg
 'Vano compared you to Anzor' (Harris 1981: 48)
- (3) **Megrelian**
- a. **Present** [Subj_{nom} + Agr ~ Obj_{dat} ~ Obj2]
 *Vano Anzor-s a-dar-en-s ma
 Vano.nom Anzor-dat prv-compare-th-3Sg 1Sg
 'Vano is comparing me to Anzor'
- b. **Present** [Subj_{nom} + Agr ~ Obj_{dat} ~ Obj2 + **Agr**]
 Vano Anzor-s *m*-a-dar-en-s ma
 Vano.nom Anzor-dat 1Sg-prv-compare-th-3Sg1Sg 1Sg
 'Vano is comparing me to Anzor.'
- (4) **Svan**
- a. **Present screeve** [Subj_{nom} + Agr ~ Obj_{dat} + Agr ~ Obj2]
 *Vano Anzor-s x-a-mjōn-e mi.
 Vano.nom Anzor-dat 3-prv-compare-3 1Sg
 'Vano is comparing me to Anzor.'
- b. **Present screeve** [Subj_{nom} + Agr ~ Obj_{dat} ~ Obj2 + Agr]
 Vano Anzor-s m-a-mjōn-e mi.
 Vano.nom Anzor-dat 1Sg-prv-compare-3 1Sg
 'Vano is comparing me to Anzor'
- (5) Georgian tense/aspect-splits ignoring case and constituency in PFC contexts
- a. Present series [**Nom**_{ag} ~ **Dat**_{rec} ~ **Dat**_{th}]
 *Ivane Mariam-s šen a-dzl-ev-s
 John.nom Mary-dat 2Sg prv-give.pres-th-3Sg
 'John is giving you to Mary.'
- b. Aorist series [**Narr**_{ag} ~ **Dat**_{rec} ~ **Nom**_{th}]
 *Ivane-m Mariam-s šen mi-s-c-a
 John-narr Mary-dat 2Sg pvb-3-give.aor-Aor3Sg
 'John gave you to Mary.'
- c. Perfect series [**Dat**_{ag} ~ **-tvis**_{rec} ~ **Nom**_{th}]
 *Ivane-s Mariam-isa=tvis šen mi-u-c-i-a
 John-dat Mary-gen=for 2Sg pvb-prv-give.perf-perf-3Sg
 'John has apparently given you to Mary.'

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**The role of cognitive processes of attention and noticing in the acquisition of L3 phonology;
 A TAP investigation.**

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The contribution aims to provide new insights into the cognitive underpinnings of the acquisition of third language phonology. In spite of appeals for investigations of cognitive processes involved in the development of L2 phonology (e.g. Ellis 1999) a rather limited body of research has been carried out to date from a cognitive perspective in the area of phonology in SLA (cf. Fraser 2010, Sicola 2010), let alone a more complex multilingual perspective.

The present paper focuses on the role of cognitive processes of attention and noticing in the acquisition of L3 phonology. It addresses the role of consciousness in input processing, as stipulated in Schmidt's (1990) 'noticing hypothesis' according to which conscious awareness at the level of noticing is essential for the development of foreign language proficiency. Moreover, it intends to investigate the specific nature of multilingual processing which is characterised by an interaction of metalinguistic consciousness with an additional component of cross-linguistic awareness as suggested by Jessner (2006).

Several studies on SLA of phonology (e.g. Flege 1995, Markham 1997) have identified decreased sensitivity to input over time as one of key factors resulting from the habitual use of attention and articulatory strategies, and leading to fossilization and foreign-accented performance. Therefore, it is claimed that when learning a foreign language one needs to resensitize the perceptual and motor systems and allocate more conscious attention to new phonetic contrasts. My working hypothesis is that the acquisition of a third or additional foreign language can facilitate further resensitisation to new phonetic contrasts as the process has already been initiated in the acquisition of the previous foreign language (L2).

A preliminary investigation into the cognitive processes involved in the acquisition of third language phonology has been carried with the application of Think Aloud Protocols (TAPs). The objectives of the study were to explore how L3 learners consciously notice pronunciation problems, how they attend to phonetic forms in L3 and modify their output. The participants included Polish native speakers with an advanced command of English as their L2, and an elementary-level competence in French or German as their L3s. The L3 speech samples were collected by means of introspective and retrospective protocols, in which the participants were to improve and comment on their L3 pronunciation after listening to an excerpt of their previous text-reading recording in this language.

The findings provide evidence for the subjects' self-awareness of problems in L3 pronunciation, noticing specific L3 phonetic features and some intentional focus on articulatory gestures. Moreover, a considerable degree of processing control is manifested through the subjects' self-reports of the existing interactions between their language systems, i.e. L1↔L3, and in particular, L2↔L3 as well as their metacognitive comments about the process of learning L3 pronunciation. This multilingual advantage seems to result from a range of factors including a wider phonetic repertoire at the disposal of the L3 learner; increased metaphonological and cross-linguistic awareness; and a higher level of consciously analysed knowledge and metacognitive strategies developed in the process of L2 phonological acquisition.

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Orthographic debate in Ukraine: a conflict of identities.

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The history of spelling systems is closely connected with the history of the languages for which they are used (Liuzza 1996). The spelling of borrowed words corresponds with the process of their adaptation to target language's structure. This becomes especially important if the two spelling systems (of the source and of the target language) are fundamentally different, as for instance in the case of the Roman and Cyrillic systems. Further, in cases where spelling variants arise, the choice between the variants may be sensitive to social and political factors (Sebba 2007, Yavorska 2010). In this paper I examine the case of Ukrainian where the issues of spelling nativization of borrowings are reinforced by cultural and ideological considerations.

The 19th-century political division of the Ukraine between Russian and Austro-Hungarian control led to the development of two different orthographic traditions, which laid the foundation for a bitter and prolonged debate that continues to this day. European borrowings came to the Russian-ruled part of Ukraine and to Galicia by different routes. In the first instance, it was mostly Russian that was an intermediary language, and in the second, it was Polish (with the exception of direct borrowings from German). Accordingly, different variants of pronunciation and spelling were adopted for the same words.

The greatest discrepancy is found in terms of the principles of orthographic and orthoepic rendering of the Greek and Latin elements of borrowed words. The Eastern Ukrainian adaptation of Greek borrowings typically retained characteristics of the so-called Reuchlinian transliteration, according to which the Greek is rendered in Cyrillic as *φ*, as *υ* (*i*), and as *в*. For instance, *Афіна* 'Athena', *міф* 'myth', *Фіви* 'Thebe', *хімія* 'chemistry', *орфографія* 'orthography', *варвар* 'barbarian', etc. In the case of new borrowings and international terminology with Greek components, there is a distinct influence of the Russian language. It should be taken in account, however, that the same approach to transliterating Hellenisms is also found in Old Ukrainian texts, in other words, it is characteristic of ancient borrowings from Greek, which ultimately go back to Old Church Slavic. Contrary to that, in the Western variety of Ukrainian, Greek borrowings, due to Polish influence, were rendered according to Erasmus' transliteration. That is, the Greek was rendered as *m*, as *б*, and as *e*: *Атена*, *міт*, *Теби*, *хемія*, *ортографія*, *барбар*, etc.

Western Ukrainian variants generally were interpreted as conforming to the image of Standard Ukrainian as a full-fledged European language. Meanwhile Eastern Ukrainian variants were considered to reflect a language that was autochthonous, ethnic, and not similar to any other language. As a consequence, the choice between different variants of spelling of loanwords became a marker of identity — openness vs. distance vis-à-vis the larger outside world.

The present situation of choice among, and coexistence of, competing orthographic principles transforms the spelling (and pronunciation) of loanwords into a sort of emblem, distinguishing members of different ideological and cultural circles.

The process of borrowing is influenced by the more or less deliberate intention (Thomson 2001). Ideological factors, thus, may play an important role not only in "ordinary" linguistic change, but even in different spelling conventions employed for nativizing borrowings.

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Narrative verb forms in Bohairic Coptic.

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Coptic (Afro-Asiatic) is the last stage of the Ancient Egyptian language (attested ca. AD 300-1200). The grammar of Coptic is still poorly described. Of the two main literary varieties of Coptic, Sahidic and Bohairic, only Sahidic has a reference grammar that meets contemporary linguistic standards (Reintges 2004). This contribution is devoted to the other variety, Bohairic. It is based on my original research of a single corpus of narrative texts, the *Martyrs Acts*, edited by H. Hyvernat (1886/1977), and is part of my larger research project on the linguistics of Bohairic narrative. The aim of the proposed paper is twofold: first, to arrive at a better understanding of an important subset of Coptic language facts, still largely unexplored, secondly, to situate these facts within a broader range of comparable phenomena. The paper consists of three parts.

1. Coptic has a class of verb forms, marked by a dedicated prefix and conventionally called Perfect 1, which is typically used to convey the main story line in narrative. In the first part of the paper, descriptive and synchronic, the functional range of the uses of Perfect 1 vis-à-vis other verbal forms, as attested in my material, will be charted. Attention will be paid to the interplay of narrative vs. non-narrative forms in various *discourse modes*, such as descriptions, explanations, orientations and quotative indexes and their respective contribution to the organization of narrative. The compatibility of the particular forms with discourse markers and adverbials, especially temporal adverbs, will also be examined. The differences between first person narration by a character and third person narration by the omniscient narrator will be accounted for. These findings will be compared with another important Bohairic narrative corpus, the Pentateuch (Shisha-Halevy 2007). Finally, functional explanations in line with Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008) will be put forward.

2. As practically all ancient texts, the Martyrs Acts were written in order to reach the audience by means of *oral performance*. The question arises whether 'orality' (e.g. Foley 1995, among many others) can be considered yet another explanatory principle for the distinct marking of the above mentioned discourse modes. Interestingly, the formal distinction of different discourse modes also occurs in certain forms of visual culture, such as comic strips, a popular genre which combines narrativity with pictorial representation (Saraceni 2001; Chatman 1978: 36-41). This means that comparable strategies are attested not only in oral literature, but also in other cases when a broad public should be reached and processing of the content should take place as smoothly as possible.

3. The last part of the paper will be contrastive and diachronic. On the basis of a comparison of Egyptian and Coptic with Romance (e.g. Fleischman 1990, 1991) and Slavic (e.g. Wierzbicka 1967, Hopper 1979, Padučeva 1996, Sawicki 2008), I will put forward a hypothesis about the development of the opposition narrative vs. non-narrative verb forms as conditioned by *morphosyntactic factors*, viz. the expression of TAM-categories in a language. This opposition appears to develop when aspect is an inflectional category of the verb occurring in fusion with tense (as in Coptic or French), rather than a derivational category, as was the case in older Egyptian (Borghouts 2010) and still is in Slavic.

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Semantic isoglosses of the European linguistic area.

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The paper presents a new research project based on the conception of the Catalogue of semantic shifts in the languages of the world [Zalizniak et al. 2012]. The task of this project consists in the description of the distribution, within the area of Slavic, Romance, Germanic and Celtic languages of Europe, of a few hundred most significant *semantic shifts* which determine the shape of basic cultural concepts in European languages (cf. the motivational section of the "Atlas Linguarum Europae" [Alinei, Viereck 1998, Viereck 2003]). A *semantic shift* is understood as a constituent of linguistic conceptualization: it consists in the association of two linguistic meanings that reveals itself in the fact of their combination within the limits of one word, in form of synchronic polysemy and/or diachronic semantic change, cf.: 'master of a house' – 'husband' (cf. Engl. *husband* 'spouse', from the borrowed Old Norse *húsbóndi* 'master of a house' [SOED: 1290]), 'boy/child' – 'servant/slave' (cf. Old Engl. *cnafa*, Lat. *puer*, Old Slav. *otrokъ*, Rus. *rab*, *rebenok* etc.), 'child of a known person' – 'gentleman' (Sp. *hidalgo* [< *hijo de algo*]), 'peace' – 'world' (Rus. *mir*), 'state' – 'town' (Fr. *cit * from Lat. *civitas*, Dt. *Staat*, *Stadt*, Rus. *graždānin*, *gorožānin*), 'Christian' – 'peasant' (Rus. *krest'janin*), 'to do' – 'to say' (Old Rus. *tvoriti* + Acc.c.Inf.), 'to find <an object>' – 'to have opinion' (Engl. *find*, Dt. *finden*, Fr. *trouver*, Rus. *naxodit'* etc.), 'spirit' – 'wit' (Fr. *esprit*, Dt. *Geist*), etc. Some of these shifts occur in all analyzed languages, others are specific to individual language groups or languages. So, for example semantic shifts 'to forgive' – 'to say goodbye' (Rus. *prostit'* – *prostitj'sja*) is found only in Slavic languages (it reflects a specific cultural scenario); the semantic shift 'to gather' – 'to be going <to do smth>' (Rus. *sobirat'* – *sobirat'sja*) occurs only in East Slavic languages (it reflects one of the specific features of linguistic conceptualization characteristic foremost for Russian, see [Zalizniak, Levontina 1996]).

The presence of the same semantic shift in two different languages can take place independently or be the result of a borrowing (semantic calque). So, the semantic shift 'light' – 'world', in addition to the Slavic languages (e.g. Rus. *svet*), is also present in Rumanian and in Hungarian (most likely as a result of borrowing). Nevertheless, to distinguish between these two cases (i.e., to establish the fact of borrowing) is sometimes almost impossible, because both factors may act together. Namely, it often happens that a semantic shift appears in a language as a result of semantic calquing, but remains in it due to the effect of the same mechanisms of semantic derivation or other inner systematic factors.

Identifying areas of dissemination of semantic shifts and the presentation of the data, in the spirit of linguistic geography, in form of "isoglosses" would reveal areal divergences and/or similarities in the mechanisms of linguistic conceptualization and contribute to the reconstruction of the cultural history of Europe, or "the history of ideas", cf. the subtitle of the famous dictionary [Buck 1971], one of the methodological sources of modern semantic-typological studies, including this project.

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Syntactic scope, embedding and switch-reference constructions in Kashibo-Kakataibo.

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In this talk I explore switch-reference constructions in Kashibo-Kakataibo (Pano, Peru), paying special attention to its properties pertaining to embedding and syntactic scope. Switch-reference can be defined as a verbal category used to indicate whether the subject of one clause “has the same or different reference from the subject of an adjacent, syntactically related clause” (Stirling 1993: 1). In the case of Kashibo-Kakataibo, in addition to the common same-subject/different-subject distinction, there are suffixes that indicate identity relations between the object and the subject of the syntactically related clauses. As in other Pano languages, most switch-reference suffixes in Kashibo-Kakataibo follow a tripartite system, distinguishing between S, A and O in the main clause, and “indicat[ing] the time of the subordinate verb relative to the main verb” (Loos 1999: 237). Considering that most switch reference suffixes in Pano 1) mark argument co-reference, 2) code relative time, and 3) vary with respect to the transitivity of the matrix verb, Pano switch-reference systems tend to be very complex. This is particularly true for the switch-reference system of Kashibo-Kakataibo, which may easily be one of the most complex systems within the family, with a paradigm consisting of at least eighteen different suffixes.

The complexity of switch reference in Kashibo-Kakataibo not only follows from the remarkably large number of suffixes, but also from the existence of two different types of switch-reference constructions, referred to here as converbs and switch-reference clauses, following Zariquiey (2011: 563). These two different types of switch-reference constructions do not differ either in the form of the switch-reference markers, or in their potential syntactic complexity (for instance, both types can include overtly expressed arguments or adjuncts). Instead, the differences between them have to do with their syntactic scope, their position and their degree of embedding. On one hand, converbs can modify either the main predicate or the adjacent (dependent) one; do not have a fixed position; and are embedded into their matrix clause. On the other hand, switch-reference clauses only modify the main predicate of the sentence (even if it is not adjacent to it); they appear as the first constituent of the sentence; and they depend on the main clause, but are not necessarily embedded into it.

In this talk, I present and illustrate these different properties of converbs and switch-reference clauses, exploring the typological relevance of this extremely rich switch-reference system and its fascinating interaction with the pervasive use of head and tail linkage structures found in Kashibo-Kakataibo discourse. The data this paper is based on primarily comes from more than nine hours of natural texts (narratives and conversations), transcribed and parsed in Toolbox (Zariquiey 2011: 30-35). Elicited examples will only be given when minimal pairs contrasting a single feature are necessary to illustrate one particular issue. Both elicited and natural examples have been double checked. The data will be presented and discussed from a functional-typological perspective, which assumes a close relationship between grammatical structure, cognition and language use.

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Polysemous constructions - an account of ditransitives in Middle English.

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This paper investigates the ditransitive or double object construction (DOC) in Middle English. Seeing that extensive amount on research has been carried out on the synchronic properties of this pattern (cf. Goldberg 1995, 2002; Green 1974; Oehrle 1976; Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2008; Croft 2003 among others), but relatively little attention has so far been paid to the diachronic development of the structure, an examination of the DOC in earlier stages of English is considered highly relevant.

The approach taken in the paper is based on Goldberg's (1995) analysis of this pattern in PDE as a "key example of a highly *polysemous* argument structure construction" (Coleman and de Clerck 2011: 186), and argues against Kay's (1996) treatment of the DOC as a monosemous construction, thus assuming one central, prime sense of the construction, namely 'Agent successfully causes recipient to receive patient' (Goldberg 1995: 38), and a variety of additional sub-senses (e.g. intended or retained reception).

Moreover, the paper draws on recent work on the construction's lexical and semantic scope in various (older) Germanic languages by Barðdal (2007), and Coleman and de Clerck's (2011) as well as Rohdenburg's (1995) research on the DOC in (late) Modern English, all of which identify a much wider range of verbs (verb classes) possible to appear in the ditransitive construction than in PDE, cf. e.g. verbs of banishment:

- (1) *I will put it entirely into your power to **discharge** her the house, if you think proper* (Richardson 1740, quoted in Coleman and de Clerck 2011: 194).

While on the one hand, differences in the construction's semantic scope between earlier and modern stages of the language are due to changes of individual lexical items (e.g. *bespeak*, Coleman and de Clerck 2011: 192), it has to be assumed, on the other hand, that certain sub-constructions were marginalised and eventually lost in the history of English – the development of the DOC thus representing a case of constructional semantic specialisation (Coleman and de Clerck 2011: 183).

In line with these observations, it is expected that the DOC in Middle English too displayed a wider variety of verb classes associated with the construction (Rohdenburg 1995: 108), an assumption which will be checked against empirical evidence gained from an analysis of double object constructions in two Middle English corpora, the Middle English Compendium (MEC) and the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME2). Middle English here represents an especially interesting stage of the language, since according to Visser (1963: 629), the pattern experienced a significant rise in productivity during that time, "being extended to all kinds of verbs that were not used ditransitively in Old English" (Barðdal 2007: 26). Furthermore, this

period saw considerable loss of morphological case marking and the rise of the dative alternation (cf. Allen 1995), both of which issues have often been put in relation to the subsequent semantic narrowing processes (Coleman and de Clerck 2011: 201).

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Pluricentric languages and exocentric norms: lexical convergence between Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch.

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Background. Having more than one national variety, Dutch is considered a pluricentric language (Clyne 1992). The main national varieties are Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch (spoken in Flanders, the northern part of Belgium). Interestingly, the process of linguistic standardization evolved differently in both regions. First, contrary to the Netherlandic Dutch situation, Belgian Dutch standardization is a relatively recent phenomenon. Second, in the Belgian Dutch standardization process, a choice was made for an exonormative orientation: instead of developing a Belgian Dutch standard, convergence with the (long established) Netherlandic Dutch norm was promoted, aiming for a uniform Standard Dutch (Geeraerts 2003). Third, during several centuries (and specifically in the 19th century), French was the more prestigious variant in Flanders, preferred by the social elite. This caused a massive influx of French loanwords in Belgian Dutch and, because French did not have any noticeable influence on Netherlandic Dutch, "the struggle for recognition of Dutch as the official language in Belgium often materialized as a competition with the French standard" (Geeraerts and Grondelaers 2000: 53).

Method. This paper sets out to empirically test to what extent this exonormative orientation has been put into practice by measuring the current degree of uniformity between both regions. Focusing on *lexical* uniformity, we rely on the onomasiological measure of lexical variation designed by Geeraerts et al. (1999), which calculates the differences in lexicalization preferences for a given concept in the two regions. For example,

Table 1 shows the concept RUGZAKTOERIST 'backpacker', which can be lexicalized by *rugzakker*, *rugzaktoerist* and *backpacker*. The degree of uniformity between Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch can be measured in terms of overlapping lexicalization preferences (summing the smallest relative value for each term: $(4+53+22) = 79\%$).

RUGZAKKER	Neth.Dutch	%	Belg.Dutch	%
rugzakker	20	4	201	24
rugzaktoerist	300	53	420	54
backpacker	254	43	171	22

Table 1 - Lexicalization preferences for RUGZAKKER

Data and Results. In this paper, the method is applied to two different datasets. First, we focus on uniformity levels for 20 traffic concepts (e.g. AFRIT 'exit'), 60 IT concepts (e.g. BEELDSCHERM 'screen') and 60 emotive concepts (e.g. ANGST 'fear'). Comparing uniformity tendencies in Usenet material (online discussion fora; 50 million words) and quality newspapers (500 million words), we also measure the impact of register on uniformity. Second, we focus on uniformity for concepts which can be lexicalized by English or French loanwords: given that the Belgian Dutch standardization process has been characterized by a strong purist tendency (cf. supra), we are interested to determine to what extent this purist reaction led to more or less uniformity. The analyses rely on frequency information for 130 concepts designating people (such as RUGZAKTOERIST) derived from two newspaper corpora (one for each variety), together comprising over one billion words. Our results, which reveal strong uniformity between Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch lexicalization preferences, will be compared to the uniformity levels obtained by Geeraerts et al. (1999) for clothing and football concepts in 1950, 1970 and 1990.

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'Simple coding': entrenchment vs. semantic transparency in simplified registers.

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Speakers' choice of a particular argument structure construction is influenced by many different factors: among others, these include basic construal parameters such as participant inclusion and perspective, semantic and pragmatic specializations of different candidate constructions, their relative degree of entrenchment, effects of genre and register as well as 'mechanistic' factors such as syntactic priming and alignment.

The present study investigates the relevance of two of these factors – register-specificity and frequency (as a proxy of entrenchment) – in an experiment on the grammatical encoding of caused motion events. The investigation capitalizes on the peculiar properties of child-directed speech (CDS) as a specialized register where speakers seek to keep their coding choices particularly simple and easy to process (Snow 1972, Pine 1994). The question is: what guides speakers' tacit assessments of processing difficulty in such interactions (with respect to the two factors investigated)? Do they prefer formulations that are maximally explicit and semantically transparent? Or rather those that are particularly frequent and hence cognitively routinized? How are conflicts between the two factors resolved?

In the experiment, participants were asked to retell the contents of short cartoon video clips that showed events of caused motion. Regarding the first factor, it was assumed that an expanded coding of the depicted scenes in terms of separate clauses for each sub-event was more explicit, more redundant and more

transparent in terms of overall form-function alignment than a possible alternative involving the caused motion construction (Goldberg 1995) which compacts the two sub-events into a single clause:

- (1) a. Spike punches Sylvester in the face, sending Sylvester flying through the paper wall.
 b. Spike punches Sylvester in the face, and Sylvester flies through the paper wall.
 (causation lexically implicit)
 c. Spike punches Sylvester through the paper wall.
 (causation and motion lexically implicit)

Regarding the second factor, target verbs' proportionate frequency of caused motion-complementation in the British National Corpus was taken as a rough indication of the construction's degree of entrenchment in connection with a given verb. Verbs (or, more exactly, stimulus clips that had been found to reliably cue these verbs in the description task in a series of pretests) were chosen such that they were either (i) highly unlikely, (ii) neither particularly unlikely/likely, or (iii) highly likely to occur with the construction. Participants then narrated the contents of video clips containing events denoted by these verbs to (i) adults, (ii) children, and (iii) the humanoid robot iCub (Sandini, Metta and Vernon 2007; this condition was added to investigate whether the hypothesized simplification effect carries over to other types of linguistically asymmetrical interactions).

The results point to an interaction between frequency and the predicted register-specific preference for explicitness: although there is a significant tendency to avoid compacted coding (using the caused motion construction) in CDS, the effect is neutralized if caused motion complementation is highly common for the verb. This suggests that a construction's degree of entrenchment influences speakers' grammatical selection process even in contexts where the construction is otherwise disfavoured.

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Countability and Plurality.

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The research question of this talk is the relationship between plurality and countability of nominals. I argue for a decomposition approach to the traditional concept of countability, and show that there is no direct correlation between plurality and the count status of a noun.

Two syntagmatic properties of nominals can be distinguished: the ability of a noun to combine with a numeral directly ([Numerable]), and the ability of a noun to be modified by a delimitive (size, shape, or boundary) modifier ([Delimitable]). The two properties or features can be attested in the co-occurrence restrictions of articles, quantifiers, adverbs, prepositions, and in pronominalization, and in three context-triggered shifts (Universal Grinder, Universal Sorter, and Universal Packager). It is the combination of the different values of the two features, rather than the alleged binary contrast between count and mass, that explain various syntactic contrasts of countability, cross-linguistically. I argue that although the positive value of the first feature alone is enough to define the count status of a nominal, it is the combination of the negative values of both features that defines the mass status of a nominal.

I will also falsify the generally believed entailment relation between plurality and countability. When we consider the two values of [Numerable] and Plural, we find four possibilities. First, a nominal can be both [+Numerable] and [+Plural], as seen in (1) (see Saka 1991: 279).

- (1) a. two unicorns b. 0.5 unicorns c. 1.0 unicorns d. zero unicorns

Second, a nominal can be [+Numerable] but [-Plural], e.g., *one unicorn*. In languages such as Yudja (Lima 2010; 2012), which has no plural marker, all nouns can combine with a numeral directly, in the absence of either Universal Sorter or Universal Packager effects.

- (2) txabĩa apeta [Yudja]
three blood
'three units of blood' (the unit is identified in the context)

Third, a nominal can be [-Numerable] but [+Plural].

- (3) a. My clothes {are/*is} in this locker. b. *I've just bought five clothes.

Similarly, although nouns such as *water* have been found in a plural form in a non-shift context, as in (4a) (Krifka 2008), they may not occur with a numeral. This is different from the effects of Universal Packager and Universal Sorter. (4b) is from Alexiadou (2011: 36) and (4c) is from Massam (2009: 682; C = common).

- (4) a. the (*three) waters of the Nile
b. {hithikan nera /hithike nero} sto patoma. [Modern Greek]
dripped water.pl/dripped water on the floor
'A lot of water dripped on the floor.'
c. e tau vai [Niuean]
abs.c pl water

Fourth, a nominal can be both [-Numerable] and [-Plural], e.g., *furniture*. Moreover, some nouns are found in singular, since they are preceded by the indefinite singular article *a*, but they never occur with a numeral, including *one*:

- (5) a. {a/*one} shortage of engineers b. Jill has {a/*one} good knowledge of Greek.

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An application of Yang's model of language change: resetting the headedness of IP in early English.

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In his book "Knowledge and Learning in Natural Language" (2002), Charles Yang devises a formal, variationist model of language change. At its heart lies the assumption that a certain internalised ontological element - "grammars" or "parameters" in Yang's work, but I prefer the more neutral term "rule" - is subject to selectional forces during the period of language acquisition. A rule grows at the expense of a competitor rule if its

probability to encounter a structure that it alone can analyse is greater than the probability of its competitor rule to encounter a structure that it alone can analyse. To employ a Darwinian metaphor, an advantageous rule is “better-adapted” to the “environment” of the overall linguistic system.

In the first part of this paper, I apply Yang’s model to a well-studied change in Old and early Middle English: the transition from I-final to I-initial headedness (Pintzuk 1999). In Old English, IP is unambiguously final in contexts with main verb - auxiliary order (1) or with two non-pronominal arguments before the finite verb (2). Many Old English sentences are, however, compatible with an I-initial as well as an I-final parse on account of postposition (3) and verb (projection) raising processes (4). Finally, a small but growing number of clauses is unambiguously I-initial as evidenced by post-verbal, non-postponing elements, like particles (5) or pronouns (6). I collect the frequencies for each condition as well as other contextual factors for various periods with the electronic, syntactically parsed corpora YCOE (Taylor et al. 2003) and PPCME2 (Kroch and Taylor 2000). This allows my calculations to be more explicit and based on greater empirical coverage than Yang’s own example of the loss of V2 in the history of French and English. Thus the viability of Yang’s model can be scrutinized more closely.

- (1) ... þæt we for earfoðnyse ure anginn ne forlæton
 ... that we for hardship our origin not give-up
 ‘... that we will not give up our origins because of hardship’
 (coaelhom, ÆHom_9:145.1365) → necessarily I-final
 [c’ þæt [IP [DP we] [r [VP for earfoðnyse ure anginn] [r ne forlæton]]]]
- (2) ... ða ða he acenned wæs
 ... then when he born was
 ‘... when he was born’
 (cocathom1, ÆCHom_I,_15:305.172.2898) → necessarily I-final
 [c’ ða ða [IP [DP he] [r [VP acenned] [r wæs]]]]
- (3) ...þe læs þe eower sum ceorige on mode
 ...lest of .you some complain in mind
 ‘... lest some of you should complain’
 (coaelhom, ÆHom_6:367.1053)
 a. [c’ þe [IP [IP [DP eower sum] [r [VP] [r ceorige]]] [PP on mode]]
 b. [c’ þe [IP [DP eower sum] [r [r ceorige] [VP [PP on mode]]]] → ambiguous
- (4) ... þæt ge ne beon geæswicode.
 ... that you not be offended
 ‘...so that you may not be offended.’
 (coaelhom, ÆHom_9:12.1307)
 a. [c’ þæt [IP [IP [DP ge] [r [VP] [r ne beon]]] [VP geæswicode]]
 b. [c’ þæt [IP [DP ge] [r [r ne beon] [VP geæswicode]]]] → ambiguous
- (5) ... butan hi sungon þone lofsang forð on
 ... but they sang the praise-song forth on
 ‘... but that they continued to sing the praise’
 [c’ butan [IP [DP hi] [r [r sungon] [VP þone lofsang forð on]]]]
 (coaelive, ÆLS_[Swithun]:230.4371) → necessarily I-initial
- (6) ... þæt hy underfengon hine eft syððan into heora husum
 ... that they received him again then into their houses
 ‘... so that they received him then again into their houses’
 [c’ þæt [IP [DP hy] [r [r underfengon] [VP hine eft syððan into heora husum]]]]
 (coaelhom, ÆHom_17:146.2438) → necessarily I-initial

The second part of my paper, more theoretical in nature, is concerned with general questions about and possible modifications of Yang’s model. In particular, I deal with several options of testing the output of Yang’s model against empirical data, problems of contexts, constant rate effects (Kroch 1989), and the meaning of

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Transparency vs. analysability: Re-examining the theories and degrees of semantic compositionality of idioms.

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This paper questions the so-called idiom decomposition hypothesis (Gibbs and Nayak, 1989; Gibbs, et al. 1989), which presupposes that speakers have shared intuitions about the semantic compositionality of idioms, which in turn determines their syntactic flexibility. We have therefore conducted a study involving 150 participants, all native speakers of Croatian. Thirty familiar Croatian idioms, typically containing a verbal element and an object, were presented to the participants in three separate experiments.

The first experiment was modelled after Gibbs and Nayak (1989) and Tabossi et al. (2008), and aimed at testing the speakers' intuitions about idiom compositionality. The participants were asked to distinguish between different degrees of idiom compositionality, namely normally decomposable (e.g. *stisnuti zube* 'grit (clench) your teeth'), abnormally decomposable (e.g. *piti krv na slamku* komu ', literally "drink one's blood with a straw", meaning 'get in (into) somebody's hair' or 'make a nuisance of oneself') and non-decomposable idioms (e.g. *nisam (nisi itd.) veslo sisao* ', literally "I didn't suck on an oar", meaning 'I am nobody's fool', 'I wasn't born yesterday'). The second experiment tested the notion of syntactic flexibility and the appropriateness of various syntactic tests used to classify idioms as either flexible or non-flexible, and the third experiment was devised to test the recognition of idioms in particular contexts.

The findings of the first experiment are consistent with those in Tabossi et al. (2008), namely that speakers' intuitions about the distinction between decomposable and non-decomposable idioms are not consistent. The results of the second experiment suggest that the degree of semantic analysability is not directly connected to the idioms' syntactic flexibility, rather it is the internal structure of an idiom that governs its syntactic behaviour and renders some syntactic tests inapplicable (e.g. hypothetical meaning will preclude the use of past tense, unaccusative verbs will preclude passive forms). The initial results of the third experiment are consistent with the so-called configuration hypothesis (Tabossi et al. 2005), which claims that the figurative meaning of an idiom in discourse becomes recognizable when sufficient information is present to render it such. We expect our ongoing research to further corroborate these findings.

This paper therefore aims to prove several points. First, that compositionality of idioms should be seen as a continuum (cf. Gibbs et al. 1989) but with transparency, not analysability, as the key factor. Second, that syntactic flexibility reflects the internal structure of idioms, and third, that the recognition of idioms in discourse is highly dependent on sufficient context.

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**Contribution to the propositional content or/and illocutionary force indicators?
The case of Basque evidential elements.**

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If we have a look to the literature on evidentiality, we will find two ways, at least, of analysing the evidential elements cross-linguistically: (i) as illocutionary force indicators (Faller 2002, e.g.) and (ii) as epistemic modals with an evidential presupposition (Matthewson et al. 2007, e.g.). The aim of this proposal is to argue that the semantic and pragmatic properties of the Basque reportative particle 'omen' ask for a different analysis. I contend that 'omen' contributes to the propositional content of the utterance, but it is, nonetheless, a non-epistemic modal element. This conclusion is based on the results of some tests used in the literature to distinguish between the status of an element as (i) contributing to the truth-conditions vs. being an illocutionary force indicator (the assent/dissent or challengeability test and the scope or embeddability test) and (ii) being a modal vs. non-modal element (*felicity* tests), along with some other arguments regarding presupposition.

Regarding the contribution issue, on the one hand, the results of an experiment based on the assent/dissent test show that the subjects tend to accept that the whole evidential content of the 'omen'-utterance can be directly rejected, contrary to the reported general behaviour of evidential elements. On the other hand, concerning the scope test, 'omen' gets narrow scope under sentential (external) negation and communication/knowledge predicates. These facts lead us to analyse 'omen' as contributing to the truth-conditions of the utterance.

As far as the (non-)modal status is concerned, the results of the two *felicity* tests point to a non-modal analysis of 'omen': it is felicitous if the embedded proposition is known to be false/true (see, also, Faller 2002 and Murray 2010, e.g.). And if these two tests are not sufficiently convincing, there are stronger arguments against the modal analysis for 'omen'-utterances: (i) presuppositions are argued to be cancellable, whereas the evidential content of 'omen'-utterances is not and (ii) the presuppositional analysis cannot explain properly the embedding cases. So, I would analyse 'omen' as a non-modal element. We cannot analyse it as quantifying over possible worlds (à la Matthewson et al. 2007), and neither as encoding the speaker's degree of certainty (à la de Haan 1999, e.g.). I argue that the content of uncertainty often related to 'omen' is not part of the meaning of 'omen'-sentences, but rather a conversational implicature that can be generated by an 'omen'-utterance.

In this way, I make a distinction between an element contributing to the proposition expressed and its being a modal element, cutting the direct connection Matthewson (in press), for instance, seem to make between them.

Furthermore, I consider the possibility of 'omen', in addition to contributing to the propositional content of the utterance, being an illocutionary force indicator, taking into account that an 'omen'-utterance will always have an assertive illocutionary force. Hence, I propose that 'omen' is a kind of element that both contributes to the truth-conditions of an utterance and is an illocutionary force indicator.

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