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BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

51st Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea
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SLE 2018 BOOK OF ABSTRACTS EDITOR Olga Spevak
Editor's note: Abstracts that have not been updated in due time (especially, abstracts in pdf) have not been included as well as abstracts that would damage the whole document.

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PLENARY LECTURES

Everything you've always wanted to know about Middle English Open Syllable Lengthening, but were afraid to ask
or
Mistakes were made

Nikolaus Ritt
(University of Vienna)

Schedule: We 9.30-10.25

I deal with sound changes that are reflected in words like Modern English *make*, *hope*, or *beaver*, which go back to Old English *makian*, *hopian*, and *befor*. In the Old English words, the vowels occurred in open penultimate syllables, and they were short, i.e. /a/, /o/ and /e/. Therefore, they must have been lengthened at one point, because otherwise they would not show up as /eɪ/, /əʊ/, and /iː/ today. By what processes were these lengthenings brought about? What caused them? How can they be explained? Is it even justified to refer to them as Open Syllable Lengthenings? Such questions are still controversially discussed.

Instead of presenting my own best account of the lengthenings reflected in *make*, *hope* and *beaver*, I use them to tell a story about developments that have taken place in historical phonology during the last fifty years. I compare sound-law accounts (Luick 1914-21, Minkova 1982), generative accounts (Dresher 2015), Optimality Theoretic accounts (Bermudez-Otero 1998, Minkova & Lefkowitz in prep.), as well as accounts based in naturalist and evolutionary phonology (Ritt 1994, Ritt 1997, Ritt 2000, Ritt 2004, Ritt & Matzinger in prep.).

I show how competing accounts reflect the theoretical assumptions that underlie them, how they are constrained by the availability of data and analytic tools, and by modelling conventions. I argue that they interact to produce what I think can confidently be called progress in the field of historical linguistics. I also demonstrate how our field, probably like any other, is sometimes advanced by the errors that individual researchers commit. Some of them look rather embarrassing* in hindsight – even though they seemed like good ideas at the time.

*I focus mostly on myself in this part, which also explains the many self-references below.

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✍

Temperature in language and beyond: A cross-linguistic study

Maria Koptjevskaja-Tamm
(Stockholm University)

Schedule: Fri 10.00-10.55

The overarching issue explored in my talk is cross-linguistic variability in semantic systems and its limits, approached through empirical cross-linguistic research. The main questions asked here include the following ones:

- How do speakers of different languages carve up a particular cognitive domain by means of words and other linguistic expressions?
- To what extent is linguistic categorization universal or language/culture-specific?
- How are words for categories in one semantic domain applied for others?
- What is the interplay among the various factors that shape linguistic categorization and patterns of semantic shifts?

I will discuss these questions by focusing on one particular domain, TEMPERATURE, which offers an interesting opportunity for research on the interaction between language structure, biology, environment, culture and cognition. On the one hand, temperature phenomena are universal, ubiquitous and decisive for numerous other phenomena. They are also crucial for living beings and are relatively easily perceptible by them. But conceptualisation of temperature phenomena and their linguistic manifestation is a complicated matter that involves much more than a simple matching of what at first glance might seem universal bodily reactions. People live in very different environments and differ a lot in the range of temperatures they normally experience. People are also socialised into very different socio-cultural practices. Finally, in some cultures temperatures have an important symbolic value, whereby many entities are classified as hot or cold, often independently of their "concrete" temperature, and there are strict regulations on how symbolic temperatures may or should be combined.

It is this universal, ubiquitous, crucial and embodied nature of temperature phenomena, coupled with culture-specificity and subjectivity in their perception and conceptualisation that makes the temperature domain a fascinating research object. And languages do demonstrate an amazing diversity in how they deal with the temperature domain, as witnessed by the chapters in Koptjevskaja-Tamm ed. 2015, documenting the temperatre systems in about 50 languages.

In this talk I will sketch out the basics of the temperature systems (*hot, warm, cool, cold,* etc.), based on the three main parameters along which languages categorise the temperature domain (TEMPERATURE VALUES, FRAMES OF TEMPERATURE EVALUATION, EVALUATED ENTITIES). I will further show the distribution of the systems across 70 genetically, areally and structurally diverse languages and reflect upon the factors relevant here. Finally, I will deal with extended uses of temperature expressions, i.e. their uses outside of the temperature domain proper, among others, uses commonly viewed as metaphors, e.g. *warm words*, or *hot-tempered persons*. I will illustrate several areal and genetic patterns in the extended uses of temperature expressions and the absence thereof across the world's languages and discuss to what extent the findings provide evidence for vs. against the allegedly universal conceptual metaphors suggested for some of such uses (Lakoff & Johnson 1999, Kövecses 2003).

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The evolution of Bantu gender marking systems: Typology, phylogeny, and social history

Francesca Di Garbo & Annemarie Verkerk

(Stockholm University & Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History)

Schedule: Sa 10.30-10.55

Gender systems presuppose inflectional morphology (Corbett 1991; Dahl 2004), they tend to be highly grammaticalized, and to break down under the pressure of language contact (Trudgill 1999). Yet, attempts to investigate the relationship between gender systems and sociohistorical factors quantitatively have, so far, produced negative results. Dahl (forthcoming) and Sinnemäki & Di Garbo (accepted) find no significant correlation between the number of gender distinctions as represented in Corbett (2013) and population data. We argue that, in order to capture possible effects of social structure on gender systems, the morphosyntactic encoding rather than the sheer number of gender distinctions must be studied both synchronically and diachronically.

This is what we attempt to do in this talk with the famous Bantu gender systems. We address how varied these systems are, how this variation is distributed, and what patterns of language change can be inferred. Our sample consists of 254 Bantu languages from zones A-B-C-D-H, where both traditional and heavily restructured gender systems are attested (Maho 1999). Each language is coded for 1) how many gender distinctions are marked on nouns and outside nouns; 2) the word classes that carry gender marking besides nouns; and 3) whether (and where) animacy plays a role in the gender marking system.

Our findings indicate that if a Bantu gender system undergoes restructuring, this is most likely to be animacy-based (see also Katamba 2003; Maho 1999; Wald 1975). We classify the attested patterns into two types: (1) *partial restructuring*, which affects only areas of the agreement system, and (mostly) only animate nouns, and (2) *radical restructuring*, which affects agreement marking and noun marking, animate and inanimate nouns. Animacy-based restructuring is well attested in other branches of the Atlantic-Congo family (Güldemann & Fiedler forthcoming; Williamson 1994), and is also widely attested crosslinguistically. Recent experimental studies show that the emergence of animacy-based distinctions in noun classes responds to a learning bias, and, in fact, increases their learnability (Nelson et al. 2017). While animacy-based restructuring of the typically large Bantu gender systems is therefore not surprising, its distribution requires a historical explanation.

We illustrate *partial* and *radical animacy-based restructuring* with examples from selected languages, and comment on their geographic distribution. Our findings can be related to existing literature on the evolution of gender marking systems (Corbett 1979, 1991, 2006; Dahl 2000; Di Garbo & Miestamo forthcoming). We then focus on how the emergence and distribution of restructuring can be modeled with phylogenetic comparative methods. The socio-historical and geographical factors that may favor or disfavor the rise and spread of restructuring are discussed. Contrary to previous studies, which did not find any evidence for adaptation of gender systems to socio-historical variables we find a significant effect of population size on the distribution of restructuring in gender marking whereby languages with larger populations are more likely to exhibit restructured gender marking systems. We also find a significant effect of geography according to which languages spoken in the rain forest are more likely to exhibit restructured gender systems than languages spoken outside of it.

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⊠

ROUND TABLE

VITALITY OF MEDIUM-SIZED LANGUAGES
IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Martin Ehala
(University of Helsinki, University of Tartu)
Moderator

In the era of globalization, international *lingua francas*, national languages and minority languages form dynamic language ecologies in which the notion of the majority language becomes relativized. The effects are seen particularly clearly in the case of *medium-sized languages* that have a substantial number of speakers (roughly one to several millions) and enough institutional support to function as official languages, but tend to be not attractive for the mobile transnational population for learning. The round table begins with three presentations focussing on the effects of globalisation on four medium-sized languages (Catalan, Czech, Danish, Estonian) in three contexts: family, higher education and language learning; and continues to a discussion whether and to what extent these processes may be detrimental of the vitality of medium-sized languages.

Speaking English in Denmark – discourses on family language

Marie Maegaard
(University of Copenhagen)

In Denmark English holds a special position: it is omnipresent in many ways, and it can be used in a range of situations where otherwise only Danish is applicable. Because of this, some people (both in research and in public debate) have described English as a threat to Danish. Most of these threat-scenarios are based in analyses of specific domains such as educational institutions and workplaces, but few scholars have investigated how people actually interact in other types of domains, such as the family, which is important with regard to language socialization. In my talk, I will present the results from a study of discourse on language choice within Danish/English-speaking families, where one parent has Danish and one has English as their first language. Analyses show complex patterns with English and Danish being ascribed very different values in different contexts, and while many of the descriptions echo experiences from other minority language families, it is clear that English as a minority language in Denmark is a special case. One important point to stress in relation to the threat-scenarios is that there are no signs that parents in these families do not value speaking Danish in the family and in other local contexts.

Internationalisation of universities in Estonia and Catalonia.
Is there a North-South divide in European higher education?

Josep Soler
(University of Stockholm)

Higher education is one of the key domains where medium-sized language communities may feel more intensely the pressures for their long-term vitality. Indeed, it seems that in higher education, the 'globalising' discourses attached to the neoliberal free market collide with the 'nationalising' discourses linked to identity fears and anxieties. With this in mind, I will analyse in some detail a set of explicit university language policies in Estonia and Catalonia. The analysis indicates that even though each setting has its own sociohistorical dynamics, discourses around the different languages in contact are not dramatically different; on the contrary, important similarities are shared in connection to the position of the national/local language and the role(s) played by other languages of wider communication (namely English and Spanish/Russian). In light of this, the paper discusses the often cited 'North-South' divide in the internationalisation of higher education, and concludes that instead, more attention needs to be placed on the political-economic dimension of language policy in higher education.

Czech as a foreign language: The impact of socioeconomic conditions,
language ideologies and globalization

Tamah Sherman
(University of Prague)

The Czech language situation has been characterized as having a relatively limited discourse of endangerment or threat concerning most spheres of life. Given current processes of globalization, however, there are several contexts where the position of Czech is the object of management: the multinational workplace, the multilingual family, and higher education. In this talk, I will demonstrate that all three contexts reveal similar tendencies: while Czech remains strong in position, it retains its predominantly local, national component, with the commonly reproduced ideology of *Czech is a small language spoken only by the Czechs*. A part of this is the image of Czech as foreign language which yields a low return on investment for many groups of foreigners (employees, students, foreign spouses), and there is limited space for the understanding of Czech as a language for international communication. I will consider some general policy issues connected to these tendencies, above all the organization and implementation of policy concerning Czech as a foreign language. In doing so, and in comparing medium-sized linguistic communities, I will highlight the need to integrate the specific socioeconomic conditions of these communities into the analysis.

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GENERAL SESSION

Locative governed verbal arguments in Estonian: A corpus-based approach

Mari Aigro

(University of Tartu)

Keywords: oblique governed arguments, syntactic arguments, syntactic roles, Estonian, case functions

Schedule: We 12.30 Room 4

Making the distinction between syntactic arguments and adjuncts is a longstanding issue in syntax. Most analyses link syntactic roles to particular cases, causing oblique governed arguments to be categorized as adverbials. I present evidence that in Estonian certain oblique governed arguments bearing one of the six locative morphological cases are empirically virtually indistinguishable from verbal arguments in morphological cases regarded as syntactic. On one hand this raises questions about the validity of the assumption that all case systems can be divided into syntactic and semantic sections. On the other hand it raises questions on the categorical nature of argumenthood.

The structuralist function-based framework of case systems by Kurylowicz (1964) assigns each case a primary and secondary meaning. The system is broadly endorsed by modern approaches (Blake 2001, Butt 2006), emphasising the fundamental asymmetry between grammatical and oblique arguments. Modern approaches in Estonian generally follow the structuralist framework and oblique arguments are often classified as adverbials. Only three cases, nominative, partitive and genitive, are regarded as syntactic cases (Veismann et al. 2017, Rätsep 1978). The structuralist approach is rejected by Nichols (1983) and Bickel & Nichols (2008), proposing that languages vary in the way their case systems are linked to the encoding of syntactic roles and that in some languages all cases can mark both arguments and adjuncts.

Oblique governed case is a widespread phenomenon in Estonian and all six locative cases can be found in complement positions. This work will use the Estonian examples to demonstrate that morphological case may prove an ill-adviced test to determine the distinction between arguments and adjuncts, suggesting that Estonian cases are better described as multifunctional encoding devices, some merely marking the syntactic role of an argument while others encode argumenthood together with various other, systematic semantic features (Nichols 1983, 1984).

First, a list of all Estonian verbs governing locative case was created, based on the frequency with which each Estonian verb occurs in the same clause withthe six morphological locative cases. For instance, these verbs include vabanema ("to get rid of something"), lähenema ("to approach something") and kahtlema ("to doubt something"), governing non-canonical objects in the elative, allative and inessive case respectively, but also puuduma ("to lack") governing a non-canonical subject in the adessive case. Altogether the list includes 160 verbs which were determined to occur with the governed locative argument in more than 50 per cent of their instances in the 15 million word Estonian Balanced Corpus.

The study observed various factors showing correlation with the frequency of the verb occurring with its locative argument, such as the distance between the NP and the main verb, animacy, semantic roles, frequency of pronouns and negation, tense, etc. Then, the same factors were compared with those from a comparative study focussing on complements in the Estonian „syntactic" cases, genitive and partitive, and adjuncts bearing locative case. With no significant differences arising, it is concluded that in Estonian case cannot be regarded as a reliable indicator of the syntactic role.

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From social contact to social distance: Understanding implicit language attitudes in South Africa

Pedro Álvarez-Mosquera
(University of Salamanca; UNISA)

With an innovative approach that uses IAT (Implicit Association Test; Greenwald, McGhee, and Schwartz 1998) to explore language attitudes in South Africa, this presentation examines the role of social distant/contact in determining young L1 South African indigenous language speakers' attitudes towards two language varieties historically associated with the white group in post-Apartheid South Africa: Standard South African English and Afrikaans accented English. Our methodological approach combines the IAT results –reaction times towards language inputs of the two varieties when associated with positive and negative traits – with the sociolinguistic data gathered from each participant (n=79). More specifically, participants reported on their linguistic background, social origins (including time living in every location/s), language exposure, type of education and other social distance indicators in a post-IAT survey. Separate ANOVAS were performed using the IAT reaction times as a dependent variable and sociolinguistic variables as factors. Results revealed that a number of these sociolinguistic factors interfere with the overall negative perception of Afrikaans accented English. In particular, more positive attitudes towards Afrikaans accented English are correlated with three conditions that might lead to closer intergroup contact: 1) participants' language range, 2) the dominant languages spoken in their places of origin and 3) the type of school they have attended. Methodological and sociolinguistic implications will be discussed.

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Pattern borrowing from English:
Nominative-marked possessors in Modern Spoken Georgian

Nino Amiridze, Rusudan Asatiani & Zurab Baratashvili
(Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University)

Keywords: language contact, compounds vs. phrases

Schedule: We 15.30 Room 11

The goal of this contribution is to study a contact-induced syntactic phenomenon, a pattern (PAT) borrowing (Matras and Sakel 2007) from English into modern spoken Georgian, documented throughout social media.

In Georgian possessors are always marked by genitive (1a), while non-genitive possessors are not permitted (1b) (see also Shanidze (1973)). In contact with English, however, Georgian has started using previously non-existent nominative marking of possessors (2a), (2b).

Notably, many such sequences of nouns with nominative-marked dependent noun, have an English loan word as the head (2a), (2b). However, since English enjoys a high prestige among Georgian native speakers, the construction has been spreading in phrases of everyday use with native head nouns as well (3a), (3b).

As known, a sequence of two nouns are treated as compounds in English (Bauer 1998, and Bauer et al. 2013: 431–439). It is not clear whether the Georgian sequences of two nouns with the nominative dependent noun (2), (3) are compounds or phrases. In order to make a decision about their status, they have to be checked according to certain tests. There are well-established phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria for English, according to which phrases and compounds differ from each other (Haspelmath and Sims 2010: 195).

However, currently there are no tests elaborated for Georgian, which would help to decide about the status of the sequences of two nouns with a nominative dependent noun. The ones for English are not directly applicable here. The goal of this talk is to discuss such tests for Georgian, and to apply them to the collected data.

The contribution of the study of the Georgian double nominatives would be twofold: (1) It will illustrate a contact-induced development that has implications on the typology of pattern borrowing; (2) It will clarify the status of the copied double nominatives in Georgian, which is important for the typology of nominal phrases.

(1)   a.   lilo-s   bazroba
                Lilo-GEN   marketplace.NOM
                'Lilo marketplace'
        b.   *lilo   bazroba
                Lilo.NOM   marketplace.NOM
                'Lilo marketplace'

(2)   a.   lilo   mol-i
                      Lilo.NOM   (Eng.)mall-NOM
                      'Lilo Mall'
     b.   tbilis-i   cent'ral-i
                      Tbilisi-NOM   (Eng.)central-NOM
                      'Tbilisi Central Station'

(3)   Names of the cards used by two Georgian pharmaceutical companies
     a.   mt'red-i   barat-i
                      pigeon-NOM   card-NOM
                      'Pigeon card'
     b.   zɣarb-i   barat-i
                      hedgehog-NOM   card-NOM
                      'Hedgehog card'

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ℬ

Nothing to declare: Abstract consonant representations in phonology

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Keywords: linguistic typology, history of phonology

Schedule: We 11.00 Room 10

It is not infrequent for contemporary phonologists to posit 'abstract' consonants, not realised as unambiguous speech segments. Precedents for this first emerged among structuralists (Sapir 1933; Chao 1934), although not until the advent of generativist approaches in the 1960s (Chomsky and Halle 1968) did abstract consonant analysis really came into its own. The question of how abstract phonology should be fast became a key debate within generativism, continuing throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s (Postal 1968; Kiparsky 1968; Hyman 1970, 1973; Harms 1973; Hooper 1976;

Marlett 1981; Clements and Keyser 1983), and it continues to be relevant today. This paper undertakes a preliminary survey of how abstract consonants have been employed in the phonological literature, to offer a tentative ontology of abstract consonant representations.

Abstract consonants are often invoked to maintain structural parallelism between stems beginning with a surface consonant and those beginning with a surface vowel, for example in languages that can be analysed as employing root templates (e.g. Mubi in Prickett 2012). Appeal has also been made to further structural phenomena, such as metrical patterns (Russom 2017 for Old English) or stress assignment (Bisol 1992), to justify abstract consonant representations.

Abstract consonants tend to be invoked especially often to account for differences in phonological behaviour at word boundaries. The *cause célèbre* in generativism is the left-edge phenomenon of *h-aspiré* in Modern French (Gaatone 1978; Boersma 2007), but phonologists have used abstract consonants also to analyse quite different data at the right edge of the word (e.g. Drude 2014 for the Tupian language Awetí). Particularly frequent is a tendency to posit abstract consonants in geminates, especially where gemination is morphologically conditioned (e.g. Janhunen 2015 for Finnish; the final features of Numic languages; the Q-element in Japanese). Ségéral and Scheer (2001) argue for 'virtual' geminates that are long in underlying representations but surface as short, single phones in languages as diverse as Somali and Cologne German.

In some cases, scholars have argued for abstract consonants that have no substantial segmental content at all, and are reduced to being specified for secondary localisation, and thus playing a role in 'filling in' the quality of surrounding vowels. This is particularly common in vertical vowel systems, where secondary localisation in surrounding consonants often plays an important role in conditioning vowel allophony — as in Kabardian (Kuipers 1960), Marshallese (Bender 1968) and Old Irish (Anderson 2016).

In one sense, the degree to which any individual linguist is prepared to accept abstract representations depends on subjective impressions as to what is deemed elegant and parsimonious in linguistic description. Nonetheless, the debate on abstraction also raises wider issues for phonology, such as its relationships with morphology on the one hand, and phonetics on the other, issues that continue to be salient today.

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⌀

Non-canonical inverse in Circassian languages

Peter Arkadiev

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Keywords: typology, morphosyntax, direct-inverse systems, typological rara

Schedule: Fri 9.30 Room 7

Inverse is a grammatical category establishing the mapping between referential (person) and role (agent/subject and patient/object) properties of the arguments of transitive verbs where the personal indexes themselves are underspecified for role (Zúñiga 2006, Jacques, Antonov 2014). In this paper I discuss a highly non-canonical instance of such a category in the ergative polysynthetic Circassian languages Adyghe and Kabardian of the Northwest Caucasian family. The data comes from fieldwork and published sources.

Circassian languages possess a polyfunctional cislocative prefix *qV-* whose basic function is 'motion towards the deictic origo': *če* 'run!' vs. ***qa**-če* 'run here!'. This prefix is also used in polyvalent verbs in inverse person-role configurations, i.e. when the object outranks the subject on the hierarchy 1 > 2 > 3proximate > 3obviative, cf. (1-2) and the general pattern in the table.

Besleney Kabardian

1. a. **q̇ə-d-jə-t-a**   vs.   *ja-s-t-a*
        (3.ABS)**CISL**-1PL.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PST   (3.ABS)3PL.IO-1SG.ERG-give-PST
        's/he gave it to us'   'I gave it to them.'

Temirgoy Adyghe

2. a. *a-r   č'ele-gʷere-m   qə-r-jə-tə-ʁ.*
        DEM-ABS guy-some-OBL   (3.ABS)**CISL**-3SG.IO-3SG.ERG-give-PST
        [How did she get this book?] 'Some guy gave it to her.'

3. b. *a-r   č'ele-gʷere-m   r-jə-tə-ʁ.*
        DEM-ABS guy-some-OBL   (3.ABS)3SG.IO-3SG.ERG-give-PST
        [What did she do with the book?] 'She gave it to some guy.'

object subject	1	2	3prox	3obv
1		±C SL	− CSL	− CSL
2	+C SL		− CSL	− CSL
3prox	+C SL	+C SL		− CSL
3obv	+C SL	+C SL	+CSL	

        Despite the obvious resemblance of the distribution of the Circassian cislocative to the canonical inverse, it differs from the canon in the following important respects. First, apart from the contexts with only 3ʳᵈ person participants, the cislocative is always redundant, since the argument roles are consistently encoded by the position and form of personal prefixes (Smeets 1992). Therefore, the cislocative does not by itself establish the person-role mapping. Second, the cislocative is sensitive to the relations between the indirect object (a salient grammatical relation in Circassian) and the subject regardless of transitivity, cf. a bivalent intransitive verb in (3). By contrast, with canonical transitive verbs the cislocative is normally not used (4). This property of the cislocative is especially peculiar given the otherwise fairly consistent ergative morphosyntax of Circassian (Kumakhov & Vamling 2009).

Temirgoy Adyghe

4. **qə-te-že-š'tə-ʁe**   vs.   *t-ja-že*
        (3.ABS)**CISL**-1PL.IO-wait-IPF-PST   1PL.ABS-3PL.IO-wait
        'S/he was waiting for us.'   'We are waiting for them.'

Besleney Kabardian

5. *w-jə-š'-a*   *sə-p-λeʁʷ-a*
        2SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-lead-PST   1SG.ABS-2SG.ERG-see-PST
        'S/he led you.'   'You saw me.'

        I hypothesize that the typologically outstanding properties of the Circassian "quasi-inverse" can be explained diachronically. The extension of the cislocative prefix with its basic meaning 'hither'

to inverse person-role configurations should occur most naturally in the context of verbs of transfer with first or second person recipients as well as with verbs denoting activities directed at a non-affected object, such as contact, speech or perception, which are encoded as bivalent intransitives in Circassian, hence the sensitivity to the role of indirect object. This is possibly corroborated by similar patterning of deictic prefixes with transfer verbs in areally close Ossetic (Thordarson 2009: 68) and Georgian (Vogt 1971: 173).

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✄

Depressor effects of noun class prefix 10 in isiNdebele

Lotta Aunio and Stephan Schulz

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✄

Toward an integrated account of social identity:
Evidence from linguistic interaction in Imitation Game

Daria Bahtina & A.M. Backus
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Keywords: linguistic adaptation, common ground

Common ground (CG) refers to shared knowledge that advances both interactional efficacy and social affiliation (Enfield 2013). The existence of CG is often taken for granted, yet when insufficient or

absent, it poses risks not only to mutual understanding, but to overall acceptance of 'the other' (Kapuscinski 2005): limited common ground may hinder social cohesion and trigger intergroup tensions. The threat of a social divide is even bigger in modern societies: in addition to classical majority/minority tension there is a shift towards polarization as a result of changing media landscapes. Estonia presents a good case study, with over a quarter of Russian-speaking population. Estonian restoration of independence in 1991 upon decades of Soviet occupation led to Russian losing its dominant status of 'majoritized minority' (Ozolins 2003), which nowadays is reflected in merged identities and new opportunities to build social cohesion. In this paper, we propose a multidisciplinary research method to address the processes of social group construction in this multicultural reality.

More specifically, the focus of this paper is on membership categorisation, studied at the intersection of communication, social identity and linguistics. In the Imitation Game experiments – adapted from Turing's Test (1950) – a 'judge' (here, an ethnic Estonian) through a series of questions seeks to detect a 'pretender' (a Russian-speaking Estonian) and an actual 'representative' of their social group. The data is complemented with focus-group interviews to compare perceived and enacted aspects of social identity.

In an effort to define features of social identity — especially in terms of core elements of knowledge, experiences, and interactional competence required to claim membership — we integrate concepts and theories from several disciplines, such as interactional expertise (Collins et al. 2006), categories of social difference (Brubaker 2002), affiliation and affective stance (Stivers, 2008), joint action (Clark 1996), psycholinguistic alignment (Pickering & Garrod 2004), and usage-based approaches to linguistic adaptations (Backus 2015). Emerging results point to the importance of knowledge that goes above and beyond encyclopedic knowledge of a particular culture. In this experiment on ethnic identity management, participants rely on tacit and experiential knowledge and interactional expertise, as well as a creative set of other expressive means for displaying, assessing or patrolling of belonging to a particular social group. The new insights can be channeled into enhancing the neighborhood relations through social and pedagogical programs promoting diversity and agency of minorities, as well as for other outreach activities aimed at improving the fabric of society.

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✍

Exploring the inter-personal context: Methods and tools

Henrik Bergqvist
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Keywords: engagement, social cognition, elicitation tasks, methodology

Schedule: Sa 12.00 Room 5

The presentation evaluates some existing methods for eliciting aspects of the inter-personal context, more specifically forms of 'engagement' (Evans et al. 2017a, b), and makes suggestions for the further development of such methods. Engagement is defined as "a grammatical system for encoding the relative accessibility of an entity or state of affairs to the speaker and addressee" (Evans et al. 2017a: 9). As such, engagement targets (a)symmetries in the speaker-hearer dyad with respect to how reference is made to objects and events. Elicitation strategies for eliciting engagement forms aim to pinpoint differences and overlaps between knowledge/attention/belief/authority that may be attributed to the speech-act participants. As such, these strategies put the configuration and the roles of the speech participants at center stage, possibly including the conductor of the elicitation task, bringing meta-level communication into the setting of the elicitation.

The study of the inter-personal context relevant to verbal interaction is not limited to discourse analysis, but it is also possible to explore as part of conventional grammatical description and typological comparison. As demonstrated by Evans et al. (2017a) for engagement, inter-personal aspects of the context become part of grammar in a way that permits comparison to other, related and well-explored categories, such as evidentiality and epistemic modality. The relevance of pragmatic factors in accounting for such linguistic categories has received increased attention in recent years, as reflected in work dealing with strategies for eliciting evidentials and epistemic modals.

Elicitation tasks that are discussed in the presentation include director-matching tasks such as the HCRC Map-Task (groups.inf.ed.ac.uk/maptask) and the board game "Mastermind" (Silva & AnderBois 2016). In the Map-Task, two (visually isolated) speakers each have a map before them with the task of guiding the other along a path. The maps are not identical, requiring verbal strategies for solving the existing differences of perspective. The use of the board game "Mastermind", reported in Silva & AnderBois (2016), constitutes a similar kind of task and has yielded interesting and new results with respect to the use and meaning of evidentials in an interactive setting. A task-oriented elicitation tool that produces both narrative and dialogue is the "Family Problems Picture Task" detailed in San Roque et al. (2012). It consists of a picture-based elicitation task, which allows speakers to choose their own formulations for the same situations, limiting the meta-language bias, and elicits naturalistic interactions between speakers and the audience while prompting different language genres in producing descriptions, conversations, and (collaborative) narrative discourse.

The above mentioned tasks must be evaluated against an operational definition of the inter-personal context, which ultimately should be informed by the results of such tasks. The dynamics of interaction allow for different positioning with respect to objects of discourse, but also with respect to the speech participants and their previous and present engagements. The presentation argues for a socio-cognitively grounded analysis of forms that are produced by such interaction to include the notion of epistemic authority and rights to knowledge alongside perceptual and attentional parameters of access.

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✍

Adding valencies: the transitivisation of intransitives in Spanish

Víctor Lara Bermejo
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Keywords: lability, causativisation

Schedule: Thu 14.00 Room 1

Causative constructions in Spanish can be three: analytical, in which the verb hacer ('to make') plus an infinitive or a subordinate expresses cause; another in which a verb develops reflexivity and prompts an experiencer dative in order to express lack of volition on the part of the experiencer; and a semantic one by opposing two different lexemes, one of which is causative and transitive and the other one, intransitive and usually denotes effect (Real Academia Española 2009). However, there are three lexical pairs that disappear and favour the employment of the intransitive verb to express both cause and effect. Specifically, the dichotomy between *tirar – caer* ('to throw' – 'to fall'), *dejar – quedar* ('to leave – 'to stay) and *meter – entrar* ('to put in – 'to enter) may disappear and yield the use of their corresponding intransitive for both the inchoative and causative reading (Montero 2006, Zamora Vicente 1970, and Ariza 2008). This phenomenon is called lability (Kulikov 2003, and Letuchiy 2009) and emerges in low transitivity contexts in which the subject lacks agency, animacy or volition (Letuchiy 2004, 2015, and Kulikov & Lavidas 2014).

In this presentation, I would like to discuss the results of specific fieldwork I have carried out throughout western Spain to collect spontaneous data from 200 informants. This consisted of the description of an array of scenes in which someone or something took part in a certain activity that implied the use of the verbs under study. The scenes foresaw different types of subjects and objects with the aim of pinpointing possible divergences based on the semantics of the given construction. On the one hand, the results show that the geographical distribution of lability has decreased dramatically. On the one hand, the three verbs under study are not affected alike. The first verb to add a new valency and become transitive is *entrar* ('to enter'), followed by *quedar* ('to stay') and, lastly, *caer* ('to fall').

The theoretical analysis is based on the research by Bilous (2011, 2012) regarding transitivisation; Letuchiy (2004, 2015) and Kulikov and Lavidas (2014) regarding lability; and Levin

(1999) regarding objecthood. According to Bilous, any verb is likely to be transitive and the likelihood for a verb to become transitive depends on the emergence of a causer or an external agent. It is exactly what happens in Spanish, whose lability starts arising when the subject is made explicit, but lacks agency, animacy and volition. Likewise, the less affected the object is the likelier for these verbs to turn themselves into transitive, since it is a prototypical low transitive context. As *entrar* ('to enter') possesses an object that does not undergo any change of state and it simply refers to a motion, it is the most diffused labile verb. The verb *quedar* ('to stay') can both express a change of state and none and, consequently, it is the second most diffused labile verb. Finally, the verb *caer* ('to fall') implies a change of state of its object and, thus, it is the verb the least likely to emerge as labile.

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☒

Mobility as a chance for a minority language: The case of German-speaking Lorraine (France)

Rahel Beyer

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<u>Schedule: We 16.30 Room 12</u>

Due to its "strategically vital position" (Dunlop 2013), the eastern part of the Lorraine region was considered a territorial object worth fighting for by Germany and France. As a consequence, this territory was subject to four changes between German and French sovereignty in the past 150 years. Since the battle of Lorraine in 1944/45, it has been part of France, marking the border with Germany.

With regard to the linguistic-dialectal situation, this means that the autochthonous dialects, including Luxembourg-Franconian, Moselle-Franconian and Rhenish-Franconian, although being germanophone, went back to being part of the French diasystem with French as their *dachsprache*. Earlier measures of frenchification of the population showed little effect. The events of the Second World War, however, triggered a collective trauma, which massively impeded an independent identity on the basis of its germanophone linguistic roots. Subsequently, the promotion of French was acquiesced with little resistance and in many families the intergenerational transfer of the local dialect was given up (Dorner 2012).

However and against all assumptions, taking a closer look and searching accurately, there are still quite a few speakers of germanophone varieties – even in younger generations. Their linguistic repertoire and competences have fundamentally changed though. Whereas in earlier periods, Standard German was an obvious part of the communicative framework and the written variety of all local dialects as a matter of course (Gabriel 2005), today its status in the community is unclear. The language of prestige, education and public life is French now exclusively, with German being a less and less popular foreign language. At the same time, German is the standard language of the nearby neighbour and genetically close to the dialect.

This paper presents a project that breaks new ground by documenting and analysing the spectrum of spoken language between the two poles of Standard German and the dialect in German-speaking Lorraine. Currently, language recordings are being made by means of standardised procedures: Besides translation exercises (into the local dialect) and reading tests (in Standard German), free speech is recorded in interviews on language biographies (in Standard German) and in conversation amongst friends (in dialect/French). Still being in the phase of data collection, so far 35 informants have been recorded (over 49 hours). Focusing on Standard German speech, one can observe that the surveyed speakers show characteristic differences concerning the respective substrate (local germanophone dialect or French) and the degree of interferences. Central research questions are thus: What sociobiographical background variables influence the development of the competences in (near) Standard German, and how? To what extent do extra-linguistic circumstances correlate with the character of the realised speech? First results point to the linguistic competence of a speaker's partner along with the perception of the national border as a personal mobility limit as influencing factors, meaning that to have a radius of action beyond the border is crucial for having stable competences in (near) Standard German.

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⚓

Generation-related differences in implicit causality biases of German verbs

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(Leibniz-Centre for General Linguistics Berlin)

Keywords: causal relations, IC-biases, generation effects

Schedule: Fri 12.00 Room 4

Used for expressing interpersonal events, some verbs raise the expectation that the subject referent is the causer of the event (1) while other verbs raise the expectation that the event is caused by the object referent (2).

(1)   *Mary **frightens** Susan, because she knows everything.*
(2)   *Mary   **fears**   Susan, because she knows everything.*

The paper presents results on the application of IC-biases by two generations: a student group, n=80, mean age 27, and a group of people of age 70 and beyond, n=180, mean age 75. Application of IC-biases was tested by the typical paper-and-pencil sentence completion task for determining IC-biases. (3) gives an example of the stimuli used in the sentence completion task:

(3)   *Maxim frightens Liesa, because ... .*

The analyses focus the choice of the subject referent in the *because*-clause. That is whether it is the subject/object referent of the preceding effect-clause.

By testing two generations of adults we ask a) whether there are generation related differences in the application of IC-biases at all, and, if so, b) whether the differences are raised by effects of single verbs or effects of verb classes. Differences raised by single verbs would support hypotheses assuming that IC-biases are rooted in world knowledge and linguistic experience (Pickering/ Majid 2007) while differences raised by verb class would support hypotheses assuming the source of IC-biases in semantic and/or syntactic properties of the verbs (Hartshorne 2014, Hartshorne and Snedeker 2013; Bott and Solstadt 2014).

Analyses of the data are running at present. Intermediate analyses reveal differences in the IC-biases of the two generations, specifically in the occurrence of subject "causers".

The results will be discussed in two respects: First, concerning evidence for the source(s) of IC-biases. Second, it will be asked whether the differences between the two generations are an effect of age or indicate language change and – in either case – in which way and respect it affects the language system (of the speakers).

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☊

Insight from Likert scales into the pseudo behaviour of true denominals and the true behaviour of pseudo denominals

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Keywords: nominal roots, grammaticality judgment task, mixed-effects model, lexical semantics

Schedule: We 17.00 Room 4

Using an acceptability judgment task testing the distinction between true and pseudo instrument/ location/ locatum denominals, we demonstrate significant effects of the semantic similarity of the PPs to the denominals' incorporated object. Instead of arguing that only some denominals (the pseudo ones) are root-derived (Kiparsky 1997), we argue that such denominals are all derived from nominal roots denoting *n*-like things.

According to Kiparsky (1982, 1997), Arad (2003, 2005), two denominal types can be distinguished depending on whether they can take a PP denoting a different object from the incorporated one: true (♯ "to tape the poster to the wall with pushpins") and pseudo ("to hammer the desk with a shoe"). However, Harley & Haugen (2007) argue the distinction does not exist, as *tape*-type verbs can actually take such PPs ("to tape the poster to the wall with band-aids").

Starting from the observation that some of Kiparsky's unacceptable sentences relied on PPs not similar to the object *n*, we ran an acceptability judgment task in order to test whether the similarity of the PP to the incorporated object affects acceptability for native English speakers. 100 participants rated the acceptability of 56 sentences (28 test sentences, i.e. 12 instrument, 8 location and 8 locatum verbs, 28 fillers) on a Likert scale from 1 to 5. There were four types of test sentences based on the examples in Kiparsky (1997): sentences with true denominals considered unacceptable by Kiparsky, sentences with pseudo-nominals considered acceptable by Kiparsky, modified sentences with true denominals and modified sentences with pseudo-denominals. Instead of the PP used by the author, we switched the PP to be semantically more similar to n (for "true" denominals) (1a) or less similar (for "pseudo" denominals) (1b):

(1) a. She starred the sentence ♯with a question mark / with a weird dot.
    b. Lisa buttered a piece of toast with margarine / ♯ with honey.

The test sentences vary in having similar or non-similar PPs and pseudo or true denominals. We tested the effect of these two factors on acceptability using a mixed-effects model, controlling for participant and verb as random effects. Denominal verbs with PP objects similar to their incorporated object are rated significantly higher than those with non-similar PP objects. While an effect of the true/pseudo classification also appears, this effect is smaller than the verb random effect, indicating that the

difference in ratings is more likely due to similarity of the PP object to the incorporated object rather than due to any discrete distinction between denominal types.

While Harley & Haugen (2007) account for all instrumentals ("true" and "pseudo") by arguing the manner root is directly conflated onto the verb, it is quite unclear why direct conflation is used for instrumentals but l-syntax decomposition and successive conflation for location and locatum verbs (Hale & Keyser 2002). Instead, we opt for a uniform l-syntax analysis (involving root conflation into P, then V) for location, locatum and instrument denominals, arguing they all derive from a nominal (not acategorial) root (contra Borer 2014) which denotes *n*-like objects: $[_{VP} [_{V'} V [_{PP} [_{P'} P [Root]_n]]]]$. The alleged difference between "true" and "pseudo" is given by the smaller or larger number of *n*-like objects denoted by the nominal root.

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✍

The Great Complement Shift: Verbal complementation in the 19th century analysed on the basis of selected members of the British Parliament

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Schedule: Sa 9.30 Room 8

A widely recognised phenomenon in the English language is the opposition between *ing*-gerund and the *to*-infinitive as complements of specific verbs, the *Great Complement Shift*. This evolved in the late 17th century resulting in a rearrangement of the entire system of verbal complementation. Former studies have shown this Shift on written texts but my main interest was to look into written rendered speech and to analyse the Shift with a large dataset. For this purpose I looked into the *Hansard Corpus* which comprises the official reports of debates in the British Parliament. My focus was on the time period between 1800-1900. In total I used 982 speeches with a total amount of 20.5 million words. The 19th century is a particularly interesting time period as the Complement Shift was supposed to

have been consolidated already so the main question here was: to what extent was the *ing*-gerund already a fully-fledged complement interchangeably usable with the *to*-infinitive? That is, was it possible to use either complement with any verb at any time? It does not hold in Present-Day English that one can use any complement with any verb but the Shift changed verbal complementation for some verbs. It is widely claimed in the literature that these are interchangeably usable.

Specifically, I tested whether the Shift bore any major changes in the 19th century and whether the semantic class of a verb had any effect on the choice of verbal complementation. I picked six verbs to be analysed and they either belonged to the class of retrospective verbs (*remember, regret, forget)* or to negative implicative verbs of avoidance and forbearance (*avoid, forbear and escape).*

The problem of behaviour by semantic class has not been addressed by the earlier studies on the topic, Fanego (1996), Vosberg (2003), Vosberg (2006).

I tested the distribution for both periods for both complements with the assumption that there is a different distribution whereas the other assumption would be that the complement distribution is the same in both periods.. The results show a significant result with the chi-square statistic = 8.7491 and the p-value at .003098 with a significance level of $p < .01$ meaning that there is in fact a different distribution.

Looking further into the bare counts of complement-incidents it is surprising that the *ing*-gerund (827, absolute number) occurs more often in the whole century than the *to*-infinitive (336, absolute number). The reason for that is due to the semantic class of the verb: as negative implicative verbs of avoidance and forbearance underwent the Shift much earlier than retrospective verbs, this verb class (especially with *avoid)* uses the *ing*-gerund much more often than the other group.

The results show that the choice of verbal complementation heavily depends on the semantic class the verb belongs to. Furthermore, it is also evident that there still was a change in progress still continuing later in time than people expected.

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ℬ

An avalanche of stories: Weather predicates in the metaphorical use

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Keywords: weather nouns, metaphors, collocations

Schedule: Thu 16.00 Room 12

As has been noted by Ruwet (1986) among many others, weather events are impossible to decompose into agent, action and patient or into "what happens to what". These events, however, are rather heterogeneous as they can be dynamic or non-dynamic and involve one or several substances or no substance at all. In order to encode atmospheric phenomena, some European languages, like French and English, systematically use impersonal weather verbs, while some languages, like Russian, use predominantly the nominal domain. The majority of weather verbs, when available, display systematic incorporation of MANNER, thus suspending possible typological language differences in Talmy's (2000) terms (*cf.* Meulleman & Paykin 2016), while weather nouns reflect various facets of atmospheric phenomena, possibly behaving like event, state or massive concrete nouns (*cf.* Paykin 2003).

The aim of our presentation is to examine the metaphorical use of the weather predicates, concentrating on the nominal domain. Our study will be based on the data from three European languages, English, French and Russian. We will argue that the impersonal construction with a weather verb in the metaphorical use cross-linguistically encodes the FIGURE in the NP expansion and the MANNER in the verb root, as in (1). The metaphorical use affects mostly precipitation verbs, where the main recruited elements of meaning are the absence of a clearly defined origin of a phenomenon, its dynamic character and intensity.

(1)   a. EN   *It was raining bad news for the congress. / It is snowing feathers.*
      b. FR   *Il pleut des mauvaises nouvelles. / Il grêle des balles de ping-pong. / Il neige des cendres.*
      e. RU   *Doždilo bombami.*
              rained bombs
              'It was raining bombs'

Unlike weather verbs in their metaphorical use, weather nouns seem to have a much broader range of meaning, drawing upon various semantic semes, not necessarily linked to dynamicity or intensity. The analysis of weather noun collocations ('a(n) weather-N of N' construction) and the verbal predicates used with them, obtained from a detailed corpora study (*Frantext* for French, *COCA* for English and *RNC* for Russian), shows that the metaphorical use of a weather noun allows to distinguish more clearly among different types of weather nouns, considering that the semes recruited vary, depending on the complexity of the phenomenon in question. Thus, in their metaphorical use, state nouns like 'heat' draw upon the meaning of intensity of sensation, while substance nouns like 'dew' draw upon the meaning of shape. As for complex phenomena like 'rain', the chosen meaning is that of abundance, intensity and possibly vertical impact.

(2)   a. EN   *a heat of passion / a dew of worry / a rain of blows* (COCA)
      b. FR   *une chaleur d'orgueil / une rosée de sueur / une pluie d'étoiles* (Frantext)
      c. RU   *žar vdoxnovenija / rosa ispariny /dožd' kamnej* (RNC)
              heat inspiration$_{GEN}$ / dew perspiration$_{GEN}$ / rain stones$_{GEN}$

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Alternating psychological verbs in Polish

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Keywords: Object/Subject Experiencer verbs, psych causative alternation, labile verbs

Schedule: Thu 9.00 Room 4

Verb alternations of psych verbs are important in accounting for their event structure and puzzling behavioural properties. The most widely studied alternation relevant for psych predicates is the causative/anticausative alternation (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, Reinhart 2002, among others). Although absent in English (Alexiadou 2016), the so-called psych causative alternation is attested in a number of languages, including French, Italian, Russian (Levin 1993), Greek, Romanian (Alexiadou and Iordăchioaia 2014), and Polish (Biały 2005, Rozwadowska 2007), where Object Experiencer (OE) verbs regularly alternate with their Subject Experiencer (SE) cognates.

      The main objective of the paper is to examine OE-SE alternations in Polish, with the focus on the differences in alternations between stative and eventive OE verbs, to determine the conditions under which Polish OE verbs take part in the psych causative alternation, and to provide syntactic structures for different types of OE-SE alternations.

      Polish eventive OE verbs have SE alternates which show the reflexive marking, typical of anticausatives, and which can co-occur with Cause-PPs, like *od* 'from' (and Cause *przez*-PPs), regularly found in anticausatives. Compare (1) and (2) below:

(1)   a.   Uderzenie   pioruna złamało gałąź.   causative
              strike-nom   lightening   broke   branch-acc
              'The lightening strike broke the branch.'
       b.   Gałąź   złamała się (od   uderzenia   pioruna).
              branch-nom   broke   refl   from   strike   lightening
              'The branch broke from the lightening strike.'   anticausative
(2)   a.   Głupie gadanie zdenerwowało   Marka.   OE
              idle   talk-nom   annoyed   Mark-acc
              'Idle talk annoyed Mark.'
       b.   Marek   zdenerwował się   (od   głupiego   gadania).   SE
              Mark-nom   got-annoyed   refl   from   idle   talk
              'Mark got annoyed with idle talk.'

The resemblance between the OE-SE alternation, as in (2), and the (anti)causative alternation, as in (1), indicates that the former can be subsumed under the latter. Consequently, the eventive SE variants, as in (2b), are associated with the unaccusative structure, where the Experiencer is VP-internal, Cause-PPs are treated as vP adjuncts (as in Alexiadou *et al*. 2015), and the reflexive marker is placed in Spec, Voice$_{expletive}$P, as in Schäfer (2008). Eventive OE verbs also exhibit an alternation in which the SE variant takes a T/SM argument (Pesetsky 1995), realised as either an instrumental DP or a PP selected by the verb. These SE verbs are taken to be dyadic structures (similar to non-reflexive

SE verbs like *love*), with the Experiencer in the external argument position and the T/SM inside the VP. In this case, the reflexive acts as a detransitiviser, forming a lexical unit with the verb. Stative OE verbs participate only in one alternation in which there is a T/SM, realized as an instrumental DP, but there is no Cause. The SE cognates of stative OE verbs are associated with the dyadic structure, described above.

The main conclusions reached are as follows: (i) only eventive OE verbs take part in the psych causative alternation in Polish (cf. Alexiadou and Iordăchioaia 2014), (ii) there is no Cause argument with stative OE and SE verbs (contra Pylkkänen 2000), which we take as evidence for the lack of the causative subevent, and (iii) Polish reflexive SE alternates of eventive OE verbs resemble labile verbs (Francis *et al.* 1996), and hence can be found in intransitive (unaccusative) and transitive (dyadic) structures alike.

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ℬ

Resumption after left-peripheral conditional clauses
in Middle Low German

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Keywords: conditional clauses, resumption, V2, V3

Schedule: We 15.30 Room 9

In Middle Low German (MLG), V2 word order is well established (Rösler 1997, Petrova 2012, Mähl 2014), though certain V3-orders are possible, both after non-clausal and clausal constituents (Battefeld 2009, Donhauser/Petrova 2009, Tophinke 2009, Petrova 2012, Wallmeier 2015, Dreessen/Ihden 2015). For V3-orders after (temporal) left-peripheral adverbial clauses (LPAC), it has been argued that they almost always feature the subject between the LPAC and the finite verb of the matrix clause, and that this word order is chronologically older than structures involving a resumptive element like *so* 'so' or *do* 'then' in both MLG and Middle High German (MHG) (Battefeld 2009, Donhauser/Petrova 2009). Left-peripheral conditional constructions in MLG, however, seem to contradict this finding. The present paper therefore challenges both the claim that it is almost always the subject found in the initial position of the matrix clause, as well as the assumed chronology, based on the study of a corpus of ten legal, religious and literary MLG texts.

Unlike in MHG and Early New High German (ENHG; e.g. Axel 2002, Thim-Mabrey 1987), *so* is not the most frequent element in the initial position of the V2 matrix clause following a conditional protasis. Rather, superficial V3 order with a phrasal (non-correlative) element is the most frequent type of word order in MLG. In most cases (ca. 74%) in the corpus investigated, the initial element of the V2 matrix clause is a topical element, like a d-pronoun, personal pronoun, or a full NP referring to a salient entity in the discourse, though importantly not mostly subjects, so not all of these clauses can be subsumed under "non-inverted V3" (Haegeman & Greco 2018). (In)direct objects are (almost) exclusively d-pronouns (1), as in German Left Dislocation, while subjects can also be regular personal pronouns (2), as in Hanging Topic constructions. What the topical 'resumptive' elements in all clauses in the corpus have in common is that their referent is a constituent of the preceding conditional clause (1), or a subconstituent of one (2).

(1) [Heuet auer he len untfanghen er he wrde aldus] **dat** ne verluset he nicht der mede
       'But if he has received a fiefdom before he became thus, he does not lose that because of it.'
       (Oldenburg, *Sachsenspiegel*, 1336)
(2) [Wirt dan en man uan sinen wiue mit rechte scheden] **se** behalt doch ere liftucht de he er geuen heuet [...]
       'If a man is legally divorced from his wife, she shall still keep her annuity that he has given to her.' (Oldenburg, *Sachsenspiegel*, 1336)

I argue that the use of familiar topics picking up on referents introduced by the LPAC instead of resumptive adverbials like *so* indicates that left-peripheral conditional clauses are in an intermediate stage between non-integration and integration, with integration being achieved at the level of discourse structure. Rather than an earlier stage leading to full integration (V2 / inversion after LPAC) via a stage with *so*-resumption, I argue that the (pro)nominal resumption discussed in the present paper is the MLG counterpart of MHG and ENHG *so*-resumption.

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☙

Body parts in oblique-subject constructions: The case of Old Frisian

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Keywords: Frisian language, non canonical subjects, historical syntax

Schedule: Thu 14.30 Room 1

Oblique-subject constructions are characterized by the presence of a subject that is not "canonically" marked by the nominative; instead, the subject-like argument is in an oblique case, i.e. dative, accusative or genitive. This type of construction is widely attested across the Indo-European languages, especially in their older stages, while their productivity has decreased in most branches; there are only a few where this still exists as a productive phenomenon (e.g. Icelandic, cf. Barðdal 2001, 2006). With respect to Germanic, the older stages of the languages are obviously the ones where we find the most instances; languages with less material still offer a noteworthy number of oblique subject constructions.

Bremmer (1986) represents the first real attempt to study non-canonical subjects in Frisian. Several examples of oblique-subject constructions are found in Old Frisian, while modern West Frisian shows few to no instances of this phenomenon (Bremmer 1986: 82), in accordance with the claim stated above.

The aim of this paper is to draw attention to a specific non-canonical subject construction in Old Frisian, which always involves body parts; the analysis will focus on a sample of data drawn from different codices in Old Frisian, in particular legal texts, due to the abundance of body part terms present therein. Furthermore, cognates from other (Old) Germanic languages as the ones in the examples below will be presented, and it will be argued that their origin is to be traced back to at least a common Proto-Germanic heritage.

(1) OFris *thet* *him* *thet* **bloet** *eta* *munde*
   that.REL him.DAT the blood.NOM.SG out-the mouth.DAT.SG
   vp-hlapth
   up-leaps.3SG.IND.PRES
   '[…] That the blood pours out of his mouth' (Fokkema 1959: 31).

(2) MDu *vloyt* *hem* *tbloet* *ter* *nosen*
   flows.3SG.IND.PRES him.DAT the-blood.NOM.SG through-the nose.DAT.SG
   ende *ter* *oren* *uut*
   and through-the ears.DAT.PL out
   '[…] His blood flows out through his nose and his ears' (Burridge 1996: 700).

(3) OSw *mik* *gaar* **blod** *aff* *næse* *oc* *mwn*
   me.OBL goes.3SG.IND.PRES blood.NOM.SG off nose.OBL and mouth.OBL
   'I bleed from nose and mouth' (Hyltén-Cavallius 1850-1854: 84).

These and further instances are arguably not the result of a borrowing process; in fact, the construction goes back to a common origin, and this is shown by the presence of a dative subject-like argument and of lexical cognates, such as *bloet/blōd* < PGerm **blôda-* 'blood', as well as a verb of motion in the examples above, all conveying the same meaning. I will develop a construction grammar analysis to account for this oblique body-part construction, in which the oblique is the syntactic subject, while the body part is a component of a larger compositional predicate, often involving the copula 'be', but may also involve lexical verbs with "lighter" meaning. No attempt has yet been made to analyze oblique subjects in Frisian in this particular framework, nor has this phenomenon been reconstructed for Proto-Germanic earlier.

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✑

Directionals and (de)grammaticalization in the Dutch modals

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Keywords: modal auxiliaries, diachrony

Schedule: We 12.00 Room 8

Goal: Earlier research (Nuyts 2013) has shown that, starting in Early New Dutch, the central Dutch modals witness a considerable increase in uses without a main verb elsewhere in the clause. These new autonomous uses (typically intransitive, of the type *dat kan* 'that can') are grammatically different from the original main verbs from which the auxiliarization of the modals has started in the Middle Ages (usually transitive, with a nominal object). And they do not involve a return to 'objective' meanings (in Traugott & Dasher's 2002 sense), but express highly 'subjectified' ones (especially deontic modality and directivity). This is arguably a case of systematic degrammaticalization.

When exploring the causes and mechanisms of this process, one faces the well-known fact that in many Germanic languages, modals could or can occur without a main verb when combined with a directional (e.g. Visser 1963, Mortelmans et al. 2009): e.g. *he moste unto Itayle* (late Middle English, impossible in current English), or *er muss nach Italien* (current German). These occur alongside relics of the original main verbal uses of the modals in these languages. Yet, although they are probably also of Proto-Germanic origin (Visser 1963), their relationship with the original transitive uses is unclear.

The aim of this talk is to investigate the role of directionals in the context of the process of re-autonomization in the central modals in Present Day Dutch.

Method: The investigation is corpus-driven. It focuses on *kunnen* 'can', *mogen* 'may' and *moeten* 'must'. We use samples of these from four stages of New Dutch (from 1550 onwards, when the re-autonomization process sets in). We use 1000 instances per modal per stage, selected from the available materials according to criteria such as representativity (e.g. in terms of text genres and regional spreading) and comparability across the periods.

Analysis: The data show a complicated picture. The major ingredients are, roughly: (i) The frequency of directionals in the regular auxiliary uses remains constant throughout time in *kunnen* and *moeten* (roughly 5%), but decreases significantly in *mogen* (from 10% to 5%). (ii) The frequency of directionals in the autonomous uses remains more or less constant throughout time in all three modals. (iii) The frequency of directionals in the autonomous vs the auxiliary uses does not differ in any period for *kunnen*, but it is significantly higher (roughly 5 times) in the autonomous uses in *mogen* in current Dutch (the last stage), and it is significantly higher (roughly 10 times) in *moeten* in all periods. Even then, even in *moeten* more than 50% of the autonomous uses do not feature a directional, in *mogen* and *kunnen* this is true for the large majority. Also relevant is that the re-autonomization process is much stronger in *mogen* and *kunnen* than in *moeten*.

In the talk we will discuss the consequences, on the one hand for how to explain the re-

autonomization process in Dutch, and on the other hand for how to understand the status of these directional patterns in the history of the modals in general.

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☙

Why do we need loans? A comparative-contrastive study on Eurasian lexical borrowability

Gerd Carling and Sandra Cronhamn

<pdf>

Schedule: We 17.30 Room 11

☙

The face and backside of language:
The conceptualization of translation in Supyire

Robert Carlson

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Keywords: translation, frame semantics, metaphor, Cognitive Grammar

Schedule: Thu 11.30 Room 12

As part of a larger project comparing the conceptualization of translation in several African languages, this paper reports on the analysis of lexical and text data from Supyire (a Senufoic language spoken in southern Mali). How the semantic frame for translation is organized is in turn influenced by the conceptualization of its various component events, such as speaking, communicating, understanding, and misunderstanding. The semantic frames that are used to conceptualize translation and related domains encourage some inferences more than others, and hence motivate some practices while suppressing others. For example, the so-called Conduit Metaphor of communication (Reddy 1979; Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Grady 1998) affects how translation is typically taught in areas where this metaphor is widespread, and by people trained to think using it even where the learners may employ quite different models to understand what is happening in communication, such as in Africa.

A striking feature of Supyire thought about meaning in speech is its spatial orientation: ˋɲwɔhɔ 'meaning' also means 'bottom' or 'backside'. ˋNwɔhɔ, which in horizontally-oriented objects such as a human body denotes the backside and in vertically-oriented objects such as a pond or a pot denotes the bottom, is opposed to *yyaha*—'face, front' horizontally and 'top, surface' vertically. Considering the typical vantage point of the conceptualizer (Langacker 2008: 75ff) in human face-to-face communication, and in the primary scenes (Grady 1997; cf also Dancygier & Sweetser 2014: 25) of human interaction with objects like pots and baskets, in which it is typically the surface which is visible, it can readily be seen that one of the consequences of thinking of meanings as the bottom or backside means thinking about them as not being immediately obvious, but requiring some effort or inference to grasp.

Significantly, the Supyire word for 'translate', *kéénŋè,* has more to do with the surface than the depths. It seems to have started life meaning 'turn around':

> U ahá kàntugo-wá   mu á, mu lá   màha mpyi u   ú   núr' â yyaha-kèènŋè mɛ́.
>
> she COND back-throw you to your desire HAB   be   she SBJV return & face-turn NEG
>
> 'If she turns her back to you, you don't want her to turn to face you again.'

It then developed the meaning 'change into' or 'transform':

> pi màha   já   á sùpyàŋí ŋwɔh' á cù   maá   ú   kéénŋ' à pyi   yatɔɔgɔ
>
> they HAB   be.able & person   hide & catch and.then him/her change & make animal
>
> 'they [the witches] can secretly catch a person and turn them into an animal'

The meaning 'translate' apparently developed from this 'change' meaning: one language is turned into another language. There is little similarity with the 'carry [meaning] across' metaphor so prevalent in European languages. Significantly, only the face or the surface is changed. In Supyire, somewhat counterintuitively, the 'turn around' metaphor for translation has not yielded thinking of translation as revealing something that would otherwise be hidden, as it has in some languages (cf. Wabara 2017).

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℀

Lexical influence on microlevel: Data from Daghestan

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Linguistic Convergence Laboratory NRU HSE)

Schedule: We 15.00 Room 11

The aim of this paper is to study lexical borrowing at micro-level. We want to show that lexical impact of language contact varies across languages and dialects that are in contact with the same major language in an apparently similar social setting. To detect and quantify such differences we use a shortlist of 252 nouns, most of which are elements of the WOLD database list with a 'medium' borrowability index (between 30 and 45) (Haspelmath, Tadmor 2009). The paper describes two case studies from the Republic of Daghestan (North Caucasus, Russian Federation). As we will show, in both cases the processes of matter borrowing from the donor language constitute independent processes, resulting in similar quantitative influence but divergent loan vocabularies. We conclude that neighboring village communities may follow independent paths in loan adoption.

The first case study compares lexical borrowings from Avar (a major standard language of Daghestan) to Andic and Tsezic languages, which are spoken in the north and northwest of the highlands, an area dominated by Avar. Speakers of Andic and Tsezic traditionally used Avar as lingua franca (and to an extent still do) and learn it at school. Our data include word lists elicited from four speakers of Tsezic languages (one speaker of Bezhta and three Tsez speakers from Kidero) and 17 speakers of Andic (five Karata, one Tukita, four Akhvakh, four Bagvalal, two Andi and one Botlikh speaker).

By comparing the loans from Avar in our shortlist across these languages, we show that despite the fact that all of them were under a similarly strong lexical influence from Avar (as reflected in the number of loans), the borrowed vocabulary differs considerably from language to language. There is only one Avar loan common to all of them ('lion'). Even though Andic and Tsezic languages are spoken in neighbouring communities that have shared the same lingua franca for centuries, the processes of matter transfer from the donor (Avar) to the recipient (any of these minority languages) were independent.

The second case study is based on field data on loanwords in Rutul, an East Caucasian language of the Lezgic group spoken by 30,000 to 40,000 in Daghestan, Russian Federation, and the adjacent part of northern Azerbaijan. The area is a region of high linguistic density with seven languages spoken in close proximity and in active interaction with each other (Avar, Tsakhur, Rutul, Lezgian, Lak, Azerbaijani, and Russian as an L2). We focus on the lexical influence of Azerbaijani on Rutul. The data were collected from nine speakers in a field trip to three Rutul villages (Kiche, Ikhrek and Kina). The majority of the speakers are proficient in Russian, and many also speak Azerbaijani. Not all Rutul-speaking villages have immediate borders with Azerbaijani or Lezgian. As established in a sociolinguistic field study, traditional multilingualism in Azerbaijani was over 90 percent in Kina. It was only slightly lower in Ikhrek and about 80 percent in Kiche (Dobrushina et al. 2018).

In this case study, we go to the level of dialectal differences in loan processes. We show that there are differences in lexical contact between the villages. In terms of the number of loans, again, there is no strong difference between the three villages (56 in Ikhrek, 53 in Kiche, 53 in Kina). Unlike in the first case study, there is also a strong overlap of the borrowed lexicons. However, neighbornet analysis based on our data shows that speakers of different villages clearly cluster together in terms of

the borrowed lexicon they share. This indicates that, similarly to the observation that the processes of borrowing from Avar in the north are independent across different minority languages, processes of borrowing from Azerbaijani in the south are also at least partially independent across dialects in different village communities.

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⌀

Approximative *Cha*(*yi*)*dian*, *Chabuduo,* and *Jihu* in Mandarin Chinese

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Keywords: approximative adverb, almost, barely, polar component, implicature

Schedule: Thu 9.00 Room 3

This study examines polysemous approximative adverbs (AA) *cha*(*yi*)*dian* 'miss-one-point', *chabuduo* 'miss-not-much', *jihu* meaning '*almost, nearly'* in Mandarin Chinese. The canonical use of *cha*(*yi*)*dian* and *jihu /*in Modern Chinese (1b), on a par with English *almost* (1a), expresses a reversed polarity interpretation ¬*p* (1c): comprising two propositions represented by a "proximal component" and "polar component", following the terms from Sevi (1998) and Horn (2002).

(1)   a. Gore almost won the election.
      b. Gaoer cha.(yi).dian/jihu   xuan.shang   zongtong.
          Gore   CHA.YI.DIAN/JIHU   elect.up president
      c. Gore "came close to" winning [PROXIMAL component] and Gore did not win [POLAR component].

Although *chabuduo* is usually translated to English *almost,* it does not necessarily express a reversal of the polar component, as in (2). It is because that while *cha*(*yi*)*dian* asserts the polar component ¬*p* (Shen 1999; Yuan 2011; Kaufmann and Xu 2013; Shyu and Chuang 2015; among many others), *chabuduo* may entail *not reaching VP, exceeding VP,* or *just VP* (Zhang 2009; Wang 2011; Yuan 2011; Yang 2015, etc.).

(2)   Zhangsan   cha.bu.duo   xuan.shang-le zongtong.
        Zhangsan   CHA.BU.DUO elect.up president
        'Zhangsan is more or less elected president.'

In light of previous studies of AA's on *cha(yi)dian* and *chabuduo,* this paper first re-examines the conceptualization and perspectivization of the eventualities denoted by *cha(yi)dian, chabuduo*, and *jihu*. We will demonstrate the overlapping between *cha(yi)dian* and *jihu*, and the difference between *chabuduo* and *cha(yi)dian/ jihu* on account of the conceptualization of eventualities associated with these AA's (cf. Yang 2015). As shown in the process axis in Yang (2015) and Shyu & Chuang (2015), the relevant interval of the event denoted by *cha(yi)dian* ranges from a minimal degree/interval/period up to the terminal point of the event. Yang (2015) further compares the interval of *cha(yi)dian* in a horizontal process axis with that of *chabuduo* in the sense that the latter interval of which contains the adjacent reference range centered around the terminal point of the event,.

In addition, it is shown that the difference among these polysemies further hinges on speaker's perspectives toward the eventualities, such as the adversative predicates collocating with *cha(yi)dian* (Zhu 1959; Biq 1989, Chuang 2017, etc.) in contrast with *chabuduo* and *jihu*, which tend to be neutral.

Another goal of this paper is to compare the process axes pertaining to *cha(yi)dian, chabuduo, jihu* and those relevant to English *almost* and *barely*. While *barely* may mean *almost not*, the Chinese counterpart of (4) in (5) is interpreted as expletive negative: Zhangsan missed the train (Lü 1999: 285).

(3)   John almost missed the train.
(4)   John barely missed the train.
(5)   Zhangsan   cha.(yi).dian/jihu   mei   cuoguo   huoche.
          Zhangsan CHA.YI.DIAN /JIHU not   miss   train

We will articulate the overlapping and different ranges in the process axes that are involved in interpreting these AA's, as well as speaker's perspectualization toward them. On account of the conceptualization of the perspectivation toward the events, we may better understand the symmetries and asymmetries among the polysemies in Chinese and English.

✍

Competition in a rare grammatical system: The case of Old Zamuco

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Keywords: competition in morphology, typological rarities, Amerindian languages, nominals Zamucoan

Schedule: We 17.30 Room 7

Old Zamuco is an extinct language of the Zamucoan family, documented in the 18th century by the Jesuit missionary Ignace Chomé. The family currently consists of two languages, Ayoreo and Chamacoco, spoken in northern Chaco (Bolivia, Paraguay). Recent studies have pointed out a number of typological rarities in Zamucoan (Bertinetto and Ciucci 2012; Bertinetto and Ciucci 2015; Ciucci 2016). Zamucoan nouns and adjectives have nominal suffixes expressing gender (masculine, feminine), number (singular, plural) and 'form'. By 'form' we refer to a tripartition which is a unique

feature of Zamucoan (Ciucci 2016). One form is used for nominal predication (BASE FORM), and contrasts with two forms used in argumental position, the FULL FORM and the INDETERMINATE FORM, conveying specific *vs* non-specific reference. The nominal system of Zamucoan is reported in the Table. Old Zamuco is the earliest documented language of its family (Chomé 1958 [1738-1745]; Combès 2009) and shows archaic features often lost in Ayoreo and/or Chamacoco (Ciucci and Bertinetto 2015, 2017; Ciucci 2016). For instance, the Old Zamuco FULL FORM suffixes find correspondences in the Chamacoco singular and in the Ayoreo plural FULL FORM, but Ayoreo and Chamacoco have innovated in the rest of the paradigm.

	Old Zamuco		Ayoreo		Chamacoco	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Masculine **Base Form**	*-Ø*	*-o, -yo*	*-Ø*	*-o, -jo*	*-Ø, -k, -ak*	*-o, -e, -tso, -lo*
Masculine **Full Form**	***-tie***	***-oddoe***	*-i*	***-ode***	***-t*, *-tɕ***	
Masculine **Indeterminate Form**	*-nic, -ric, -tic*	*-nigo,-rigo, -tigo*	*-nik, -rik, -tik*	*-niŋo, -rigo, -tigo*	*-tik, -ĩrk*	*-tijo, -ĩr*
Feminine **Base Form**	*-Ø*	*-i, -yi*	*-Ø, (-e),*	*-i, -ji*	*-Ø, -aˀ, -eˀ, -oˀ, -ïˀ*	*-e*
Feminine **Full Form**	***-tae***	***-yie*, *-iyie***	*-Ø, (-e), -a, -ia*	***-die*, *-idie***	***-ta*, *-tɕa***	
Feminine **Indeterminate Form**	*-nac, -rac*	*-rigui*	*-nak, -rak, -tak*	*-niŋi, -rigi, -tigi*	*-tã(k), -rã(k)*	*-ĩr*

Table 1: Three-fold nominal system of Zamucoan (Bertinetto, Ciucci and Farina, Forthcoming)

This talk will describe a case of morphological competition involving the FULL FORM in Old Zamuco. In his grammar, Chomé (1958 [1738-1745]) provides abundant data on the nominal tripartition, although the author himself did not have a full understanding of its functions. But Chomé also mentions additional forms, unknown to Ayoreo and Chamacoco, on which he does not provide enough data. The recent rediscovery of the Old Zamuco dictionary by Chomé (Ciucci, Forthcoming) has now made available many examples concerning the use of such additional forms, from which one can see that in Old Zamuco there were series of suffixes competing for the paradigmatic cells of the FULL FORM and that the series reported in Table 1 was already prevailing and stabilized in the language, despite some exceptions showing a more complex situation. Historical data on Old Zamuco will be compared with data from fieldwork on Ayoreo and Chamacoco in order to analyze the evolution and the uses of these competing suffixes.

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ℬ

From auxiliary to inflectional ending? – The case of Afrikaans *het* 'have'

Jac Conradie
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Keywords: auxiliary, past participle, inflection, Afrikaans, grammaticalization

Schedule: We 11.30 Room 8

The purpose of this paper is to show that the Afrikaans temporal auxiliary *het* 'has, have' (phonetically [hɛt], frequently reduced to unstressed [ət] after past participles) has in the course of the 19th century attained the characteristics of an inflectional ending. *Het* is derived from a Dutch dialectal form of *hebben*, and has in present-day Afrikaans far outstripped other auxiliaries as the regular periphrastic past tense after the demise of the synthetic preterite. *Het* has developed a number of idiosyncracies not only differentiating it from Dutch *hebben* but also from all other Afrikaans auxiliaries and semi-auxiliaries, thereby grammaticalising further than any of the Dutch or Afrikaans auxiliaries. Thus when it occurs clause-finally (instead of in V1 and V2 positions), it is never separated from the past participle (PP) it governs, and in full infinitives the PP governed by *het* obligatorily intervenes between the particle *te* 'to' and *het*, as in

    *Om dit **te gehoor het**, was 'n plesier.*
   For it to hear.PP have was a pleasure
   'To have heard it, was a pleasure.'

    The leftward movement (scrambling) of PPs within the verbal string is only restricted for PPs governed by *het*, e.g.

   Ons besef dat hulle die probleem *<opgelos> sou   moes   <opgelos>het.
   We realise that they the problem   solve.PP   will.PRT must.PRT solve.PP have
   'We realise that they would have had to solve the problem.'

Another anomaly is the fact that of the two bare infinitives still extant in Afrikaans, *wees* 'to be' and *hê* [hɛː] 'to have', *wees* has more or less the same functions as Dutch *zijn* (and *wezen*), while *hê* is **only** the infinitive of the relatively infrequent transitive verb 'have'. Phonologically, a glide has developed between the PP and *het* in the pronunciation of many speakers, viz. the apical tap between *gevra* [xəfraː] 'asked' and *het*, as in [xəfraːɾət].

    It is hypothesized that the inseparability of final *het* and the PP it governs in the present-day language is the result of a morphological link established in the course of the 19th century, causing *het*

in its reduced form [ət] to be attached to the PP as an unstressed inflectional ending. As such, [ət] alternates finally but also in V1/V2 with the full form [hɛt], much as the definite article in North Germanic languages alternates between being a nominal suffix and a full form in attributive usage. This morphosyntactic development is heralded by the replacement of the bare infinitive *hê* 'to have' by *het* as final auxiliary in an early text, viz.

> *Ons **moet** maar **geluister het** na die mense*
> *w*e must part. listen.PP have to the people
> 'We should have listened to the people'

and confirmed by the obligatory clause-final juxtaposition of PP and *het* from the early 20th century onwards.

ℬ

A diachronic approach to *que*-deletion in Spanish

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Keywords: complementation, omission, historical linguistics, Latin influence

Schedule: Thu 10.00 Room 8

In present-day Spanish, *que* can be omitted with specific verbs and in specific contexts, for instance after verbs of fear and volitional verbs (1).

> (1) *Se ruega* [*que* / Ø] *perdonen las molestias*.
> 'one asks that you forgive the inconveniences'

In 16th century Spanish, *que*-deletion was much more frequent and happened with a whole series of verbs, e.g. *impedir* 'prevent' in (2), which mostly --but not exclusively-- combined with verbs in the subjunctive mood.

> (2) *[...] para que, sacando todos, haya abundancia y se impidaV1* [Ø] *crezcaV2 el precio*
> (Tomás de Mercado, *Summa de tratos y contratos*, 16th cent.) (Pountain 2015)
> 'so that, if they all take it out, there will be plenty and the price will be prevented from rising'

In the same historical period, *que*-deletion with a verb in indicative mood alternated with an infinitive (Accusativus cum infinitivo).

Pountain (2015) presents a first analysis of the variation in *que*-deletion:
- (i) some text types and genres, e.g. formal letters, seem more prone to having *que*-deletion than others;
- (ii) some authors seem to favour *que*-deletion, e.g. Santa Teresa de Avila, even in less formal settings. Some authors even use or omit *que* in different versions of the same document, which are directed to different audiences (Octavio de Toledo y Huerta 2006, 2011);
- (iii) the group of verbs showing up without *que* in preclassical Spanish is broader than the set of subjunctive-requiring verbs that in Latin appeared without *ut* 'that' or *nē* 'that not'. A

vernacular elaboration of the Latin calque may have taken place (cf. Cornillie & Octavio de Toledo y Huerta 2015).

Yet, the precise circumstances of the spread and the loss of *que*-deletion are still to be investigated. This paper is an attempt to answer the following questions:

  (a) Which semantic and distributional features of the first verb and the second verb enable clause combining without *que*?
  (b) How can the origin, spread and demise of the phenomenon be accounted for?
  (c) What is the relevance of inter-author-variation for *que*-deletion compared to the functionally motivated parameters in (a)?

More broadly, the question is whether the phenomenon concerns a functionally patterned alternation (a) or an externally motivated "syntactic fashion" (b–c).

The analysis is be based on a big corpus related to the *Nuevo Diccionario Histórico del Español* (http://web.frl.es/CNDHE/view/inicioExterno.view). The corpus data are retrieved per verb, starting from the lists in Delbecque & Lamiroy (1999: 2025-26) and Pountain (2015), and are classified according to the type of complementation, the verb type, the type of subject and its preverbal or postverbal position, on the one hand, and the author, the text type and the discourse tradition, on the other. Given that the studied phenomenon is binary (*que* vs. Ø), the data will be analysed using logistic regression analyses.

The study shows variation in text types and authors, and emphasizes the influence of the subject in *que*-deletion. Thus, external and internal features play a role in chosing different complementation strategies.

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☙

Decomposing discourse: The contribution from Romance verb-based conversation-management particles

Alice Corr

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Keywords: discourse particles, Romance languages, speech acts, utterance syntax, left periphery

Schedule: Thu 9.00 Room 10

In addition to the extensive functionalist literature on the topic, a growing body of work is emerging in favour of the formal analysis of a range of utterance-oriented elements, including discourse particles (Haegeman & Hill 2014; Bayer, Hinterhölzl & Trotzke 2015; Bayer & Struckmeier 2017). Disagreement, however, exists regarding the syntactic status of these items—variously analysed as functional heads (Haegeman & Hill 2014), weak XPs (Cardinaletti 2015), and structurally-truncated adverbs (Manzini 2015)—and their position within the clausal architecture. Moreover, ambiguity abounds in the application of the term 'discourse'; in particular, not all elements which may be considered 'discourse-oriented' are to be easily classified under the umbrella of information structure, but rather mediate between the sentence-external discourse context and the sentence-internal discourse context.

This paper offers a syntactic analysis of the behaviour and interpretation of such 'conversation management' particles in Romance, so-labelled since they interact not within but *with* information structure by modifying the speech act and contributing information and instructions on how the speaker wants the addressee to interpret and respond to the propositional content.

Specifically, we analyse Romance verb-based discourse particles as functional heads within the clausal/sentential architecture. The utterance-modifying interpretation of these discourse particles identifies them as part of the sentential syntax; and deficiencies in their phonology, morphosyntax (e.g. incompatibility with cliticization and negation; morphological invariability) and semantics (viz. context-sensitivity; discourse orientation)—relative to their superficially-identical main-verb counterparts—indicate a functional-head status.

Moreover, on the basis of distinct syntactic, distributional, intonational and interpretative properties of items *within* this class, the decomposition of the concept of 'discourse' is proposed to have a syntactic reflex; namely, the decomposition of the clausal left periphery into fields for information-structure packaging (the traditional CP) and, separately, for 'speech act' (Speas & Tenny 2003), or, more accurately (as we will argue), 'utterance' (Corr 2017) information, a division argued here to be reflected by the (im)possibility of A' movement.

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ℬ

Processing explanations of word order universals and diachrony: relative clause order and possessor order

Sonia Cristofaro

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ℬ

Classificatory noun incorporation
and internally headed relative clauses in Ainu

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Keywords: Ainu language, noun incorporation, relative clauses, evidentiality

This paper investigates a specific kind of noun incorporation (NI), that Mithun (1985) defines "classificatory noun incorporation" (CNI), where the incorporated noun is supplemented by a syntactically unbound, semantically analogous nominal external to the verbal constituent. The scope of this study is on the Southern Hokkaidō dialect of Ainu and more specifically on some constructions that fall under the domain of indirect evidentiality.

Starting from Mithun's typological survey, I adopt the morphosyntactic approach to NI in Muro (2009) and the syntactico-semantic approach to pseudo-noun incorporation (PNI) in Borik and Gehrke (2015), to propose that the presence of CNI may provide the ground for the development of internally headed relative clauses (IHRCs). To the best of my knowledge, this kind of relative clauses is not found elsewhere in Southern Hokkaidō Ainu.

This study focuses on a number of constructions that morphosyntactically represent "non-canonical" instances of indirect evidential expressions, considered as such as they differ from the the most common structure shown in (1).

Hunak un ka a-i-y-ani wa
where to INT 4S-4O-0-carry and
paye-an humi-as.
go.PL-4S sound.of-stand.PC(=IND.FLT)
'It seemed they went carrying me to somewhere.' (Tamura, 1984: 4)

In constructions like the one in (1) the noun *humi* 'sound of' is pseudo-incorporated to the verb *as* 'stand' and the whole compound is employed as a marker of indirect evidentiality. In some of the non-canonical constructions the (pseudo-)incorporated noun seems to have undergone relativization – an unpredicted scenario, in that relativization should here violate lexical integrity (Baker, 1988). Moreover, as (2) illustrates, the alleged relativized noun (here *hawe* 'voice of') appears both in the relative-head position and, unexpectedly, in situ, as in a non-relative construction.

Cisinaot onnay un sesserke hawe-as
grave inside to SS/cry voice.of-stand.PC(=IND.HRN)
[h]awe ene an hi ...
voice.of like.this SS/exist.PC NMLZ
'It seemed from inside the grave [someone] cried indeed like so.' (Kayano: 6-3,3)

Sentences like (3) seem to clarify the morphosyntactic oddity seen above. In these instances a copy of the (pseudo-)incorporated noun appears within the same clause as the verbal constituent resulting from incorporation, in a non-relative construction.

E-sinku haw-e ene haw-as [h]i
2SS-survive voice-POSS like.this REP.HRS NMLZ
ka an kor ...
even 3SS/exist.PC while
'While they indeed even say that you have survived like this…' (Kayano: 19-5,32)

I recognize such constructions as a case of CNI and I argue that they are the ground from which sentences like (2) develop, in that it is the external copy of the incorporated noun to undergo relativization. Relativization then is not found to violate lexical integrity. Furthermore, I show how such instances of relativization display a quantificational function as well as properties of relative-head-displacement and binding that comply with what Culy (1990), Basilico (1996), and Modena and Muro (2009) discuss for IHRCs.

This study represents a contribution to the ongoing debate on Ainu's noun incorporation and relative clauses by highlighting an aspect of these processes that has never been accounted for in previous Ainu literature.

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Syntax, prosody and gestures in the expression of surprise in Italian and German

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Keywords: surprise question, exclamative, discourse

Schedule: We 12.00 Room 9

Introduction

In this work we consider the expression of surprise in Italian and German. In particular, we study surprise questions and exclamations (see among the others Obenauer and Poletto 2000, Obenauer 2004, Hinterhölzl and Munaro 2015, Giorgi 2018). These sentences, besides exhibiting a characteristic syntax, show typical prosodic and gestural patterns. We argue that such a co-occurrence is crucial to obtain the correct interpretation at the interface. We compare the two languages both theoretically and experimentally and discuss similarities and differences with respect to the three components in order to propose a general account.

Data

We consider examples of the following type. In a scenario where I have been told that Mario is on a diet and eats only fruit, when I see him eating a hamburger, I am surprised. The following question or exclamation is appropriate in such a case:

(1)   Ma non mangiavi solo frutta?
        But not eat.IMPF only fruit?
        'But weren't you eating only fruit?'

(2)   Ma è un hamburger!
        But is a hamburger!

'But it is a hamburger!'

In German, the use of a modal verb is quasi-obligatory in the surprise question and in the parallel exclamative, as is illustrated in (3) and (4):

(3)   Wolltest du nicht nur Obst essen?
       *Wanted you not only fruit ea*t?
       'Weren't you going to eat only fruit?'

(4)   Aber du wolltest doch nur Obst essen!
       But you wanted PAR only fruit eat!
       'But should you not eat only fruit!'

In the syntactic analysis we consider the presence of the modal in German vs. the indicative imperfect in Italian and propose an explanation.

Experimental method

We tested experimentally the production of surprise questions with Italian and German native speakers, who were introduced to specific contexts and asked to produce the questions previously presented in a written form. We introduced four different situations to check the gesture patterns:

☐ Condition A: both hands free;
☐ Condition B: simulation of a phone communication, only one hand free and no visible interlocutor;
☐ Condition C: holding a bag, both hands "trapped";
☐ Condition D: surprise overtly expressed.

Participants were videotaped, and their production analyzed with Praat and ELAN.

Analysis and conclusions

We show that prosody and gesture convey additional information that the string cannot fully convey and that, crucially, this is true not only for face-to-face communication. We observed that most often the gesture culmination corresponds with the pitch realization, even in the absence of a physical addressee. This correspondence shows that these two components go together and are realized at the same point at the sensorimotor interface. We argue that a functional head represented in the syntax provides the relevant instructions, which are read off at the interface as pitch and gesture, and extend this analysis, integrating syntax, prosody and gesture, to exclamations such as (2) and (4), which are similar to the surprise-disapproval questions analyzed in Obenauer (2006).

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✍

Pockets of retention across the linkage: Rethinking the Oceanic dispersal in western Melanesia

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Keywords: Historical Linguistics, Oceanic, Austronesian, Morphology

Schedule: We 12.30 Room 11

The majority of the Austronesian languages spoken in western Melanesia have been grouped within the Western Oceanic (WOc) subgroup of Oceanic (Ross 1988). It remains unclear, however, whether WOc languages descend from an ancestor other than Proto Oceanic (POc) itself, as the patterns of genealogical relations they reflect are complex and symptomatic of dialectical differentiation rather than innovation-defined subgrouping. In my talk, I will investigate some pockets of retention found in WOc languages to unearth new evidence capable of elucidating the history of the linkage. Ross (1988: 351) proposed five innovations to mark off WOc from the rest of Oceanic. The strongest one concerns the replacement of the POc 3rd plural free pronoun *(k)ira with the form *idri[a]. Although this innovation is reflected in most WOc languages, we find a few pockets of *(k)ira retention. The most striking case is that of the Sinaugoro-Keapara network: no more than a small fourth-order subgroup of WOc.

Ross (1988: 388–389) explains these unexpected cases of retention in terms of the haphazardness of the dialectical differentiation pervading the history of WOC. This explanation, albeit plausible, is not entirely satisfactory.

POc *(k)ira also survives in some WOc languages of the Northwest Solomons. Although Ross (1988: 388) ascribed this latter case to the same dynamics of dialectical differentiation, he also hinted at the possibility of an earlier Oceanic substrate in the area.

Further isolated retentions of early POc features are found across WOc. One of them concerns, yet again, Sinaugoro. The latter retains the POc causative prefix *paka- (Pawley 1973: 128), which, according to Ross (1988: 391), is found in only three other evenly distributed WOc languages: Manam, Bulu, and Bola. As Evans (2003: 267) explains, WOc languages overwhelmingly reflect POc *pa-: a similar yet distinct form in the protolanguage.

My suggestion is that these pockets of retention require alternative explanations. For instance, the conservative character of Sinaugoro may contradict the hypothesis that views the larger grouping to which it belongs as an offspring of a first-order sublinkage of WOc (i.e. the North New Guinea cluster; see Ross 2014: 91) where the aforesaid retentions are not found. It may be that Sinaugoro, too, retains elements of an earlier – and more conservative – Oceanic offspring, which have for the most part disappeared due to structural convergence with the neighbouring languages of the area. Thence, it may be inferred that the western Melanesian area was subject to several waves of Oceanic settlement and that present-day WOc languages reflect a multi-layered history, whose disentanglement poses a challenge to the linguists working in the field.

In my presentation, I will offer an inventory of these instances of conservatism, plotting them on maps, in order to 1) unveil previously unobserved patterns of retention, and 2) identify the WOc conservative core(s). To do this, I will offer an overview of WOc morphology to pinpoint further archaic features that may help us reconstruct the unattested history of the linkage.

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✄

Token-based Vector Space Models as semantic control in sociolinguistic research on lexical variation

Stefano De Pascale, Stefania Marzo & Dirk Speelman
(KU Leuven)

Keywords: sociolinguistics, lexical variation, distributional semantics

Schedule: We 14.30 Room 12

Meaning, for decades virtually absent from mainstream sociolinguistic theory, has taken center stage in "third wave" sociolinguistics, which has brought into view how speakers' expression of social identity is conveyed by sociolinguistic variation in local linguistic practices (Eckert, 2012). This new focus has been accompanied by a methodological shift, with in-depth ethnographic observational studies on the *meaning of sociolinguistic variation* replacing large-scale quantitative surveys, considered inadequate for the new research program.

However, the goal of this paper is to show that "first wave"-style, i.e. variationist research is reconcilable with an interest in uncovering the *sociolinguistic variation of meaning*. From a theoretical point of view, we want to show that a firmer grip on the types of lexico-semantic variation must start from a theory of semantics that embraces an experiental and flexible view on linguistic categorization (Geeraerts, Grondelaers, & Bakema, 1994). Methodologically, this usage-based view on meaning gets translated in the use of large corpora and quantitative techniques. This paper reports exactly on the methodological advances that have made possible the "first wave", variationist study of meaning.

Type-based distributional semantics as embodied in vector space models (VSMs) has proven to be a successful method for the retrieval of near-synonyms in large corpora. These words have then been used in lexical sociolinguistic variables (e.g.: *tube* and *television* for the concept TELEVISION; Ruette, Geeraerts, Peirsman, & Speelman [2014] and Ruette, Ehret, & Szmrecsanyi [2016]). However, a limitation of type-based VSMs is that all senses of a word are lumped together in one vector representation, making it harder to control for polysemy and subtle contextual distinctions.

To address this shortcoming, first, we introduce token-based VSMs in lexical variation research, in order to disambiguate different senses of lexical variants (Heylen, Speelman, & Geeraerts, 2012). Such VSMs identify different meaning/usage tokens of a word in a corpus that are afterwards represented as token clouds in a multidimensional space, with token clusters of semantically similar

tokens revealing the senses of the word. Second, by superimposing the token clouds of the lexical items, one can distinguish the overlapping areas of tokens of the different near-synonyms and so determine the 'semantic envelope of variation'. The remainder of the study will show how the calculation of the overlapping area can be carried out, using a set of cluster overlap indices evaluated in Speelman & Heylen (2015).

The finetuning of token-based VSMs targeted by the present study not only contributes to the scaling up of lexical variationist research, and confirms the potential of "first wave" studies in lexico-semantic variation. At the same time, token-based VSMs comply with the need of detailed analysis argued by "third wave" sociolinguistics, by allowing the possibility of zooming in on the behavior of individual tokens in order to determine more subtle contextual distinctions.

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ℬ

Khanty relative pronouns and the clauses that contain them

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Keywords: relative clause, relative pronoun, topic, finite relative, non-finite relative

Schedule: Sa 9.30 Room 2

In this talk we examine relative pronouns in the endangered Surgut Khanty language (SOV, Ob-Ugric, Finno-Ugric).

In the earliest texts (late 19th century) Khanty relative clauses are categorically prenominal, non-

finite, and employ the gap strategy; there is no relative pronoun in the language (Gulya 1966, Honti 1984, Nikolaeva 1999).

Currently almost 100% of Khanty speakers are Khanty-Russian bilinguals. Under strong contact with Russian, Khanty started an OV to VO change. It is well known that the order of the object and the verb is a strong predictor of the order of the noun and its relative clause modifier. The shift towards VO has a strong effect on relative clauses in Khanty. In addition to the original relative clause type described above, two new types have emerged: the postnominal non-finite and the post-nominal finite. These were first mentioned in Csepregi (2012) but were not investigated in detail.

Csepregi found that the original prenominal participial relatives can now appear postnominally, and they can feature a relative pronoun that has grammaticalized from the distal demonstrative *t'u* (that). In addition, postnominal relatives can now also be finite. These feature an obligatory relative pronoun that is form-identical to a wh-word. Several questions remained open, however: i) can either type of relative pronoun appear in pre-nominal relatives, ii) can *t'u* also appear in finite relatives, iii) can relative pronouns form-identical to a wh-word appear in non-finite postnominal relatives, iv) can anything precede the relative pronoun within the relative clause, and v) if so, what are the implications?

On the basis of new fieldwork data, we can now answer these research questions. Neither *t'u* nor relative pronouns form-identical to a wh-word appear in prenominal non-finite relatives. This is consistent with the cross-linguistic observations about prenominal relatives (Downing 1978).

T'u only appears in postnominal non-finite relatives, while relative pronouns form-identical to a wh-word are restricted to finite relatives. Finiteness thus influences the choice of the relative pronoun. At the same time, we have found cross-speaker variation that was not reported by Csepregi. Specifically, in headed (finite) relative clauses not all speakers allow relative pronouns that are identical to wh-words; even though such relative pronouns are grammatical for the same speakers in correlatives.

Both *t'u* and relative pronouns form-identical to a wh-word can be preceded by topicalized relative-clause internal material. This has implications for formal models of relative clauses. One strand of research (e.g. Kayne 1994) holds that the head of the relative clause and the relative pronoun form a (Noun Phrase) constituent to the exclusion of all other relative-clause internal material. Our data show that this cannot be correct: this approach wrongly predicts that topics (or foci) cannot insert themselves between the head and the relative pronoun. While our data leave it open whether the head and the pronoun form a constituent at an early point in the derivation, they clearly show that there is no such constituency at the final stage of the derivation.

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How to identify and inventory markers of inferential evidentiality? Principles, criteria and arguments applied to the analysis of French and Spanish expressions

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Keywords: inferential evidentials, identification criteria, identification procedure

Schedule: We 14.30 Room 9

Still painfully lacking in the booming field of evidentiality is a solid and broadly accepted procedure for identifying evidentials, with clear and explicit criteria. Such an identification procedure is crucial to establish homogeneous inventories of evidentials (Wiemer & Stathi 2010). The use of the notional criteria of evidentiality taken from definitions of the notion, combined with three other often used but less central criteria (Anderson 1986) did not proof sufficient in view of the complexities shown in the identification of the evidential markers we studied (Izquierdo 2016; Dendale subm.).

The aim of our talk is to propose elements of the procedure we applied for the description of a series of French and Spanish *inferential* evidential markers (*à vue d'oeil*, *visiblement/visiblemente*, *certainement, peut-être que, je vois, devoir/deber, por lo visto, supuestamente, según/selon* conjectural future):

1. The starting criterion to include an item in our inventory of inferential evidentials was its possibility to fulfill an "inferential evidential function" in the global interpretation of a sentence. On the basis of the notional definition of evidentiality by Aikhenvald (2004) and the classification of types of evidentials by Willett (1988), we define "fulfilling an (inferential) evidential function" as "pointing to an aspect of an inferential cognitive act realized by the speaker, by which he/she is supposed to have acquired the information in that sentence";
2. This starting criterion is applied regardless of (a) the semantic (coded) or pragmatic (Generalized Conversational Implicatures) origin of the evidential function and (b) its frequency/systematicity *versus* rarity/unpredictability;
3. A justification of the evidential function of the item is then sought by linking that function to an element or aspect of one of the lexical/grammatical meanings of the item (e.g. evidential *devoir/deber*) to its more fundamental meaning (deontic) (Sweetser 1984) or to the meaning of one of its morphological components (e.g. sentential *visiblement/visiblemente,* to its component *visible*);
4. We state that certain items (e.g. *peut-être que*) can be declared to have sometimes a dominant evidential and sometimes a dominant non-evidential (e.g. epistemico-modal) function, depending on the concrete co(n)text. On top of its dominant *function*, an item can have non-evidential (e.g. epistemico-modal) *features* (so-called *overtones*). We therefore clearly distinguish in the proposed procedure between evidential *function,* evidential *feature* and evidential *meaning*;
5. We will show how the studied inferential evidentials differ from each other in the underlying mechanisms creating their specific evidential function:
   - by the "point of incidence" on one of three elements of what we call the "inferential frame", an item with evidential function qualifies: the BASIS, the inferential ACT, the resulting THOUGHT;
   - by the "type of qualification" (*evidential, epistemic*, *deontic* (!), *verificational…*) that is made of the element of the inferential frame;

- the type of inference (deductive, abductive…);
- the strength of the modal feature.

6. We will see that most inferential evidentials do not have incidence on the inferential ACT (as do *à vue d'oeil*, *por lo visto/al parecer*) but on the other elements: the BASIS (*visiblement/visiblemente*) or the resulting THOUGHT (*certainement*, conjectural future).

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ℒ

Merge, externalization and interface asymmetries

Anna Maria Di Sciullo

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Keywords: additive cardinal numerals, time-counting expressions, unpronounced heads, External/Internal Merge, Externalization Conditions

Schedule: Thu 15.00 Room 4

We focus on the derivation of additive cardinal numerals and time-counting expressions (Kayne 2005, 2016a,b, Ionin and Matushansky 2006, and Chierchia 2013). We provide an analysis of the pronunciation/silence of the intermediate functional (F) head, independent evidence, and consequences for linguistic theory.

   1. We assume that cardinal numerals merge with a coordinate conjunction notwithstanding the apparent optionality of the conjunction in some cases, (1)-(3).

(1) a. cento (e) uno (It.)   (2) a. venti (*e) uno (It.)   (3) a. viginti (*et) unus (Lat.)

   b. hundred (and) one   b. vingt *(et) un (Fr.)   b. unus *(et) viginti

       "hundred and one"   twenty and one   one and twenty

       "hundred (and) one"   "twenty-one"   "twenty-one"

   We assume that smaller units than vP and CP are phases (Uriagereka 1999, Adger 2003 ans

Bošković 2014) and that the Specifier or the Head of a phase must be pronounced, and if the Specifier has phonetic features, it must be pronounced (Collins 2007).

We derive the fact that F is not pronounced (< >) in (4b); whereas it is pronounced in (4a), where the Specifier of the lower phase has been displaced to a higher position for feature valuing.

(4) a. hundred / F / hundred / AND / one   b. hundred / <AND> / one
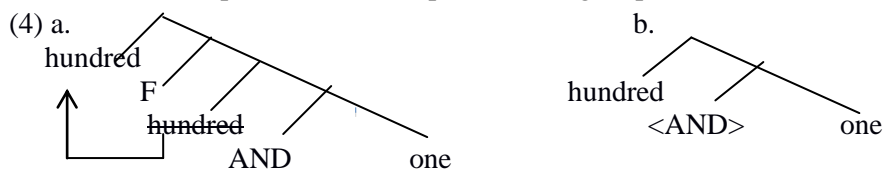
Evidence that Internal Merge applies in the derivation of additive cardinal numerals can be found in Italian and Latin. Italian inverts the order of the digit and the base near the tens from 17 to 20, e.g. *tredici* (three ten) 'thirteen' vs. *diciotto* (ten eight) 'eighteen'. In Latin, the digit may precede or follow the head near the tens, with a concomitant effect on the pronunciation/silence of the conjunction, (3a,b). The facts follow form Merge and principles minimizing externalization.

2. Time-counting expressions include unpronounced nouns, such as HOUR and O'CLOCK (Kane 2016a,b) as well as unpronounced functional heads. For example, the conjunction is pronounced in Italian when time is counted in parts; whereas this is not the case in English, e.g *le due e trenta* (It.) (the two and thirty) vs. *two thirty*. We show that our analysis extends to time-counting expressions.

3. Independent evidence for our analysis comes from locative *here/there*. In languages such as English, the silence of their prepositional head AT/TO follows from their displacement to the Specifier position, (5) (Collins 2007, Kayne 2005, McCawley 1988, Van Riemsdijk 1978, a.o.). However, the preposition can be pronounced in other languages and dialects. This is the case is Fallese, a dialect spoken in the Abruzzi, e.g. *(a)ecche/(a)locche* (at here/at there), from Latin a*d hic/ad locum*, when the Specifier of the phase has no phonetic content, (6b) vs. (6a).

(5) here / < AT/TO> / here   (6) a. ecche / <AT/TO> / ecche   b. A / ecche
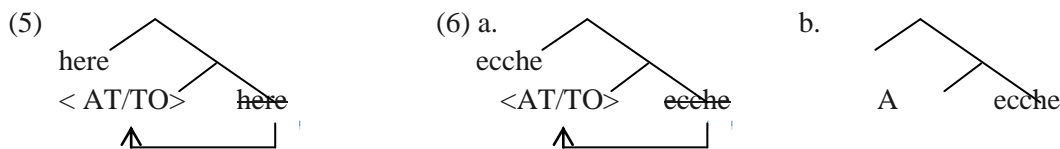
4. A unified analysis of the apparent optionality of the coordinate conjunction in additive cardinal numerals and time-counting expressions brings further support to the Strong Minimalist thesis (Chomsky 1995, 2001, 2005 *et seq.*), according to which language is the best solution to interface conditions, as well as it leads to a category-free explanation of interface asymmetries.

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The Development of reference realisation and narrative discourse organisation in an Australian Contact Language

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Keywords: Child language development, discourse organisation, contact languages, Wumpurrarni – English

Schedule: We 11.30 Room 12

Discourse development among children has been investigated in many languages, cross-linguistically and in multilingual settings (Berman & Slobin, 1994; Hickmann, 2004; Strömqvist & Verhoeven, 2004). Language development in contact languages, and the variable, dynamic settings in which these are often found, receive little attention (Severing & Verhoeven, 2001; Youssef, 1991).

This paper reports on a study of development of reference realization and discourse organisation by child speakers of an Australian contact language, Wumpurrarni English (Disbray, 2016). The methodology involves a fine-grained and qualitative analysis of the use of referring expressions locally, and globally to structure discourse (Karmiloff-Smith, 1983; Bamberg, 1987; Wigglesworth, 1997). The data are thirty picture-stimulus elicited narrations in Wumpurrarni English. A further ten narrations were recorded in children's target Standard English.

The study addresses the following questions:

1. What discourse developmental trajectory can be observed for Wumpurrarni English speaking children?

2. Can differences in reference realisation and discourse organisation
 be identified in a comparison of narrations in children's home variety versus the standard variety?

3. What insight into the developmental mechanisms involved in discourse development does this small study reveal?

The results showed (a) a similar developmental trajectory among Wumpurrarni English children and speakers of other languages, with children aged eight and under producing simpler and less globally organized narratives than older children and (b) vulnerability to the changing referencing demands of the stimulus among children under eight. Language specifically, the Wumpurrarni English narrations revealed children's growing use of narrative features such as clause fronting for topicalization and repetition of full and elaborated noun phrases to maintain reference and mark topics.

The comparison of narrations in Wumpurrarni English and target Standard English yielded more general insights. It showed (c) that the narrative content and global organization of the English productions by children over 10-years revealed similarities to Wumpurrarni English productions of younger children, as speakers using the less familiar code faced an additional cognitive load. This impacted on narrative productions; in length and fluency, and at the level of discourse structure, locally and globally. Both factors of complexity, the stimulus and code choice illuminated the "trades and concessions" (Stavans, 2001, p. 341) speakers made at the level of discourse structure, revealing (d) a planning mechanism manifest in two intersecting ways; as a narrative organising schema, and in the on-line production of locally cohesive referring expressions. The comparison of narrations in the two related codes, and the interruption the additional load code posed to speakers suggests (e) that the two skills; co-ordination of an underlying schema and on-line construction of a stretch of coherent discourse, are tightly interdependent, and indeed co-constructing.

The study and its findings are important to the description of an Australian contact language, with broader comparison to other contact languages. It deepens insight into children's discourse development in multilingual settings. Finally, the study highlights that despite the challenge of using experimental methods to investigate language development in small populations, observations on underlying mechanisms of discourse management can be made.

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✄

Motivating the North-South Continuum:
Evidence from the Perfects of Franco-Provençal, Occitan, and Catalan

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Keywords: perfect, Romance, Charlemagne Sprachbund, morphosyntax, areal linguistics

Schedule: We 17.00 Room 11

In his comprehensive examination of the development of Romance morphosyntactic features, Ledgeway (2011: 314) claims that the Romance languages should be classified not on the traditional east-west axis or according to central vs. peripheral status but rather on a north-south continuum. Following Zamboni (2000), Ledgeway points to a number of morphosyntactic features which diverge in the Romance languages of the north (French, northern Italian, the Raeto-Romance varieties) and the south (central and southern Italian, Sardinian, the languages of the Iberian peninsula, Romanian). Important among these features is the HAVE/BE dichotomy in the north, which contrasts with a generalized auxiliary in the south. Ledgeway accounts for this distribution as due to the retention or loss in northern and southern varieties, respectively, of active/stative alignment distinctions established in Latin. According to this schematization, the early destabilization of the nominative/accusative balance represented by the periphrastic deponent perfects was either restabilized by the introduction of a transitive periphrastic counterpart, HAVE + PPP, resulting in a HAVE/BE dichotomy as in the north, or by the removal of the imbalance through the generalization of HAVE, as in the south.

This paper provides additional evidence from Franco-Provençal, Occitan, and Catalan in support of this north/south characterization, but goes a step further in seeking to provide an explanation for the distribution. Why would the periphrastic perfects of the northern Romance languages have better maintained the alignment patterns established in Latin than the other languages did? I argue that the contrast represented by the BE and HAVE perfects is not only a retention of an ancient pattern, but also represents a reinvigoration of this dichotomy which occurred especially in the territory ruled by Charlemagne in the 8th and 9th centuries, coinciding with the growth of deponent use witnessed in scribal writing. The northern languages thus participate in the "Charlemagne Sprachbund" (van der Auwera 1998), while the southern languages lie outside its influence. What I claim, then, is that the expansion of the BE/HAVE contrast resulted from the "roofing" effect of Latin upon the language of speakers and writers of the 8th and 9th centuries, and that it left its mark on the languages of the Carolingian realm, Ledgeway's northern varieties.

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✄

Competition, Loss and Renewal in Prepositional Transitivizers and Transitivity Enhancers

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Keywords: morphosyntactically complex transitive verbs, prefix, particle

Schedule: Thu 16.30 Room 1

While morphophonological marking of transitivity was lost in the transition from Old English to Middle English (cf. García García 2012), leading to the so-called "floating transitivity of English verbs" (Jespersen 1927: 319), later stages of English held on to morphosyntactic means to enhance or increase a verb's transitivity. Three strategies have emerged in this context, which have been affected by competition, loss and renewal to differing degrees, and all of which concern prepositional elements such as traditional prefixes and/or particles (cf. e.g. Jackendoff 1973, den Dikken 1995, Svenonius 2003, Cappelle 2007). The first of these strategies, which involves transitivizing prefixes such as *be-*, vanished eventually, with a last heyday of *be*-derivatives in Early Modern English:
(1)   'Twere a good deed, to..*be*snowball him with rotten egges. [OED]

Conversely, the second strategy employs elements that may occur as either prefix or post-verbal particle, such as Old English and Middle English *of-* in (2) and (3):
(2)   a.   …*of*cearf his earlipprica. [DOE]
                off-carved his earlobes
       b.   & cearf *of* heora handa & heora nosa. [DOE]
                & carved off their hands & their noses

(3)   a.   thy sleve thou shalte *of*-shere;. [MED]
       b.   …quite clene the arme share *off* throughtly. [MED]

In analogy to the post-verbal particle variant, a third strategy emerged that lacks a prefixed counterpart in Present-day English, e.g. *away*, which transitivizes canonically intransitive verbs such as *whisper*:
  (4)   Some of her happiest memories were of working side by side with Michael O'Toole and
         listening to him whistle the chore *away*. [COCA]

Against this backdrop, our paper empirically investigates the diachronic trajectories of morphosyntactically complex transitive verbs consisting of a verbal element and a transitivizing prefix or particle, with a focus on *be-*, *off* and *away*. The large-scale investigation of the three transitivizing strategies allows for an in-depth look at the productivity, expansion and decline of functionally equivalent patterns over time. All in all, the diachrony of the transitivizers under consideration is reminiscent of competition and cyclic change, with the prefix variant being ousted by the particle construction and taking refuge in detransitivized past participles (e.g. *besuited*, *bespectacled*), and with the particle construction progressively extending its range of application as reflected in the attestation of a wide array of hapaxes. The distribution of hapaxes across the various types of particle verbs (as defined by word order) provides additional evidence that the verb-adjacent placement of the particle has developed into a default (cf. Elenbaas 2007, Los et al. 2012) and, as such, feeds creative and innovative ad hoc formations.

Corpora

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✄

Information Structure, Null Case Particle and Discourse Modal Particle

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Keywords: discourse particles, Japanese, cartography

Schedule: Thu 10.00 Room 10

As opposed to the view by Nuyts (2000) that modality is a non-linguistic category, Leis (2012) makes

a claim that the human ability to have a Theory of Mind is language driven, based on a modal particles in German. In this paper, I support the latter view by showing that modal particles in Japanese play an active role in syntactic and discourse-related semantic computations.

Incorporating Susumu Kuno's (personal communication) suggestion that a sentence-final modal particle in Japanese focalizes the verb, Masunaga (1988) makes the following claim from a functional perspective:

(1) Case particle drop is only possible when the theme is de-emphasized or not focused.

Thus, in the sentence in (2), the sentence-final modal particle *yo* emphasizes the preceding verb and correlatively de-emphasizes the subject, which makes it possible for its nominative Case particle *ga* to drop.

(2)   Burond-no   otokonoko-(ga) Taroo-o   nagutta yo
        blond-Gen   boy-(Nom)   Taro-Acc   hit   Prt
        'A blond boy hit Taro'

When a Case particle suffixed to the subject DP is dropped as in (2), the subject DP typically serves a scene-setting function, which is similar to a hanging topic in Italian. Thus, modal particles in Japanese play an active role in syntactic computations (= licensing a null Case subject) and in discourse-related semantic computations (=creating a de-focalized semantic interpretation for the subject DP).

To derive these properties, I make the following proposals from the perspectives of cartography of syntactic structures (Rizzi 1997):

(3) a. The subject DP with no particle suffixed to it moves to a designated position in
       the CP zone to receive a de-focus interpretation akin to hanging topic.
          (cf. Endo 2007)
    b. Discourse modal particles are base-generated in ModalP in the IP zone (cf. Cinque 1999) and
       moves to a designated position in the CP zone to enforce its illocutionary force or speech-act
       (cf. Abraham 2012, Endo 2012)
    c. The empty subject position is licensed by a local modal particle displaced in the CP zone
       (Rizzi 2012).

Time permitting, I will further deal with the nature of the thetic vs. categorical judgment distinction by discussing the cases where a particle suffixed to the subject DP is dropped and various types of sentence final modal particles affect the thetic vs. categorical judgment distinction.

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✍

Inflectional desinences and the diversity of metamorphomes

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Keywords: inflectional morphology, autonomous morphology, Romance linguistics and dialectology, conditional

Schedule: Thu 12.00 Room 8

Round (2015) introduces the term METAMORPHOME for structures of autonomous morphology relevant to the paradigmatic distribution of inflectional formatives, i.e. for sets of paradigm cells which consistently present identity of exponence. The existence of such structures is extensively documented in the diachrony of Romance by Maiden (under the term 'morphomes', e.g. 2009a, 2011a, 2011b, 2016), whose comparative studies demonstrate the persistence and productivity of the patterns.

In the case of Maiden's patterns, the identity of exponence between cells involves the lexical root or stem. The patterns act as robust and systematic templates for the redistribution of diverse inflectional material, from stem allomorphy and thematic formatives to person/number desinences (Maiden 2004, 2009b). Maiden argues that these patterns have the specific function of constraining the arbitrariness of the lexical sign (2013:518-519); the patterns are best conserved when their constituent wordforms share 'identical lexical reference', and may disintegrate when the identity is compromised (2013:525).

This study adduces diachronic evidence for the existence of metamorphomes predicated on formal identity of inflectional desinences: in particular, the identity between COND and non-first-conjugation IPFV.IND forms in varieties of Occitan (Gallo-Romance), based on comparative dialect data drawn from the *ALLOc* and *ALLOr*. As with Maiden's patterns, the inherited identity between COND and non-first-conjugation IPFV.IND forms is preserved over time; and this set of cells is referred to by analogical changes, such as the spread of personal desinences across TAM categories or the levelling of desinential vowel alternations within a TAM category.

The set of COND+IPFV.IND cells is found to have more restricted scope as a template for analogy than Maiden's patterns, as it does not manipulate stem material (whereas Maiden's patterns can manipulate desinences). This difference can be attributed to the function of metamorphomes in constraining lexical arbitrariness. Material most relevant to the meaning of the verb occurs within and nearest to the stem of an inflected form, while the least relevant material is outermost (Bybee 1985:35). If the chief advantage conferred by metamorphomes pertains to lexical material (i.e. material of central relevance to meaning), templates identified based on roots are predicted to be of greater potential value to speakers than templates identified based on desinences (the least relevant

material). Where the two types conflict, speakers are consequently expected to favour root/stem templates over desinence templates.

A contributing factor to the restricted influence of the set of COND+IPFV.IND cells is that this set of cells only displays identity of exponents in a minority of lexemes (a property not without precedent among Maiden's patterns): its value in making predictive generalisations across the lexicon is accordingly lower than that of a metamorphome valid in a majority of lexemes.

These data invite the view of a paradigm in which multiple, overlapping metamorphomes (based on implicational generalisations about the distribution of different types of inflectional exponents) co-exist and interact, differing in productivity and in scope of influence according to such factors as lexical type frequency and to the type of exponents involved. The study underscores the diversity and variability of metamorphomes.

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ALLOc = Atlas Linguistique et Ethnographique du Languedoc Occidental. Morphological data are drawn from unpublished fieldwork transcriptions.

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✆

Building universal quantification and essential variation

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Keywords: strong and weak distributivity, collectivity, Q float, Q predicates, variation

Schedule: Fri 9.00 Room 7

Languages differ in terms of the vocabulary available to them to express various quantifier meanings, typically universal quantification. Whereas English uses a trilogy of expressions headed by three distinct words (*all*, *every*, and *each*), French uses only two (*tout*, *chacun*), and Semitic only one, *kull/kol*. Yet all languages seem to convey essentially equivalent meanings, using distinct structures and features. Thus, not only is *kull/kol* in Arabic/Hebrew two-way ambiguous, as in e.g. Gil (1995) or Hallman (2016), alternating as *all* or *every*, but it is also used as *each* in the appropriate context. The following contrasts illustrate its essential three uses in Arabic, which strictly parallel the English word trilogy:

(1)   Ɂakala kull-u   ṭ-ṭullab-i   dajaajat-ayni
       ate   all-nom the-students-gen chicken-dual.acc
       All the students ate two chicken.

(2)   Ɂakala kull-u   ṭ-aalib-in   dajaajat-ayni
        ate   every-nom student-gen chicken-dual.acc
       Every student ate two chicken.

(3)   kull-un   min-naa waaʕin bi-haaḏaa
       each-nom of-us   aware of-this
       Each of us is aware of this.

If so, then what appears to be the most important in conveying meanings is not (just) vocabulary, but structures and features of the Q expression (or QP), which are the building blocks of Q types. *Quantifier building* in this sense, as a characteristic of grammar, is then distinct from a *lexical* characterization, which construes the properties of each Q as associated with the Q word itself (Nouwen 2009). Suppose different Q types are endowed with distinct syntactic features, driving Agree and Move operations of the standard types (as in Chomsky 1995, 2000), with various modes of implementation; e.g. Beghelli & Stowell (1997) or Larson (2014). Let us conceive Q as a relational predicate, endowed with features that need to Agree (in a Probe-Goal valuation) with Q dependents (Comp, Spec, etc.), rather than a determiner (in the sense of Barwise & Cooper 1981, or Partee 1995, 2014). Strikingly, a *collective* Q in Semitic/Arabic (the counterpart to *all*), must be *definite*, and a *distributive* Q (the counterpart to *every* and *each*) must be *indefinite* (rather than just singular). Moreover, the strongly distributive *each* is necessarily *partitive* (and its complement subject to the partitive constraint), while the weakly distributive *every* is not so constrained. If so, [±distributive], [±definite], [±partitive], and [±singular] turn out to be appropriate for building descriptive bivalent feature classes of quantifiers (found cross-linguistically), and associated with various quantifier structures and interpretations.

     Types of Q float in Semitic confirm the claim that the quantifier trilogy is essential and necessary. For example, the floating Q in (4) can only be strongly distributive (or having an *each* use, *pace* Shlonsky 1991):

(4) n-naasu   kull-un   y-uġannii ʕalaa laylaa-hu
     the-people   each-nom 3-sing   on   Layla-his
     The people are each singing for his Layla.

In Greek, [±definite] distinguishes collectives and strong distributives from weak ones, resulting also in a universal trilogy, *oʹlos*, *kathe, okʹathe(nas)*; as in Giannakidou (2012). Cross-linguistic

distributions and variations confirm our expectations about universal quantifier building types (Fassi Fehri 2018).

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✍

Demonstratives from Latin to Italian: A possible cycle?

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Keywords: Semantic-pragmatic cyclicity, demonstratives, Latin, Italian

Schedule: We 15.30 Room 8

This presentation explores the development of demonstratives from Latin to Italian in terms of a possible semantic-pragmatic cycle. More specifically, we will investigate whether this development constitutes an onomasiological cycle, where a given function comes to be expressed over time by different forms, whose original meaning is similar. Such forms can functionally compete for a while and gradually replace one another (cf. Hansen 2014, Ghezzi/Molinelli 2016, and Workshop IPrA 2017). In the literature, the 'Demonstrative cycle' has been mostly investigated with regard to demonstratives developing into articles and/or case markers (e.g. Mithun 2016) and, for Romance, focusing on French (Van Gelderen 2011: 219-224). In this study, by contrast, we focus on recurrent phases of demonstrative substitution whereby older forms have been gradually replaced by equifunctional elements resulting in items with the same categorial status. We aim at verifying whether such phases constitute segments of an onomasiological spyral.

The main steps of the cycle are as follows. Already in Latin, there was a functional competition between a simple form, *is* 'he$_{NOM.M.SG}$', and its reinforced counterparts *hic* and *iste* 'this$_{NOM.M.SG}$', the latter gradually replacing them. In many Romance languages, a new form emerged through the agglutination of a deictic element (e.g. It. *questo* < ECCU(M)-ISTU(M)). A new phase is attested in some

modern varieties, where demonstratives are often accompanied by a locative adverb (It. *questo qui* 'this here', *quello lì* 'that there': ex. 1). The addition of a locative adverb is fully grammaticalized in French (*celui-là*), whereas in Italian it constitutes a pragmatic option, often carrying a negative connotation (*emphatic deixis*: Lyons 1977).

(1) COSA?!?!?! ma come ancora mi devo sposare avere dei figli e **questo qui** vuole togliermi tutto?! (ItTenTen Corpus)
     'WHAT?!?!?! I still have to marry and have children and **this here** wants to take me for all I'm worth?!'

In Contemporary Italian, a new step led to the shortened variant *'sto*, sometimes reinforced by a locative adverb, again usually carrying a subjective nuance (ex. 2).

(2) Bella rogna **sta cosa qui** dell'autoritratto, bella rogna mi sono scelto... (ItTenTen Corpus)
     'It's a huge problem **this thing here** of a self-portrait, I have a huge problem'

This development can be compared with data from some northern varieties exhibiting a complex pattern with a demonstrative, originally indicating distance, and an adverb pointing to nearness and conveying the deictic interpretation, while the demonstrative is bleached (Friulan ['kel 'libri' **'ka**] 'that book **here**'='**this** book': Vanelli 1997: 112). Many languages, indeed, resort to locative adverbs to renew their demonstrative systems (Van Gelderen 2011: 197). In this study we shed light on the subsequent phases of cyclical substitution through the lens of grammaticalization and renewal, exploring the division of functional labor between the two constitutive parts (demonstrative form + deictic element, e.g. Lat. *ecce* or It. *qui*). The diachronic analysis is based on the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina* and the *Letteratura Italiana Zanichelli* corpus, whereas the *(que)sto qui* construction in Italian is explored through an Italian web corpus (*ItTenTen*) and a corpus of spoken Italian (*LIP*).

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Gender shift in Norwegian: The *ei litta*-construction

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Keywords: gender, constructions, Norwegian, morphological change

Schedule: Fri 15.00 Room 4

A new construction is emerging in Norwegian. This construction – here referred to as the *ei litta*-construction, involves a morphological marker of feminine gender, *ei*, as well as a lexical expression of diminutive; *litta* or *lita*, 'small'. The unmarked way of using this construction is with a noun with feminine gender, as in (1):

(1)   ei litt-a   jente
       a.F small-F girl.F
       'A small girl'

In these constructions, the meaning is – predictably – that of diminution. However, the novelty of the construction lies in its ability to occur with nouns that are *grammatically* masculine or neuter (2); sometimes also *biologically* masculine, as in (3):

(2)   ei   litt-a   hus
               a.F   small-F house.N
               'A small house'
(3)   ei   lit-a   prins
               a.F   small-F prince.M
               'a small prince

As we will show, the use in (2) and (3) generates a meaning beyond diminuition. In this presentation, we look at three aspects of the *ei litta*-construction, having extracted data from a 700 million word corpus of non-edited written language (NoWac, Guevara (2010)).

First, we address its use. What nouns can occur within the construction? We look at two aspects of the nouns that are found in the construction: firstly, at the distribution of abstract vs. concrete nouns, and find that both types of nouns may occur within the frames of the construction. Second, we look at the meaning of the nouns, using Wordnet's categories as point of departure (Princeton University, 2009), and find that nouns denoting time and events are most frequent. Thirdly, we address the meaning of the construction, with Jurafsky's radial category model as backdrop (Jurafsky, 1996), and find that the most salient meanings of the construction are size, affection, and hedge.

We also place the construction typologically and cross-linguistically within the frame of evaluative morphology, more specifically gender shift and diminuition used to express evaluative meaning (Di Garbo 2014; Scalise 1986). Typologically, we observe that the Norwegian construction is particular: it involves both a lexical marker of diminutive (*litta*), and a morphological marker of femininity (*ei*), and that it is the combination of the two, with masculine and neuter nouns, which triggers the specific meaning. Besides Opsahl's qualitative study (2017), this is the first systematic

observation of "gender shift" in a Norwegian construction; the meaning of which may best be captured through a constructional lens.

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⸕

Innovation and Grammaticalisation of Possessive Classifiers in Vanuatu

Michael Franjieh & Andrew Gray
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Schedule: Fri 14.00 Room 7

Oceanic languages typically indicate alienable possession using a possessive classifier carrying a possessor-indexing suffix and/or followed by a possessor noun (Lynch et al. 2002: 41-43). Many languages allow a choice of possessive classifiers expressing different categories of relationship between possessor and possessed. The Southern Melanesian languages of Vanuatu show a wide variety of classifiers arising from multiple origins, with some reflecting independent innovations. Based on data collated from 85 Vanuatu languages, we chart the innovation, grammaticalisation and merging of some of these possessive classifiers.

The languages of Vanuatu inherited the POc distinction between **ka-* 'edible, passive', **m^wa-* 'drinkable' classifiers, and a 'general' classifier for other alienable possessions, for which a variety of proto-forms can be reconstructed (Lynch et al. 2002: 77-79). This distinction between 'edible', 'drinkable' and 'general' alienable possession is widely reflected throughout Vanuatu.

We have identified a number of different grammaticalisation paths depending upon the source of a particular classifier – noun, preposition or verb. Innovations in classifiers commonly originate with nouns that have become reanalysed as possessive classifiers. Some innovations of this kind have occurred in parallel in a number of separate languages. For example Raljago (Ambrym), Sa (Pentecost) and several languages of the Banks, such as Vera'a and Vurës, have a classifier for boats or transport derived from PNCV **waqa* 'canoe'. These nouns are used as generic-specific pairings before undergoing phonological contraction followed by morphological re-analysis of the final

consonant to one of the possessor suffixes. This results in a syntactic analogy with other established classifiers:

STAGE 1: Noun		**STAGE 2: Generic-Specific**		
waḡa 'canoe'		*waḡa bulbul*	'canoe type'	
canoe		canoe canoe		(Hardacre n.d.)

STAGE 3: re-analysis		**STAGE 4: analogy**		
a-k	*bulbul* 'my canoe'	*a-k*	*anian* 'my food'	
POSS.CL-1SG	canoe	POSS.CL-1SG	food	(personal field-notes)

The final developmental stage has also resulted in homonymy between the canoe classifier and the food classifier which has lead to the synchronic merging of these two classifier categories and speakers no longer make a distinction between these two classifiers. The merging of different semantic categories crops up again and again in the data and is a powerful agent of language change in the domain of possessive classifiers.

While the majority of innovations in classifiers originate transparently from nouns, some classifiers appear to derive from other parts of speech. In Nese (Malekula), a preposition-derived possessive classifier *ji-* exists alongside the 'general' classifier *sa-* (Takau 2016). The innovation of classifiers from verbs is also attested. In Tamambo (Santo) the innovated classifier *koru-* for a deceased person's belongings, originates ultimately from the stative verb *koru* 'dry, dead' (Jauncey 2011). Classifiers which derive from these sources tend to be syntactically distinct from other established classifiers and show signs of not being fully grammaticalised. Thus we must make a distinction between 'incipient' and 'true' classifiers.

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Root clause phenomena may depend on a private act or on a public act

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Keywords: judgements, speech acts, syntactification of discourse

Schedule: Thu 9.30 Room 10

The paper argues that the possibility of root phenomena (RP) is not just related to the presence vs. absence of illocutionary force (contradicting a claim often made in the literature), but that a finer distinction is operative.

Krifka (2017), referring to Frege (1918) and Peirce (cf. Tuzet 2006), distinguishes the aspects in (1) involved in an assertion (and in other speech acts) and encodes these in syntax with the hierarchy in (2), the presence of the projections being implicational top down.

(1)   i.   conception of a proposition ϕ, which has truth conditions – TP,
      ii.   forming of a judgement by a person x concerning a proposition ϕ, a private act – JP,
      iii.   taking of a commitment by a person x towards ϕ – CmP,
      iv.   performing of a speech act by a person x involving ϕ, a public act – ActP.

(2)   ActP > CmP > JP > TP

The licensing of different not-at-issue expressions, to which RP belong, is sensitive to the different projections:

(I)   Some of the RP are ActP-dependent ('strong RP'), e.g., Hanging Topics (HTs), question tags, interjections.

(II) Many of the known RP are JP-dependent ('weak RP'); e.g., modal particles (MPs), marking of an aboutness-topic, German embedded V2-clauses.

(III) Some not-at-issue expressions are just TP-dependent, e.g., Right Dislocation.

Dependent clauses belong to different categories, e.g., central adverbial clauses and complement clauses of factive verbs are TPs; peripheral adverbial clauses and complement clauses of mental attitude verbs are JPs; continuative relatives and German verb-first causals are ActPs. Furthermore, an adverbial clause with an epistemic reading (Sweetser 1990) necessarily involves JP, i.e., the representation of a thinking subject.

Different features of the items in (I)-(III) are accounted for. For example, a question tag can appear in a German V1-causal, (1a), but cannot belong to any embedded clause since an ActP cannot be embedded (cf. Green 2000), (1b). Whereas a HT cannot occur embedded, the JP-dependent German left dislocation can under a mental attitude verb, (2a), a Right Dislocation may even occur everywhere, (2b). Binding from the host into an integrated adverbial clause containing a weak RP is not possible, (3), since a JP clause has to be attached high being in need of local licensing by the element which licenses the JP of its host. The paper will also draw consequences of the fact that an attributive non-restrictive AP may host strong RP, (4) (akin to Heringa 2012).

(1) a. Maria wird schnell promovieren, [ist sie doch sehr begabt,   hab ich recht?]
         Maria will quickly graduate   is   she MP very talented   have I right
    b. *[Weil Maria sehr begabt ist, hab ich recht], wird sie schnell   promovieren.
         since Maria very talented is   have I   right   will   she quickly graduate

(2) a. Maria glaubt/*bestreitet, Hans, der   wird kommen.
         Maria believes/denies   Hans ResPron   will   come
    b. Dass er kommt, der Hans, bestreitet Maria.
         that   he comes   the Hans denies   Maria

(3) Weil   er$_1$ (*)ja kräftig   geholfen hat, hat   jeder$_1$ etwas Geld   bekommen.
      because   he MP a lot   helped   has has   everyone some   money   got

(4) der bisher   größte – oder etwa nicht? – Bankenskandal
      the until-now biggest or MP not   bank-scandal

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⚖

Expressing emphatic assertion of identity: Evidence from Hill Mari

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Keywords: Uralic languages, focus particles, semantics, information structure, syntax

Schedule: Fri 9.30 Room 4

This paper deals with the semantics and syntax of the focus enclitic *=ok* in Hill Mari (Finno-Ugric). The data were collected in fieldwork in the village of Kuznetsovo and its surroundings (2016-2017, Mari El, Russia). We rely on both elicitation and a corpus of transcribed oral narratives (ca 25000 tokens; 233 entries of *=ok*).

In the previous works (Saarinen 1986; Sibatrova 1987) the properties of *=ok* were not analyzed in full detail; neither were they related to any typological background. We will propose its semantic invariant, which is emphatic assertion of identity. This notion is discussed in (König 1991) where it is linked to particles like German *ausgerechnet, eben, genau*, English *exactly, precisely* which focus the identity of two participants or match a situation to a certain scheme. In (1b) *=ok* marks the identity of the moment when the speaker wants to get money with the moment of speech, and in (2) it helps to clarify whether the person who swore is exactly Vasya.

(1)   a.*məläm*   ***kəzət***   *oksa-m*   *pu-ø=aj*
      I.DAT.1SG   now   money-ACC   give-IMP.2SG=PTCL
      'Give me some money now (perhaps later today)'.
      b. *məläm*   ***kəzət=ok***   *oksa-m*   *pu-ø=aj*
      I.DAT.1SG   now=OK   money-ACC   give-IMP.2SG=PTCL
      'Give me some money right now /immediately'.

(2)   ***vas'a=ok***   *sasl-en?*
      Vasya=OK   swear-PRET
      'It is Vasya who swore [at somebody], isn't it?'

The particles of the above-mentioned class have not received much attention in typology: apart from the research of E. König, they are discussed by e.g. Dobrovolskij & Levontina (2012) for Russian and German, Diewald (2013) for German, Beeching (2017) for English and French, Mingming (2018: 120–122, 146–147) for Chinese. We will provide some typological contribution, focusing on how the proposed invariant interacts with the semantics of different lexical and grammatical constructions and what syntactic restrictions are imposed on *=ok*.

The semantic effects of *=ok* will be discussed concerning quantifiers, reflexives, converbs, negation, imperatives, questions and correlatives. Thus, in constructions with the light verb *šalgaš* 'to stand' grammaticalized into frequentative *=ok* functions as an intensifier on a converb (3), and in imperatives it can in particular indicate making the social distance closer in polite requests (4).

(3) *papa*   *kečə*   *məčkə* *rad'io-m*   **kolə̂št=ok**   *šalg-a*
     grandmother day   along   radio-ACC   listen.to:CVB=OK   stand-NPST.3SG
     'Granny listens to the radio all day long (and cannot do anything else)'.

(4) *a. ti*   *pumaga-vlä-m*   *tok-em*   *anž-al-aš*
     kand-ə̂d=ok
       this   paper-PL-ACC   to-POSS.1SG   look-ATT-INF   bring-IMP.2PL=OK
       {A chief asks the secretary} 'Give me these documents to look through, please'.
   b. *tagačə̂ tidə̂* *prost'-alt-eš,*   *tol'ko*   *irgodə̂m*
     veremä-štə̂
       today   this   forgive-MED-NPST.3SG only   tomorrow   time-IN
     tol-da /   ***tol-d=ok**
       come-IMP.2PL   come-IMP.2PL=OK
       {'You are late again!} It is forgiven today, but come on time tomorrow!'

As regards syntactic properties, *=ok* most frequently modifies adverbials, nouns in locative cases, postpositions, converbs. However, it is ungrammatical on the dependents within the respective phrases. We propose that such constraints emerge because the phrases in question are lexical projections, *=ok* being subject to the Phase Impenetrability Condition. This entails that the material inside a lexical projection and the material outside it (including *=ok* in our case) form separate Spell-Out domains and, consequently, that syntactic operations like Agree are inapplicable to the heads within such separate domains (Chomsky 2000; Abels 2003), rendering impossible the appearance of *=ok* inside the phrases.

Abbreviations
1, 2, 3 – 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; ACC – accusative; ADD – additive particle; ATT – attenuative; ATTR– attributivizer; CVB– converb; DAT– dative; IMP– imperative; IN– inessive; INF– infinitive; MED– medial voice; NPST– non-past tense; POSS– possessive; PTCL– particle; PL– plural; SG – singular.

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⚗

The diachrony of 'rather than'-clauses revisited

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Keywords: adverbial subordination, preference clauses, 'before'-clauses, Udmurt, Uralic, Permic

Schedule: Thu 14.30 Room 8

In this talk, I deal with a type of adverbial subordinate clauses, namely, 'rather than'- or *preference clauses*. Diachronically, preference clauses develop from temporal clauses, and the semantic change involves the conventionalization of the implicature: '(temporal) precedence > preference' (Traugott–König 1991). In terms of syntax, Kortmann (1996: 190) proposes two diachronic origins:

(i) temporal adverb in a comparative construction;
(ii) 'before'-clauses.

The latter path has attracted less attention in the literature than the former (example of the former are English 'rather than'-clauses; Gergel 2009 a.o.). For instance, Nedjalkov (1998: 439) mentions that in Chuvash, Karachay-Balkar, Kalmyk, Lezgian, Udmurt and Mari, there is a converb encoding both 'before'- and 'rather than'-clauses. However, neither a synchronic, nor a diachronic analysis has been proposed. I shed light on this diachronic change by presenting a synchronic and diachronic description of preference clauses in Udmurt (Uralic; Permic). The Udmurt converb *-toź* encodes 'until'-, 'before'-, 'while'- and 'rather than'-clauses. The data come from own fieldwork, corpora and Munkácsi (1887).

Synchronically, the *-toź*-converbs can have a preference reading if the matrix predicate is modal, e.g. future tense, conditional, imperative, optative, or modal auxiliary. Thus, Udmurt preference clauses resemble the English 'would rather'-construction (Gergel 2009), in which *rather* appears with a modal auxiliary. English 'before'-clause can also have a preference reading when used with a modal (*He'd sit alone in the dark before he'd watch television*; Quirk et al. 1985: 1112). In (1), the matrix clause contains the optative particle *med*.

(1) (Turku-Izhevsk Corpus/Kenesh/D/5:1692-1693)

Noš   velosiped,   [lapas   uli̮n   śiśmi̮-toź],   ton   kaď   žeč   aďami-li̮
but   bicycle   shed   under   rotten-CVB   you   like   good   person-DAT
služiť   med   kar-o-z.
serve   OPT   do-FUT-3SG
'But may the bicycle serve a good person like you rather than rotten under the shed.'

Example (1) expresses preference, i.e. *bouletic modality*. Preference clauses are said to require a volitional subject referent (Kortmann 1996: 89). In Udmurt, however, preference clauses are very often speaker-oriented, and not subject-oriented, as in (1). Consequently, the subject might be inanimate, thus unvolitional (cf. *velosiped* 'bicycle').

The *-toź*-converbs are used in all Permic languages to encode temporal clauses, but preference clauses are attested only in Udmurt (Bartens 2000, Muraviev 2017). I argue that the Udmurt *-toź*-converbs have undergone the following change: 'temporal > preference'. The change must have happened before the late 19th century since preference clauses are already attested in the Munkácsi's (1887) text collections. Crucially, in all preference clauses from Munkácsi (1887), the matrix clause contains the optative particle. Therefore, I suggest that the change might have started in optative/imperative contexts. This also explains why preference clauses in Udmurt are generally speaker-oriented: the optative/imperative expresses the volition of the speaker.

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The structure and diachronic development of n-deletion in Central Franconian varieties

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Keywords: phonology, sandhi, prosodic hierarchy, regional variation, sound change

Schedule: Thu 11.30 Room 10

The historical dialect region of Central Franconian covers a large continuum in Germany, France, Luxembourg, Belgium and the Netherlands, with a wide range of varying standard-dialect constellations and levelling processes. These dialects therefore represent a fruitful testbed for the comparative reconstruction of phonological processes.

In this talk we will discuss the deletion of the word-final alveolar nasal, which is conditioned in Central Franconian by several phonological, prosodic, morphological and sociolinguistic parameters. In addition, these parameters can vary also regionally in the area, hinting at a historically graded development and diffusion. Post-schwa *n*-deletion, e.g., is nearly categorical in the ripuarian-limburgian transition zone - similar to most varieties of Dutch -, but conditionally variable in monosyllabic words after lax vowels (Hinskens 2009). In Luxembourgish, however, nearly all final nasals are affected by a sandhi rule, depending on the initial sound of the following word (Gilles 2014). This sandhi rule is also present in the ripuarian-limburgian dialects, but in a subset of the prosodic domains. These observations thus point to deeper structural similarities despite differences on the surface level.

Based on a selection of data points in the Central Franconian region, an attempt is made to grasp and systematize the various characteristics. The analysis will focus on aspects of the left-hand context of the word being affected by *n*-deletion, the right-hand context, which triggers the deletion as well as the kind of the intervening prosodic boundary in the prosodic hierarchy. On the basis of the regional variation in the distribution and conditioning of the phenomenon, the diachronic development and expansion of the *n*-deletion will be reconstructed. In the concluding phonological modelling, we explore how the different forms of *n*-deletion can be classified in the' Life Cycle of Sound change' (cf. z.B. Bermúdez-Otero 2015; Ramsammy 2015).

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✄

On the syntax of modal expressions: The case of Modern Eastern Armenian

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Keywords: modals, restructuring, focus, long distance focus, cleft clauses

Schedule: We 11.00 Room 9

Introduction: It is a well-known fact that modals can be expressed by means of a variety of lexical and morphological forms (Bybee et Al., 1994). Modern Eastern Armenian (MEA) is a case in point, in that modals can be realized as particles, full verbs and impersonal verbal forms. However, in spite of the different realizations, all MEA modals can undergo restructuring (Rizzi 1982, Cinque 2006), giving rise to a mono-clausal structure. These observations are relevant both for comparative linguistics and for a theory of Universal Grammar, in that they can shed light on very general properties of modals, independent of their morpho-syntactic realization.

The data: MEA modals can be realized in a variety of ways. The Armenian modal corresponding to English *must*, can be expressed by means of an invariant particle *piti*, followed by a subjunctive verbal form, agreeing with the subject, or as a sequence particle+auxiliary, obligatorily third person, *petk' ē*, followed by a subjunctive verbal form agreeing with the subject:

(1)   Ara-n   xnjor-ə **piti**   ut-i
       Ara-ART   apple-ART   must   eat-SUBJ.3SG
(2)   Ara-n   xnjor-ə **petk' ē** ut-i
       Ara-ART   apple- ART   must AUX.3SG   eat-SUBJ.3SG
       'Ara must eat the apple'

The modal (roughly) equivalent to English *can*, is expressed by means of an adjectival form + a third person auxiliary, agreeing with the subject, followed by an infinitive:

(3)   Ara-n   tun-ə   **karoł ē**   gn-el
       Ara-ART   house-ART   capable AUX.3SG   buy-INF
       'Ara can buy the house'

Finally, the modal *want* is realized as a full verb agreeing with the subject followed by an infinival form (indicative tenses in MEA are generally realized as periphrastic form, participle +Aux):

(4)   Ara-n   tun-ə   **uz-um ē**   gn-el
        Ara-ART   house- ART   want-PRES.PTCP AUX.3SG   buy-INF
        'Ara wants to buy the house'

The analysis: We will show that in spite of the different properties, MEA modals can undergo restructuring. In particular, we capitalize on previous work (references omitted), where we show that focus is obtained by raising the auxiliary in V2 position next to the focused phrase:

(5)   SALORN   ē   Siranə kerel
        Plum-the   AUX.3SG   Siran   eat-PRES.PTCP
        'Siran has eaten THE PLUM'

Long distance focus is disallowed, in that it is *impossible* to raise the auxiliary next to the focused phrase *across a clause boundary*:

(6)   *KARINEN   ē   bolorə giten,   wor   alor-ə   **kerel**
        KARINE   AUX.3SG   everybody knows that plum-the   eat-PRES.PTCP

In this case, a cleft constructions is obligatory:

(7)   KARINEN ē,   wor   bolorə giten,   wor   salor-ə
        KARINE AUX.3SG   that   everybody knows   that   plum-the
        kerel   ē
        eat-PRES.PTCP   AUX.3SG
        'It is Karine that everybody knows that is eating the plum'

In order to obtain focus, modals always allow the equivalent of (6), showing that *a monoclausal structure is available*:

(8)   XNJOR-ə   **piti/ petk' ē**   Ara-n   ut-i
        apple-ART   must   Ara-ART   eat- SUBJ.3SG
        'Ara must eat the APPLE'
(9)   TUN-ə   **karoł ē**   Ara-n   gn-el
        house-ART   capable AUX.3SG   Ara-ART   buy- INF
        'Ara can buy the HOUSE'
(10)   TUN-n   ē   **uz-um**   Ara-n   gn-el
        house- ART   AUX.3SG   want- PRES.PTCP   Ara-ART   buy-INF
        'Ara wants to buy the HOUSE'

Conclusion: We will provide a syntactic representation, along the lines sketched by Cinque (2006), introducing however some differences, to account for the constructions in MEA.

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⤫

Talking about inner worlds: Individual vs. sociolinguistic variation in the expression of epistemic stance and reported speech and thought in Yurakaré

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Keywords: epistemic stance, reported speech and thought, individual variation, sociolinguistic variation, Yurakaré

Schedule: We 17.30 Room 12

The present paper offers an analysis of inter-speaker variation regarding expressions of epistemic stance and reported speech and thought in Yurakaré, a linguistic isolate spoken in central Bolivia by an estimated number of 2,000 speakers. Epistemic stance as well as reported speech and thought are concerned with expressing 'inner worlds' (Barth & Evans 2017: 9): Epistemic stance relates to the inner worlds of speaker and addressee, while reported speech and thought pertain to the inner worlds of speaker, addressee, or third parties. The present paper sets out to demonstrate that much of the inter-speaker variation regarding the linguistic items and constructions used as expressions of epistemic stance and reported speech/thought cannot be explained with any of the demographic and socioeconomic variables that have been found to be reflected in sociolinguistic variation. Rather, the patterns of variation can mostly be related to individual speakers. These findings result from an analysis of all instances of epistemic stance and reported speech/thought expressions in a corpus consisting of video-recorded data collected using the Family Problems Picture Task (San Roque et al. 2012), a narrative and interactive problem-solving task designed to encourage the speakers' use of linguistic categories pertaining to the expression of social cognition, such as epistemic stance and reported speech and thought. The corpus contains around 6 hours of data from 15 different Yurakaré speakers. The Yurakaré Family Problems data form part of a larger cross-linguistic project on social cognition in language, the Social Cognition Parallax Interview Corpus (SCOPIC; see Barth & Evans 2017). The observation that the two categories examined here show such a high degree of individual variation clearly demonstrates that linguistic variation is not always socially stratified, and that individual variation is more important in language than is often thought. This is in line with previous studies by e.g. Dorian (1994) and Johnstone (1996) that demonstrate the significance of the individual voice in language.

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Polish Experiencer Dative – The problem of its base position

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Keywords: Experiencer datives, binding by objects, anaphor agreement effect

Schedule: Thu 10.00 Room 4

We examine two types of Polish psychological predicates with dative experiencers (Exp_{DAT}) in experiencer-theme (Exp-Th) constructions selecting: a) a nominative theme (Th_{NOM}), and b) a non-nominative theme ($Th_{non-NOM}$). Based on the binding potential of Exp_{DAT}s, some (e.g. Miechowicz-Mathiasen and Scheffler 2008, Fernández and Rozwadowska 2016) argue that Exp_{DAT} is an internal argument projected in [Spec;VP]. Others, (e.g. Miechowicz-Mathiasen 2005, Bondaruk 2017) argue for [Spec;vP] as Exp_{DAT}'s position. In order to test the two accounts, we conduct two experiments comparing indirect object (IO_{DAT}) binders (Exp1) and Exp_{DAT} binders (Exp2). Under [Spec;VP]-analysis of Exp_{DAT}s, we expect IO_{DAT}s and Exp_{DAT}s to show similar binding potential.

In both experiments, we elicit grammaticality judgments using a 7-point Likert scale, testing four binary variables. Here, we focus on one variable - bindee.type (possessive pronoun vs. possessive reflexive), illustrated in (1) for $IO_{DAT,}$ and (2) for Exp_{DAT}.

(1)   Exp 1 - indirect object (IO_{DAT}) binding direct object (DO_{ACC})
Babcia   pokazała   wnukowi₁   swoją₁/jego₁   kuzynkę.
granny₃ₛ₉.F.ₙₒₘ showed₃ₛ₉.F.ₚₛₜ grandson_DAT   self/his   cousin_ACC.
'Grandmother showed her grandson his cousin'

(2)   Exp 2 – experiencer (Exp_{DAT}) binding theme (Th_{NOM})
Markowi₁   podobają   się   swoje₁/jego₁   koleżanki.
Marek ₃ₛ₉.M.DAT please₃ₚₗ   REFL   self_NOM/his_GEN friends₃ₚₗ.ₙₒₘ.
'Marek likes his (female) friends'

The results of Exp1 confirm the claims in the literature (Willim 1989; Reinders-Machowska 1991; Witkoś 2003, 2007; a.o) - IO_{DAT} cannot bind reflexives (main effect of bindee.type $F(1,56)=103.74$, $p<.001$). Exp2 shows a similar effect - Exp_{DAT}s can bind only pronouns; reflexives are rated unacceptable (bindee.type $F(1,71) = 86,812$, $p=.000$). The similar results of Exp 1 and Exp 2 indicate that the IO_{DAT} of DOCs and Exp_{DAT}s in Exp-Th contexts occupy the same position, [Spec;VP].

However, this conclusion, is unexpected in the light of analyses taking Exp_{DAT}s to be projected higher than IO_{DAT}s. Moreover, if we consider a broader range of Polish Exp-Th contexts, it seems, in

fact, that Exp_{DAT}s can bind anaphors in $Th_{non-NOM}$ (Witkoś 2007, Bondaruk 2017). Thus, if Exp_{DAT} can bind anaphors, it should be merged higher, in [Spec;vP], and the unacceptability of anaphors in (2) could be due to a different factor than the low position of Exp_{DAT}. We consider the Anaphor Agreement Effect (AAE) (Rizzi 1990, Woolford 1999, Bondaruk 2017) as a possible factor blocking anaphor binding in Th_{NOM}. Rizzi (1990: 26) submits that "anaphors do not occur in syntactic positions construed with agreement". Thus, because Th_{NOM} agrees with T, a nominative-marked anaphor is illicit. Should: a) AAE hold for Polish, and b) Exp_{DAT} be merged high, we expect Exp_{DAT} to bind anaphors embedded in non-agreeing NPs. In our third experiment, we compare binding by Exp_{DAT} in the contexts with Th_{NOM} and $Th_{non-NOM}$ as in e.g. (3), using the same binary variables as in Exp1 and Exp2.

(3) Exp 3 – experiencer (Exp_{DAT}) binding nominative vs. non-nominative theme ($Th_{non-NOM}$)

    a. $Kuzynce_1$ przypomniała się $swoja_1/jej_1$ przyjaciółka.

    $cousin_{DAT}$ recalled$REFL$ self's/her$_{NOM}$ friend$_{NOM}$

    'My cousin recalled her friend.'

    a. Marii było żal swojego/jej młodszego brata.

    Maria$_{DAT}$ was pity self's/her$_{GEN}$ younger brother$_{GEN}$

    'Maria was ashamed because of her younger brother'

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⊗

Sounds like an adverb?:
Morphosyntactic properties of ideophones in Amazonian Kichwa

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Keywords: Quechua, Kichwa, adverbs, morphosyntax, sound-symbollism

Schedule: We 16.30 Room 7

Ideophones are 'marked words that depict sensory imagery' (Dingemanse 2011), which stand out on the basis of their phonological and morphosyntactic properties, as well as the kind of meaning they convey. These depictive words are relatively common cross-linguistically, but have thus far been granted limited attention from both descriptive and theoretical perspectives (cf. Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz 2001; Dingemanse 2011, Reiter 2012; Dingemanse & Akita 2017).

This talk focuses on ideophones in Tena Kichwa, a Quechuan language of the Amazonian Kichwa dialect cluster, spoken in Ecuador. Amazonian Kichwa ideophones have previously been analysed as 'sound-symbolic adverbs', but also as 'markers of aspect' (Nuckolls 1996). In the talk, I clarify the previous descriptions by providing a through corpus-based analysis of the morphosyntactic properties of Amazonian Kichwa ideophones.

I base my analysis on a ca. 20h corpus of naturalistic spoken Kichwa, transcribed and translated into Spanish by native speakers. My analysis has shown that Tena Kichwa, sound-symbolic expressions most often describe manner, sound, type of action, or direction, speed or characteristics of movement, and that they vary with respect to their integration into the predicate. Consider:

(1)

yapa	*tsi*	*tsi*	*shamu-sha...*	*mana*	*gustu*	*wata-ri-n...*
very	IDEO	IDEO	come-COREF	NEG	nice	tie-ANTIC-3

'[the string] goes *tsi tsi* a lot (it slides in repetitive, short movements)....it doesn't tie well'

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(2)

Mashti	*machete,*	*ichilla*	*machete-wa,*	*tias*	*tias*	*tias*	*tias*
what.is.it	machete	small	machete-INSTR	IDEO	IDEO	IDEO	IDEO

'Whatsitsname….machete, [you have to form the recipient] with little machete *tias tias tias tias*… (with a series of short, fast blows).'

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In (1), the ideophone occurs pre-verbally in the cannonical adverbial position, and is modified by the degree modifier *yapa* ('very'). By contrast, the ideophone in (2) is post-verbal and detached from the rest of the clause by a pause. In both examples the ideophones expresses a complex ideas associated with manner and path of movement.

On the basis of the corpus, the similarities and differences between Tena Kichwa ideophones and 'standard' adverbs can be summarised by the following points:

(i) Both 'standard' adverbs and ideophones occur most frequently in pre-verbal position, as in (1) but ideophones are more frequently post-verbal or detached from the predicate, as in (2);

(ii) Ideophones are 'performateively foregrounded' (Nuckolls 1996) e.g. by means of

changes in pitch, phonation, or by vowel lenghtening, much more frequently than 'standard' adverbs;

(iii) 'Standard' adverbs are mostly derived from adjectives by means of the suffix *-ta* (ACC). Only a very small set of underived manner adverbs is attested in the corpus. By contrast, the corpus reveals a large set of ideophones that need no additional morphology to function as verb modifiers;

 (iv) Derived adverbs are never modified by limitative enclitic *=lla*, which occurs frequently on ideophones and non-derived adverbs.

I will illustrate the above properties of ideophones and adverbs with audio-visual clips extracted from the corpus. This will also allow me to discuss the association between gesture and the more expressive instances of ideophone use.

Moreover, I will show that the discussion of Tena Kichwa data is relevant to the current research into cross-linguistic properties of sound-symbolic expressions. In their work on morphosyntactic typology of ideophones, Dingemanse and Akita (2017) recently claimed that there is an inverse correlation between expressiveness and syntactic integration, backing this observation with data from Japanese. The properties of Tena Kichwa ideophones provide additional evidence in support of the cross-linguistic validity of this claim.

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ℬ

Ditransitive constructions in Surgut Khanty

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Keywords: indirective alignment, secundative alignment

Schedule: Sa 10.00 Room 2

Ditransitive constructions consist of a ditransitive verb with an Agent (A), a Theme-like (T) and a Recipient-like (R) argument (Haspelmath 2005). In contrast, monotransitive constructions contain a single Patient-like (P) inner argument (Malchukov et al. 2010):

 (1) *I read* [_P*a story*].

(2) *I read* [T*a story*] [R*to you*].

     The present paper demonstrates some morphosyntactic properties of ditransitive constructions in Surgut Khanty (Uralic, Ugric). Although previous studies have been carried out on this topic (Csepregi 2015a, b), some questions remain still unsolved. The data provided here were collected on two fieldwork trips from four Eastern Khanty language consultants, furthermore a text corpus covering various genres (Csepregi 2011) has been studied.

     There are two types of ditransitive alignment in Surgut Khanty. The first one is the indirective alignment, where the T argument patterns with P in (3). In another type, the secundative construction, which is more frequently used in (4), the R argument patterns with P (for the typology of alignment types, see Malchukov et al. 2010):

(3) Surgut Khanty (L.N.K.)

Āŋki	[R*ńēwrem-əʌ-a*]	[T*wēʌi*]		*mə-ʌ.*
mother	child-3SG-LAT	reindeer		give-PRS.3SG

'The mother gives a reindeer to her child.'

(4) Surgut Khanty (L.N.K.)

Āŋki	[R*ńēwrem-əʌ*]		[T*wēʌi-jat*]	*mə-ʌ.*
mother	child-3SG		reindeer-INSF	give-PRS.3SG

'The mother gives her child a reindeer.'

     Surgut Khanty has an asymmetrical case system (cf. Csepregi 2011), and this property affects indexing in the ditransitive constructions. While the T (and also the P) argument is always unmarked in the case of nouns, the pronominal T and R are marked either with the dative (5) or the accusative (6):

(5) Surgut Khanty (Csepregi 2015b)

Īmi	[R*māntem*]	[T*ńāń*]		*mə-ʌ.*
woman	I.DAT	bread		give-PRS.3SG

'The woman gives bread to me.'

(6) Surgut Khanty (Csepregi 2015b)

Īmi	[R*mānt*]	[T*ńāń-at*]		*mə-ʌ.*
woman	I.ACC	bread-INSF		give-PRS.3SG

'The woman gives (some) bread to me.'

     In my talk, I will discuss these alignment patterns focusing on both the nature of passivization and on word order properties. I will show that the reason for the less frequent use of the indirective type can be the less topicalized status of its R argument. Preliminary data show support for this assumption.

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✄

From complementizer to quotative. Two types of Polish *że*

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Keywords: complementizer, quotative, Polish

Schedule: Thu 12.00 Room 4

Introduction: The Polish complementizer *że* (Comp) in (1) has a homophonous quotative counterpart (Quot) that is used to introduce direct quotations, typically in spontaneous spoken language, as in (2):

(1) myślę/pomysł, że powinniśmy odpocząć
    'I think/the idea that we should rest'

(2) (Spokes corpus)
    każde te zajęcia to się kończyły płaczem dlatego bo te dziewczyny po prostu
    'Each of those classes ended in tears because those girls just'
    że "I cannot take this anymore" i po prostu wiesz **że** "this bitch hates me" i tak dalej
    'ŻE "I cannot take this any more" and, just, you know, ŻE "This bitch hates me" and so on'

Question: Are Comp and Quot functions of one element (i.e. of Comp via ellipsis of the report verb) or two elements?

Approach and methodology: Analysis of corpus data and of constructed examples to fill in what corpora cannot tell us. The corpus data come from Spokes, a corpus of conversational Polish (Pęzik 2015). Data retrieval consisted in reviewing all occurrences of *że* in Spokes by hand; direct quotation uses were selected for inclusion.

Results 1: Differences between Comp and Quot include (a) functions: complementation vs. quotation (including speech, thought, constructed discourse, facial expressions, etc.), (b) association with vs. dissociation from head elements, (c) (non-)optionality, (d) contrasting distributions relative to left and right context (as in (3)), (e) (non)-constituency, (f) the possibility of joint occurrence of the two in

appropriately constructed examples. Further, a V-ellipsis account of *że*-quotation is only valid for a minority of cases (those complying with the identity condition).

(3) (Spokes)
  padło pytanie *że_COMP/że_QUOT „a czy masz faceta?”
  'The question was asked ŻE "Do you have a boyfriend?"'

Interim conclusion: Quot and Comp, although related, function as seperate elements. Quot needs to be recognized on top of Comp.

Results 2: On further inspection of the data, one observes grey-area cases of *że*-quotation, falling in between (1) and (2), which seem to share some characteristics of complementation (association to heads or head-like elements). Still, they also display properties of Quot, e.g. substantial insensitivity to the type of leftward context and increased compatibility with non-canonical heads, cf.:

  (i)   Canonical heads: selected verbs and abstract nominals, as in (1).
  (ii) Non-canonical head(-like) elements in *że*-quotation, as in (4) and (5).

(4) (Spokes)
  ta jego **mina** co jakiś czas, **że** „ja już nie daję rady”
  'This face expression of his every now and again ŻE "I can't take it any more"'

(5) (Spokes)
  Zrobiliśmy na jednym konkursie takie **prześcieradło że** „Łódź rządzi”
  'At one competition we made this bed sheet ŻE "Łódź rules"'

Refined conclusion: Between the extreme ends of the Quot – Comp distinction, there is a substantial spectrum of overlap, i.e. there are quotative uses displaying varied degrees of a complementation-like relation. This supports the assumption that Quot has developed from Comp; still, the two have diverged enough from each other for them to be recognized as two distinct elements in the grammatical system.

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<div align="center">⚕</div>

Changing human impersonal pronouns in English: A corpus study

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Keywords: impersonal, pronouns, English, diachronic

Human impersonal pronouns introduce non-specific, often generic, participants into discourse, avoiding the identification of specific individuals for different reasons. In contrast to many other European languages, English does not (anymore) possess an expression that is dedicated to the impersonal function. In this paper, I will present a corpus study that traces changes in the distribution of impersonal uses of the Modern English pronouns *one*, *you*, *they* and *people* (cf. [1]-[4]).

Also when sleeping in woods **one** wakes very soon, […]. [ARCHER, 1957maca.f8b]
You can't understand a thing the bloody man says. [ARCHER, 1973trev.f8b]
The workhouse where **they** put me. **They** beat you there like a drum. [ARCHER, 1979pomr.d8a]
Well, you know, in spite of all, **people** do say he is clever. [ARCHER, 1899mart.d6b]

There is substantial work on impersonal reference in Old, Middle and Early Modern English (Fröhlich 1951, Meyer 1953, Jud-Schmid 1956, Rissanen 1997, and Seoane Posse 2000), and it is clear that the demise of the dedicated impersonal *man* in late Middle English has led to some degree of reorganization among the remaining forms and also with respect to the division of labour between the latter and the passive construction (Jud-Schmid 1956, van Gelderen 1997, Los 2009, and Light & Wallenberg 2015).

In order to trace more recent changes, all instances of *one*, *you*, *they* and *people* were extracted from the ARCHER corpus (version 3.1, covering the period 1650 to 1999) and manually coded as impersonal or personal. In addition to information about registers and diachronic stages, more specific lexical and morphosyntactic features of the data points have been identified in order to explore changes in usage conditions. These include the syntactic function of the pronoun and features of the clause, such as clause type, verb class and the presence of modal verbs. In addition, I categorized the semantics/pragmatics of each instance, checking whether the hearer was part of the group generalized over, whether the sentence described a generalizing or an episodic state of affairs and whether the speaker used the impersonal to hide self-reference behind an apparent generalization.

Quantitative analyses of the data indicate that a number of changes in frequency and usage conditions of human impersonal pronouns have taken place. *Inter alia*, it can be observed that the well-known unpopularity of impersonal *one* in American English is already visible in the 17th-century data. In both British and American English, the frequency of impersonal *one* and *you* has risen after 1850. In addition, those subtypes of impersonal *you* that deviate more from its canonical use (simulation and self-reference) have become more common in these later stages, too, possibly as a consequence of extralinguistic developments (cf. Nielsen et al. 2009 on similar developments in Danish). In the last part of the talk, the English findings will be compared to what is known about the diachrony of impersonal strategies in other European languages.

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Topic/Focus vs. Given/New: Information Structure and Coreference Relations in an Annotated Corpus

Eva Hajičová & Jiří Mírovský

(Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic)

Keywords: Topic/Focus, Given/New, Information Structure, Coreference

Schedule: Fri 16.00 Room 9

1. Research question

We put under scrutiny two dichotomies discussed in the information structure literature, namely the dichotomy of topic and focus based on the relation of *aboutness*, and the dichotomy between *given* and *new* information (Halliday 1967; for a discussion of some further aspects and more subtle divisions, see Krifka 2008). In particular, we examine whether the topic/focus dichotomy (theme/rheme, or whatever terms may be used) can be based on the distinction between given and new information, or whether the 'aboutness' relation is a more appropriate basis.

2. Approach

With the approach we subscribe to (Sgall et al. 1986; Hajičová et al. 1998), information structure of the sentence (its Topic-Focus articulation) is understood as based on the relation of *aboutness* (Krifka 2008 mistakenly interprets our approach as based on the given–new strategy), that is as a *linguistic* rather than a *cognitive* structuring, as illustrated by the following examples:

> Mary called Jim a Republican.
> (a) Then he insulted HER.
> (b) Then he INSULTED her.

In both (a) and (b), Jim and Mary are (cognitively) 'known' since they are referred to in the preceding sentence, but only (b) is linguistically structured as being about them and the information in the Focus

is the event of insulting. This interpretation is supported by the different intonation patterns indicated by the capitals.

3. Method

We start from the hypothesis that a 'given' item in a sentence must be somehow anchored in the previous sentence(s) while a 'new' item lacks such an anchoring, i.e. we study the Topic/Focus dichotomy vis-a-vis coreference relations (cf. Prince 1981; Kuno 1972).

4. Data

For our study, we use the annotated Czech data from the Prague Discourse Treebank 2.0 (PDiT 2.0; M. Rysová et al., 2016), which provides (i) the bipartition of the sentence into Topic (T) and Focus (F), and (ii) basic anaphoric relations, incl. some types of bridging. Such an annotation has allowed us to follow both the absence and the presence of anaphoric links leading from some element of the Focus of the sentence to the preceding context. In case of an absence of such a link, we may conclude that the Focus of the sentence is 'new'; a presence of such a link indicates the presence of a 'given' element in the Focus.

5. (Achieved) observations and (expected) results

We put under scrutiny Czech documents of 10 different genres containing more than 20 sentences each. In 7286 cases (37%), there was no anaphoric link leading from the Focus of the given sentence to some element of the previous sentence(s); and there were 12159 cases (63%) where there was a link from an element in the Focus of the sentence to some element occurring in the previous sentence(s), out of which in 6453 cases (53% of 12159) the link led to the Focus and in 5706 cases (47%) the link led to the Topic.

The following preliminary observations can be stated:

(a) The observed numbers show that in most cases (63%), the Focus part of the sentence does not represent 'new' information.

(b) In case the coreferential link from an element of the given sentence led to an element in the Focus of the preceding sentence, the anaphoric relation is mostly of the type of bridging and is often interpreted as a contrast.

In the presentation, we (i) illustrate the above observations by actual corpus examples, (ii) present more detailed statistical data, and (iii) discuss the limits of the applied approach to givenness, also with regard to the syntactic coding (Givon 1983, Ariel 1990).

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⤫

The systematicity behind blending

Camiel Hamans

(University of Amsterdam/Adam Mickiewicz University Poznań)

Keywords: blends, prosodic morphology, regularity

Schedule: We 16.30 Room 10

This paper aims to show that blending is a largely systematic process, contrary to the traditional claim that blends or portmanteau words are irregular. The data discussed in this presentation come from the literature about blends and are mainly English.

Blends are a concatenation of portions of two words:

(1) brunch < breakfast + lunch
    smog < smoke + fog
(2) stagflation < stagnation + inflation
    advertorial < advertisement + editorial

Since the cutting off point in these blends seems to be unpredictable, Bauer (2003:47) questions whether blends form a real part of morphology.

In the first part of this presentation, a short overview of the traditional and of the cognitive linguistic literature on blends will be given. Most of this research concentrates on classifying blends within different types (Cannon 1986 & Kemmer 2003). The result of this taxonomy is a range of different types of blends in which hardly any regularity can be detected.

In the second part of the presentation it will demonstrated how the work of Kelly (1998) can be seen as a next step in the analysis of blends. Kelly studied the differences between the two source words that are fused in blends. Although he found already some interesting differences and tendencies, Kelly's observations did not lead to clear word formation conditions or constraints. The same can be said about the very sophisticated statistical studies of Gries (2004a, b, c). However, the finding of Gries that the first source word contributes its left part to the blend, where it becomes the beginning of the resulting form, and the second source words its final part, will turn out to be of great importance for the formation of blends.

In the third part of the presentation formal aspects of blend formation will be studied. It will be demonstrated how an Optimality Theory approach of morphological prosodic aspects may reveal the systematicity of blend formation.

Beard (1998:57) was the first to observe that the prosodic structure of the derived forms, thus the blends, must be identical with that of the model, which is the second source word. This observation

formed the basis for several articles within an Optimality framework which concluded that blends tend to copy the prosodic structure of the head, usually the second source word (Piñeros 2000 & 2002), Bat-El & Cohen 2012, Trommer & Zimmermann 2012, Arndt-Lappe & Plag 2012 etc.)

Plag (2003:122) and Bauer a.o. (2013: 458) formalized Gries' observation into a production rule:

(1) A   B   + C   D   → A D
(2) Ox ford   + Cam bridge   → Oxbridge

Continuing and building on these studies it will be shown that the second source word not only determines the prosodic pattern of the blend, but that the syllabic structure of this second source word also is decisive. The conclusion will be that the faithfulness constraint that preserves the phonological and metrical properties of the second source word outranks the similar constraint which aims at preserving the properties of the first source word.

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ℒ

Semantic/pragmatic cyclicity in the evolution of pragmatic markers: The case of French *ainçois/ainz* and *plus tôt/plutôt*

Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen
(University of Manchester)

Keywords: historical linguistics, meaning change, pragmaticalization, discourse markers

Schedule: We 15.00 Room 8

It has been known since the early 20th c. that certain types of linguistic items/constructions tend to evolve in a cyclic fashion across languages. Thus, van Gelderen (2011) identifies a total of seven well-documented diachronic cycles pertaining to (morpho-)syntactic items/constructions across a wide variety of languages.

This paper will investigate cyclicity at a different level of linguistic description, i.e. semantics and pragmatics. The idea that there might be cyclic movements at this level was first explicitly proposed by Hansen (2014) and (independently) by Ghezzi/Molinelli (2014).

Hansen (2018) introduces a distinction between the following basic types of semantic/pragmatic cyclicity:

(i) Semasiological (or form-focused) cyclicity, in which a linguistic item with a given etymology can be observed to renew its functions in a cyclic fashion across different stages of language evolution, starting each cycle with a similar content-level source meaning/function and subsequently developing context-level extensions that are largely identical to, or at least significantly overlap with, the context-level meanings/functions of its etymon/etyma.

(ii) Onomasiological (or function-focused) cyclicity, in which etymologically different items with similar content-level source meanings/functions can be observed to subsequently develop similar context-level extensions across different stages of language evolution.

In this paper, I will consider in greater depth a case of onomasiological cyclicity, namely the respective semantic/pragmatic developments of Old French *ainçois/ainz* (< Vulgar Latin comparative *ANTIUS* 'before/sooner/earlier') and Old/Modern French *plus tôt/plutôt*. The study is based on data from the Frantext data base, which has (where possible) been sampled at appr. 25-year intervals from the 10th to the 21st c.

In older stages of French, the forms *ainçois/ainz*, on the one hand, and *plus tôt/plutôt*, on the other, are essentially spelling variants. Both *ainçois/ainz* and *plus tôt/plutôt* have the same temporal comparative source meaning and both develop similar (if not completely identical) pragmatic uses, initially marking preference, and subsequently correction. However, *ainçois/ainz* falls into complete obsolescence around the 16th c., at which time corrective uses of *plus tôt/plutôt* start to become considerably more frequent. The latter forms survive to the present day, but now as separate forms with distinct meanings, the morphologically fully transparent and regular *plus tôt* being used only as a temporal comparative in Modern French, whereas the fused form *plutôt* is confined to pragmatic uses. This strict division of labor is not, however, found prior to the 18th c.

I will argue that cyclicity at the level of semantic/pragmatic evolution takes place because source items that are semantically similar will favor similar types of contextual inferences. The existence of semantic/pragmatic cyclicity thus has methodological import for the study of meaning change, in as much as it supports the controversial (Jucker & Taavitsainen 2008) applicability of the Uniformity Principle (Labov 1994) in this domain. At the same time, however, the fact that the range of uses of the items under consideration is not necessarily exactly identical from one cycle to the next supports an instructional view of semantics.

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ℬ

Differential coding in grammar:
Split and partitioned coding as special cases

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Keywords: typology, functional linguistics, morphology

Schedule: Sa 11.30 Room 7

Differential (= split) object marking (cf. 1) and split ergative marking (cf. 2) are famous phenomena in typology and have given rise to many different interpretations. Here we argue for a form-frequency explanation (as in Haspelmath 2018), but above all we claim that they need to be seen in connection with many other cases of differential coding.

(1) split object (P) marking: Sakha (Turkic; Baker 2015: 4-5)
    a. *Masha   salamaat-y   türgennik   sie-te.*
      Masha   porridge-ACC   quickly eat-PST.3SG.SBJ

'Masha ate the porridge quickly.' (definite P)

b. *Masha   türgennik   salamaat-Ø   sie-te.*
Masha   quickly   porridge-Ø   eat-PST.3SG.SBJ
'Masha ate porridge quickly.' (indefinite P)

(2) split ergative (A) marking: Kham (Trans-Himalayan; Watters 2002: 67)

a. *no:-ye   la: səih-ke-o.*
he-ERG   leopard.ABS   kill-PFV-3SG
'He killed a leopard.' (3rd person A)

b. *ŋa:-Ø   la: ŋa-səih-ke*
I-Ø   leopard.ABS   1SG-kill-PFV
'I killed a leopard.' (1st person A)

Differential grammatical coding is a situation where a single grammatical meaning is coded in different ways depending on grammatical factors or lexical subclasses. Such cases, illustrated also in (3)-(6), seem to be a problem for the form-frequency explanation, because at first blush there is no reason to expect this kind of non-uniformity.

(3)	3rd	2nd person	Spanish *canta–Ø* 'sings' – *canta-s* 'you sing'
	2nd	3rd person	Latin *lauda-Ø* 'praise!' – *lauda-to* 'let him praise'
(4)	noncausal	causal	Swahili *ganda – gand-isha* 'freeze (intr. – tr.)'
	causal	noncausal	Maltese *fetaħ – n-fetaħ* 'open (tr. – intr.)'
(5)	singular	plural	English *carrot – carrot-s*
	plural	singulative	Welsh *moron – moron-en* ('carrots' – 'carrot')
(6)	inalienable	alienable	Nyulnyul *nga-lirr – ja-n yil* 'my mouth – my dog'
	alienable	inalienable	Paamese *ani – a-vat* 'coconut – head (no possr.)'

But a closer look reveals that whenever differential coding is systematic across languages, it fits well with the form-frequency explanation (ultimately rooted in predictability). In cases of asymmetric split coding (i.e. when the coding depends on grammaticak factors), the zero variant is used when the grammatical factors lead to more frequent use. And in cases of asymmetric partitioned coding (i.e. when the coding depends on the lexical subclass), the zero variant is used when the properties of the lexical subclass lead to more frequent use.

For example, in the indicative the second person is rarer and therefore it tends to be overtly coded, while in the imperative the third person is rarer and therefore tends to be overtly coded (this is a case of split coding, because the relevant factor is grammatical). And with inalienable nouns, the possessed use is more frequent and therefore the possessive relation tends to be zero-coded, while with alienable nouns, the nonpossessed use is more frequent and we therefore tend to find overt coding (this is a case of partitioned coding, because the coding depends on the lexical class or partition).

Asymmetric differential coding always follows the predictions of the form-frequency generalization – so the phenomenon of differential coding is much more wide-ranging than the traditional fixation on differential object marking would lead us to believe.

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✍

Locative and existential clauses in Uralic: A case study of Hungarian, Udmurt and Tundra Nenets

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(Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

Keywords: word order, copula, Uralic

Schedule: Fri 9.00 Room 4

In this talk, we deal with locative and existential constructions in three Uralic languages: Hungarian (Ugric), Udmurt (Permic) and Tundra Nenets (Samoyedic). Despite their genetic relatedness, these languages are syntactically/typologically diverse and areally distant. Our aim is to provide a comparison and analysis of these languages, based on data from corpora and elicitation, and to account for the variation between them.

Cross-linguistically, locative and existential constructions are often derived from the same underlying structure (e.g. Freeze 1992). The languages we examine show variation along the following lines:

(i) whether we find the same copular/existential (verbal) elements in the two types of clauses and what their distribution is like;
(ii) whether the copulas can show (obligatory/optional) person agreement and tense morphology;
(iii) whether word order differences can be observed across the constructions.

Hungarian has one verb *van* 'be', used in all copular sentences, including locative and existential ones. The only case where it can (and must) be dropped is when a nominal predicate can carry the overt number agreement morphology with its subject and no other morphological marking is present (É. Kiss 2002). Locative predicates cannot agree at all, so the copula is obligatory in both locative and existential sentences.

In Udmurt, neither nominal nor locative predicates require the presence of a copular element (Winkler 2001). However, we do find the morphologically invariant copula *vań* in existential clauses in the present tense. Neither of these cases allows for number and person agreement with the subject. In past tense, the invariant past form *val* appears in both locative and existential sentences, thus, the two constructions conflate. However, our data show that in existential sentences, some speakers use the complex form *vań val*.

Tundra Nenets has two verbal items: one has traditionally been called a copula (*ŋa-*), the other an existential verb (*tańa-*), suggesting that their distribution is clear-cut (Nikolaeva 2014), but our novel data show that they can both appear in locative and existential sentences as well. *ŋa-* is the general copula used with nominal and locative predicates, and it can be dropped with nominal predicates when only person-number agreement and tense morphology is present, which can be expressed on nominal predicates but not on locatives.

If a language has the same copula in locative and existential sentences, we may expect different word orders to be associated with the different constructions (É. Kiss 2002, Hegedűs 2013). Hungarian

is such a language: while locative sentences have the locative phrase preverbally and the subject is often topic, existential sentences are verb-initial, with main stress on the verb. In Tundra Nenets (rigid SOV) and Udmurt (less strict SOV), we assume that there is at least a tendency for S LOC (COP) order to correlate with locative sentences, where S is the logical subject, i.e., topic. Existential sentences, on the other hand, seem to prefer LOC S COP in both languages.

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The influence of the concurrence of language planning and social factors on usage in a standard language: The case of Estonian

Tiit Hennoste, Helle Metslang, Külli Habicht, Anni Jürine, David Ogren & Liina Pärismaa

(University of Tartu)

Keywords: usage-based approach, language change, morphosyntactic variation, get-constructions, polar questions

Schedule: We 15.30 Room 4

The topic of our presentation is the impact of the concurrence of language planning (e.g. Cooper 1989) and different social factors on the changes in usage of morphosyntactic patterns in Standard Estonian. We concentrate on the period of the last 150 years, during which the German-influenced interlanguage which functioned as standard Estonian in the 16th−18th centuries developed into a modern multifunctional standard language with different registers (Tauli 1968, Hennoste 1997, Raag 2008).

Our data come from the language corpora of the University of Tartu (CELL, ERC, OLE). We examine material representing fiction and print media texts from the late 19th century to the 21st century.

The study is usage-based (Bybee 2010, Coussé, Mengden 2014), combines qualitative and quantitative approach, and belongs to the field of historical sociolinguistics (Nevalainen, Raumolin-Brunberg 2014, Hilpert 2017).

We focus on two syntactic phenomena in which language planning has interfered, in one case regarding form and in the other regarding function:

a) formats of polar questions (sentence-initial particles e.g. *kas* (*Kas sa oled abielus*? 'KAS you are married?' 'Are you married?'); subject-verb inversion (*Oled sa abielus*? 'Are you married?'); sentence-final particles and tags e.g. *või* 'lit.: or' (*Sa oled abielus või?* 'You are married VÕI?' 'Are you married?'); declaratives with a question mark (*Sa oled abielus?* 'You are married?').

b) functions of constructions with *saama* 'get, become' and non-finite verb forms, e.g. the future construction (*see saab tore olema* 'it will be nice'); modal constructions (*me saame töötada* 'we can work'); passive constructions (*nende ülesanded said täidetud* 'their tasks got completed').

Language planners, motivated primarily by purist views and the ideal "one function – one form", have opposed a) all polar question forms other than the *kas* question and b) future and passive functions of *saama* constructions.

Our research questions are: a) what were the language-external social factors which influenced the language planning efforts, and b) how large was their impact?

Our analysis shows that language planners were unable to prevent the use of alternative interrogative forms, but succeeded in limiting the use of future and passive functions of *saama* constructions. Preliminary results indicate that the results of language planning efforts have been affected by a) societal stability/dynamism during a given time period, b) societal attitudes toward change, c) the correspondence of the construction with the actual communicative needs of the language community, d) the extent to which the language possesses other resources for performing the same functions as that of the expression(s) in question, e) language usage in classic works of fiction, f) language planners' linguistic knowledge regarding morphosyntactic phenomenon in question, and g) the ease with which editors could correct usage in published texts.

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Corpora

CELL = Corpus of Estonian Literary Language.
http://cl.ut.ee/korpused/kasutajaliides/index.php?lang=en (10.01.2018)

ERC = Estonian Reference Corpus. http://www.cl.ut.ee/korpused/segakorpus/index.php?lang=en (10.01.2018)

OLE = Corpus of Old Literary Estonian. http://www.murre.ut.ee/vakkur/Korpused/korpused.htm (10.01.2018)

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Split possession in Uto-Aztecan languages

Nicole Hober
(University of Bremen)

Keywords: alienability correlation, language contact

Schedule: Fri 14.30 Room 7

The research forms part of a prospective functional-typological project dedicated to the description of split possession from a cross-linguistic perspective. This talk focusses on the alienability correlation in Uto-Aztecan languages which has been widely observed, most notably for Classical Aztec (cf. Launey and Mackay 2012: 96-105). Thus, I will demonstrate that the genetically and areally similar languages Nahuatl, Mexicanero, Huichol, Yaqui, Mayo, Pipil, and Guarijío account for possessive systems sensitive to distinctions based on alienability. My research expands on previous work on possession and alienability (i.a. Heine 1997; Stolz, Kettler, Stroh, and Urdze 2008; Chappell and McGregor 1996) as well as head-marking in Mesoamerican languages (Nichols 1992). Notwithstanding the existing description of the possession systems of European (Stolz et al. 2008) and other languages, such as Samoan (Breidbach 1983) or Korean (Shin 2004), most languages world-wide are still in need of an in-depth exploration. The present contribution addresses two research questions:

• Is there evidence of variation among Uto-Aztecan languages as to their sensitivity to the alienability correlation?
• Which possession constructions are affected by the split and in what way?

Contrary to the majority of European languages that do not distinguish alienable and inalienable possession (Stolz et al. 2008), the possession systems of the Uto-Aztecan languages are qualitatively asymmetrical. By resorting to the *Archivo de lenguas indígenas de México* (ALIM) publications, the attributive and predicative possession systems of the respective language are directly compared. The examples below illustrate pertinent cases of attributive possession extracted from the ALIM publications for Nahuatl de Acaxochitlan (Lastra 1980) and Mexicanero (Canger 2001).

(A) Attributive Possession: Genitive Construction

(A1) Nahuatl de Acaxoxhitlan (Lastra 1980: 47, 62)

#515	*in*	*i-*	*λapačih*	*-ka*		*de*	*n*	*i-*		*kal*
	DET	**POSS.3SG-**	cover	- NMLZ		**of**	DET	**POSS.3SG-**		house
	o-	*wec*								
	PST-	collapse								
	'the house's roof collapsed'									
#128	*neʔwa,*	*n*	*i-*		*kone*	*-w*	*in*	*don*	*manuél*	
	I	DET	**POSS.3SG-**		child	- **POSS**	DET	Mr	Manuel	
	'I am Mr Manuel's son'									

(A2) Mexicanero (Canger 2001: 151, 88)

#515	*in*	*tečo*	*de*	*in*	*kal*	*u-*	*Ø-*	*wéȼ(i)*
	DET	roof	**of**	DET	house	PST-	3SG -	collapse

'the house's roof collapsed'

#128	*nel*	***no*-**	*ta*	*-¢i*	*manwél*
	I	**POSS.1SG-**	father	- DIM	Manuel

'I am Mr Manuel's son'

As becoming apparent from the examples, alienability affects the morphosyntactic structure of possessive constructions. To exemplify, unlike the alienable construction in #515, the inalienable construction in #128 features an extra suffix {-w} on the possessee in Nahuatl. Moreover, in contrast to Nahuatl where the possessive prefix occurs in both #515 and #128, Mexicanero seems to resort to the possessive prefix only for inalienable possession (= #128). Another aspect that appears to play a key role is language contact. Especially the grammatical borrowing of the Spanish preposition *de* has influenced the encoding of i.a. possession.

The above examples suggest that the envisaged project offers interesting insights into the possession systems of Uto-Aztecan languages of Mesoamerica to typologists, areal linguists, and contact linguists. The overall project builds on existing work and aims towards a comprehensive understanding of split possession in the world languages.

Abbreviations

1	-	first person
3	-	third person
DET	-	determiner
DIM	-	diminutive
NMLZ	-	nominalizer
POSS	-	possessive
PST	-	past
SG	-	singular

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How Finnish FRONT–BACK adpositions code the position of MOVERS in moving sequences

Tuomas Huumo, Tiina Kelloniemi & Krista Teeri-Niknammoghadam
(University of Turku)

Keywords: syntax, semantics, frames of reference, spatial semantics, metaphor

Schedule: Thu 16.30 Room 8

Finnish FRONT–BACK adpositions comprise two sets: 1) **two-mover** adpositions indicating motion by both Figure (the entity to be located) and Ground (the entity with respect to which Figure is located): *edellä* ('ahead of' ~ 'before'), *perässä* and *jäljessä* (both roughly meaning 'behind ~ after'), and 2) **the general** FRONT–BACK adpositions *edessä* ('in front of ~ ahead of') and *takana* ('behind') (cf. Keresztes 1964, Nikanne 2003, Huumo 2013). The two-mover adpositions specialize in scenarios such as 'The police car was driving ahead of / behind the convoy', while the general adpositions can be used for all kinds of scenarios involving moving or stationary participants.

We analyze the uses of these adpositions, as well as the purely temporal *ennen* 'before' and *jälkeen* 'after', in motion scenarios where smaller entities (**occupants**) are situated within a larger, **encompassing** entity, which is in motion. Our main aim is to find out which frames of reference (see e.g. Svorou 1994, Talmy 2000, Levinson 2003, Tenbrink 2011) trigger the use of the adpositions in each case. We collected data from native speakers, using seven pictorially illustrated scenarios: 1) people on a bus, 2) boxes in the cargo bay of a truck, 3) carriages in a train, 4) people in a queue, 5) runners in a pack, 6) backward-runners in a pack, and 7) theme days in a school week. The status of the encompassing entity as a CONTAINER is strongest in 1 and 2, while the status of the occupants as MOVERS is strongest in 5 and 6. In most scenarios the intrinsic FRONT–BACK orientation of the occupants (people) aligns with the FRONT–BACK orientation assigned by the direction of motion (FRONT is adjacent to where the MOVER is going), while in 6 the two are in conflict. Scenario 7 was included to test whether the adpositions are used metaphorically for time. We used an online survey with 205 participants and a paper-form survey with 24 participants. The participants were asked to produce and rate expressions where the Figure was an occupant in the front or rear part of the encompassing entity, and the Ground another occupant in the middle part of the encompassing entity (e.g., 'Tom is in front of / behind Lisa in the queue').

Our overall result is that the **two-mover adpositions** are infelicitous for the scenarios where the encompassing entity is a CONTAINER (1–2) but felicitous when Figure and Ground are independent MOVERS (4–6). The **general adpositions** receive high ratings in 1 and 2 but are less felicitous when Figure and Ground are independent MOVERS, as in 6. This suggests that the FRONT–BACK alignment expressed by a two-mover adposition is motivated by the direction of motion, while the general adpositions bear a stronger relationship with the intrinsic FRONT–BACK asymmetry of the MOVERS. We received low ratings for the spatial adpositions in the temporal scenario 7; on the other hand, the temporal *ennen* 'before' and *jälkeen* 'after' had high ratings for the spatial scenarios 3 and 4.

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List Construction as a Multi-modal Phenomenon:
Syntax, Prosody, and Gestures

Anna Inbar
(Tel Aviv University)

Keywords: list construction, gestures, spoken Israeli Hebrew

Schedule: Thu 16.00 Room 10

This paper aims to present the syntactic and prosodic properties of *list constructions* in spoken Israeli Hebrew, to present recurrent gestural patterns associated with these constructions, and to show the interplay of these properties with different functions of lists in discourse. *List construction* will be defined as an abstract pattern consisting of a set of any linguistic elements (listees) that are functionally parallel, while the structure as a whole has a single communicative intention (Inbar, forthcoming). The most obvious kind of list is coordination, but repetitions and reformulations may also be qualified as lists (e.g. Blanche-Benveniste 1987). As such, this abstract linguistic pattern binds linguistic phenomena detectable at different levels of structure that are typically studied separately.

The data for this study were primarily obtained from a 20-hour corpus of television interviews in Hebrew, including over 50 speakers. Praat software was used to analyze the acoustic properties of list constructions. The constructions were recognized based on functional parallelism of the listees. Taking the 'usage-based' perspective, we indicated the functions of lists as a whole, while examining the functional distribution of their prosodic patterns and of the revealed gestural patterns associated with them.

As noted by Selting (2007: 488), prosody is one of the constitutive means used by speakers to systematically construct lists and by recipients to identify them. For example, one of the functions of open lists is to lead to building a higher-level category (Mauri 2017), and all of the elements in this type usually have similar intonation contours. In exhaustive lists, however, the last element is marked differently from its predecessors.

The analysis of gestures coordinated with list constructions in spoken Israeli Hebrew reveals another strategy that makes list constructions visible, and allows the interlocutor to identify their discursive functions explicitly. Lists show a high degree of functional variation, and it was found that particular gestural patterns were systematically associated with particular functions of lists. For example, gestures can reveal different purposes of list constructing, such as building a higher-level category while focusing on the members of this category or on the category itself. Other gestural patterns may be used for reformulations. However, it was found that one particular gestural pattern—symmetrical delineating different areas in gesture space—can be used with all types of lists, thus highlighting their common syntactic structure. Interestingly, all revealed gestural patterns mirror, in some way, the functional parallelism of the listees, which is the main characteristic of the pattern in question.

To summarize, the features of list constructions may be indicated via different modalities. Different gestural forms may distinguish between pragmatic aspects of list constructions that are not expressed in Hebrew grammatically; thus, the study of gestures associated with list constructions can contribute to a systematic analysis of lists at different levels.

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The development of plural markers: A diachronic approach from a typological, areal and genealogical perspective

Jessica Katiuscia Ivani
(University of Kiel)

Keywords: typology, number, morphosyntax, areal linguistics, South Asia

Schedule: Fri 12.00 Room 7

Typological literature describes the presence of number values and the distribution of number oppositions as constrained by implicational tendencies, such as the Number Hierarchy (Comrie 1989, among others) and the Animacy Hierarchy (Smith-Stark 1974). Tendencies of this kind have been explained by invoking generic, language external, principles, such as frequency and economy. However, further studies on specific language families (see Mithun 1988 on languages from North America, and Frayzingier 1997 for Chadic languages) or on a single language (see Iljic 2001 for Mandarin Chinese) appear to point rather to historical and language-specific processes in the

development of the number systems and in the distribution of the markers involved in number oppositions.

This evidence called for an extensive synchronic study on number systems, which focuses on the construction forms (and their properties) used to express number distinctions. The study was conducted on a stratified sample of 200 languages and led to the development of a typological database of number marking constructions. Data analysis and mining revealed presence of recurring and relevant tendencies in both the expression of the individual number values and how the number marking strategies are selected by the nominal elements within and across languages.

In this talk we will summarise the findings about the distributional tendencies of the plural markers within nominal types (nouns by animacy distinction as well as pronouns) and the trends that can be observed cross-linguistically. It will be shown how diachronic information on synchronic material uncovers a connection between these attested groupings and specific properties of the plural markers involved, such as their origin and etymology, supporting the importance of the role of individual, context-dependent processes in the development of the number systems. Moreover, the diachronic approach seems to reveal unexpected findings in the directional spread of plural marking within nouns (e.g., plural marking spreading from inanimate nouns to animate), which casts further doubts about the implicational generalisations.

This typological overview will also include supporting data from an ongoing work in progress in a genealogical perspective, focussed on the Munda language family, and preliminary areal trends on the Sub-Hymalayan mainland South Asia subregion (as defined by Masica 1976 and, more recently, by Peterson 2017).

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The kinematics of constructed action in sign language narration: A motion capture study

Tommi Jantunen, Birgitta Burger & Anna Puupponen
(University of Jyväskylä)

Keywords: constructed action, phonetics, discourse

Schedule: We 12.30 Room 10

In this presentation we investigate if there are differences in head and upper-torso behavior between overt, reduced and subtle types of constructed action (CA) and regular narration (non-CA) in signed narratives. CA is a form of gestural enactment in which signers use their hands, head and other parts of the body to show the actions, feelings and sayings of discourse referents (e.g. Ferrara & Johnston 2014, Cormier et al. 2015). In terms of its production, CA has degrees: very overt forms of CA typically involve the use of many articulators whereas very subtle forms are typically produced with only one or two articulator(s) (Cormier et al. 2015). In our recent corpus-based work (e.g. Jantunen 2017) we have argued that narration without CA is associated with increased activity of the head, while narration with CA involves relatively more activity of the whole body. It is this argument which we here aim to elaborate on from kinematic perspective.

Our work is based on a collection of synchronized motion capture (MoCap) and video data that has been annotated in ELAN for CA types according to the guidelines presented in Cormier et al. (2015). In the recording sessions, signers wore a set of 25 reflective markers whose locations were tracked with an eight-camera optical MoCap system. The task of the signers was to re-tell the content of textless cartoon strips to an addressee standing in front of them.

For the present work we used data from five signers, who each participated in three tasks. First, on the basis of ELAN annotations, we extracted a total sample of 137 durationally commensurable tokens belonging to overt, reduced and subtle types of CA as well as non-CA. We then processed the MoCap data of all tokens in Matlab so that we ended up with both token and type-specific means for variables that measured the horizontal movement area, the rotation range, and the velocity/acceleration magnitude of the head and the torso. In order to find out which types differed significantly from each other with respect to the established variables, we imported all the data into SPSS for statistical analysis.

The results of the Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis test indicate differences ($p<.05$) between CA types and non-CA with respect to all variables except those measuring the rotation range and the velocity/acceleration magnitude of the torso. On the basis of pairwise comparisons, we found three main results. First, the more CA there is, the larger is the horizontal area on which the head and the torso move. Second, the rotation of the head in subtle CA is minimal; the head rotates the most in regular narration. Third, the more CA there is, the faster and more rapid are the head movements.

The results corroborate and further explicate our previous findings concerning the role the head and the torso have in CA and non-CA. In our presentation we will also argue that the results provide evidence for the view that CA forms a continuum with regular narration in language.

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On the subordinating conjunctions as discourse markers in Lithuanian

Erika Jasionytė-Mikučionienė
(University of Vilnius)

Keywords: pragmaticalization, multifunctionality

Schedule: Fri 14.30 Room 9

Over the last decades the development of conjunctions into discourse markers has been researched by a number of scholars (Degand & Simon-Vandenbergen 2011, Rawoens 2015, among others). In Lithuanian, the studies on discourse markers are fragmented and lack the application of efficient qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis. This paper focuses on the Lithuanian discourse markers *kad* 'that' and *net* 'until, even' as well as their combinations with other particles and/or conjunctions (such as *bet (tai) **kad**; na/nu (tai) **kad**; tai **kad**; **kad** ir; **net** ir* etc.), which have not received an in-depth analysis so far, except for some observations made in Pajėdienė (2010), Sawicki (2012), Holvoet (2015) and Valančė (2017). Adopting both a synchronic and diachronic perspective and applying corpus-driven methodology, the present study aims at investigating the semantic functional potential of *kad* and *net* as well as their position and structural status in discourse. The data set analyzed includes both written (i. e. fiction) as well as spoken Contemporary Lithuanian and Old Lithuanian texts (16th–17th centuries).

The results of the analysis are interpreted within the framework of pragmaticalization (cf. Diewald 2011). It is shown that *kad* and *net* undergo semantic bleaching, (inter)subjectification and layering. In the earliest Lithuanian texts, *kad* is most often used in different types of adverbial clauses, including time, purpose and conditional clauses; *net*, in its turn, functions as a temporal conjunction or particle. However, in Contemporary Lithuanian, *kad* and *net* are multifunctional: *kad* can be used either as a conjunction or, in certain contexts (especially in dialogues and sentence initial position) as a discourse marker with a clear discourse function – to signal a discourse shift and to preface a response or reaction of the speaker, cf.:

A. *Tai gal greitai grįžti žadėjo?*
B. ***Kad** nežinau, – gūžtelėjo pečiais Silvija.* (CCLL-Fic)
  'A. So maybe he promised to return soon? B. Well, I don't know, – Silvia shrugged her shoulders.'

As has been observed by Sawicki (2012, 151), the utterances opening with *kad* typically convey "various shades of scepticism, reservations or uneasiness of the speaker about the content of the previous turn and offer justifications or excuses for not complying or obeying". However, the analysed data show that *kad*, besides its attitudinal functions, can also be associated with additional pragmatic functions, including emphasis and exemplification, i. e. addition of more specific information to the previous utterance. *Net*, as a discourse marker, is positionally mobile (cf. Simon-Vandenbergen & Willems 2011, 361) and primarily marks emphasis or speaker's surprise, cf.:

– *[K]aip tu čia šneki, sakau. Negaliu klausyti iš viso, taip kažkaip **net**.* (CCLL-Sp)
'– What are you saying now, I say. I cannot listen to this at all, actually'

The data support the hypothesis made by Aijmer that "pragmatic markers have meaning potentials rather than fixed meanings which are realized in the same way in all situations" (Rühlemann & Aijmer 2015, 18), i. e. they have core meanings that can be modified in interactive contexts.

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Continuous vector space models for variation and change in sparse, richly annotated Indo-European argument structure data

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Keywords: case variation, computational linguistics, historical–comparative linguistics

Schedule: Fri 16.30 Room 4

Quantitative studies of variation and change for historical languages are often hampered by sparsity of attested data but with rich annotation drawing on long traditions of linguistic and philological scholarship (Jenset & McGillivray 2017). Conversely, in natural language processing (NLP) for modern languages, data are plentiful but annotated data are scarce, prompting the use of neural network models that can accurately infer linguistic properties based on distributional information from very large un-annotated corpora (Mikolov et al. 2013a, Mikolov et al. 2013b). These techniques are relevant to historical linguistics because of their ability to handle sparse data and to model highly complex relations. Distributional approaches to variation and change in historical data (Barðdal et al. 2012, Jenset 2013) have previously relied on vector space representations that capture broad patterns but may struggle with highly complex distributional relations with sparse data.

We aim to apply state of the art NLP models to combinations of historical data and database annotations. The data stem from the NonCanCase Database, compiled within the ERC-funded EVALISA project, carried out at Ghent University. The database consists of lexical entries of verbs and compositional predicates that select oblique subjects, mostly accusative and dative, across all the eleven earliest branches of Indo-European, approximately 4.000 types in total. There are great differences in meaning found across these types, including senses expressing the expected experience, perception, cognition, and bodily states, but also involving modality, evidentiality and possession, ranging to different types of happenstance events, expressing success and failure, gain, innate properties, as well as all kinds of hindrances. By combining sparse historical attestations enriched with expert linguistic judgments, and state of the art NLP capable of representing highly complex distributional relations, we aim to demonstrate how studies of variation and change in historical linguistics can benefit from NLP.

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☙

Are Motion Metaphors for Music Low in Metaphoricity? A Rating Study

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Keywords: conceptual metaphor, musical motion, fictive motion, rating experiment

Schedule: Thu 16.30 Room 12

Music is commonly and conventionally described in terms of motion and space: pitch is *high* and *low*, melodies *fall* and *rise*, and motives may *follow* a harmonic *path*. Cognitive linguistic approaches to the phenomenon of musical motion assume that it is based on conceptual metaphors (Johnson & Larson 2003, Jandausch 2012) in which more concrete domains are used to reason about more abstract domains (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999). According to Johnson and Larson (2003), musical motion is based on the conceptual metaphors TIME IS MOTION and CHANGE IS MOTION.

Other scholars argue that musical motion is not metaphorical. According to Shove and Repp

(1995), musical motion is physiologically real because people move when they make music or when they listen to music. Clarke (2001) claims that hearing motion in music is a truly perceptual phenomenon based on the fact that when we hear sounds changing, we can deduce that the source of the sound is moving (e.g. becoming louder is coming closer). Musical motion may alternatively be explained by fictive motion (Talmy 2000). While fictive motion prototypically refers to dynamic descriptions of static spatial scenes, it has also been applied to non-spatial domains like mathematics (Marghetis & Nunez 2013) or descriptions in wine tasting notes (Caballero 2007).

Given this discussion, the present study aims to investigate whether musical motion is perceived as less metaphorical compared to more prototypical cases of metaphorical motion. In doing so, the study aims to contribute to the current debate of viewing metaphor as a gradable phenomenon (Hanks 2006, Müller 2008). According to Hanks (2006), the metaphoricity of an expression is low 1) if frequency of the expression is high, or 2) if its source and target domain are conceptually close.

For the present study, 83 English-speaking participants rated 52 sentences according to their degree of metaphoricity as well as association to actual motion on a five-point Likert scale in an online rating task. Each sentence expressed a different motion condition, which was either literal, fictive, musical, or metaphorical. Participants also had to indicate their level of knowledge about (classical) music. Frequency of the motion verb (operationalised by absolute frequency of the verb lemma in the BNC) was also documented. Musical motion was expected to be perceived as less metaphorical because it might be conceptually closer to literal or fictive motion. Moreover, participants with a musical background were expected to perceive musical motion as less metaphorical given that they are more familiar with it.

The results show that there is a frequency effect: The more frequent the motion verb, the more likely a sentence is rated as less metaphorical. Furthermore, there is an interactive effect between knowledge of (classical) music and motion condition: The higher the level of musical knowledge, the more likely musical motion was rated as less metaphorical. The findings indicate that "frequency breeds literalness" (Hanks 2006: 21) and that the perception of metaphoricity is not absolute but depends on the knowledge and experience of the individual language user.

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✍

The diachrony of the South-Estonian anticausative-medial verb class

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Keywords: Finnic, historical syntax, valency, middle voice, historical phonology

Schedule: Thu 16.00 Room 1

In this paper, we explore the emergence of a South-Estonian (Võro-Seto language) dedicated anticausative-medial verb class. In South-Estonian there is a large group of anticausative-medial verbs that all display a phonological *U*-element in their conjugation (realized as /u/ or /ü/, depending on vowel harmony alternations). Most of these verbs have a cognate in the other Finnic languages containing the same U-element, yet only in South-Estonian this conjugation comprises of almost exclusively anticausative-medial verbs. The South-Estonian *U*-verbs were established as a formally separate verb class, as the non-reflexive-medial verbs of the conjugation lost the U-element in the preterite. The diverging paradigms are illustrated in Examples 1 (reflexive-medial) and 2 (non-reflexive-medial):

(1)   `*sündüdäq* 'to be born'

  sündümä [sup] : sünnü [1.pres] : sünnüs [3.pres] : `**sündü** [1.pret] : `**sündü** [3.pret]

(2)   `*küssüq* 'to ask'

  küsümä [sup] : küsü [1.pres] : küsüs [3.pres] : `**küsse** [1.pret] : `**küsse** [3.pret]

These developments were preceded by the loss of the Proto-Finnic reflexive-medial voice, its expression starting to rely on derivational rather than inflectional means, and, subsequently, the present tense becoming ambiguous regarding the reflexive-medial character of the verb. A concurrent South-Estonian sound change merged the Proto-Finnic preterite marker *-i- with the stem vowel, rendering the majority of the present and preterite forms homophonous. As a consequence, several analogies were employed to maintain the tense distinction. We argue that while most *U*-verbs acquired their new preterite inflection from other paradigms, the anticausative-medial verbs, based on their valency, resorted to the analogy of verbs with a preterite marker with long gemination + *U*, going back to the exclusively reflexive-medial Proto-Finnic *-tUpe- derivational morpheme.

We will introduce some further analogical developments that are helpful in understanding the synchronic verbal forms. In addition, we discuss a group of verbs with some ambivalence regarding their anticausative-medial character that, at first glance, seem to pose challenges to our analysis. The material for our analysis comes from the Estonian Dialectal Corpus, hosted by the University of Tartu (https://www.keel.ut.ee/et/murdekorpuse-otsing).

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⌖

When *yellow-bellied* becomes 'someone with a fat belly': Translating English colour metaphors into Estonian

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Keywords: metaphor translation, translation strategies, culture

Schedule: We 15.30 Room 12

Colour term translation is an interesting research topic for both cognitive linguists and translation scholars as it seems to demand equivalents, but often ends up in a fallacy being produced. This study investigates how volunteer subjects, half of them employed in the translation industry and half otherwise employed, translated colour metaphors into another language. The contemporary theory on metaphor states that metaphor is primarily conceptual and conventional, and part of the ordinary system of thought and language. The phenomenon of metaphor has been widely discussed within the discipline of translation studies. Metaphors can become a translation problem, since transferring them from one language and culture to another may be hampered by linguistic and cultural differences (Schäffner 2004). Context-based empirical research into colour metaphors has produced little evidence that could help researchers understand this phenomenon.

A cognitive empirical research project was carried out in which 33 participants translated English colour metaphors into Estonian. It focused on how professional translators and subjects without translation experience translate English colour metaphors into Estonian and which strategies they used to do so. The study analyses qualitative data from the translated texts and survey responses from the participants. The participants in the study were given a short text that contained 21 metaphors using both basic and more complex colour related terms and had to use a screen recorder when translating the text from English into Estonian.

Not all translation strategies are suitable for translating colour metaphors, so the authors focused on the following selection:

- reproducing the colour metaphor in the target text (TT) with a colour word;
- replacing the colour metaphor with a metaphor without a colour word in the TT;
- converting the colour metaphor to a sense/paraphrase;
- omission, if the metaphor is considered redundant;
- a mistranslated colour metaphor where the meaning gets lost in translation.

The analysis found that the colour metaphor was preserved in the TT in 36% of cases. It was preserved in a further 27% of the cases but with no colour related term. Modern metaphor theory emphasises the importance of cultural aspects as well as the notion of the context, and our study confirms the culture-specific nature of colour metaphors. The more novel and original the metaphor the more the strategies used for translating colour metaphors vary.

Analysis of the screen recordings and the feedback and interviews with the participants showed that most of the difficulties in understanding and translating the text were caused by colour metaphors. The participants emphasised that context is important both for comprehension and for translating. The

analysis also showed that experience of translation helps participants deal with metaphorical language, as female translators mistranslated only 2% of the metaphors, and male translators 0%, while women with no translation experience mistranslated 5% and men 6%.

The study revealed that colour metaphors can pose a translation problem because of the linguistic and cultural differences between languages. Further empirical research is needed for conclusions to be drawn about the translation process that could provide valuable information for translation studies.

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☙

The emergence a historical posterior in literary Hebrew

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Keywords: tense, grammaticalization, constructions grammar, semantics, pragmatics

Schedule: Sa 11.30 Room 8

A new relative tense denoting "future in the past" is emerging in literary Hebrew (Muchnik, 2002). I will term it the *historical posterior* and contrast it with Hebrew's traditional relative future to unveil its unique semantic and pragmatic characteristics.

In all registers of Contemporary Hebrew the verbal inflectional form *yif'al* may indicate absolute future (1) or relative future (2). However, the use of *yif'al* as a relative future marker is strictly restricted to subordinate clauses:

1.   *hu **yavo***
       'He *will come*'
2.   *hu amar shehu **yavo***
       'He said that he *would come*'

The earliest examples of the historical posterior (3 below) date back to the late 1970s, when novelists introduced a matrix clause *yif'al* in a narrative sequence to indicate an about-to-happen event of historical significance. Unlike the traditional relative future of Hebrew in (2) above, the historical posterior requires an explicit time adverbial that anchors the event to its absolute time of occurrence. Contra (Muchnik, 2002) I argue that the historical posterior is not merely a relative tense; rather, it is an absolute-relative tense (Comrie, 1985: 64). Although the inflectional form *yif'al* signals that the event is viewed prospectively from the narrative reference time, as *yizke* '[he] will be accorded' (3) and *tihye* '[she] will be' in (4) below demonstrate, the event in questions is always situated in the absolute past:

3.   *be'oktober 1924 haya Sigmund Freud lamad'an harishon shedyokano iter et sha'ar magazin taym. Albert Einstein **yizke** lexavod dome xamesh shanim meuxar yoter* (Ha'atrtz newspaper, 5.5.2017)

'In October 1924, Sigmund Freud became the first scientist to appear on the cover of   Time magazine. Albert Einstein *would be accorded [lit. **will be accorded**]* the same honor   five years later'(https://www.haaretz.com/life/books/.premium-1.791884)

4. *ma matsati bo [...] taha kola [...] verak ka'avor shanim axadot [...]* **tihye** *ima muxana lehashiv al hahse'ela hazot* (Be'er, 1998: 148)

'What did I like about him, her voice wondered […] Only a few years later *would* mother be willing [lit. will agree] to answer this question'

Semantically, the historical posterior is an event E that occurs after the reference time R and precedes the time of reading S (Reichenbach, 1947):

R	E	S

| The narrative time (reference time) | A leap in time | Present time |
| October 1924: Freud on the cover of Time | 1929: Einstein on the cover of Time | 2018 |

Unlike the relative future, which is mandatory in Hebrew, the historical posterior is optional. Substituting it with the more commonplace *pa'al* form is always felicitous:

5. *be'oktober 1924 haya Sigmund Freud lamad'an harishon shedyokano iter et sha'ar magazin taym. Albert Einstein* **zaxa** *lexavod dome xamesh shanim meuxar yoter*

'In October 1924, Sigmund Freud became the first scientist to appear on the cover of   Time magazine. Albert Einstein *was accorded* the same honor five years later'

However, from a pragmatic perspective such substitutions often eliminate the historical significance and the "turning-point" implications associated with the historical posterior. In conclusion, the historical posterior is a new literary tense that attributes a dramatic and often ill-boding tone to a looming event.

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✍

Positive Polarity Items out-scoped by a clause-mate negation?: *I don't need someone else*

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<u>Schedule: Thu 12.00 Room 3</u>

This study advances a new analysis of the co-occurrence of indefinite PPIs with a clause-mate negation, as in (1) and (2), where *else* induces an exclusive reading "I need nobody but the subtracted member (signaled by X hereafter)" (Harris 2014).

(1)   John didn't say **something**. Jane did. (Larrivée 2012: 883)
(2)   I don't need **someone** else.

Larrivée (2012) attributes the acceptability of (1) to the existence of an 'activated proposition' to the whole of which meta-linguistic negation applies: (1) would be paraphrased by "As regards *saying something*, it's not the case that John did". This analysis seems problematic for (2): in Japanese where meta-linguistic negation is morphologically distinguished from ordinary negation, (2) is naturally translated with the ordinary one, which puts into question meta-linguistic nature of the negation in (2).

    Inspired by some exhaustification-based analyses on disjunction and exceptive phrases, I propose to attribute the relevant reading of (2) to the fact that *someone* is pragmatically strengthened to convey universal quantification ("As regards all but X, I don't need them"). A similar pragmatic strengthening is observed in (3), where disjunction yields conjunctive reading in suspender continuation.

(3)   Mary saw John or Paul. In fact, she saw both.

According to Nicolae (2016), this reading is derived by recursively exhaustifyng domain alternatives ((Mary saw John or Paul)∧ ¬(she saw John but not Paul)∧ ¬(she saw Paul but not John)). For (2) too, if the alternative domain of *someone* consists of *a* and *b*, its semantics amounts, through recursive exhaustification, to universal reading ("all (=a and b) but X are unnecessary"). This reading survives since scalar alternative, *everyone*, out-scoped by negation, doesn't compete for universal reading. Moreover, according to von Fintel (1993: 138), "the maximally relevant reading [is] the one where the exception stated is the unique smallest one". The enriched reading of (2) is thus not only possible but pragmatically preferred.

    I propose that *something* in (1) is also pragmatically strengthtened so that John's and Jane's attitudes should be maximally contrasted. One problem is why enrichment occurs in the first clause but not in the second, which naturally means "Bill said something". In fact such an interpretative assymetry between antecedent and elliptical sites are often observed: in (4), the second sentence may easily mean "Bill solved all".

(4)   John solved some of the exercises. Bill did too. (Crnič 2016)
(5)   John read no book but 'War and Peace'. Mary did however. (ibid.)

I here advocate a parallelism between (1) and (5). According to von Fintel (1993), exceptive *but* lexically specifies that the exception is minimal and unique, and is only compatible with universal quantification. It however is associated with existential in the elliptical site in (5) (which means "Mary read some other book"). Crnič (2016) argues, following Gajewski (2013), that minimal uniqueness is in fact derived by recursive exhaustification of alternatives, which doesn't apply clause-externally. The absence of enrichment in the elliptical site in (1) is equally reduced to clause-internal nature of recursive exhaustification of domain alternatives.

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<div align="center">⌀</div>

Complex verb constructions in Hill Mari: Semantics and event structure

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Keywords: Finno-Ugric languages, light verbs, grammaticalization

Schedule: We 11.30 Room 4

This paper deals with complex verb constructions in Hill Mari. These are combinations of two verbs in which the first verb contributes its lexical meaning and takes the form of converb, and the second one functions as a finite light verb. The data come from fieldwork in the village of Kuznetsovo and some neighbouring villages (Mari El, Russia) in 2016-2018.

These constructions were discussed in the previous research (Serebrennikov 1960: 190–199, Pengitov et al. (eds.) 1961: 202–216, Driussi 1992-1993), but without a detailed analysis of collocational restrictions and without any formal account. We will contribute to this area with a case study of three light verbs (*šənzäš* 'to sit down', *keäš* 'to go, to leave', *koltaš* 'to send') which describe entry to a new state.

The verb *keäš* prototypically describes the result state of a telic process (1), some semantic restrictions will be discussed in the talk.

(1) *paj* *maklaka* *šəl-en* **ke-n**
     meat piece thaw-CVB go-PRET
     'A piece of meat thawed'.

The verb *šənzäš* introduces a result state often with accumulation of some resource or quality:

(2) *vəd* *potolok gəc* *vedrä-škə* *pat'k-en* **šənz-ən**
     water ceiling from bucket-ILL drip-CVB sit.down-PRET
     'Water dripped into a bucket from the ceiling'.

The verb *koltaš* denotes an instant or unexpected event (3), semelfactive (4) or completive ('do V till the end') (5):

(3) *tədä* *tol-ən* **kolt-en**

      he   come-CVB   send-PRET
'He has come (unexpectedly)'.

(4)   *vas'a pičäl gǝ̈c lü-en   **kolt-ǝš***
    V.   gun   from shoot-CVB   send-AOR
    'Vasya shot a gun once'.

(5)   *mǝ̈n' šǝ̈šer-ǝ̈m   jü-n   **kolt-en-äm***
    V.   milk-ACC   drink-CVB   send-PRET-1SG
    I drank all / *some milk.

The semantic development of a light verb can be described using the notion of "erasing" metaphor (Grashchenkov 2013, 2015), proposed for the analysis of verb complexes in the Turkic languages. According to this approach, a light verb loses its lexical meaning, at the same time preserving its structural position. We will develop this approach and try to account for the semantic difference between light verbs in Hill Mari adopting the event structure framework (Ramchand 2008) and suggesting that a light verb "loses" its lexical meaning but preserves its event structure.

We suppose that the meaning of a light verb is based on the semantic structure of its lexical counterpart and, particularly, on its aktionsart, aspectual composition and subevent structure. Thus, the element 'do V quickly, in an instant' in the semantics of constructions with *koltaš* results from the fact that *koltaš* is basically an achievement but not an accomplishment and therefore encodes an instant transition to the resulting state. On the contrary, the verb *šǝ̈nzäš* is not an achievement and therefore cannot encode an instant transition. The verb *keäš* is similar to the verb *koltaš* in that both of them can introduce an argument in their *resP* with the role of Path (and this fact distinguishes these two verbs from *šǝ̈nzäš* which introduces an argument with the role of Location, cf. (Ramchand 2008)). These facts account for the similar completive meanings of *koltaš* and *keäš*, but *keäš* does not express instant transition (at least in its primary meaning), and therefore neither does the corresponding light verb.

Abbreviations
1 – 1ˢᵗ person; AOR – aorist; CVB – converb; ILL – illative; PRET – preterite; SG – singular.

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ⅎ

A data-based study on universals of nomification systems

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Keywords: linguistic typology, database, universals, nominal classification, gender, classifier

Schedule: We 14.30 Room 7

Nominal classification systems are traditionally divided into gender systems and several classifier systems. Based on this tradition, linguists provide descriptions (Allan 1977; Corbett 1991; Aikhenvald 2000; Senft 2001; Grinevald 2002; Kilarski 2012; Di Garbo 2014; Kramer 2015) and suggest universals (Greenberg 1966) about the nominal classification systems. However, more and more linguists agree nowadays on the view that there are no crucial differences between gender and classifier systems (Contini & Kilarski 2013; Corbett & Fedden 2015; Singer 2016; Passer 2016; Fedden & Corbett 2017; Seifart (forthcoming)). I report here an examination of universals about nominal classification systems with a database of 100 languages and explore the possibility of proposing new universals and generalizations.

This 100 language sample is a worldwide core sample using the Genus-Macroarea-Method according to Miestamo et al. (2016). It covers most of the world at standard densities. The languages are chosen regardless of whether they have nominal classification systems and which kind of system they have. The database contains general information about the language and a range of properties of the nominal classification system in the language. If the language has more than one nominal classification system, each system has one record in the database. If the language has no nominal classification system, only general information about the language is noted.

I test preliminarily eight Greenbergian Universals (Greenberg 1966) about gender systems. Some universals are confirmed. Meanwhile for some other universals serious counterevidence has turned up. Universal 31 says that if either the subject or object noun agrees with the verb in gender, then the adjective always agrees with the noun in gender. Languages like Alamblak, Ama (Papua New Guinea), Barasano, Berik, Burushaski, Kiowa, and Yuchi do not have gender agreement in the adjective though they have subject or object indexes. Thus Universal 31 is highly questionable. Universal 36 states that if a language has the category of gender, it always has the category of number. This universal is confirmed insofar as every gender language in the database also has the number category. However, not only the gender languages but also the classifier languages and languages which do not have any nominal classification systems tend to have number category. Haspelmath (2005) underlines the importance of the number category that only 28 out of 133 languages (21.05%) do not have any nominal plural.

This study provides not only a clear distribution of nominal classification systems in the world's languages but also investigates possible principles of human languages on the basis of real universals about nominal classification systems.

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Negative words in Old and Modern Italian

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Keywords: polarity items, NPIs, NC

Schedule: Thu 11.30 Room 3

In Old Italian, negative words such as *neente* 'nothing' or *neuno* 'noone' (henceforth, n-words) can be used as existential quantifiers with the meaning 'some(one)/some(thing)' in various Negative Polarity contexts such as if-clauses, comparatives, questions and modal contexts that usually license Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) (see Giannakidou 1998). We will look at the frequency distribution of n-words

as NPIs in Old Italian and compare the obtained frequency with Modern Italian. Moreover, we will look at the distribution of n-words as negative quantifiers (not as NPIs), i.e. n-words that appear in non-NPI contexts (e.g. in preverbal position without negation and any other NPI-context):

(1)   Nessuno è venuto.   (Modern Italian)
         Nobody is come
         'Nobody came.'

The main goal of the talk is to suggest a diachronic analysis of n-words in Italian and to compare this analysis with existent diachronic analyses of n-words in other languages (see Zeijlstra 2007, Jäger 2007:143, among others). We hope to find a general pattern in the diachrony of n-words.

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✄

Language contact in the Lord's Prayer

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Keywords: discourse markers, communication, semantics

Schedule: We 14.30 Room 11

This paper focuses on a corpus of religious texts in Mano, a Mande language spoken in Guinea and Liberia. The studied corpus appeared to be highly relevant for a study of interdialectal variation and language contact. The corpus consists of transcriptions of Catholic Mass and Sunday celebrations conducted in six Mano villages in Guinea and Liberia and recorded during three fieldwork periods for the duration of seven months from January 2014 until January 2018. In addition, I consulted church members and studied written documents. The texts show predictable patterns of variation, such as:
1) The influence of the language of the missionaries and the colonial administration which later became the official language of the country: texts recorded in Guinea have borrowings from French (*kòròwáà* < Fr. *croix*), while the texts recorded in Liberia have borrowings from English (*klɔ́sí* < Eng. *cross*);
2) Interdialectal variation: *lúò* 'benediction', *lɛ̀í* 'sky' and *kpàlē* 'to dawn' in Guinean dialects of Mano correspond to *lúà*, *lɛ̀ɛ́* and *kpɛ̀ī* in Liberian dialects, respectively.

However, a much greater variation is due to the fact that Guinean Mano was significantly influenced by Kpelle, a neighboring Mande language, which arguably was itself influenced by Maninka, a Mandingo variety spoken in Guinea.

1) Guinean Mano has multiple borrowings from Guinean Kpelle, including: *kítí* 'judgement' most likely coming from *kítí* 'judgement' in Guinean Kpelle (Konoshenko ms.), cf. the equivalent in Liberian Mano *méŋsà* which is equally used in Guinean Mano. Note that a cognate to the word is absent in the dictionary of Liberian Kpelle (Leidenfrost and McKay 2005), but is present in Maninka, which suggests that the word came to Guinean Mano from Maninka via Kpelle.

2) More difficult to spot are calques from Kpelle coined from Mano original lexical items. Thus, *náá sí* curse take 'to sin', which is not used by non-Christians, is a calque from Kpelle *léŋeŋ jɔ̀gə* curse take 'to sin' (Konoshenko Ms). Mano non-Christians in Guinea and Mano Christians in Liberia use the construction *náá ká̧* malediction cut 'to provoke a curse, to behave badly'. The abovementioned word *kítí* 'judgement' is used with the verb *ká̧* 'to cut' and the construction is a calque from Kpelle *kítí téɣé* judgement cut 'to judge'.

The final complication comes from the fact that Mano dialects influence each other in the religious register. Thus, the word *lèē* 'mother' is the standard variant in most Liberian dialects, but has a pejorative connotation in Guinea where the variant *lòkóò* is preferred. However, it is *lèē* that is used in the Hail Mary and Confession prayers in both countries.

The study shows, somewhat unexpectedly, that neighboring languages exercise a much greater influence on Mano than colonial languages, especially in Guinea. This result should emphasize the importance of local ethnic dynamics, relativizing and contextualizing the role of colonial dominance in religious conversion (Hefner 1993). Finally, ecclesiastic registers have proven to be influential way beyond the Church context (Hanks 2010, Drinka 2017), which justifies the choice of a specific register imbibed with religious terms.

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Languages of Tajmyr in contact: Multilingualism patterns in the 20th century

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Keywords: small-scale multilingualism, indigenous multilingualism, Siberia

Schedule: We 16.30 Room 11

The Tajmyr peninsula in the north of Siberia is home to five indigenous languages: Tundra Nenets, Forest and Tundra Enets, Nganasan (Northern Samoyedic), Dolgan (Turkic), and Evenki (Tungusic). From the 19th century on, Russian has also been present in the area, and since the 1960s a language shift to Russian is ongoing. All Tajmyrian indigenous peoples used to be nomadic or semi-nomadic till the 1970s.

The central question of this paper is to what extent the indigenous languages were used outside their ethnic communities just before the omnipresence of Russian, and if so, which the patterns of the multilingualism were: who spoke which language to whom and when in Fishman (1965) terms.

We have conducted 35 extended semi-structured interviews in different locations of Tajmyr; all interviewees were born before the 1970s, and most of them – before the 1960s, with some individuals born in the 1920s-1930s. These interviews aimed to reconstruct biographies of the respondents' older relatives (parents, grandparents, and their siblings) with particular attention to their linguistic repertoires, their social networks, their typical interlocutors in each language, and migrations within Tajmyr. As a result, a data bank of individual profiles for more than 100 individuals born in the 1900s-1940s has been created, with details for many individuals cross-confirmed from several sources, as many of the respondents were related and belonged to the same social networks.

We have discovered that throughout the 20th century there were several contact zones around Tajmyr, most of which have disappeared by now. In some contact zones, similar patterns of indigenous bilingualism related to mixed marriages were observed. E.g. the language of the ethnic group dominant in the area was the language of the family and the language used in communication with children. At the same time, the native language of the person who married into the area was actively used as a means of communication with adults of the same ethnic origin, who were usually quite numerous in the area. Besides, family visits to the place of birth of the in-married spouse were also common, and then his/her native language was also actively used by adults. Such patterns can be reconstructed for (a) Forest Enets married into Tundra Nenets families on the left bank of the Yenisey river, for (b) Tundra Nenets married into Forest Enets families on the right bank of the Yenisey river, and for (c) Tundra Enets married into Nganasan families on the right bank of the Yenisey river further north. Importantly, cases (a) and (c) feature both men and women who married into areas where a different ethnic group was more numerous.

The results presented in the paper are a set of maps for Tajmyr contact areas and sociolinguistic description of multilingual practices of each area along the same lines. Together they contribute to documentation of languages of Tajmyr, as well as to typology of indigenous multilingualism across the world (see e.g. Campbell & Grandona 2010, Dobrushina 2013, Foley 2005, François 2012, Lüpke 2017, Singer & Harris 2016).

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Syncope, Umlaut, and Prosodic Fusion in Early Germanic

Paul Kiparsky

Keywords: historical phonology, sound change

Schedule: We 12.30 Room 8

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Folklore as an evidential category

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Keywords: Evidentiality, indirect evidential, verbal semantics

Schedule: Thu 11.30 Room 7

Our statements are typically based on concrete evidence, which may be our own (e.g., visual evidence), or we may rely on other people's evidence (reported evidence). We may also have less concrete evidence, for whose truthfulness we cannot take any responsibility. One manifestation of this is presented by folklore, traditional stories and myths, the information source type focused on in this paper (henceforth folklore). Folklore is here defined as traditional knowledge that is passed on from generation to generation, and that no (living) speaker has actually witnessed, which makes the information very indirect in nature. This paper proposes a formal-functional typology of folklore coding, and discusses its rationale. The following mechanisms are attested for folklore coding:

1. Specific folklore marking (Ladakhi, Qiang)
2. Evidentiality-neutral coding (Nganasan)
3. Direct evidential (Wanka Quechua)
4. Indirect evidentials; non-firsthand, assumptive, inferential (Avar, Matses, Meithei)
5. Reported evidential (Ingush, Dena'ina, Kashaya)
6. Varying type (Tariana)

The first type is divided into two based on whether a given language has a dedicated folklore marker, or whether the language uses a combination of markers for this. Ladakhi illustrates the first type (Koshal 1979: 205), while in Qiang, folklore is coded by a combination of hearsay and inferential evidentials (LaPolla 2003: 205). The second type is attested in Nganasan, where evidentiality marking is dropped in folklore (Gusev 2007, cited in Aikhenvald 2004: 311). The use of direct evidentials for folklore coding is rare, but a potential example is found in Wanka Quechua (Floyd 1993: 102). Indirect evidentials comprise here all information sources labeled as +personal and –direct by Plungian (2010: 37). For example, in Avar, a general non-firsthand evidential is used for coding folklore (Forker: forthcoming), while inferential evidential is used for this in Matses (Fleck 2003: 604). The use of reported evidentials for folklore coding is very common, and examples are attested, e.g., in Dena'ina (Holton & Lovick 2008) and Kashaya (Oswalt 1986). Finally, there are languages where the coding of folklore varies, e.g., according to its nature (see, e.g., Aikhenvald 2004: 310ff for Tariana, where at least three evidentials may be used for this purpose).

The secondhand nature of folkore is directly manifested in the frequent use of indirect evidentials for its coding. However, as a part of one's cultural heritage, folklore can also be regarded as reliable information, which explains the (albeit rare) use of direct evidentials for this purpose. Finally, folklore can also be viewed as an information source type of its own. Most prominently, folklore differs from all other information sources in the lack of concrete evidence. Folklore resembles facts in that our evidence is internal in nature (Author, submitted). However, facts are originally based on some kind of witnessed evidence, while this is lacking for folklore. From this it also follows that it is impossible to (dis)confirm the truthfulness of folklore, while we can have (dis)confirming evidence for (most) facts. The semantically specific nature of folklore is manifested in Types 1 and 2.

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The role of frequency in morpho-syntactic alternations:
An experimental study from Estonian

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Keywords: psycholinguistics, surprisal, entropy

Schedule: We 14.30 Room 4

To express spatial relationships of one object located on top of another object (e.g., *the book is on the table*), speakers of Estonian have to make a choice between two alternants of a morpho-syntactic alternation: A morphological construction involving the adessive case (*Raamat on laual* 'book.SG.NOM be-PRS.3SG table.SG.ade'), or a syntactic construction involving the postposition '*peal'* (*Raamat on laua peal* 'book.SG.NOM be-PRS.3SG table.SG.GEN on').

An issue that has recently received a substantial amount of attention is how to model native speakers' preferences for one or the other alternant in a given context (Bresnan 2007, Bresnan et al. 2007, Bresnan & Ford 2010, Divjak et al. 2016). Based on multivariate statistical analyses, corpus-based and experimental research has revealed a number of variables that significantly affect subjects' preferences across a range of different paradigms and different languages (e.g. syntactic, semantic and discourse-related features such as definiteness, animacy, mobility, length, pronominality, and TAM marking). Overall, it has been shown that the subjects' preferred choices reliably picked out the same choices made in the original corpus sample – there is a high and significant correlation between the proportions of selected constructions/verbs and the matching corpus-based probability estimates (Bresnan 2007, Divjak et al. 2016).

However, a question that still remains unanswered is the extent to which speakers' preferences correlate with usage frequencies as attested in corpora. A related, but more specific issue, is which out of a number of competing metrics that have wide currency in psycholinguistics and corpus-based cognitive linguistics is best suited to predict native speaker behaviour (Gries & Ellis 2015).

We present the results of two experimental studies carried out with native speakers of Estonian addressing these desiderata. Both studies involved the same stimulus set. The first study was a forced choice task (96 participants), whereas the second study was an acceptability rating task (98 participants). The frequency metrics under consideration fall into two broad groups: (1) collocation and collostructional metrics, which are broadly used in the corpus-linguistic community (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004, Schmid & Küchenhoff 2013), (2) information-theoretic metrics like entropy and surprisal, which enjoy increasing popularity in psycho- and neurolinguistics circles (Hale 2016). All metrics were extracted from the Balanced Corpus of Estonian (BCE 2015; size 15 million words in total) and etTenTen (270 million words from 686 000 webpages in Estonian). Preliminary results of mixed-effects logistic regression analyses suggest that the native speakers of Estonian are attuned to the global frequency of the adessive construction, which is 10 times more frequent than the *peal* construction in the locative function. Moreover, based on prior research, we expect language users to show a dispreference for constructions which are more 'surprising' in an information-theoretic sense (Hale & Levy 2013).

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✍

Mansi DOM

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Khanty and North Mansi (Ob-Ugric branch of Uralic) are known for their rigid topic promoting syntax: primary topics tend to be encoded as subjects, and secondary topics as direct objects. Subject and objects agree on the verb, subjects always, objects differentially (DOA), i.e. when topical. A passive construction ensures that whatever semantic role a primary topic has it may be encoded as a subject, a dative shift construction ensures that recipients may be encoded as direct objects (see among others Marcantonio 1993, Skribnik 2001, Sipőcz 2015, Virtanen 2015 on Mansi; Nikolaeva 1999, 2001, Sosa 2017 on Khanty). West, South, and East Mansi show additionally differential object marking (DOM). The interplay of DOA and DOM across the object marking dialects of Mansi is not sufficiently understood (see however Marcantonio 1993 on West Mansi, and Virtanen 2015 on East Mansi). E.g. in West Mansi, a direct object may be be unmarked and not agree (1a), be unmarked, but agree (1b), or be marked (by lative case) and agree (1c). Note that all these encodings are felicitous with an active identifiable DO: all three DOs bear a possessive marker, and their referents are introduced into the discourse no more than two or three predications ago. The non-agreeing DO in (1a)

is focal, it is part of a felicitous answer to a background question "What did he do next?" in which the object is not contained in the question. Agreeing objects are understood as being contained in the background question, i.e. (1b, c) answer felicitously to e.g. "What did he do with his freight?". As for the question what the object marking in (1c) adds, a possible interpretation is that the DO in (1b) is topical, but in (1c) it is topicalized. The topicalization effect fits the semantics of the lative case in the role of a DO marker.

(1)   Western Mansi
    a.   **kurr-eæ̯t**   jal   **wutt-əs**,   wunl-i.
         sack-3SG   down   set-PST sit-PRS
         '(Arriving at the pit) he put his sack down and sits.' (P 1278: 50)
    b.   **pajp-e:t**   jal   **li-s-tə**,   kajt-əs jy:.
         knapsack-3SG   down   throw-PST-3SG:O.SG   run-PST back
         '(He delivers a knapsack. On arrival he's attacked by dogs), he threw his knapsack down and ran back.' (NV 1263: 98)
    c.   tæw   **pajp-e:t-nə**   jal   **li-s-tə**,   kajt-əs jy:.
         3SG   knapsack-3SG-LAT   down   throw-PST-3SG:O.SG   run-PST back
         '(He delivers a knapsack. On arrival he's attacked by dogs), as for his knapsack, he threw it down and ran back.' (NV 1263: 88)

The present contribution to the theory of DOM (Aissen 2001, Iemmolo 2011, Serdobol'skaya and Toldova 2017 among many others) concentrates on the parameters focality and topicalization. Considered are all relevant narrative texts from Mansi text corpora, i.e. the Ob Babel corpus for West and East Mansi (http://www.babel.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/), and the Tavda corpus for South Mansi (http://norbertszilagyi91.wixsite.com/tawdamansi). The account aims at covering the lative marked objects of West Mansi, as well as the accusative marked objects of East and South Mansi; the latter two show a fourth constellation of DOA and DOM: the focal (non-agreeing) identifiable (accusative marked) DO.

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Bantu Expansion: A phylogeographic study

Ezequiel Koile, Simon J. Greenhill, Tom Güldemann, Remco Bouckaert and Russell D. Gray

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The development of first person and speech-act participant object marking from second person forms

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Keywords: person shift, historical linguistics

In several languages of the South-Central (SC) or Kuki-Chin branch of Trans-Himalayan (Sino-Tibetan), two types of syncretism exist in verbal person indexation. Apparent second person forms indicate either (i) first person object (1:OBJ) or (ii) speech-act participant object (SAP:OBJ), i.e., first person, second person, or inclusive object (in languages with an inclusive-exclusive distinction). An example of type (ii) is Purum (1). This study provides a diachronic account for the development from marking second person to marking first person or speech-act participant objects. The two subtypes of the development can be schematically represented as (i) 2 > 1:OBJ and (ii) 2 > SAP:OBJ, or in a unified way as 2 > 1/SAP:OBJ.

(1) Purum (Northwestern SC; Trans-Himalayan) (Sharma and Singh 2008)
(a) *nə-bək*   (b) *kə-nə-ren*   (c) *nə-nə-ren*   (d) *ə-nə-ren*
   2SG-eat   1SG-SAP:OBJ-scold   2SG-SAP:OBJ-scold   3SG-SAP:OBJ-scold
   'you eat (rice)'   'I scold you'   'you scold me/us'   'he scolds me/us/you'

     Besides the case of Purum, in Aimol (Northwestern SC; personal field notes), the 2SG prefix *na-* indexes first person objects. The same syncretism is also found in Daai Chin (Southern SC; So-Hartmann 2009), where the cognate form is *nah*. Considering the reconstruction of second person as **na* or **naŋ* for Proto-Trans-Himalayan (Proto-Tibeto-Burman) by Matisoff (2003:639), there is no doubt that the these forms are originally second person forms.
     The development from second person to 1:OBJ and SAP:OBJ markers is argued to involve an intermediate stage where the form has inclusive reference, i.e., including speaker and addressee. This

intermediate stage is in fact attested in Chiru (Northwestern SC; personal field notes). In Chiru, the prefix *nV-* with a copy vowel has inclusive reference, while second person is indexed by *naŋ-*, a new recruitment from the paradigm of independent pronouns. The same prefix *nV-* also functions as a SAP:OBJ marker, comparable to Purum. The development can thus be characterized as 2 > INCL > 1/SAP:OBJ.

Proto-South-Central is reconstructed with an inclusive prefix **i-* (DeLancey to appear), but all of the languages under investigation have lost this original inclusive prefix. This loss of the old inclusive marker thus motivates the rise of a new inclusive marker in the development of 2 > INCL.

Furthermore, it is argued that the developments both from 2 > INCL and from INCL > 1/SAP:OBJ involve intermediate impersonal or generic stages. Impersonal uses of second person forms are cross-linguistically well-attested (Kitagawa and Lehrer 1990, Gast et al. 2015); and so are impersonal uses of inclusive forms (Cysouw 2005, Lichtenberk 2005). The use of an inclusive form for first person exclusive object reference, analogous to the development of INCL > 1:OBJ, is furthermore found in a politeness construction in Galela, a West Papuan language (Shelden 1986:166). Parallels also exist within Trans-Himalayan, in the development of first person object forms from impersonalizing antipassive constructions (Bickel and Gaenszle 2015).

Based on comparative evidence from related languages as well as patterns attested cross-linguistically, this study thus documents two related person shifts: (a) from second person to first person object; and (b) from second person to speech-act participant object.

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ʔ

Topic, focus, and transitional continuity in Russian spoken narratives

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Keywords: spoken discourse, intonation, linear accentual structure, information structure

Schedule: Fri 16.30 Room 9

In Russian, the topic-focus distinction is reflected in the linear-accentual structure of the sentence (Paducheva 2015). There are formal properties that allow for a robust differentiation between topics and foci in isolated, syntactically simple utterances. The topic usually precedes the focus; the focus is pronounced with a primary falling accent, while the topic bears a rising accent; special rules of accent allocation apply both to the topic and the focus (Yanko 2011). The goal of my study is to demonstrate that these properties don't work that well in a broader discourse context. Using the data from the prosodically annotated "Stories about presents and skiing" collection (Spokencorpora 2013), I want to show that, when combined with (non-final) transitional continuity (Du Bois et al. 1993), clausal topics and foci share common formal features and may become virtually indistinguishable.

In the Example section, there are six non-final clauses where the transitional continuity is marked with a rising accent — a standard topic property. However, only three of those clauses (preposed 'when'-clauses 25, 29 and matrix clause 30) exhibit semantic non-assertiveness. The other three (24, 26-27 and 31) convey assertion. Particularly, lines 26-27 contain an embedded direct speech, and thus express an illocutionary force of their own. Had not the speaker decided to mark 26-27 as non-final, *nužno* would have borne a falling accent. Hence, the intonational pattern of transitional continuity overrides that of (presumable) focus. In line 31, contrastive focus and transitional continuity are expressed separately, the former with a falling accent on *bolee* and the latter with a final rising accent. More intriguingly, this very linear accentual structure is also found in presupposition-like clauses as in *pervyj raz kogda on /slezaet* ('when he comes down for the first time…'). As a result, when analyzing complex narrative structures in spoken Russian, the topic-focus distinction becomes questionable.

Example

Lines correspond to elementary discourse units; slashes stand for rising (/) and falling (\\) accents; commas indicate non-final transitional continuity.

24. ( ) on uže   ( ) praktičeski sobiralsja   eë   /kupit',
    he already practically was.going it.ACC to.buy

25. no potom kogda on uznal /cenu,
    but then when he knew price

26. ( ) /on ( ) v \\ispuge skazal «/Net-/net-\\net,
    he in fear said no no no

27. ėto mne ne /nužno.»,
    this to.me not is.needed

28. ( ) i (ш) \\ušёl.
    and left

'He was almost going to buy it [the car], but then he knew the price, said fearfully, "Oh no, I don't need that", and left'.

29. ( ) No ( ) kogda on prišёl večerom /domoj,

but	when	he	came	in.the.evening	home	

30. ( ) /okazalos',

　　turned.out

31. čto /on ( ) gorazdo \bolee izobretatelen čem o nëm /dumali,

　　that he much more ingenious than of him they.thought

32. ( ) on prinës () svoej /žene ( ) \igrušečnuju mašinku.

　　he brought to.his to.wife toy car

'But when he came back home in the evening, he turned out to be much more ingenious than one might think, [as] he brought a toy car to his wife'.

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On new diachronies in negation marking: Double polarity swap

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(University of Antwerp)

Keywords: negation, 'Jespersen Cycle', 'Negative Existential Cycle', Amazonian language

Schedule: We 12.30 Room 7

This paper reports on a diachrony of a negative pro-sentence and a negative existential that has not surfaced in the studies on negation so far.

　　Specifically, the following points will be made. It is well known that positive lexical elements may get contaminated by negation and end up in the service of negation marking (Jespersen 1917, Meillet 1912). This is a process that underlies the 'Jespersen Cycle' (van der Auwera 2009) (the term is due to Dahl 1979: 88). So far, such cases were known only for the domain of 'standard negation', viz. the negation of main clause declarative sentences with an overt verbal predicate (Payne 1985: 224, Miestamo 2005). However, in the Amazonian language Kulina (Arawan), we observe contamination that took place in an existential construction. Although it is reminiscent of the so-called 'Negative Existential Cycle' (Croft 1991, Veselinova 2014), the Kulina case does not involve the mechanisms

associated with this Cycle. One of the curious outcomes is the development of the negative prosentence 'no' from a semantically neutral lexeme with no morphological changes involved. This lexeme is the dynamic verb *nowe* 'to show', still existing as such in this language (Dienst 2014 *in passim*, p.c.). Also, a second process took place in the same construction: the negative auxiliary that, as argued here, had contaminated the verb 'show', has itself undergone semantic bleaching towards a non-negative auxiliary. The resulting picture is that of a negativity swap between an originally neutral lexical element turned negative, and an originally negative element bleaching into a semantically neutral auxiliary. We suggest a trajectory for these developments based on evidence from two closely related Kulina dialects.

Concluding, the paper makes three following contributions. A change in polarity with no change in morphology has been observed so far as part of genesis of standard negation markers, but not for the domain of existential negation. The double polarity swap that takes place within one construction seems equally unusual from a typological perspective. Finally, the Kulina case gives us a new insight on sources for negative prosentences (viz. Croft 1991: 8, Veselinova 2013: 137): an originally neutral lexeme 'show' in this case. The phenomena reported in this paper call for more attention as well as a wider exploration and may ultimately turn out to be cross-linguistically less rare than can be concluded from the typological literature at present.

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✄

Contact features in L2 Basque speakers' linguistic patterns: individual entrenchment vs. community-wide conventionalization

Hanna Lantto
(University of Eastern Finland)

Keywords: language contact, new speakers, variation

Schedule: We 12.00 Room 11

During the last four decades, the Basque Country has gone through a period of fast revitalization. The minority language has entered domains where it has not been used before. Education, in particular, has become a stronghold for the Basque language. In 1981, only 21% of the population in the Basque Autonomous Community spoke Basque, while by 2011 the percentage had risen up to 37%, with the young being the most bilingual of speaker groups. In urban areas, such as the city of Bilbao, L2 speakers now outnumber the native Basque speakers (Basque Government 2009: 72). Yet their linguistic varieties have not been studied from the usage-base perspective of contact linguistics.

In the usage-based approach to language, the patterns of the cognitive organization of the language varieties can be deduced from the speakers' language use patterns. When an item is frequently used by the speaker, the item is *entrenched* in the speakers' cognitive representation of the language variety. When the item is used by several bilingual individuals in the same speech community, the item is *conventionalized* across the community. (Backus All L2 Basque speakers acquire the purist Basque standard in a classroom context, and they all share the resources provided by their L1, Spanish. Through their social networks, cultural activities, and the Basque media, they can also have some contact to different vernacular forms of Basque.

This article examines what the L2 Basque speakers make of all these linguistic resources at their disposal, and combines the individual level of the entrenchment with the community level conventionalization by examining the outcomes of language contact in the language use patterns of four different L2 Basque speakers. The focus is on four concrete features that highlight the extent of individual variation in what has become entrenched in their bilingual speech: 1) use or lack of use of the absolutive-ergative distinction, which is often considered as one of the core features of the Basque grammar, 2) choice of word order SXV (Basque canonical order) vs. SVX (Spanish canonical order), 3) use of Spanish lexical resources, particularly code-switching and discourse markers, and 4) use of different dialectal features in their speech. This individual entrenchment is then compared to the community-wide conventionalization: what has become entrenched in their speech patterns, and what kind of contact features all these individuals share. Despite the similar sociolinguistic backgrounds and similar language acquisition processes, the Basque that these four individuals speak is by no means uniform. One uses frequent code-switching to Spanish; another makes extensive use of different dialectal features etc. However, conventionalization of some language contact features can be observed.

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✍

Emergence of multimodal constructions in spontaneous conversations

Eva Lehečková & Jakub Jehlička

(Charles University, Prague)

Keywords: construction grammar, multimodality, gesture, multimodal corpora

Schedule: Fri 14.00 Room 9

Since its advent, Construction Grammar (CxG (Fried & Östman, 2004, Goldberg, 2013)) has represented an approach open to the inclusion of multimodal aspects of language (phonetic and gestural) into grammatical analysis. Nonetheless, it is only very recently that first such analyses as well as deeper theoretical considerations of multimodal constructions started to appear (Hoffmann, 2017, Schoonjans, 2014, 2017, Zima, 2014). While providing limited evidence, the multimodal CxG studies have so far indicated that there is a number of theoretical (and methodological) issues still to be resolved, e. g. the frequency threshold for a construction to be conventionalized, entrenched and intersubjectively shared or to what extent the variability of gesture forms that we encounter in the use blocks the above frequency-induced processes.

Focusing on the latter, we explore ways of analysing the degree of constructionalization (Traugott & Trousdale, 2013) of combinations of gestures and adjacent speech (on varying syntactic levels from single words to lexical chunks) in spontaneous conversational interaction. To explore this question, we carried out a corpus-based qualitative analysis of English and Czech multimodal constructions with open hand gesture characterised by away-body movement on a horizontal axis (Bressem, 2013). We focused specifically on the variation of particular uses of the target gesture in spontaneous conversations in terms of (i) the number of constructions it accompanies, (ii) the degree of variability of the target gesture across speakers, (iii) the similarity of various contexts the target gesture is used in.

We combined data from three multimodal corpora: AMI Corpus – a multimodal corpus of English (Carletta, 2006) and our own small-size corpus with a similar design as the AMI Corpus. A comparable sample was selected from the AMI Corpus (production of 10 speakers, 200 minutes of video) and the Czech corpus (10 speakers, 180 minutes). The UCLA Library Broadcast NewsScape (Turner & Steen, 2013) served as supplemental source for further validation of our findings both for Czech and English. In total, more than 150 constructions accompanied by the target gesture were extracted. Capturing the highly ecologically valid conversational production, our study widens the scope of the ongoing debate on multimodal CxG that has so far been supported mostly by analyses of either elicited narrative production or TV broadcasts.

Our analysis indicates that the variability operationalized as (i)-(iii) above is not as random as Hoffmann (2017) suggests. The variation in terms of the performance of the target gesture (e.g. the range of the movement) supposedly does not affect comprehension. Although the number of constructions accompanied by the target gesture may seem relatively high, the attested constructions share some crucial semantic features that prompt the use of the target gesture. This founding is supported by the analysis of the wider linguistic and situational context as well. Our results are thus less straightforward than expected, but promising. A follow-up quantitative, e.g. collostructional analysis (Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2003) is necessary to confirm the patterns detected.

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✍

Categorical versus thetic propositions as essential part of a Realistic Universal Grammar

Elisabeth Leiss
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Keywords: thetic sentences, categorical sentences, copula, phema, Philosophy of Realism

Schedule: We 15.00 Room 9

The aim of my paper is to show that the notion of theticity is part of a long tradition of philosophy, especially of the philosophy of Realism. Thetic judgments appeared under the label of impersonal judgments (see Lotze 1843/1989). The notions of categorical versus thetic judgments or thetic propositions are closely related to a highly developed theory of the copula. The copula relates not only subject and predicate in well-defined ways (Bacon 1240/2009: 70). The copula is also the basic building block of the philosophy of Realism and its Theory of Universal Grammar. The copula is omnipresent in the architecture of the mental lexicon. It relates reality and concepts, as it is an essential characteristic of any feature matrix of the lexicon; furthermore, it enables these feature

matrices to refer to objects in time and space (Zimmermann 1986). As a relator between subject and predicate, the copula is present even in predicates that are unrelated, this being the case in thetic propositions (simple judgments). This is the very reason, why thetic propositions, despite their low frequency, were of utmost relevance for the philosophy of Realism. Thetic propositions presuppose the structure of categorical sentences (Lotze 1843/1989: 70-74), thus being equally structured and related to reality, even without any pre-context. In other words, there is no way out of its linking to reality. The reactivation of research in thetic propositions in the last years may be motivated by the current rise of interest in the philosophy of Realism, be it consciously or unconsciously.

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⌀

On the importance of persistence effects for investigations of language change

Anne Lerche
(Leipzig University)

Keywords: persistence, priming, ongoing change, English, get-passive

Schedule: Thu 15.00 Room 8

It is widely acknowledged in linguistics that speakers do not form individual utterances from scratch, but always draw on previously used structures. Therefore, it is not surprising that, as early as 1978, Sankoff and Laberge criticised investigations of language variation and change for treating "successive occurrences of a variable, even within the same utterance, as independent binomial trials" (1978: 119). Interestingly, however, the importance of the factor *persistence*, i.e. the repetition of a previously used variant of a linguistic variable, has been taken into account in relatively few subsequent studies of variation in English morphophonology and (morpho-)syntax (Weiner & Labov 1983, Poplack & Tagliamonte 1989, 1996, Gries 2005, Szmrecsanyi 2005, 2006, Tamminga 2014, 2016), but their results consistently show that speakers' choices of variants partly depend on their previous choices concerning the same or similar variables.

Even fewer studies exist which examine the role of persistence effects in (ongoing) linguistic change, with the exception of an investigation of the shift from *ser* 'be' to *estar* 'have' as the auxiliary

for forming compound tenses in the history of Spanish (Rosemeyer 2015) and that of an ongoing analogical change in the formation of the imperative singular of German strong verbs with e/i change, e.g. *geben* 'give': *gib!* replaced by *geb(e)!* (Krause 2016). Both studies find significant persistence effects and thereby underline the importance of treating successive uses of the same or a similar linguistic variable as interrelated speaker choices. In a similar vein, the present study will examine cases of (ongoing) change in English phonology, morphology and morphosyntax in order to make a case for including the factor persistence in investigations of linguistic variation *and* change, where appropriate.

From the set of changes to be examined, the present paper will focus on the increasing use of the *get*-passive (at the expense of the *be*-passive), as illustrated in sentences (1) and (2).

(1)   *The liver can <u>be affected</u> and fail, the kidneys can <u>get affected</u> and fail, the brain <u>gets affected</u> and there may be bleeding in the brain, in other parts of the body.* [COCA, SPOKEN: NBC_Today, 2001]

(2)   *And then that new address <u>gets entered</u> into the system, <u>gets downloaded</u> to the credit reporting agencies and then the agencies sell your name and your new address to a bank.* [COCA, SPOKEN: CBS_Early, 1999]

It is hypothesised that persistence effects are part of the intricate network of factors that may explain the trajectory of change. Thus, if data points are treated as independent, as has been done in previous investigations of the *get*-passive (Hundt 2001, Leech et al. 2009, among others), the rate of change may be over- or underestimated. Proceeding from previous studies, corpus data will be analysed using mixed-effects regression techniques to assess the effect of persistence on variant choice alongside other intra- and extralinguistic predictors and irrespective of speaker preferences and lexical idiosyncrasies. An analysis taking persistence into account is expected to be superior to an analysis of the same dataset which neglects the influence of this factor.

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✍

The Russian pronoun *èto* with a clausal antecedent

Alexander Letuchiy

Keywords: complement clauses, Russian language, nominal phrase

Schedule: Thu 11.30 Room 4

In my talk, I will consider the anaphoric use of the Russian pronoun *èto* 'this' (in neuter singular) – in particular, its use for referring to clausal antecedents. While pronouns referring to NPs are well described (see Bhat (2007), as well as works of generative framework, e.g., Ross 1967), pronouns referring to clauses have rarely been special subject of analysis, except for Asher (1993) and few other works.

èto can refer to various complement types:

Infinitive:

(1) *Petj-a   ne   uexa-l-Ø   no   strem-it-sja   k   èt-omu.*
     Petja-SG.NOM NEG   leave-PST-SG.M   but   seek-PRS.3SG-REFL   to   this-SG.DAT
     'Petja has not left but seeks to do it.'

Finite with *čto*:

(2) *Ja   znaj-u   čto   Petj-a   vor-Ø,   i   Vasj-a*
     I.NOM know-PRS.1SG that   Petja-SG.NOM thief-SG.NOM and   Vasja-SG.NOM

tože   èt-o   zna-et.
also   this-SG.ACC   know-PRS.3SG
     'I know that Vasja is a thief, and Vasja also knows it.'

The talk focuses on the following question:

  1) Does *èto* syntactically behave as an NP (which would be morphologically explicable, because *èto* is a nominal unit possessing the category of case) or as a clause (because *èto* replaces clausal complements)?

In fact, none of the two variants describes the whole picture. On the one hand, *èto* is sometimes compatible with verbs that cannot host complement clauses, if the antecedent if a clause. Here belong, for instance, contexts with the verb *načat'sja* 'begin (intr.)', which does not take complement clauses:

(3) *Ja   s   detstv-a   boja-l-Ø-sja   sobak.*
     I.NOM from childhood-SG.GEN be.afraid-PST-SG.M-REFL   dog-PL.GEN
Nača-l-o-s'   ėt-o   v   dva   god-a.
begin-PST-SG.N-REFL this-SG.NOM   in   two.ACC   year-SG.GEN
     'I am afraid of dogs from my childhood. It ('that I am afraid of dogs') began at the age of two.'

(4) **V   dva   god-a   nača-l-o-s'   (to)   čto   ja*

     In   two.ACC   year-SG.GEN begin-PST-SG.N-REFL I.NOM PRON that
     I.NOM
boj-u-s'   sobak.
be.afraid-PRS.1SG-REFL   dog-PL.GEN
     Intended: 'It began at the age of two that I am afraid of dogs.'

The same is true for the verb *organizovat'* 'organize'. It is incompatible with complement clauses but compatible with *ėto*.

(5) *My   vstreti-l-i-s'   s   režisser-om.   Ėt-o*
     we.NOM   meet-PST-PL-REFL   with   film.director-SG.INS this-SG.ACC
organizova-l-Ø   moj   znakom-yj   akter-Ø.
organize-PST-SG.M   my.M.SG.NOM   familiar-M.SG.NOM   actor-SG.NOM
     'We met the film director. It was an actor I am familiar with who organized it ('that we met the film director')'.

On the other hand, as Chvany (1996) shows, sometimes *ėto* is also compatible with verbs that cannot host full NPs, e.g. *moch* 'can', *umet'* 'know how' (she terms these lexemes as 'slightly-transitive verbs', because they can only have pronominal direct objects, but not full NPs):

(5) *Ėt-o   on   ume-et.*
     this-SG.ACC   he.NOM   know.how-PRS.3SG
     'He knows how to do it.'

     I conclude that the pronoun *ėto* does not behave entirely as a typical anaphoric pronoun. The main difference is that anaphoric pronouns in the canonical case can be replaced with their antecedents. For *ėto*, this is not an obligatory requirement (in examples like (4), *ėto* cannot be replaced by its clausal antecedent in the construction with *načat'sja* 'begin'). It is only mandatory that *ėto* (i) has a clausal antecedent and (ii) denotes a situation – thus, for the antecedent, a syntactic condition is relevant, while *ėto* itself obeys a semantic condition.

     In other words, the verb which *ėto* is an argument of does not have to host clausal complements, but has to be compatible with arguments denoting situations, and not objects. The verbs 'organize' and 'begin (intr)' belong to this class. On the other hand, the same logic explains why *ėto* is compatible with verbs like *umet'* 'know how': although these verbs are incompatible with NP, it is crucial that they have a situational argument, and this slot is filled by *ėto*.

     In the talk I will also consider other properties of *ėto*-constructions: correspondence of grammatical categories of the antecedent and the occurrence replaced by *ėto*; strict vs. sloppy reading opposition and others. I will propose a syntactic representation for structures with *ėto*.

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☙

Discourse particles in Basque: a neoperformative approach to al and ba

Aitor Lizardi-Ituarte

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☙

On how sign language vocabulary changes over time: The case of verbs in Polish Sign Language (PJM)

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Keywords: diachronic change, verbs

The aim of this paper is to discuss the mechanisms underlying diachronic modifications of high-frequency lexemes in Polish Sign Language (polski język migowy, hereafter PJM). Our research is based on two types of data: a corpus of present-day PJM and the earliest known linguistic description of the lexicon of PJM, a dictionary by Hollak & Jagodziński (1879, herafter H&J). We attempt to analyze how the articulation of PJM verbs has changed since 1879.

H&J was published by the Institute for the Deaf-Mute in Warsaw. On more than 500 pages, the two hearing priests described over ten thousand signs. Although they are not accompanied by illustrations, the entries are quite detailed and usually give a clear picture of the articulation of the signs they refer to. From today's perspective, the work seems surprisingly advanced and scientifically mature, as it clearly distinguishes PJM from spoken Polish. The dictionary is an invaluable source of data on the historical development of PJM. However, it has not yet been analyzed from the perspective of theoretical linguistics.

Our second source of data for the purposes of the present study was a corpus of PJM composed of utterances produced by over 100 deaf signers. We focused on the 200 most frequent PJM verbs attested in that corpus. We compared their standard articulation to descriptions found in H&J and classified them into three categories:

1. present-day signs whose articulation is the same as what is described in H&J;

2. present-day signs whose articulation is different from the articulation of their semantic equivalents noted in H&J;

3. present-day signs that do not have semantic equivalents in H&J.

Our research showed that nearly 90% of the 200 analyzed present-day PJM verbs can be found in H&J, but only 24.5% have not changed since 1879. Although H&J's descriptions of sign articulation were often imprecise, we can clearly observe diachronic lexicalization processes that have taken place during that period. We notice that PJM verbs have evolved from more complex and semi-pantomimed forms into simpler articulations. For example, H&J describes the sign to name in the following way: "one makes the sign of the cross with the thumb on the forehead", while its present-day equivalent has been reduced to a vertical movement of the thumb on the forehead. In this paper we will discuss many examples of such reduction mechanisms (involving simplification and morpho-phonological attrition). We conclude that the PJM data we analyzed provides strong support for Frishberg's (1975) generalization that the iconic basis of linguistic form is prone to gradual diachronic change in the direction of arbitrariness, conventionalization and morpho-phonological reduction. Iconically motivated signs of high frequency tend to get simplified (reduced to distinctive features) by lexicalization processes, such as the loss of redundant body or facial movement. The same trend (from more iconic to more arbitrary) was noted by Tomaszewski (2006), who analyzed the linguistic behavior of Polish homesigners and observed reduction processes similar to those we discuss on the basis of the H&J data.

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⌇

Referring to female persons: Determining factors in gender assignment in Luxembourgish

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Keywords: agreement, neuter, sociopragmatical factors

Schedule: We 16.30 Room 4

Due to the still ongoing standardization processes in Luxembourgish, the rather young Germanic language shows great variation, which is also reflected in the gender assignment in reference to female persons. Therefore, this paper focuses on the analysis of different factors such as sociopragmatic factors and syntactic distance determining the gender assignment when speaking of female persons in Luxembourgish.

In fact, female first names are neuter in Luxembourgish and generally take neuter targets, whereas the feminine gender is used when referring to a female person for example with a last name and/or title (e.g. *Madame* ‚Ms.'). Furthermore, kinship terms and other appellatives are mostly feminine. However, there are different types of names, which can either take feminine or neuter targets. More precisely, such gender assignment conflicts mainly arise when referring to persons with more complex names (e.g. first name + last name, title + first name) and in the special case of *Schwëster* ‚sister'. Although not much research has been done on this specific topic until now, first investigations (Döhmer 2016, Nübling 2015, Nübling/Busley/Drenda 2013) have shown that the gender assignment primarily depends on sociopragmatic factors (such as age, respect, etc.). In this context, existing research also refers to Corbett's *Agreement Hierarchy* (Corbett 1979).

The aim of this study is to find out more about the exact sociopragmatic factors playing a role in gender assignment (i.e.grammatical vs. (socio)pragmatical) considering the different types of names as well as to analyse the importance of the syntactic distance between the controller and the target(s) (e.g. definite article, personal pronoun, possessive pronoun etc.). A further objective is the adaption of Corbett's *Agreement Hierarchy* to the Luxembourgish context. The figure below shows the scale from grammatical to (socio)pragmatical agreement (on the basis of Nübling's adaption to German (Nübling 2015)) by means of the special case *Schwëster* ‚sister'. This feminine kinship term allows feminine as well as neuter targets in most positions.

attributive (article, adjective)	possessive pronoun	relative pronoun	possessive pronoun	anaphoric pronoun
grammatical agreement *close agreement*				**(socio)pragmatical agreement** *distant agreement*
[F] *mat menger klenger Schwëster*	*mat hirem Hond*	*,déi e fiddert*	*Hiren Hond…*	*Si ass hei*
[N] *mat mengem klengem Schwëster*	*mat sengem Hond*	*,dat e fiddert*	*Säin Hond…*	*Hatt ass hei*
‚with my little sister	with her dog	who feeds it	Her dog…	She is here'

Thus, the study analyses elicited data consisting in cloze texts as well as picture and video descriptions (spoken data). The paper presents and discusses results from these different types of data. On the one hand, they confirm previous findings, namely the decisive role of pragmatic distance and the sociopragmatic factors such as age and respect. On the other hand, the results highlight the variation in the use patterns that can be found both on interspeaker (i.a. connected to the speaker's age) and intraspeaker level.

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✍

From intransitive to transitive in Basque progressive constructions

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Keywords: transitivity, grammaticalization

Schedule: Thu 15.00 Room 1

Basque is unique, among European languages, due to its ergative morphosyntactic alignment (Trask 1997). However, rather than on ergativity itself, here I would like to focus on another feature which is a direct consequence of that alignment. Whereas in all the neighbouring languages finite verbs have a template of the type vb.root(-TAM.morph)-S/A.marker, Basque finite verbs (including both one-piece synthetic ones and auxiliaries of analytic VPs) are dichotomically split into an intransitive group and a transitive group. Restricting my analysis to historically present forms, intransitive forms have the template S.marker-TAM.morph-vb.root (*n-a-tor* 'I come'), transitive forms instead of the type P.marker-TAM.morph-vb.root-A.marker (*h-a-kar-t* 'I bring you (sg.)').

A very interesting phenomenon is what occurs with progressive periphrases. Basque dialects, attested since the 16th century, have developed an array of structures of this type, triggered by the grammaticalization of the oldest progressive periphrases into presents of the analytic type (e.g. *etor-tzen n-a-iz* 'I am coming > I come'). All these structures share one feature: the auxiliary is intransitive regardless of the (in)transitivity of the lexical verb, which is at odds with the rest of the verbal morphology, in which the (in)transitivity of the finite verb is always controlled by the lexical verb.

Now in some eastern varieties, from the 19th century onwards, analogy with the rest of the verbal morphology has made the auxiliaries of progressive periphrases come to be controlled by the lexical verb. Thus, from an opposition like *etor-tzen ari n-aiz* come-IPV PROG 1sgS-AUX 'I am coming' / *ekar-tzen ari n-aiz* bring-IPV PROG 1sgS-AUX 'I am bringing', typical of central dialects, these eastern varieties have turned into *etor-tzen ari n-aiz* / *ekar-tzen ari du-t* bring-IPV PROG AUX-1sgA. In addition to coupling the verbal alignment of progressive periphrases with the rest of the verbal morphology, this development has enabled progressive constructions to index Ps on the finite verb when the lexical verb is transitive (*ikus-ten ari n-au* '(s)he is seeing me'), thus solving a disfunction of progressive periphrases felt by speakers of varieties which have not undergone this innovation.

Interestingly, Mounole (2008) has consistently shown that the analytic imperfectives (present and past) of Basque also come from progressive periphrases whose auxiliary was always intransitive in origin: *etor-tze-n [n-aiz]*, lit. 'I am in coming', and **ekar-tze-n [n-aiz]*, lit. 'I am in bringing'. When these grammaticalized, the adverbial complement was reanalyzed as part of the VP, and the (in)transitivity of the auxiliary of this moved to be controlled by the lexical verb: → *[etor-tze-n n-aiz]* 'I come', but *[ekar-tze-n du-t]* 'I bring'.

Since the change proposed by Mounole must have occurred at some point in the Middle Ages, this means that the transference of the control of the (in)transitivity from the verb 'be' of progressive periphrases to the lexical verb, which has taken place twice in the history of Basque, is a development expectable from the sharp division of its verbs into intransitives and transitives.

The development is thus a valency-increasing derivation, not semantically based but resulting from the grammaticalization of an intransitive construction.

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✄

Gliding into a smaller inventory: A reanalysis of diphthongs in Bernese German

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Keywords: phonology, alemannic, geminate, glide, vocalization

Schedule: We 17.30 Room 10

As is the case with other Alemannic varieties, work on Bernese German has mostly treated it as one of the varieties falling under the roof of Standard German. This "Ger- manocentric" approach has led to analyses that make varieties like Bernese look closer to Standard German than they really are. One area affected by this point of view is the Bernese diphthong inventory, which has been described in different ways. Most authors agree about the opening diphthongs /iə̯/, /yə̯/
and /uə̯/
(but see Ham 2001:45).

However, the only closing diphthongs treated consistently in the literature are /ɛi̯/ /œi̯/ and /ɔu̯/, which happen to be the ones corresponding to Standard German /aɪ/, /ɔʏ/, and /aʊ/ (Keller 1961:92–93, Marti 1985a:45–47, Marti 1985b:39–40, and Ham 2001:45). I revisit this traditional account of Bernese as having phonemic closing diphthongs from a more neutral point of view and demonstrate that it

has certain disadvantages.
My main proposal is that it is much more economical to analyze the closing diphthongs as sequences of vowel + glide, for several reasons.

Compared to Middle High German, Bernese has innovated various new diphthongs, stemming from different sources. In addition to these older developments, the rather recent /l/-vocalization (Leemann, Kolly, et al. 2014) must be considered phonemic in today's non-Oberland varieties of Bernese. The diphthong inventory is thus consider- ably larger than described above, containing over 30 diphthongs. More importantly, traditional approaches have ignored or downplayed the fact that the second elements of closing diphthongs behave like "fortis" obstruents or long nasals. That is, they show a long constriction duration in intervocalic, post-stress position, considerably longer than the surrounding (syllabic) vowels:
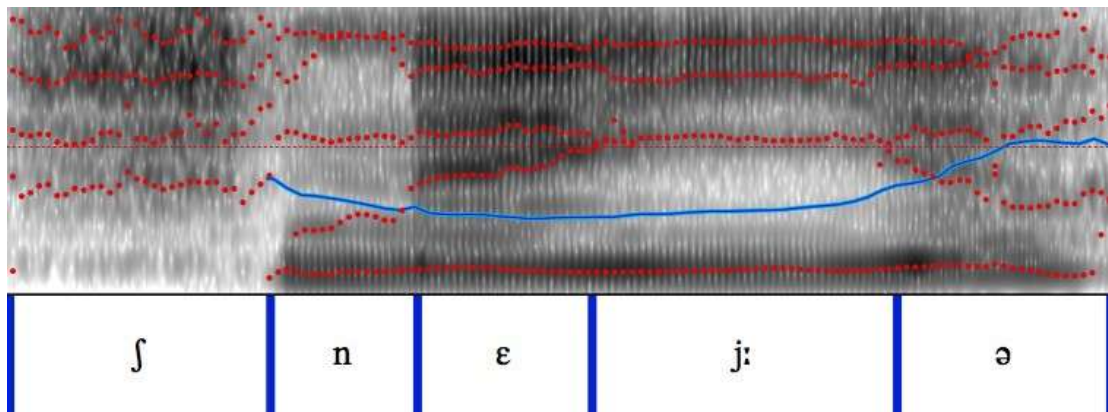
Figure 1: Spectrogram of /ˈʃnɛjːə/ 'to snow', data from Leemann & Kolly (2014).
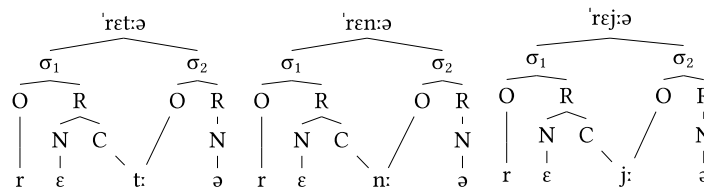
The contrast between "fortis" and "lenis" consonants in many Alemannic varieties is one of duration (Fleischer & Schmidt 2006:244–245 and Kraehenmann 2003), mak- ing "fortis" consonants geminates, just like long nasals and liquids. Thus, the syllable structures of words like /rɛtːə/ 'to save' with a "fortis", /rɛnːə/ 'to run' with a nasal, and /rɛjːə/ 'row' with a glide are identical, with the geminates as heterosyllabic long segments:

Figure 2: Syllable structures of words with geminate consonants.

Besides being more economical overall, my analysis has the advantage of not sim- ply dismissing or glossing over some of the more peripheral diphthongs, and of ac- knowledging that the /l/-vocalization has lost its allophonic status. Most importantly though, it highlights the need for unbiased analyses of non-standard varieties and does justice to this variety's preference for geminate consonants, with which geminated glides fall into line. It also paints Bernese as a rather interesting case of a language with geminate glides. A number of languages with a singleton–geminate contrast do not show it for glides (Maddieson 2008), only allowing singleton glides. This is also the case for Bernese, but unlike these other languages, it has nothing but geminate glides in the

position where the length contrast can be made.

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✍

Syntactic discontinuous reduplication in Italian (and beyond)

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Keywords: Construction Grammar

Schedule: Thu 14.30 Room 4

This presentation analyzes 'syntactic discontinuous reduplication' (SDR) in Italian, by combining a corpus-based methodology (data from *itTenTen16*, SketchEngine) and a (preliminary) typologically-informed investigation. A SDR is defined here as a non-contiguous repetition of the same element within a larger fixed configuration, as in (1).

(1)   I segni erano spariti e, **cerca di qua**, **cerca di là**, nessuno ha avuto il coraggio di continuare senza.

'The signs had disappeared and, **search here**, **search there** [=searching repeatedly, in all directions], no one had the courage to continue without them.'

In (1), the SDR consists in the repetition of *cerca* 'search' within a larger structure built around two spatial adverbs with opposite meaning, and can be schematized as $<X_i\ Adv_1\ X_i\ Adv_2>$. Beside *_di qua_di là* '_here_there' in (1), other similar adverbial pairs can occur, such as *_(di) su_(di) giù* '_up_down' or *_di sotto_di sopra* '_below_above'. Conversely, X_i can be filled by different items, e.g. verbs (1), nouns (2)-(3), clauses (4).

(2)   ma forse Bruxelles in toto andrebbe presa a calci, **calci di qua, calci di là**.
'but maybe the whole Bruxelles [=European parliament] should be kicked, **kicks here, kicks there** [=kicks all the way down, many kicks]'

(3)   Come si difende il corpo? Pensando come fanno gli altri, **idiozie di qua**, **idiozie di là**?
'How does the body protect itself? Thinking, like the others do, **stupid_things here**, **stupid_things there**? [=stupid_things all the way down, many stupid_things]'

(4)   adesso invece con tutto sto garantismo (poverini, **hanno diritto di qua, hanno diritto di là**, non si possono alzare le mani, ecc.) si sentono in diritto di fare quello che gli pare
'but now, with all this garantismo [=extreme defense of civil rights] ([with people often saying:] poor little things, **they have the right here**, **they have the right there** [=many instances of they-have-the-right sort of utterances], you cannot raise your hands on them, etc.) they believe they have the right to do whatever they want'

Semantically, SDRs express a set of (related) functions – such as pluractionality ((1),(4)) or plurality/distributivity ((2),(3)), and more in general intensification – which are also typical of reduplication cross-linguistically (Moravcsik 1978). Besides, the presence of opposite adverbs is reminiscent of 'generalizing' co-compounds (e.g. Mordvin *t'ese-toso* here-there 'everywhere'), whose "parts express the extreme opposite poles of which the whole consists" (Wälchli 2005:139).
We analyze SDRs as lexically semi-specified constructions – in the Construction Grammar sense (Hoffmann & Trousdale 2013) – with idiosyncratic syntactic/lexical properties and non-compositional semantics. Moreover, we provide a preliminary overview of their cross-linguistic relevance, since SDR-like patterns are actually attested in typologically different languages, such as German (Finkbeiner 2015; cf. (5)) and Mandarin Chinese (cf. (6) from *zhTenTen11*, SketchEngine).

(6)   **Krieg hin**, **Krieg her**, es muss eine »gute Show« werden.
'**War here**, **war there**, it [the Academy Awards] must get a 'good show''

(7) *yǒu-xiē guānyuán yī-tiān dōu shì chī-a hē-a, zhèer pǎo nàer cuàn*
be-some officials   one-day all   be   eat-and   drink-and **here   run   there flee**
'There are some officials who only eat and drink, run here and (flee) there all day long'

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ℒ

The effects of final lengthening and pauses on word segmentation in artificial language learning

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Keywords: prosody

Schedule: Sa 11.30 Room 5

Final lengthening and pauses have often been claimed to reflect universal constraints on language production. They serve as syntactic boundary cues, are important for word segmentation and word learning and thus play an important role in language acquisition and language processing (Fletcher 2010). The interaction and relative importance of these two cues for boundary perception has however not been explored in much detail.

We hypothesize that pausing is a more salient cue for listeners than final lengthening, as pauses constitute prominent breaks in the speech stream. Also, the decrease in signal amplitude before pauses is stronger than in the lengthening that affects domain final elements (Toro et al. 2008, and Tyler & Cutler 2009). Alternative hypotheses are (a) that final lengthenings are perceived better than pauses, or (b) that domain final lengthening and pausing serve equally well as boundary cues. One reason for suspecting that the role of pauses is less important is that they can be quite rare in the speech signal, and only occur at major syntactic boundaries. This is especially true of fast speech (Fletcher 2010). Thus, pauses might not be as important for speech segmentation as other cues, such as domain final lengthening, which apply more frequently and more consistently.

We present results of an artificial language learning experiment, inspired by Saffran et al. (1996), in which German native speakers are exposed to a continuous speech stream consisting of sequences of artificial trisyllabic words. There are different transitional probabilities between word internal syllables and syllables at word boundaries, and these already provide some statistical cues for segmenting the stream into words (control condition). To test the hypotheses mentioned above, the transitional probability cues for word segmentation are enhanced by different durational prosodic boundary cues in different experimental groups: either by inserting a pause after the final syllable of each artificial word, or by lengthening the final syllable of each artificial word. We will report the results of a lexical decision task in which participants classify stimuli as either words or non-words of the artificial language, and in which we compare the pause-condition and the final-lengthening-condition with regard to correct choices. Previous studies indicate that participants use both pauses and final lengthening to segment a speech stream into words (e.g. Frost, Monaghan & Tatsumi 2016, Scott 1982, and Yang, Shen, Li & Yang 2014). However, with regard to acoustic salience it is expected that pauses are more important cues than phrase final lengthening and will thus be preferred among the two cue types.

The use of artificial language learning experiments serves as a starting point for further experiments. Our approach enables us to extend the study to speakers from different native languages in order to address the question if observed effects are language-specific or language-universal. In a future project, the investigations will also be extended to non-human animals, in order to draw conclusions about the evolutionary roots of final lengthening and pausing.

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☙

Valency-changing devices in Loxodumau, an Oceanic language of Papua New Guinea

Lidia Federica Mazzitelli

Keywords: verbal morphology, transitivity

Schedule: Thu 16.00 Room 7

In this paper I will discuss the morphosyntactic and semantic properties of some valency-changing devices in Loxodumau (Meso-Melanesian, Western Oceanic), a still undescribed language spoken in New Ireland (Papua New Guinea) by approximatively 800 people; all data come from my fieldwork notes (2017).

In Loxodumau, two valency-increasing (*va-, -in*) and two valency-decreasing affixes (*ra(la)-, -aai*) are found. *Va-* (<POC *paki-; Ross 2004) is a causative prefix that attaches to intransitives (*umaan* 'lie'– *va-umaan* 'make lie down'); I only have one example of a transitive base: *vatangin* 'show' < *tangin* 'find'. The suffix *-in* (maybe <POC *-i; Ross 2004) is an applicative that attaches to both intransitive and transitive bases: *vaaigot* 'ready' – *vaaigotin* 'prepare', *vaabus* 'eat' – *vaabusin* 'eat something with something else' (*vaabusin* licenses a comitative adjunct). The suffix *-aai* (< POC *-a(k)i; Ross 1988) has an antipassive function. The direct object of the transitive base (1a) is either demoted to an oblique introduced by the instrumental preposition *pan* (1b), cancelled (1c) or incorporated (2):

(1a)   *Ka daa xuzin a pasin   i   pan a   selapiu*
         3SG FUT tell-IN ART custom POSS by ART pig-hunting
         'He will describe the custom of pig-hunting

(1b)   *Ga daa xus-xus-aai   pan a varam taatei*
         1SG FUT REDUPL-tell-AAI by ART big   man
         'I will talk about a big man'

(1c)   *Di ve-xus-aai*
         3PL RECIPROCAL-tell-AAI
         'They talk with each other'

(2)   *Di ma-maraa-iaai revin*

       3PL REDUPL-buy-AAI woman
       'They buy brides'

The prefix *ta(la)-* (<POC **ra-*; Ross 2004) forms intransitives from root transitives: *buak* 'break.TRANS' – *talabuak* 'be broken, break.INTR'. Finally, the very rare suffix *-aan* is a transitivizer and has the pragmatic function of a passive. It is always used in passive-like constructions with object fronting (3, 4) and in morphological passive constructions (5):

(3)   *A   flu   akam u ribotin-aan*
        ART house this   3PL forbid-AAN
        'They have forbidden (to enter) this house'

(4)   *A bina   u va-kaalivut-aan   pan a buna zaat*
        ART village 3PL CAUS-be.round-AAN by ART people bad
        'The village is surrounded by enemies'

(5)   *Akamaam a   pet-aan pan a maase*
        This   3SG   say-AAN by ART maase
        'That is called 'maase''

All these morphological devices are typical of other languages of New Ireland (Ross 1988). However, their use – especially of the suffixes *-aai* and *-aan* - has not yet been described in detail. The transitivizing suffix *–(a)an* is found in other languages of the area, Tungak-Lavongai (Stamm 1988), Tigak (Beaumot 1979) and Kara (Dryer 2003); in the latter *-aan* also forms agentless passives. However, in these languages, *-aan* is the only transitivizing suffix. In Loxodumau, instead, the general transitivizing function is performed by *-in* (cf. *-ing* in neighboring Nalik; Volker 1998), while *-aan* is restricted to clauses with fronted objects; moreover, the structure exemplified in (4), with an overt demoted agent NP, seems to be unique in the region. Loxodumau thus, while proving its transitional character between the northernmost languages of New Ireland and Nalik (Volker 1998), shows also distinctive features that can add to our knowledge of Meso-Melanesian valency-changing processes.

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ⅈ

An acquisitional perspective on the social meaning of English loanwords

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(University of Leuven)

Keywords: sociolinguistics, attitude, prestige, borrowing

Schedule: We 11.30 Room 11

In this paper, we investigate the social meaning attached to Anglicisms by elementary school children (ages 6-7; 8-9; 10-11), a so far underrepresented age group in Anglicism research. Over the last decades, English has found its way to the European mainland, gaining influence on local languages (Zenner et al. 2012). While Anglicism researchers have provided us with numerous insights into the structural side of borrowing (e.g. Onysko 2007), this paper draws attention to the acquisition of the social meaning of English by children. more attention is needed for the socio-pragmatic meaning of Englishization.

How do children evaluate the use of English, what social meanings do they attach to it, and what evolution can we see in the dimensions shaping these attitudes? Focusing on the influence of English on Dutch, we set up a within-subject matched-guise experiment to answer these questions. We presented our respondents (n = 212) with a new cartoon hero. In the first guise, the hero is called *Sterrenman* and only speaks Dutch. In the second guise, the character remains exactly the same but is now dubbed *Star Man* and uses both Dutch and English: 20 nouns are substituted by an English variant (e.g. *sidekick* for 'hulpje', *gadgets* for 'snufjes').

After being exposed to these two guises, the children completed three tasks. In the first task, they evaluate *Sterrenman* and *Star Man* on a set of traits (e.g. who did they consider the funniest, smartest, etc.?). These traits all belong to one of the traditional attitude dimensions, identified as solidarity, status and dynamism (cf. Impe & Speelman 2007, Grondelaers & Speelman 2013). Through inferential statistical analyses we show how the youngest group has an equal preference for both heroes, while the oldest group shows a mild preference for *Star Man.* This preference in the older children is clearly structured along the dimensions of dynamism and solidarity, which is not yet the case for the younger children.

In a second task, respondents were presented with a vocabulary task to test their knowledge of both the Dutch and the English vocabulary used in the guises. As we investigated the correlation between the attitude scores and the vocabulary scores, we concluded that knowledge of English is in fact not a prerequisite for a positive evaluation of the language: a low score on the English vocabulary test did not automatically entail a preference for the Dutch guise. This implies that children can attach prestige to English words even if they do not understand them.

In a final task, respondents had to indicate whether they thought our chosen stimuli were English words, by having them check a box when they heard a foreign (other than Dutch) word and then once again, when they heard an English word. This is a valuable manipulation check, since it is necessary to know whether their attitudes towards Star Man are based on him speaking English.

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Asymmetry in tense-aspect coding:
Creole data support a universal trend

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Keywords: Creole languages, tense-aspect, coding asymmetry

Schedule: Thu 10.00 Room 7

In quite a few creole languages, stative verbs are zero-marked for present-time reference (see ex. 1a), whereas dynamic verbs show overt marking for the same time reference (see ex. 1b).

(1) Haitian Creole (DeGraff 2007)
a. *Bouki Ø renmen chat la.*
   Bouki   love   cat   DEF
   'Bouki loves the cat'.
b. *M   ap   manje.*
   1SG IPFV eat
   'I am eating'.

Asymmetric coding is also found for past-time reference. But this time, stative verbs are overtly marked (see ex. 2a) while dynamic verbs are zero-marked (see ex. 2b).

(2) Haitian Creole
a. *Bouki té   konn   repons lan.*
   Bouki PFV know   answer DEF
   'Bouki knew the answer'.
b. *Bouki Ø vann chat la.*
   Bouki   sell   cat   DEF
   'Bouki sold the cat'.

What we see here is a skewed distribution of zero and overt markers as the result of an interaction between actionality classes (stative/dynamic verbs, or more broadly situations) and tense-aspect

coding (imperfective/perfective) to refer to either present time or to past time. Since corpus data seem to show that stative verbs more frequently occur with present-time reference ('I love'), and dynamic verbs more frequently occur with non-present-time reference, in English with Past Tense ('I ate'), this coding asymmetry is a kind of grammatical form–frequency correspondence (Haspelmath et al. 2014). This means that the rarer combinations of actionality classes and aspect classes are coded longer than or equally long as the more frequent combinations: here *ap, té* in 1b and 2a vs. zero-coding in 1a and 2b. Such a coding asymmetry can be seen as a functional response to the need to highlight rarer, less predictable actionality/aspect combinations. This tendency for asymmetric coding means that when there is an asymmetry, it generally goes in the same direction, not that there must be an asymmetry, or even that there tends to be an asymmetry. Indeed, cross-linguistically the actionality/aspect coding asymmetry does not seem to be widely distributed (Šluinskij 2012), and we see much more symmetric coding. But most importantly, we do not see counter-asymmetric patterns: longer coding for the frequent combinations, and zero coding for the rarer combinations.

In this talk, I will show that data from high-contact languages (pidgins and creoles) support this universal trend (see Michaelis et al. 2013, Maurer & *APiCS* Consortium 2013). More than half of the 76 pidgins/creoles in *APiCS* from different parts of the world show a pattern similar to Haitian Creole, displaying the coding asymmetry just described. Other creoles feature symmetrical coding in stative/dynamic verbs with respect to present-time and past-time reference. But crucially we do not find counter-examples to the universal coding asymmetry.

In traditional creole linguistics, these asymmetries have been explained by a bioprogramme (Bickerton 1981) or by substrate influences (e.g. Lefebvre 1998), but these functional considerations show that neither is strictly necessary.

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Imperative particles: Evidence from Hill Mari and cross-linguistic extensions

Daria Mordashova

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Keywords: imperative, semantics, typology, Finno-Ugric

Schedule: We 12.00 Room 4

This paper deals with the semantics of particles which occur with the verbal imperative in Hill Mari (Finno-Ugric). Hill Mari possesses a comparatively wide range of imperative particles, and four of them will be analyzed in my talk: *=aj, =ə̂ma* (an intraclitic in the form of 2PL with the allomorphs *=ə̂mä* and *=emä*)*, =jä* and *=ok*. The data were collected in fieldwork in the village of Kuznetsovo and neighbouring villages (Gornomari district, Mari El, Russia) in 2017. Both elicitation and a corpus of transcribed oral narratives were involved into the research.

The Hill Mari imperative particles serve to change the force of a command, either increasing or decreasing it. The domain of (non-)categorical ("weak" or "strong") imperative is notorious for causing obstacles to typological research and cross-linguistic comparison (Aikhenvald 2010: 203–223, Goussev 2013: 80). The aim of this paper is to look into pragmatic, semantic and syntactic constraints on the use of each particle and to offer a list of parameters which could be relevant for further typological research.

Concerning the imperative particles, it is necessary to consider such pragmatic factors as politeness and interpersonal relationship (Wardhaugh 2010: 291–300). These factors come to play in (1), where *=aj* is possible in a request from a schoolboy to a teacher, whereas *=ə̂ma* does not fit such a context, as it is sensitive to the social status of interlocutors.

(1) *ti*   *pravilə̂-m*   *ə̂ngə̂l-dar-en*   **OK*pu-dä=j***   */ *pu-emä-dä*

 this   rule-ACC   understand-CAUS-CVB   give-IMP.2PL=PTCL   give-PTCL-IMP.2PL

 '(A schoolboy asks a teacher) Would you explain this rule, please?'

The use of imperative particles predictably evokes a large variety of interpretations from the consultants. However, most of these interpretations can be narrowed down to some semantic invariant. For instance, the descriptive grammar of Hill Mari (Savatkova 2002: 191–192) formulates the function of *=jä* rather vaguely: 'increasing the force of a command'. My field data help to formulate the semantics of *=jä* more precisely: 'causing the cancellation of an unwanted state of affairs' within the illocutionary act of request. See (2), where *=jä* indicates that the addressee is entering the room and the speaker is not satisfied with that.

(2) *poka*   *mə̈n'ə̂*   *či-em,*   *kə̂dež-əš*   ***i-t***   ***pə̂rə̂=jä***

 while   I   dress.up-NPST.1SG   room-ILL   IMP.NEG-2SG   enter=PTCL

 'Do not enter the room while I am dressing up!'

The particles in question have different properties in various types of speech acts. For instance, *=aj* tends to express a polite request, but in a context of permission or advice (following the classification in Khrakovskij & Volodin 1986/2002) it acquires the semantic effect of disinterest. The consultants

comment on example (3) as "mother has probably got tired of her child and does not want him to disturb her".

(3)   a.   *ävi,*   *mǝläm* *mad-aš*   *ke-äš* *li-eš*
                   mother.KIN   I.DAT   play-INF   go-INF become-NPST.3SG
        b.   **ke-ø=äj,**   *kü*   *tǝn'-ǝm kǝ̂č-a*
                   go-IMP.2SG=PTCL   who   you-ACC   hold-NPST.3SG
        'Mum, may I go out to play? – Go, nobody keeps you.'

I am going to propose a semantic invariant for each particle, also taking into account their functioning beyond the imperative domain (contrastive focus marking for *=jä* and emphatic assertion of identity for *=ok*). I will also provide a list of parameters to explain their distribution (both pragmatic and syntactic, e.g. compatibility with the contexts of negation or jussive). The typological validity of these parameters could be further checked cross-linguistically.

The research has been supported by RFBR, grant № 16-06-00536.

Abbreviations
1, 2, 3 – 1, 2, 3 person, ACC – accusative, CAUS – causative, CVB – converb, DAT – dative, ILL – illative, IMP – imperative, INF – infinitive, KIN – special form for kinship terms, NEG – negation, NPST – non-past tense, PL – plural, PTCL – particle, SG – singular

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Danish bare singular count nouns in subject position

Henrik Høeg Müller
(University of Aarhus)

Keywords: covert predicates, events, modification, bare nouns, subjects

Schedule: Fri 14.30 Room 4

With starting point in a discussion of the differences in distribution in Danish between, on the one hand, Bare Plural count nouns (BPs) and mass nouns, and, on the other, Bare Singular count nouns

(BSs) in argument position, this presentation investigates under which conditions BSs can occur as subjects in Danish categorical and thetic sentences.

Apart from special types of discourse, such as proverbs, newspaper headlines, titles of pictures, etc., in Danish the pre-verbal subject position is generally not available for BSs neither in generic nor in episodic sentences, see (1ab).

(1a) *Rotte   spiser   hovedsageligt   korn.*
      rat   eats   mainly   grain

(1b) *Rotte   løber   igennem   hendes   have.*
      rat   runs   through   her   garden

Moreover, BSs also seem to be banned from appearing in post-verbal subject position of unergative and unaccusative verbs, e.g. (2ab).
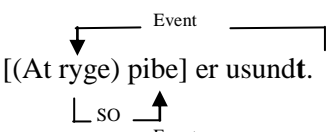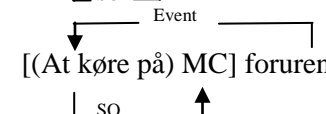
(2a) *Der   sover barn   i   seng-en.*
      there   sleeps   child   in   bed-DET

(2b) *Der   forsvinder   fladskærm   fra   butikk-en.*
      there   disappears   flat.screen from   shop-DET

However, it turns out that, in fact, under certain conditions BSs can serve both as pre-verbal subjects in regular categorical sentences, see (3a), and as post-verbal subjects in thetic sentences, see (3b).

(3a) *Motorcykel   forurener meget   lidt.   // Pibe   om   morgen-en   er   usundt.*
      motorbike   pollutes   very   little // pipe   in   morning-DET   is   unhealthy

(3b) *Der   er   bad   og   biograf i   kælder-en.*
      there   is   bath   and   cinema   in   basement-DET

Contrary to BPs and mass nouns, which occur unconstrained as subjects, BSs in subject position of both categorical and thetic sentences are non-referential and do not imply existential presupposition.

On the basis of an empirical analysis of agreement features, possibilities of modification, genericity and number neutrality, it is argued that the BS-subjects of the categorical sentences in (3a) are, in fact, semantic objects (SOs) which due to the lack of realisation of nominal functional categories act as property-denoting modifiers restricting the denotation of a covert predicate (*ryge* 'smoke' and *køre* 'drive'), cf. (4ab).

(4a) [(At ryge) pibe] er usund**t**.   'to smoke pipe is unhealthy'

(4b) [(At køre på) MC] forurener ikke.   'to drive on (a) motorbike does not pollute'

Moreover, the analysis points towards interpreting the thetic sentences in (3b) as analogous to possessive constructions of the type *de har bad og biograf i kælderen* 'they have (a) bath and (a) cinema in the basement', which denote a kind of stereotyped or institutionalized property (Asudeh & Mikkelsen 2000). It is well-known from a number of languages that so-called *have*-predicates (see e.g.

Borthen 2003 for Norwegian, Espinal & McNally 2011 for Spanish and Catalan, and Dobrovie-Sorin 2009 for Romanian) generally accept BSs in object position.

In this way, it is demonstrated that BSs, both in pre- and post-verbal subject position, do not function as arguments in themselves, but are instead pseudo-incorporated (see e.g. Borik & Gehrke 2015, Dayal 2011) under V as modifiers forming a complex predicate, which either denotes a possessive static (*have bad/biograf* 'have (a) bath/cinema') or a dynamic event (*at ryge pibe* 'to smoke (the) pipe').

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ℬ

Adjective and predication type: Psychadjectives in attributive and predicative usage

Yoshiyuki Muroi
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Keywords: thetic vs categorical, stage-level vs individual-level, strength of subject, simple vs complex structure

Schedule: Thu 9.30 Room 3

In this presentation I will discuss the relation between the semantics of the adjective and the type of predication. The starting point is the difference in distribution of certain psychadjectives in predicative usage both in German and in Japanese. It is observed that in attributive usage, certain psychadjectives expressing a human emotion can relate to nouns that refer to the EXP(eriencer) or to the OBJ(ect) of the emotion:

(1) Peter ist ein glücklicher Mann.
(2) Taro wa   shiawasena   otoko   da.
  Taro   TOP   happy   man   KOP

(3) Peter führt eine glückliche Ehe.
(4) Taro wa   shiawasena   kekkon   o   shi-teiru.
   Taro TOP happy   marriage AKK   do-PROG

In predicative usage, such German adjectives are occasionally found with an OBJ-related subject, as in (7), but in a restricted distribution: According to a corpus analysis, they denote a permanent property of the OBJ. In Japanese, they often have less acceptability if they refer to the OBJ, as in (8).

(5) Peter ist glücklich.
(6) Taro wa   shiawase   da.
  Taro TOP happy   KOP
(7) Die Ehe ist glücklich.
(8) ?Sono   kekkon   wa   shiawase   da.
     DET   marriage TOP   happy KOP

To be investigated is what motivates this distributive difference and how it is related to the type of predication.

This behavior can be considered from the point of view of the distinction between thetic and categorical (Kuroda, 1972) or between stage-level and individual-level (Kratzer, 1995). In attributive usage, the phrases that make a compound of the adjective and the noun represent no proposition—there is no division into subject and predicate. No specific role-semantic relationship is designated between the adjective and the noun. In predicative usage, however, the sentence represents a proposition with a finite copula. In the case of an EXP-related subject such as (5) and (6), the sentence can occur in different types of predication: without particular context (thetic), as an expression of a temporary state (categorical & stage-level) or as an expression of a permanent property (categorical & individual-level).

In German corpora, all the sentences with an OBJ-related subject denote a permanent property (individual-level), and the subject is definite in almost all cases. It is context-bound. This observation suggests that the OBJ-related subject is strong and constitutes a categorical judgment (cf. Ladusaw, 1994). On the other hand, the structure of such a sentence can be seen as simple and flat. According to Kratzer (1995), an individual-level predicate is simpler than a stage-level predicate by one argument, namely the event argument. Moreover, the sentence with an OBJ-related subject has only one argument, namely the OBJ argument. To sum up, its structure is simpler than that with an EXP-related subject by two arguments. The same can be observed also in Japanese. The simple structure of sentences with an OBJ-related subject and the undistinguished characteristic of the subject in the copula construction indicate that the subject in this structure is not salient, which suggests that there is a thetic judgment.

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ℬ

Spatio-temporal systems in the trial record of King Charles I

Minako Nakayasu & Michi Shiina

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Schedule: Sa 10.00 Room 8

The purpose of this paper is to conduct the first systematic analysis of the spatio-temporal systems in courtroom interactions in Early Modern English along the lines of historical pragmatics (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2015). The text used for analysis is the trial record of King Charles I in the Socio-pragmatic Corpus (Archer and Culpeper 2003), where the King was put on trial on the charge of high treason.

Language is equipped with spatio-temporal systems (Nakayasu forthcoming) by which speakers judge how distant the situations they wish to express are from their domain, that is, proximal or distal. Such relationships of space and time are embodied by spatio-temporal elements such as pronouns, demonstratives, adverbs, tenses and modals. These elements can be related with each other to take either proximal or distal perspective in the integrated spatio-temporal domain. Speakers can continue to take the same perspective, or alternate different perspectives, in discourse. However, no study has so far attempted such a comprehensive analysis of the spatio-temporal systems in trial records in the development of English.

This paper carries out both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the spatio-temporal systems used in the trial record of King Charles I. First, a quantitative analysis of how frequently spatio-temporal elements are employed shows which perspective, i.e. proximal or distal, is likely to be taken. It is demonstrated that the proximal perspective is adopted more frequently, which is promoted by frequent uses of proximal pronouns, demonstratives, tenses and modals. This tendency is reinforced by the characteristics of the courtroom, where the speakers interact face-to-face with each other. Second, a qualitative analysis reveals how these elements are related with each other to take either proximal or distal perspective, and how these perspectives then continue to be taken and alternate with each other in discourse. This analysis shows, for example, that elements such as forms of address (Shiina 2014) and imperatives serve to maintain the perspective proximal, while certain discourse markers change the perspective from distal to proximal, and that the alternation between perspectives is fast-moving before the sentencing of the King.

The present paper also examines how the spatio-temporal systems function in the interaction between major interlocutors: Lord President (the judge) and the King (the defendant). Although their overall proximal-distal ratios do not make a big difference, the King employs proximal pronouns and proximal modals (SHALL and WILL in particular) more frequently than Lord President. By contrast, Lord President addresses the King using medial pronouns repeatedly, and among proximal modals resorts to MUST more frequently than the King. These differences can be considered to reflect where the authoritative power is: Lord President emphasizes the authoritative power of the Court, while the King relies on his authority of the Kingdom, becoming less authoritative as the trial proceeds.

Finally, this research shows how the speakers interacted with the systems of space and time in the courtroom, advancing a fresh perspective on historical pragmatics.

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ᗢ

Ditransitive verbs with a double object construction in Old Italian: A typological approach

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Keywords: argument structure, neutral alignment, diachrony

Schedule: Thu 11.30 Room 8

The aim of this paper is to analyze Old Italian verbs corresponding to the typological definition of *ditransitives* (cf. Malchukov *et al*. 2010), that is verbs denoting an event of possessive transfer (physical or mental) and having two object arguments, a *Theme* (T) and a *Recipient* (R).

Across languages, the object arguments of ditransitives, T and R, may be marked as the *Patient* of monotransitives (P) or differently from it, giving rise to various types of *alignment*, the most frequent of which are: (i) the *indirective alignment* (T = P ≠ R); (ii) the *secundative alignment* (T ≠ P = R); (iii) the *neutral alignment* (T = P = R), which is the basis of the *double object construction*.

In Latin, these three basic types of alignment are attested with ditransitives in the active and passive voice (Napoli 2018, in press). On the other hand, Romance languages like Italian and French attest the generalization of a prepositional strategy to denote the R (*a/à* plus NP, the ancestor of which is Latin *ad* 'to' plus the accusative; cf. Fedriani & Prandi 2014; Adams & de Melo 2016), which means the generalization of the indirective alignment. In Old Italian, the prepositional construction *a* plus NP is already used with many verbs, including ditransitives (e.g., *insegnare qualcosa a qualcuno* 'to teach something to somebody' vs. Latin *docere aliquem aliquid*, with double accusative). The only exception observed in the relevant literature concerns *domandare* 'to ask', occasionally showing a double object construction (cf. Rohlfs 1969: 10, Jezek 2010: 107).

In this paper, I will examine the behaviour of a selected group of ditransitives in Old Italian through a corpus-based approach (Corpus OVI), looking at the constructions to which they may give rise and comparing them with the Late Latin state of affairs. Special focus will be put on predicates admitting a double object construction.

This analysis will show that the picture is more variable than usually assumed. Although it is certainly true that in Old Italian the indirective alignment is a frequent pattern with ditransitives, there are still occurrences of neutral alignment not only with *domandare*, but also with other forms, like, for instance, *docere* (non attested in Modern Italian). Moreover, some verbs also show secundative alignment, encoding the R as a direct object and the T as a prepositional object (ex. 1); in the passive, the R of these verbs may appear as the subject (ex. 2):

(1) *Quando Enea ebbe dimandata la sibilla di sua aventura…* (A. Pucci, *Libro*, 15, 129.21)
     'When Aeneas asked Sybil about his destiny…'
(2) *…io ne sono insegnato* (Ruggeri Apugliese, 1, 39)
     'I am learning this (lit. 'I am taught)'

The following research questions will be addressed here: (i) which parameters influence the distribution of the different types of alignment; (ii) which diachronic dynamics may be traced for the individual constructions; (iii) which factors may have favoured the maintenance and, on the other hand, the disappearance of the double object construction.

Finally, taking this case-study as a starting point, it will be illustrated the contribution that diachronic observations can make to the general theory of argument structure in typological terms.

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Corpus
Corpus OVI dell'Italiano antico. Available at: *http://www.ovi.cnr.it*

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The order of change:
A crosslinguistic study of the ordering of valency-changing affixes

Jessie Leigh Nielsen

Keywords: typology, affix ordering, polysynthetic languages

Schedule: 12.30 Room 4

The purpose of this study is to examine crosslinguistic ordering tendencies of valency-changing verbal affixes. Several studies have examined crosslinguistic ordering tendencies of valency-preserving categories such as tense, aspect, modality and evidentiality (e.g. Bybee 1985 and Boye 2012). These studies have found that there are crosslinguistic tendencies pertaining to the ordering of verbal affixes, and that these tendencies reflect tendencies of scopal relations between the affixes in question (Boye 2012). Furthermore, scopal tendencies can be said to reflect layered content structure which in turn reflects conceptual dependencies between the functions of the affixes in question (Boye 2012). In this way, crosslinguistic ordering tendencies indirectly reflect conceptual dependencies.

As of yet, no studies have examined the internal ordering of valency-*changing* affixes such as passives and applicatives. Thus, this study aims to expand the current knowledge of crosslinguistic ordering tendencies by focusing on individual valency-changing categories which have previously been described as one uniform category in terms of ordering (e.g. Bybee 1985: 82). Based on the theory that ordering tendencies reflect conceptual dependencies between affixes, two competing hypotheses of the ordering of valency-changing affixes are formed. The first hypothesis is based on the Danish Functional Linguistics model of layered content structure (cf. Harder 1996, 2005) and states that affixes alter the inventory of semantic roles of the verb will appear closer to the verbal root than affixes which preserve the inventory of semantic roles. The second hypothesis is based on the generative theory of VP-structure and states that affixes that affect a non-agent will appear closer to the root than affixes that affect the agent. The two hypotheses are tested using a geographically and genetically stratified probability sample of 50 polysynthetic languages based on Fortescue 2015.

The study finds several very strong ordering tendencies with a total of eight tendencies with a statistical significance of $p = < 0.05$. Based on these individual tendencies, it is possible to describe the overall crosslinguistic ordering tendency as shown below in Table 1.

0	+1	+2	+3	+4
ROOT	ANTIPASSIVE	APPLICATIVE	CAUSATIVE	REFLEXIVE
		BENEFACTIVE		RECIPROCAL
				PASSIVE

Table 1: Overall ordering tendency of valency-changing affixes

On the surface, the results of the study coincide with the hypothesis based on the theory of VP. However, this conclusion is to a certain extent unreliable as it depends on a limited amount of data. Although the evidence for the hypothesis based on the theory of VP is weak, the study provides important results concerning the crosslinguistic ordering of valency-changing derivations. The results of the study show that there are indeed crosslinguistic ordering tendencies concerning valency-derivations, and the specific ordering tendencies observed here form a reliable basis for future studies of affix ordering.

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ℒ

Bidirectional case marking in Wan
and its implications for accounts of differential argument marking

Tatiana Nikitina
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Keywords: Mande languages, alignment splits

Schedule: Sa 12.00 Room 7

For several decades, typological approaches to morphosyntax have focused on alignment typology and the study of differential argument marking. Among central theoretical issues addressed by that line of research is the question of functional motivations underlying alignment splits. Traditional accounts derive cross-linguistic patterns of differential case marking from considerations of argument distinguishability: overt marking has been known to appear most often on unconventional subjects and objects, i.e. in cases where the subject is most likely to be confused with the object. For example, cross-linguistic associations of ergative case marking with inanimate, indefinite, lexical subjects, and of accusative case marking with animate, definite, pronominal objects, are commonly explained by the disambiguating role of overt case marking (Comrie 1978, Dixon 1979, Aissen 2003, de Hoop & Narasimhan 2005).

In spite of their intuitive appeal, disambiguation accounts face a number of problems (Malchukov 2008, Arkadiev 2009). This study discusses one such problem based on data from a typologically unusual alignment split. In Wan (Mande), a special marker is used to separate subjects from objects in clauses where they would have otherwise been adjacent (Nikitina forthcoming). This type of marker, analyzed as a *bidirectional case marker* in Heath (2007), serves to indicate unambiguously that the preceding constituent is a subject and the following one is an object; yet it is not associated with either of the constituents and cannot appear when either one of them is missing.

(1)   lā   **la**   ŋ̀   dī
      2SG   SUBJ>OBJ   1SG   charged
      'You charged me.'

In Wan, the bidirectional case marker only appears with some combinations of subjects and objects, resulting in a pattern of differential marking. A closer examination suggests that its use is sensitive to such factors as pronominality and animacy, as expected of other, better-studied types of alignment

split. The use of the bidirectional marker, however, cannot be explained by considerations of argument distinguishability, because of the rigid word order and restrictions on pro-drop that characterize Mande languages: transitive structures are structurally unambiguous in Wan, and subjects cannot be confused with objects.

A natural alternative to disambiguation accounts is presented, for languages like Wan, by accounts based on considerations of parsing. Rather than helping identify constituents as a subject or an object, bidirectional case marker signals the syntactic boundary separating the subject from the object. The structure-signaling role is particularly important in a language that, like Wan, lacks nominal dependent marking and makes very limited use of intonation in marking constituent structure.

While roughly capturing the nature of the phenomenon, accounts based on parsing also run into difficulties. For example, they do not explain the tendency of the bidirectional case marker of Wan to appear before pronouns in a way that is independent of their syntactic function, i.e. both before pronominal objects and before pronouns that modify an object NP. I discuss this and other challenges that the data of Wan presents to parsing-based accounts.

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Phonological micro-areality in Greater Kurdistan

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Keywords: areal linguistics, statistical analysis, phonological inventories

Following Haig's (2017) investigation of areal traits in East Anatolia, the area that he describes as 'the region of Turkey eastward of the town of Sivas' with the same linguistic features characteristic of 'western Anatolia, Armenia and the Caucasus, West Iran, North Iraq and Syria', we investigate the extent to which Greater Kurdistan—essentially the same area as Haig's East Anatolia, but extending a bit more to the east and south—constitutes a single phonological area (Blevins 2017). Our analysis is based on a dense sample of about 40 languages, including multiple varieties of Neo-Aramaic and Arabic (Afroasiatic), Iranian and Turkic languages, and East Armenian, for which we collected consonant and vowel inventories. For the purpose of this talk, we focus on consonant inventories, as vowel inventories show relatively little evidence for contact-induced change.

We encoded consonant inventories of the languages as binary vectors. Two- and 3-way clustering was performed using pairwise Manhattan distances between language pairs to fill a dissimilarity matrix. We then examined the geographical distribution of members of the different clusters. The analysis reveals that instead of aligning along phylogenetic lines, large-scale phonological patterns of the region's languages demonstrate a complex (at least tripartite) micro-areal structure.

A robust central cluster emerged consisting of a number of Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic languages with the addition of Armenian. In a 2-cluster analysis (Fig. 1), these languages were opposed to all the others, while in a 3-cluster analysis (Fig. 2), the second cluster was divided into a predominantly eastern part, consisting of Iranian and Turkic languages and some Neo-Aramaic dialects, and a western part, which comprises mostly Arabic varieties, but also several Kurdish and Neo-Aramaic varieties. It seems that Neo-Aramaic dialects display a particularly strong tendency towards areal convergence, with Kurdish varieties displaying this tendency to a smaller extent and Arabic and Turkic varieties being an external pull factor. Incidentally, these results diverge from the results of a recent population-genetic study (Balanovsky et al. 2017), which demonstrates a sharp boundary between upland and lowland populations.

We also investigate sound borrowing in this area, under the assumption that borrowing can lead to convergence of sound systems. About 50% of the languages in the sample borrow at least one of approximately 30 distinct sounds, with affricates, fricatives, pharyngeals, and pharyngealized consonants being the most frequently borrowed. In addition to that, instances of process borrowing and several candidates for contact-induced sound change (Blevins 2017) were also observed.

Our results indicate that even though East Anatolia/Greater Kurdistan probably cannot be construed as a *bona fide* linguistic area and is more of a transition zone (Haig 2017, 418), it is nevertheless a zone of intense language contact, with several emergent areas.
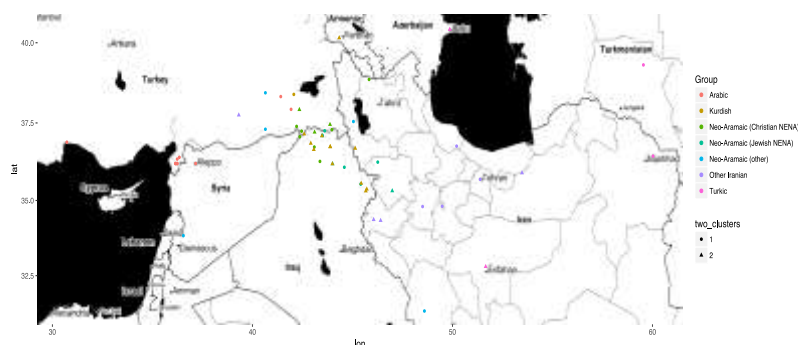
Figure 1. Two-cluster analysis
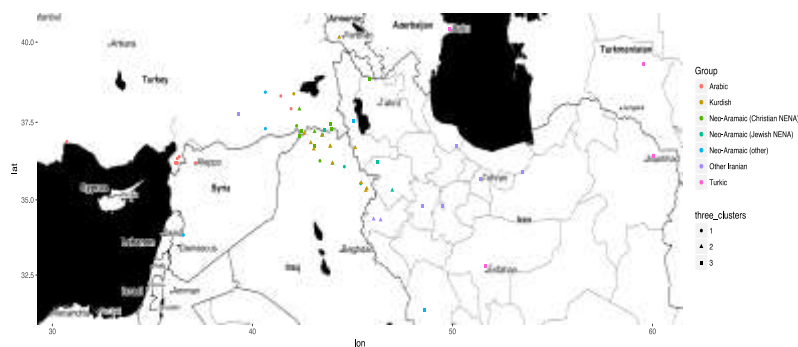
Figure 2. Three-cluster analysis

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⌀

A New Grammaticalization Path of Definiteness in Balochi Language

Maryam Nourzaei
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Keywords: grammaticalization, definiteness, Balochi

Schedule: Sa 12.30 Room 8

The aim of the present paper is to explor a new grammaticalization path of definiteness in Balochi, which belongs to the so-called North-Western group of Iranian languages. It spoke in South West of Pakistan and Afghanistan and in South east of Iran and in U.A.E.

The data for the present paper extracted from the published corpora on Balochi dialects spoken in Iran (cf. Barjasteh Delforooz 2010, Nourzaei et.al 2015, Nourzaei 2017 and forthc) and my recent fieldworks in Iran.

While the grammaticalization of definite markers has been a central issue in grammaticalization theory, they regularly cited cases (e.g. Romance) involve the development of erstwhile demonstratives, or linking particles such as relatives, into articles (cf. Lyons 1999 and Himmelmann 2001). In the Balochi dialects under consideration we witness a distinct development whereby an original derivational suffix, with a diminutive sense, changes into a suffixal marker of discourse identifiability. Several Balochi dialects spoken in Iran possess suffix markers that, to varying extents, code definiteness. At one extreme we find Koroshi and Sarawani dialects which are regularly analysed as having a suffixal 'definite article' with the suffix -ok as in *asp-ok ašīt* 'the horse says', and *rōč-ok* dar ātk 'the sun rose up', the suffixes-ok and -ak in Sistani dialect with both diminutive and definite meaning e.g. *'qašoq-ak-a* the little spoon', and *topak-ok-a* byār 'bring [me] the gun', while at the other extreme there are dialects where probable cognate element has only a recognizable and productive diminutive function e.g. *goloḍ-ok* 'the little dog', *čammč-ok* 'little spoon'. The phonology, morphology and discourse features of these suffixes will be illustrated.

There is no obvious candidate for these markers among the known Iranian demonstratives or linking particles. The question is that building this likelihood that these markers do not originate from demonstratives or linking particles in Balochi but a diminutive: what does the functional distribution of these elements in these dialects reveal regarding historical processes in the grammaticalization of definiteness?

The paper concludes, that Balochi involves a new development of the diminutive markers into definiteness article. This seems to be the first solidly attested development case of grammaticalization path of definiteness and is therefore crucial significant for grammaticalization theory. In addition, the various markers (i.e. *ok*, *ak* etc.) are all historically related, which allows us to reconstruct the following historical development, presumably diminutive > endearment > proximity > identifiability > definiteness.

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⅋

(Inter)subjectification, fast and slow

Jan Nuyts & Wim Caers
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Keywords: modality, modal auxiliaries, subjectification, intersubjectification, diachrony

Schedule: We 11.00 Room 8

Goal: A new diachronic study of the semantic evolution of the Dutch negative polarity modal *hoeven* 'need' shows that this verb (which has grammaticalized out of the main verb *behoeven* 'need') has been subject to a (relatively) very fast process of subjectification and intersubjectification (in Traugott & Dasher's 2002 sense): essentially, it happened in the course of the New Dutch period (Nuyts et al. 2018). This contrasts sharply with the speed of the semantic evolution towards (inter)subjective meanings in other Dutch modals, as observed in earlier studies. In *kunnen* 'can' this process started in Old Dutch and has evolved more slowly, and even today the range of (inter)subjective meanings in this form is narrower, and their relative frequency is lower, than in *hoeven* (Nuyts 2007). And in *mogen* 'may' and *moeten* 'must' the process even started (long) before the oldest Old Dutch documents and was already well advanced by the start of the Middle Dutch period, and it has continued until today in *mogen*, but has more or less been hanging since then in *moeten* (Byloo & Nuyts 2014, Nuyts & Byloo 2015). The question is: why these differences in the speed of the evolutions?

Method: All Dutch modals considered have been investigated by means of the same procedure. The analyses are based on corpus data from four different time periods: Old Dutch, Early Middle Dutch, Early New Dutch and Present Day Dutch. For each period a random sample of 200 instances of each verb was used (for PDD there were two separate sets of 200 instances, one with written and one with spoken language), selected from the available materials according to criteria such as representativity (e.g. in terms of text genres and regional spreading) and comparability across the periods.

Analysis: A closer look at the precise evolutions of the meanings in the four modals strongly suggests that the differences in evolutionary speed between them can mainly be explained by means of a few system-driven factors: in part they are due to semantic competition (avoiding synonymy between individual forms in the system), in part they are the result of semantic analogy (all forms in the system expressing complementary meanings within the same range of semantic categories). This implies that (inter)subjectification, at least in the system of the Dutch modals, is not an independent factor of change. It does explain the rough course of the meaning evolution in the individual forms. But this evolution – not only how fast it happens, but also when it happens and what range of meanings is

involved – is actually triggered by other factors of change, to do with system dynamics.

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☙

Towards a Syntactic Analysis of Basque Imperative Phrases

Itziar Orbegozo
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Keywords: imperatives, hortatives, syntax

Schedule: Thu 16.00 Room 4

The study of imperatives shows some syntactic and semantic phenomena of great interest for the syntactic theory. Firstly, imperative sentences usually imply the elision of the subject (Aikhenvald 2010), not only in pro-drop languages such as Basque, but also in non-pro-drop ones as English. Besides, even when the subject is overtly realized, it shows some restrictions: for instance, in Basque, the subject of canonical imperatives can only be a second person pronoun or a quantifier (1); that is, a proper name cannot be the subject of the imperative phrase (2), but a vocative (3), as shown by the absence of the ergative mark in phrases with transitive verbs. Secondly, the subject is always interpreted as the addressee (4), even when there is no person mark at all. And thirdly, the temporal interpretation is always present or future oriented, even if the verb is uninflected (5).

(1)   Jan   zuk.   (Basque)
        eat.PTCP   you.ERG
        'You eat!'
(2)   *Jan   Jonek!
          eat.PTCP   John.ERG
         'John eat!'
(3)   Jon,   jan!
        John   eat.PTCP
        'John eat!'
(4)   Jan!
        eat.PTCP
        '(You) eat!'
(5)   *Jan   atzo!

      eat.PTCP yesterday
    '*¡Eat yesterday!'

The goal of this proposal is to provide a syntactic analysis of Basque imperative phrases and to answer some questions that emerge from Basque data that other proposals such as Zanuttini et alia's (2012) or Alcázar and Saltarelli's (2014) do not answer.

    The syntactic analysis I am proposing here aims at explaining the subject restriction as well as the temporal restriction of Basque imperative phrases. Besides, I am extending this proposal to non-canonical imperatives, i.e. hortative phrases. In Basque, these can have either first person subjects (goazen 'let's go' [1PL.go.C], noan [1SG.go.C]) or third person subjects (bihoa [C.go.3SG], doala [3SG.go.C]), and unlike in canonical imperatives, the verb must be necessarily inflected. Nevertheless, all these sentences share some relevant properties: first, they result in the updating of the to do-list (Portner 2005) of one or more participants of the speech act; second, both imperative and hortative sentences have a present or future oriented interpretation and the inflection cannot show any temporal contrast; third, the verb shows a falling intonation in contrast to their intonation within indicative sentences, and forth, they show a special word order where the verb appears at the beginning of the sentence.

    In order to explain the facts just described, following Ritter and Wiltschko (2014), I assume that the directive content in imperative and hortative CP layer values the unvalued temporal feature of the inflexion, causing the temporal restriction. In addition, I propose that this same layer is the responsible of the special word order of these phrases. On the other hand, based on the fact that imperative and hortative phrases result in the updating of the to do-list of the speech act participants, I assume the existence of the Speech Act Layer (Haegeman and Hill 2013; among others), and finally, I propose that the agreement between the verb and the head of this projection can explain the subject restriction of imperative phrases.

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⌘

Processing spontaneously spoken language: The interplay between phonetic, syntactic, and pragmatic cues in Estonian

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Keywords: language chunk, prosody, clause structure, speech perception, experimental approach

Schedule: We 15.00 Room 10

The aim of this study is to investigate the effects of prosody, syntax, and pragmatics on the perception of the boundaries of spoken language chunks in spontaneous Estonian. The study is based on the assumption that processing language in chunks is due to the capacity limits of working memory (Mauranen 2009, and Carpenter & Just 2013), and that the chunks can be established by their boundaries. Furthermore, the boundaries of language chunks may be cued by various sources of information. These sources include phonetics, syntax, and pragmatics (e.g., Bever et al. 1969, Swerts 1997, and Frazier et al. 2006), which, in turn, can interact with each other (Bögels et al. 2010, and Cole et al. 2010).

The current study sets out to investigate what type of information listeners use for chunking continuous speech flow into units – which we call *processing units* – in Estonian, and whether there are associations between these sources of information.

For that, we test three possible scenarios:

1. The boundary of a processing unit is prosodic, indicated either by a pause, hesitation, segmental lengthening or an intonational boundary tone.
2. The boundary of a processing unit is syntactic in that it coincides with the boundary of a clause, but depends also on the internal structure of a clause.
3. The boundary of a processing unit is pragmatic, so that pragmatic units (e.g., discourse particles) contribute to the perceived boundary.

To test the scenarios, we conducted a speech perception experiment with the native speakers of Estonian, a language of free word order and rich grammatical inventory. For that, 396 spontaneously spoken utterances were drawn from the Phonetic Corpus of Estonian Spontaneous Speech. The length of the utterances varied between 18 and 24 syllables and the duration between 2000 and 4000 ms. 51 speakers (40 females, 11 males, average age 33) listened to excerpts extracted from the corpus and were asked to break the excerpt into chunks.

Based on the number of listeners and the number of boundary marks, each word in the excerpt received a *probabilistic boundary* value. The probabilistic boundary value was then analysed in relation to various variables (e.g., the type of a prosodic break after the word, presence of a clause boundary, number of words in a clause) by using multivariate statistical methods.

The results provide evidence for the great impact of acoustic (e.g., pauses) and syntactic cues (clause boundary) on the determination of the boundary of a processing unit. In addition, the length and the internal structure of a clause are important, as are pragmatic factors as evidenced by the boundaries marked either before or after discourse particles. As such, the results indicate that prosody strongly interacts with clausal and pragmatic factors in the determination of the chunks of a spoken language.

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✄

Prosodic intensification in Anal: between iconic usage and structure

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Keywords: prosody, iconicity, intensifiers, Tibeto-Burman, vocative, stance

Schedule: We 12.00 Room 10

A widespread phenomenon in many Tibeto-Burman languages of South-East Asia, North-East India and China is a pronunciation of a syllable with an extra-high pitch and/or an extreme length, used to impart it a distinct "intensified" interpretation. It has been briefly described as "paralinguistic emphasis" for a number of languages (e.g. Matisoff 1994:117 for Lahu). However, no study addressed it in detail for any language of the area. A parallel phenomenon in other parts of the world, e.g. in Australian languages, gained some attention in the literature (e.g. Simard 2013 for Jaminjung).

This paper presents a study of the phenomenon in Anal, a Tibeto-Burman language of North-East India from the usage-based, interactional perspective. 106 tokens of emphatically pronounced syllables have been found in a corpus of ~1 hour of narratives.

The "emphatic" pronunciation in Anal is characterised by an extra-high pitch sustained throughout a remarkably elongated vowel of the morpheme. Consider Figure 1, where the affected syllable is the distributive suffix *sɨ*. While the average pitch of the rest of the intonation unit is 280Hz, the affected suffix is over 500Hz high; its vowel is nearly three times longer than that of the preceding verbal lexeme.
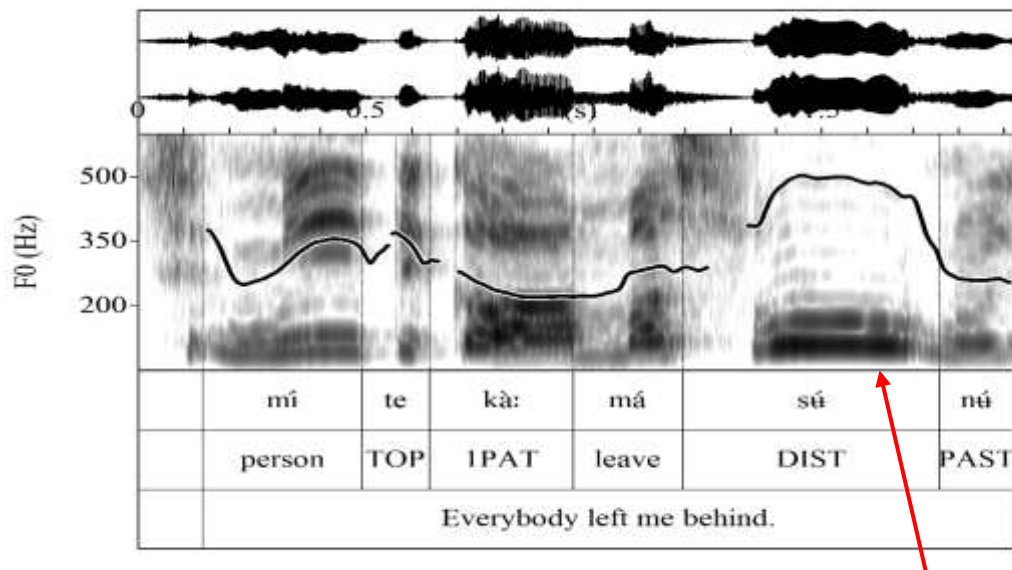
Figure 1

This prosody is non-obligatorily found with suffixes that indicate *an extreme of a scale*: either *abundance* of a quality ('very', 'completely, 'even'), extreme frequency ('always'), number ('all', distributives) etc.; or *paucity* ('just', 'only') or absence ('nothing'); cf. (1)-(2).

1. a-pəluŋ-hin   a-pə-rʰiŋ-**te**ː:-hin-nʉ
   2-heart-PL   IMP-CAUS-awake-**ALWAYS**-PL-NF
   'Be **a-l-w-a-y-s** awake, and…'
2. tʰapaː   daː-**ra**ːː i-sʉ-ma
   work   what-**even**   NMLZ-do-NEG
   'He did not do (*absolutely!*) **any** work.'

It also occurs with lexical items of similar meaning ('most', 'few'), and triggers the interpretation of "very" in a small group of lexemes: 'early', 'nicely', 'hardly'. In such examples the pronunciation creates a speech act of exclamation, embedded within the primary speech act. In addition to communicating information, the speaker expresses their stance and seeks the interlocutors' alignment in this respect, calling for their surprise and appreciation of the information.

In addition, similar prosodic properties characterise *exclamations* and *addressee-engaging* particles (e.g. *ne* 'eh?').

Finally, with (reduplicated) question words this prosody conveys an *exceptional speaker's interest* in information.

3. daːtuŋ **daːtu**ːːː**ŋ**   paːm-e=be   iŋ-nʉ=mo
   how   **how**   village-that.2=EMPH   happen-PAST=Q
   '**How** have the things been in that village (I am *really* curious)?!'

This list of functions can be analysed along the lines of a "functional performance structure" proposed for vocatives (Noel Aziz Hanna and Sonnenhauser 2013). As an index in Peirce's approach (vs. an arbitrary linguistic sign), the structure diverges abruptly from the expected prosodic pattern, prompting an attention-drawing interpretation of an extraordinary, deviant relevant meaning. Since the structure exhibits some iconic and gradual properties, it presents an example of a conventionalisation

of apparent para-linguistic means in linguistic communication. It also sheds light on the vague concept of "emphasis" in language, and – due to the occurrence of this pronunciation with scalar and "focal" particles – on the relation of focus to interactional, attention-drawing devices in language.

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ℒ

On the procedural semantics of lexical items used as expressives and intensifiers

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Keywords: Relevance theory, procedural meaning, expressive APs, expletive NPs

Schedule: Thu 10.00 Room 3

Many nouns, adjectives and participles occurring in adnominal position do not have adjectival functions, but work as *expressives*:

(1)   No he visto al *puto* niño.
         'I haven't seen the *bloody* bastard'.
(2)   Llevo toda la tarde con la *dichosa* ponencia.
         'I have spent the whole afternoon with the *bloody* paper'
(3)   The *fucking* lady was so lucky that she did not get stuck between the car and the wall!
          'I have been working on the *bleeding* presentation the whole afternoon'.

In relevance-theoretic pragmatics (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995), the broad group of expressives, which subsumes intonation, paralanguage, interjections, slurs, expressive APs and expletive NPs, has been analysed in procedural terms. Accordingly, these devices encode a *procedural meaning*, or computational instruction (Blakemore 1987), which enacts the construction of attitudinal descriptions. While interjections, intonation and paralanguage trigger attitudinal descriptions that take under their scope a whole proposition, slurs, expressive APs and expletive NPs give rise to attitudinal descriptions that only affect a propositional constituent (Blakemore 2015; Padilla Cruz 2018). Therefore, the procedural semantics of interjections, intonation and paralanguage constrains the construction of *higher-level explicatures* (Blakemore 2011; Wilson and Wharton 2006; Wharton 2003, 2009, 2016)

and that of slurs, expressive APs and expletive NPs constrains the construction shorter-ranging attitudinal descriptions (Padilla Cruz 2018).

In many cases, the words that may be used as expressive APs and expletive NPs also precede nouns or adjectives but do not have an expressive function:

(4)   The cake is *fucking* delicious/*damn* good!
(5)   John is a *fucking* idiot.

They work as intensifiers, so they would not trigger attitudinal descriptions affecting the noun or adjective they co-occur with. Their procedural semantics cannot enact the said attitudinal descriptions, but triggers the construction of *ad hoc* or occasion-specific concepts (Carston 2002, 2013, 2016; Wałaszewska 2015; Wilson 2004; Wilson and Carston 2007). If procedural meaning is monosemic (Carston 2016), the question that arises is which procedure would the lexical items working as expressives and intensifiers really encode.

This may be answered on the basis of the notion of *meta-procedure*, or an instruction to activate a particular procedure from among a set of candidate ones (Wharton 2009; Wilson 2011, 2012, 2016). This presentation will argue that the procedural semantics of those nouns, adjectives and participles would amount to a meta-procedure that forces the selection of the appropriate procedure from a set comprising construction of an attitudinal description about a constituent or construction of an ad hoc concept. Activation of the latter procedure will be shown to be favoured by the scalar nature of the noun or adjective those nouns, adjectives and participles co-occur with and meta-linguistic or encyclopaedic knowledge concerning the interpretation of such lexical combination.

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✍

The typology of binominal lexemes

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Keywords: word-formation, compounding

Schedule: Thu 15.00 Room 7

This paper introduces 'binominal lexeme' (or 'binominal' for short) as a comparative concept (Haspelmath 2010) that cuts across the traditional compartmentalization of language into grammar and lexicon, and of grammar into morphology and syntax. Binominals are lexical items that consist primarily of two nominal constituents, or more precisely 'thing-morphs' (cf. Haspelmath 2012), and whose function is to name a (complex) concept that involves an unstated relation between two entities. Informally, they can be thought of as noun-noun compounds and their functional equivalents.

Binominals correspond closely to Rainer's (2013) notion of *relational adjectives and their competitors*, which includes noun-noun compounds, genitives, prepositional phrases and attributivizers – along with "other more dedicated derivational patterns". They correspond even more precisely to Štekauer's (1998) *Onomasiological Type 3* (naming units with a complex mark in which the determined – i.e. actional – element is not present), and rather more loosely to Bauer & Tarasova's (2013) concept of *adnominal nominal modification* and to what Levi (1978) terms *complex nominals*.

The primary purpose of this paper is to present an empirically-based typology of binominals. The data set consists of lexical items that represent 100 meanings from 100 languages belonging to over 80 genera. The data were collected using online databases (primarily WOLD; Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009), dictionaries and questionnaires. The meanings cover a range of semantic domains, including body parts (e.g. NOSTRIL), natural phenomena (e.g. RAINBOW) and man-made artefacts (e.g. RAILWAY). The lexical items that represent these concepts exhibit a wide formal variety, as demonstrated by the following examples, all of which combine the meanings IRON and WAY (or more broadly, THING) to denote the meaning RAILWAY:

Label	Example	Gloss

compound	German *Eisen-bahn*	[iron-way]
prepositional	French *chemin de fer*	[way PREP iron]
relational	Russian *želez-naja doroga*	[iron-ADJZ road]
izafet	Turkish *demir yol-u*	[iron road-3SG:POSS]
genitive	Bezhta *kil-o-s hino*	[iron-OBL-GEN way]
pertensive	Malagasy *lala-m-by*	[road-PER iron]
construct state	Hebrew *mesila-t barzel*	[track-CON iron]
derivation	Slovak *želez-n-ica*	[iron-ADJ-NMLZ]
…		

Eight core types of binominal are identified, along with a number of intermediate forms (which are often indicative of grammaticalization paths), and the absence of two expected types is noted. The presentation considers the challenges involved in representing such a typology as a hierarchical structure, and proposes an alternative representation, inspired by Croft (2003) and based on three axes: number of constituents, degree of fusion and order of constituents.

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Diachrony and typology of proximal perception verbs in Sinitic languages

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Keywords: perception, Chinese, typology, diachrony

Schedule: We 12.00 Room 7

Verbs of perception (SEE, HEAR, TOUCH, SMELL, TASTE) – occupying a central place at the interface of language, cognition and culture – have received increasing attention in typology and cognitive linguistics from the 1980s on (Viberg 1984, 2001, Sweetser 1990, Vanhove 2008, and Aikhenvald and

Storch 2013). Despite the richness of data available on Sinitic languages both synchronically and diachronically, and despite the wealth of phenomena to be found in the semantic field of perception verbs (Lien 2005, Wang and Akitani 2014, de Sousa et al. 2015), diachronic and typological studies on perception verbs in Chinese remain scarce, and certain senses, e.g. those of TOUCH and TASTE, nearly unexplored.

This paper examines the diachronic development of the semantic field of terms of proximal perception throughout the documented history of Chinese as well as their synchronic distribution in Sinitic languages. It is based on a large corpus of transmitted and excavated texts from Pre-Archaic Chinese to Contemporary Chinese as well as reference works and studies on Sinitic languages (e.g. Beijing Daxue 1995, Cao Zhiyun et al. 2008).

Special attention will be given to:

(1) The lexicalization of basic concepts of sensory perception expressing activity, experience or phenomenon and related structures
(2) The sense modality hierarchy (SEE > HEAR > TOUCH / TASTE / SMELL, Viberg 1984)
(3) Phenomena of semantic change and lexical replacement in basic verbs of perception
(4) The relationship between internal and external sensations as well as sensation, emotion and cognition

The findings will be viewed in the context of other language families in the region to explore effects of language contact, sociolinguistic factors and genetic affiliation.

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✍

Grammaticalization of adpositions in Amri Karbi (Tibeto-Burman)

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Keywords: **Tibeto-Burman, grammaticalization, adpositions**

Schedule: Sa 12.00 Room 8

This paper deals with two opposite, but interacting processes that are attested in the Amri Karbi (Tibeto-Burman) language spoken in northeast India. Amri Kabri displays both: (i) grammaticalization of original nouns into postpositions and (ii) degrammaticalization of borrowed postpositions into nouns.

Postpositions as a sub-class of adpositions do not represent a universal and uniform category cross-linguistically (Delancey 2003; 2005). The class of postpositions in a language like Amri-Karbi is difficult to identify, although ways to carry adpositional functions are available in this language.

The origin of postpositions can be typically traced back to one of the two common sources: they arise either through serial verb constructions (eg. Li and Thompson 1974) or from nouns through relator noun constructions (eg. Starosta 1985). Postpositions in Amri Karbi have been developing according to the latter scenario. In Amri Karbi, there is a class of nominals that are functionally somewhere between nouns and grammaticalized postpositions and can be identified as relator nouns, in Starosta's terms (1985). Most of the Amri Karbi relator nouns usually appear with the possessive prefix *a-* (Example 1), which is typical only of nouns.

1) *a-thaq   arlu-jong-do*
   POSS-on climb-PROG-COP
   '(they) climbed on top'.

On the other hand, relator nouns lack some of the nominal features, for example plurality. Therefore, relator nouns have been already partly denominalized, but have not yet fully grammaticalized into true postpositons, so their categorical status is somewhat unclear.

As the category of postpositions in Amri Karbi is still developing, it is not surprising that it represents a large and open class that welcomes lexemes with the corresponding function from other languages. Some borrowed postpositions are "pure" postpositions, e.g. in that they do not carry the prefix *a-* (see example 2) a feature that distinguishes original Amri Karbi relator nouns.

2) *minon hok*
   now   till (Assm)
   'till now'

However, some borrowed postpositions seem to develop into relator nouns. First, some of the borrowed postpositions have to carry the prefix *a-*, in the same way as original Amri Karbi relator nouns. Example that illustrates this process is a postposition of Assamese origin *para* 'from'. It is very often used in natural discourse as a coordinator in combination with *=ke* 'TOP', resulting in

parake, which can be translated into English as 'after that, then'. So *para* in Amri Karbi is on its way to be changed from its original category of postposition to a relator noun.

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The Indo-European inherited lexicon in Polish: A computational approach

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Schedule: We 16.30 Room 8

The lexicon of every language contains lexemes which were either directly inherited from the previous phase of its development and are thus shared with the other genetically related languages and those which were created at the next step of its development – either completely new words created on the model of the old ones or borrowings. The research on the Indo-European inherited lexicon has been most extensively done in the English language (cf. Buck 1949, Watkins 2011) whereas most of the other Indo-European languages lack such a insightful and in-depth study or a complete comparative dictionary. The lexicon of the Polish language has been thoroughly examined as to the amount of lexical inheritance from the Proto-Slavic period (cf. Kopečný 1981, Boryś 2005). However, hardly any work was done in the area of direct inherited lexicon from the Proto-Balto-Slavic and ProtoIndo-European stages (apart from e.g. a short sketch by Erhart 2000 and the etymological dictionary of the Slavic inherited lexicon - Derksen 2008 which, however, concentrates on the Proto-Slavic material and is quite concise). In this paper we would like to present the research on the inherited Proto-Indo-European lexemes which are continued in the Polish language directly, i.e. they are neither borrowings from the other Indo-European languages or formations common only to Balto-Slavic or Slavic languages but were created in the Indo-European proto-language and transmitted through generations of speakers into the Polish language. Those lexemes include some of the most basic words present in Polish. Our main purpose is the identification of the direct inherited lexemes from Proto-IndoEuropean, especially those which are completely regularly continued from the Proto-Indo-European stage through the Proto-Balto-Slavic, Proto-Slavic and Polish stage. To these lexemes belong:

☐ words consisting of inherited morphemes: lexical and grammatical, so-called root formations,
e.g. Proto-Indo-European *$h_3ekw\text{-}ih_1$ > Proto-Slavic *$oči$ > Polish *oczy* 'eyes'

☐ words consisting of inherited morphemes: lexical and several grammatical including the ending, e.g. Proto-Indo-European *h_2erh_3-d^hlo-m* > Proto-Slavic *or-dlo* > Polish *radło* 'plough'

The use of the computational method is a supplement to the identifcation of the direct inherited lexemes. With the use of the computer program we simulate the sound changes on the Proto-Indo-European roots excerpted from the standard Indo-European dictionaries of nominal and verbal formations (Pokorny 1959, LIV, NIL) and generate the Polish forms which are then compared with the actual attested forms and analyzed in terms of the irregularities. This new approach allows us to say precisely when did certain sound change took place in the relative chronology and whether a certain word is continued in Polish completely regularly or whether it is a borrowing, a later creation or an analogical modification. From the approx. 1000 inherited lexemes our preliminary study has shown that at least 30% is fully regularly continued in Polish, i.e. without any irregular changes.

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☙

NP and PP structure in Hill Mari

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Keywords: Noun Phrase, Postpositional Phrase, relational noun

Schedule: Thu 16.00 Room 8

The aim of this paper is to compare NP and PP structures in Hill Mari (Finno-Ugric). The data were collected in fieldwork in the villages of Kuznetsovo and Mikrjakovo (Mari El, Russia) in 2017.
Hill Mari nominal morphosyntax is rather complicated: groups with locative and direct cases differ in affix order (see also (Luutonen 1997, McFadden 2001)):

(c) *sumka-vlä-et-ə̑m*   */sumka-et-vlä-m*   */*sumka-vlä-m-et*
    bag-PL-POSS2SG-ACC   bag-POSS2SG-PL-ACC   bag-PL-ACC-POSS2SG
    '[I see] your bags'.

(d) **sumka-vlä-et-ə̑štə̑*   */sumka-et-vlä-štə̑*   */sumka-vlä-št-et*
    bag-PL-POSS2SG-IN   bag-POSS2SG-PL-IN   bag-PL-IN-POSS2SG
    'In your bags'.

Entities traditionally labelled as postpositions in the Finno-Ugric languages are rather heterogenous. Some more recent papers postulate an intermediary unit on the grammaticalization scale between a postposition and a noun, which is the so-called "relational noun" (Birjuk 2005, Arkhangelskij, Usacheva 2015):

(3) *sadvičə̑-vlä*   **vel**   *kə̑zə̑t peled-eš*
    garden-PL   side   now   bloom-NPST.3SG
    'A side with gardens blooms now'.

However, the nature of the latter notion in the syntactic structure has not been explicitly stated, and we will address this issue in our talk.

Our analysis of the asymmetry between direct and locative cases is based on the assumption that affix order reflects hierarchical structure of a NP (Alexiadou, Wilder 1998). We also stem from the proposal by McFadden (2001) and Dékány (2011) concerning some other Finno-Ugric languages, according to which oblique NPs in some Finno-Ugric languages should be analysed as a parallel to PPs.

In order to establish the formal status of relational nouns (forming a RelP), we compared them, on the one hand, with NPs having a genitive dependent (GenNP), on the other hand, with PPs and groups with locative NPs (OblP).

The set of parameters was taken from (Birjuk 2005, and Dékány 2011) and modified for Hill Mari. The results are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Property	OblP	PP	RelP	GenNP
Number marking of the Head	*	*	+	+
Number marking of the Dependent (loc.affixes=head (McFadden 2001))	+	+	+	+
Possessive marking of the Head	+	+	+	+
Possessive marking of the Dependent	*/+(PL-OBL)	+	+	+
Case-marking of the Dependent		NOM/pron.-GEN	NOM/pron.-GEN	GEN
Possessive concord with the Head		*/+ (pers.pron.)	*/+ (pers.pron.)	+

Neither of the constructions have the same set of properties. But we still propose a uniform structural analysis for all the constructions. We claim that Obl, P, Rel and N are heads which are in complementary distribution within the hierarchical structure of the nominal/postpositional complex and differ in their possibility of extending till DP-projection (Obls and Ps cannot). The differences in the case-marking of the dependent are due to its complement/specifier position within a construction.
In our talk we will present the four structures based on the parameters presented in Table1 and provide more data supporting our analysis.

Glosses

ACC - accusative, IN - inessive, NPST – non-past tense, PL - plural, POSS - possessive, SG - singular

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⌀

Admirative extensions of the evidentiality in the Bashkirian Mari dialects: A case of „curiosity”

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Keywords: admirative values, modal extensions

Schedule: Sa 11.30 Room 2

The Bashkirian Mari evidential system. This paper analyses the role of „curiosity” as a possible modal extension of evidentiality in the Eastern (Bashkirian) Mari dialects. Bashkirian Mari can be considered a TAME-(tense-aspect-modality-evidentiality) language similarly to other Uralic and Altaic languages of the Volga–Kama–Belaja linguistic area, since it has a grammaticalised two-choice evidential system. In the mentioned area two evidential terms was traditionally distinguished: eyewitness and noneyewitness. However, this system could be described more exactly as sensory vs inferred/reported or firsthand vs non firsthand, regarding the possible pragmatic choices, cf. Aikhenvald (2003: 23–65) and the tabel below with terms supposed by Aikhenvald.

Semantic parameters in the Bashkirian Mari evidentiality system					
	VISUAL		INFERENCE	ASSUMPTION	HEARSAY	QUOTATIVE

		SENSORY				
2 choices	FIRSTHAND		NON-FIRSTHAND			

The case of curiosity. According to Mueller's opinion „TAME categories are related on a semantic level and often a marker of one category has secondary functions of another category" (Mueller 2013: 256). That is why modal domains and evidential domains can be connected so mutually. In 2001 a thematic number of Journal of Pragmatics was dedicated to the connections between aspect-modality-evidentiality (from this point of view see especially DeLancey 2001, Nuyts 2001 and Plungian 2001).

Since Mari doesn't have a special admirative mode, evidentials may have admirative extensions. And that is exactly the case in our examples (1–2). The speakers changed their evidential strategy, choosing a visual-sensory form instead of the predictable non-firsthand (noneyewitness) form. Noneyewitness was absolutly predictable from the context of the interviews. They chose a visual evidential form, because they were very-very curious about what had happened. As if speaker of (1) had thought: if I were there, maybe I wouldn't let them take all plates, as I also loved those plates.

(1) Pünǯʾer, BAMTEC 2014:2:3, admirative eyewitness (curiosity)
namij-en   koδo-š-ta   mo-da-lak-əm,   terkə-lak-əm?
Take away-CVB   [let]-PST1-2pl   what-Px2pl-PL-ACC   plate-PL-ACC?
'Have you taken your [things], your plates away?'

(2) Izmar, BAMTEC 2013:1:36 admirative eyewitness (curiosity)
Lapkə-šte   kö   paša-m əšt-a   iľe   tuγoδom?
store-INESS   who   work-ACC   do-PRS-3sg   be AUX.PST1   at that time
'Who was then working in the store?'

In (2) there is an intense desire of the speaker to know how it was possible that all workers were far away from the store.

Finally, to answer the question, how widespread this „curiositive-admirative" extension of two-choiced, on remoteness based evidential systems can be, we need further areal typological and cross-linguistic approaches.

Special abbreviation
CVB   converbum

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✄

'Need' and 'desire' in parallel expressions: Comparative remarks on a construction with a low degree of transitivity

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Keywords: Homeric Greek, Old Persian, experiential construction, Construction Grammar

Schedule: Fri 16.00 Room 4

This paper focuses on a specific type of "impersonal expression" in Old Persian (Skjærvø 2009: 106), the so-called *mām kāma* construction (example 1). Its meaning is 'I desire' and it is very similar to an Ancient Greek construction using the noun χρεώ (χρειώ) 'need, necessity' (example 2). Both constructions are relatively scarce: in the entire corpus of Achaemenid inscriptions there are 22 occurrences of the first, while the corresponding expression with χρεώ occurs 16 times, and exclusively in Homeric Greek.

(1) *yaθā   mām   kāma   āha*   (*DNa* 36-38)
     as   me.ACC desire.NOM   be.IMPF.3SG
     'as was my desire' (Schmitt 2000: 30);

(2) ἐμὲ   δὲ   χρεὼ   θᾶσσον   ἱκέσθαι   (*Od.* 15.201)
     me.ACC PTC   need.NOM   quickly.COMP go.INF.AOR
     'whereas I must needs hasten home'.

It is worth noting that these constructions have several characteristics in common, which were noted only in part by R.G. Kent (1946). From a semantic perspective in particular, both expressions are experiential predications characterized by a low degree of transitivity. It is also significant that they have an identical basic structure, involving the same elements in the same (fixed) order: a) an accusative (generally a personal pronoun), which encodes the experiencer having the wish or the need; b) a nominative noun, the 'wish' in Old Persian and 'need' in Homeric Greek, both feelings in the subdomain of volition (Verhoeven 2007: 48); c) the third singular form, mostly regarding the verb 'to be' that is either expressed or implied. As regards the stimulus, this is always a proposition (or a propositional content) in Old Persian; in the corresponding Greek construction we find an infinitive or even, albeit rarely, a genitive (example 3).

(3) τί   δέ   σε   χρεὼ   ἐμεῖο;   (*Il.* 11.606)
     what.NOM   PTC you.ACC need.NOM   me.GEN
     'What need hast thou of me?'.

In order to understand both the origin and the cognitive and linguistic motivation of the structure in question, the present work explores this construction type and its hierarchical relations with similar constructions, such as existential expressions, within the framework of Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995; 2006). A new analysis is proposed which considers that this kind of modal structure may be an emerging new construction (a process of 'constructionalization', cf. Traugott and Trousdale 2013). It will be shown that both the Old Persian and the Ancient Greek expressions have the same function and are part of a similar process of constructionalization/grammaticalization in the

formation of fixed formulas made up of invariable items, and with a modal function (for the development of Ancient Greek modal verbs, cf. Ruiz-Yamuza 2008 and the recent analysis in Danesi *et al.*).

Finally, a diachronic perspective reveals that both constructions disappear in the later stages of the languages in which they belong: as mentioned above, expressions with χρεώ are attested only in Homeric Greek, while the *mām kāma* construction is partially replaced by a lexical verb *kām-* in middle Iranian languages.

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ℬ

The periphrastic puzzle: Paradigms and constructions

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Keywords: morphology, periphrasis, constructions

Schedule: We 17.00 Room 7

This paper deals with a particular kind of syntactic structure, often discussed under the label of periphrasis. Periphrastic syntactic structures, akin to the English progressive, for example, comprise a function word and a lexical word and typically serve to associate the lexical word with some grammatical information. This grammatical information may be expressed morphologically in other languages or in the same language. In some cases, e.g. in the case of the Latin perfective passive or the Russian future imperfective, the syntactic construction is integrated into an otherwise morphological

paradigm, i.e. it occupies a cell in an otherwise inflectional paradigm (Brown et al. (2012) and Spencer and Popova (2015)). In previous treatments periphrases have been modelled via inferential-realisational approaches to morphology like Paradigm Function Morphology (Stump (2001)) and generative approaches to syntax (e.g. HPSG), with the morphology being tasked with 'generating' periphrases (see Ackerman and Stump (2004) for an early proposal and Bonami (2015) for a detailed formal account). Such proposals come with certain costs. On the one hand they greatly expand what inflectional morphology can do, for example they allow the morphology to operate over argument structure, on the other they need to assume a complex set of mechanisms to prevent the usual compositional interpretation of the overall syntactic structure. Our account here claims that periphrastic structures can be modelled more successfully if we accept that they are constructions in the sense of Construction Grammar (see overview and references in Müller (2016)). Like constructions more generally, typical periphrases are non-compositional. In other words, the morphosyntactic or morphosemantic information associated with the overall construction cannot be derived from the unification of the morphosyntactic or morphosemantic information associated with its parts (Sadler and Spencer (2001), Ackerman and Stump (2004)). This paper retains an inferential-realisational view of morphology, which allows for easy modelling of inflectional paradigms. It claims, however, that the treatment of the morphology – syntax interface can be streamlined if we adopt a constructional view of periphrases and in particular, if we assume that periphrases are listed. The paper proposes a specific model in which the interaction between the morphology and the set of periphrastic constructions is informational. The morphological component doesn't 'generate' periphrases. Instead, it associates not just inflected forms but also, in certain cases, listed constructions with sets of morphosyntactic or morphosemantic features. Giving the morphological component control over the overall interpretation of periphrastic constructions ensures, where necessary, their integration into the inflectional paradigms of the language. Treating periphrases as constructions allows for a straightforward modelling of their non-compositionality and range of syntactic properties, something which falls out naturally from the fundamental properties of a constructional approach. The morphology isn't burdened with generating syntactic structures, but ensures when needed a complementarity of syntactic structures and morphological forms.

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ℒ

Quotative sequences in two varieties of Spanish: From constructionalization to grammaticalization

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Keywords: quotatives, Spanish, direct discourse, Spain, Argentine

Schedule: Thu 9.30 Room 8

The present study examines the form and function of quotative sequences with the verb *decir* 'say', i.e. verbal constructions used to introduce constructed dialogue (CD; Tannen 1989) into discourse (Cameron 1998, Suñer 2000, Benavent Payá 2003, Gallucci 2012, Palacios Martínez 2014), comparing data from Peninsular Spanish (Marcos Marín et al. 1992, a selection of 69.000 words) and Argentinean Spanish (Pešková 2015, 90.087 words). The research questions are (1) to what extent the quotative sequences with the verb *decir* 'say' have constructionalized (Rostila 2004, Traugott and Trousdale 2013) or grammaticalized in the two varieties, and (2) how to account for eventual differences between them. Given the high frequency of use of the verb *decir* in colloquial Spanish (Posio 2015), we expect to find frequency effects in both varieties (Bybee and Thompson 1997). We use a comparative corpus linguistic approach to analyse the sequences consisting of CD and quotative sequences. The statistical significance of the results was determined using the chi-square and the Fisher's exact test.

We found several types of quotative patterns in the data, with quotative sequences both preposed and postposed to the constructed dialogue they introduce, and with variable expression and position of the arguments of the quotative verb within those sequences. While the Argentinean data presents a statistically significant preference for expressed preverbal subjects and indirect objects (example 1; see also Zdrojewski 2013, Peninsular Spanish prefers postverbal subjects (2a, 2b) and not expressing the indirect object in the quotative sequences (2b).

(1) <u>*Yo le dije a la familia: "Denme plata".*</u>
<u>I 3SG.DAT say 1SG-PAST to the family</u>
'I said to the family: 'Give me money.''
(2) a<u>. *Me preguntó Marce el otro día, dice: "¿Y las palomas?"*</u>b. <u>*Digo yo: "¿qué palomas?"*</u>
a<u>. 1SG.DAT ask-3SG.PAST name the other day say-3SG.PRES</u>; <u>b. say-1SG.PRES I</u>
'Marce asked me the other day, she says: 'And the pigeons?' I say 'What pigeons?''

Similarly, there is a strong tendency to use quotative verbs in the present tense (2a, 2b) with past reference in the Peninsular data, while past-tense forms with past reference are more frequent in the Argentinean variety (1).

As we will show in our presentation, comparing the two corpora reveals a higher degree of constructionalization of the quotative sequences in the Peninsular variety than in the Argentinean one. In addition, the forms *digo* '(I) say' and *dice* '(s/he) says' have emerged as invariable quotative markers that precede the stretch of constructed dialogue in spite of the presence of a communication verb in the quotative sequence (as in 2a, 2b) in the Peninsular variety. This phenomenon is not found in the Argentinean data. These findings are further corroborated by the analysis of teenage speakers from Madrid and Buenos Aires (COLA Corpus; Jørgensen and Eguía Padilla, 2017). We suggest that

these quotative markers be included as a subtype in the list of discourse markers proposed by, e.g., Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999).

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ℒ

Entrenchment effects in code-mixing: The use of partially schematic utterances in three German-English bilingual children

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Keywords: bilingual first language acquisition, code-mixing, usage-based

Schedule: We 11.00 Room 12

Code-mixing is one of the more salient phenomena that result from bilingualism. Bilingual child utterances often show evidence for the productivity of constructions, when open slots in a construction are filled by lexemes from the other language. In many cases, productive constructions come mostly from just one of the languages, creating an asymmetry that is often found in adult code-mixing and is known as the 'matrix language effect'. We suggest a usage-based approach to this phenomenon, and argue that it gives us a better account of bilingual acquisition than accounts that focus on either deliberate language choice or on the existence of an initial abstract syntax (Quick et al. in press).

Usage-based approaches (e.g. Tomasello 2003, Bybee 2010) assume that units of form can vary in their level of schematicity, ranging from completely lexically fixed lexical items (e.g. *How are you*?) to wholly schematic constructions (e.g. NP VP NP). In between are partially schematic constructions (e.g. *I want X*), and these will be shown to play an important role in the code-mixing of three German-English bilingual children aged 2;3 – 3;11. Code-mixing often consists of the use of a partially schematic construction from one language with the open slot filled by material from the other language.

We analyzed the children's individual bilingual language use. First, all data (n=109 000) were coded for utterance length (MLU) and language proportions, grouping utterances into 'German' monolingual, 'English' monolingual and 'code-mixed'. Second, all code-mixed utterances from the age 2;3, 3;0 and 3;10 were analyzed for schematicity on the basis of the individual output of the children ($n=1675$). Identification of units was supported by previous occurrence of that specific unit in the output of the child: e.g. the occurrence of the partially schematic pattern *I want X* was supported by *I want zwei* 'I want two'*, I want this,* or *I want pullern* 'I want to pee'.

Results show that language preference was reflected in MLU values: the more children spoke in one language the higher the MLU in that language. However, it was the mixed utterances that had the highest MLU, for all three children ($F=122.3$, $df_1=17$, $df_2=156$, $p<0.001$). Preliminary analyses of schema types revealed that partially schematic utterances play an important role in all children's code-mixing (Figure 1) and the children's stronger language (according to MLU) tended to provide the schematic parts of partially schematic constructions with the open slots filled by elements from the weaker language, mainly content lexemes (Figure 2).

We conclude that the form and production of partially schematic constructions in the code-mixing of the three children closely follows the entrenchment of the children's own patterns, presumably extracted from the input – but also repeated frequently be the children. The language that provides most of these constructions is the matrix language in most bilingual utterances. This is interpreted to be a by-product of the higher entrenchment of its structures, and is largely determined by the linguistic experience of the individual child.

words: 490
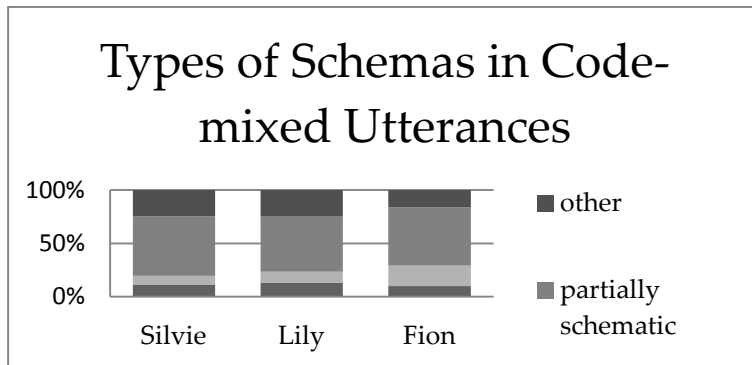
Figure 1. Schema types at the age of 2;3
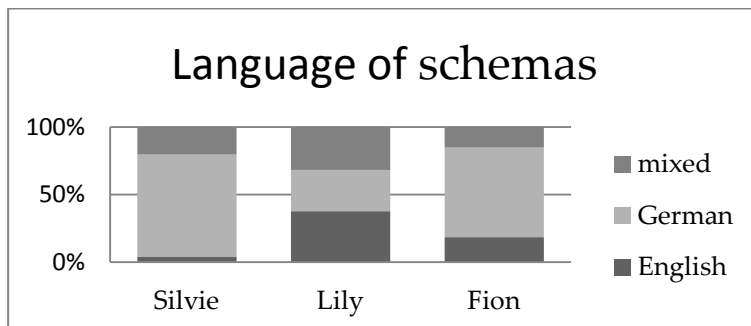
Figure 2. Language choice in the schematic parts at the age of 2;3

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✄

Genitive marking of arguments in Kullui (Indo-Aryan)

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Keywords: West Pahari, fieldwork, external possessor, involitive subject

Schedule: Fri 11.30 Room 7

The paper deals with genitive marking of arguments in Kullui (< Himachali (= West Pahari) < Indo-Aryan) which is different from standard genitivus possessivus in NIA (New Indo-Aryan) languages, where genitive postposition / case affix agrees with the possessed NP in gender, number and case (if there are any) like an adjective. The present data comes from the fieldwork conducted in the villages

of Naggar, Suma and Bashing as well as in the town of Kullu (Kullu district, Himachal Pradesh, India) in 2014-2017 and contains both elicited examples and those taken from spontaneous texts.

Genitive marking of subjects has been attested before in Bengali, Assamese and Oriya (Masica 1991: 346), where genitive affixes are invariable; in these languages Subject is not an Agent, but an Experiencer like in Dative Subject constructions of many other NIA languages. The first work on genitive-marked Agentive Subjects in NIA and in Himachali languages is (Zoller 2009), which describes this kind of marking in Bangani and Deogari and discusses the same in Kochi, Kotgarhi and Bhalesi. Agentive Subjects marked in the same way are also attested in Baghati, Kiunthali, Kotguru, Outer and Inner Siraji (Bailey 1908: 7, 16, 30, 40, 48 respectively). In Himachali languages we can also find genitive marking of Experiencer, which is attested in Kochi and Kotgarhi (Hendriksen 1986: 106) and also in Kiunthali (Bailey 1908: 16)

Genitive marker in Kullui that does not mark genitivus possessivus has only one form: OBL.M = *rɛ* and it has no agreement with any NP. It can mark three types of arguments:
1. Subject in inabilitive and involitive constructions (this type of marking in other Himachali languages has been described in details in (Zoller 2009)), cf.:

(1) *ʃohru-rɛ*　　　*ʃobʰl-i*　　　*tərɛ*　　　*nɛi*　*beʃ-i-d-a*
　　　boy-GEN.OBL.M　　good-F way(F) NEG　sit-PASS-IPFV.PTCP-M.SG
　　　The boy is not able to sit properly

2. External Possessor, cf.:

(2a) *ei*　　　*gund-ɛ-bɛ*　　　*mar*
　　　this.OBL.M　hooligan-OBL-DAT　hit
　　　Hit this hooligan
(2b) *ei*　　　*gund-ɛ-rɛ*　　　　　　*mundi*　　*nə*　*mar*
　　　this.OBL.M　hooligan-OBL-GEN.OBL.M　head(F)　　LOC　hit
　　　Hit this hooligan on his head

3. Experiencer (or patient) in some constructions (it is so far attested only in pain-constructions, cross-linguistically bearing some specific grammatical characteristics, see (Rakhilina 2010: 456-540)), cf.:

(3) *merɛ*　　　　　*dah*　　　*lag-i*
　　　I.GEN.OBL.M pain(F)　　be_attached-PFV.F
　　　I have pain

Genitive marking of Agentive Subjects in inabilitive constructions in Kullui has been mentioned only in (Thakur 1975: 292), while the same marking of External Possessor has not been examined in any of grammatical descriptions of the Kullui language (Bailey 1908, Grierson 1916, Thakur 1975, Ranganatha 1981, Sharma 2014) and has not been attested in other Himachali languages. I argue that the special marking for External Possessor can occur due to the fairly free word order in Kullui (also typical of other Himachali languages, cf (Zoller 2007: 88)) and the possibility of splitting of genitive NPs in a different way. According to (Kibrik 2000), External Possessor is the result of extraposition of Possessor (the NP in genitive) or Possessed (the head of a genitive NP). In Kullui only extraposition of Possessor is specially marked (GEN) and the Possessor extraposes from the genitive NP into a topical position. Since the genitive NP becomes detached from a possessed NP, it loses agreement with the latter, cf.:

(4a) *d^{h}ũ-ε*   *laija*   *meri*   *otʃtʃ^{h}i* *duk^h-i*
   smoke-INSTR INSTR   I.GEN.DIR.F eye(F) ache-PFV.F
   My eyes ache from the smoke
(4b) *merε*   *d^{h}ũ-ε*   *laija*   *otʃtʃ^{h}i* *duk^h-i*
   I.GEN.OBL.M smoke-INSTR INSTR   eye(F) ache-PFV.F
   I have an ache in my eyes because of smoke

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⍝

Mandarin *zi-ji* is complex

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Keywords: binding, reflexivity, agree, complex anaphor

Schedule: Thu 16.30 Room 4

Outline
We show that the anaphor *zi-ji* is complex (a reflexivizing prefix *zi-* and a defective pronominal stem – *ji*). *Zi-ji* 's complexity is important for the analysis of reflexivity in Mandarin. The local binding

properties of *zi-ji* result from *zi-* reflexivizing the verb that *zi-ji* is an argument of. Non-local binding involves an Agree-based chain with the antecedent (Giblin 2016), with *zi-ji* inheriting the visibility of *–ji* for probing. *Zi-ji* is a semi-reflexive in the sense of Volkova (2014): a morphologically complex element that can license reflexivity, but does not enforce it. Thus, Mandarin has a verbal reflexivizing affix *zi-*, a (complex) semi-reflexive *zi-ji* and a 'supercomplex' local anaphor *ta zi-ji*. Hence, its system fits in with a cross-linguistically well-established pattern of anaphoric systems (Dimitradis et al. 2017:9).

Details
Definition:
(1)   A predicate is reflexive if two of its θ-roles are assigned to one argument. However, (2), with two identical variables in a local domain, violates a general distinctness requirement (IDI, Reuland, 2011, 2017):
(2) $*DP (\lambda x (V_{\theta1, \theta2} (x, x)))$
To resolve this, reflexivity must be licensed by avoiding (2), using *bundling* (Reinhart and Siloni 2005) or *protection*. Protection keeps the arguments distinct by embedding one variable (3) (MORPH = self, a pronoun, a bodypart N, etc.):
(3) $DP (\lambda x (V_{\theta1, \theta2} (x, [f_{MORPH} (x)])))$
Bundling combines the internal theta-role with the external one into a complex role, satisfying IDI by valence *reduction*:
(4)   Bundling:
         $V_{\theta1, \theta2} (x, x) \rightarrow V'_{[\theta1,2]} (x)$
Question for Mandarin: If *zi-ji* is simplex as commonly assumed since Battistella (1987, 1989); Pica (1987), it is not clear how it licenses reflexivity – avoiding IDI- when it is bound by a co-argument, see (5).
(5)   *Zhangsan* sha le *ziji*
         Zhangsan kill ASP self
         `Zhangsan killed himself.'
If *zi-ji* is bimorphemic it licenses reflexivity by protection.

Claim: *Zi-ji* in fact consists of a reflexive element *zi-* and a pronominal element *–ji* (Chief 1998; Liu 2016; Wong 2017):

(i) Zi- independently serves as a prefix marking verbs as reflexive (Chief 1998):
(6)   Zhangsan zi-sha le
         Zhangsan REFL-kill ASP
         `Zhangsan committed suicide.
Reflexive-marking by *zi-* is quite productive, witness the lists of verbs from Chief (1998), and Wong (2017):
(7)   *zi-nüe* 'to torture oneself', *zi-sha* 'to commit suicide', *zi-ba* 'to free oneself   from', etc.
Zi-reflexivization also obtains with subject experiencer verbs with a predicate complement (8) (Liu 2016):
(8)   Zhangsan zi-zhi/   zi-jue   conghui.
         Zhangsan self-knows/self-considers smart
         'Zhangsan knows/considers himself smart.'
It is highly productive in formations like *zi-jia* 'self-drive', *zi-xue* 'self-learn', etc., which abound on the internet.

(ii) The component *-ji*, originated as an independent pronominal element in Classical Chinese (Liu 2016).

Hence *zi-ji* is complex as required for licensing.

That *zi-ji*, though complex, allows non-local binding follows from the agree-based approach to binding (Reuland op. cit., Giblin 2016). Although the elements on the path between the binder and the bindee must be X^0, neither binder, nor bindee have to be X^0 's. Consequently, traditional movement-based arguments that non-locally bound *ziji* is mono-morphemic lack force.

Sources:
Searches were carried out on the 'Xiandai Hanyu Cixi-Xiandai Hanyu Dongci Cidian'-'Modern Mandarin Chinese Dictionaries- Modern Mandarin Chinese Verbs Dictionary' (Beijing). In addition, data were collected from the Modern Mandarin Chinese Corpus http://asbc.iis.sinica.edu.tw, and the 'Xiandai Hanyu Cidian'/'Modern Mandarin Chinese Dictionary' (Beijing).

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ℬ

The rise and fall of the clitic adverbial pronoun *hic* in Old Catalan

Josep E. Ribera
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Schedule: We 14.30 Room 8

Old Catalan exhibited the opposition between anaphoric and deictic reference by means of the locative / adlative clitic pronouns *hi* (< ĪBI) and *hic* (< HĪC), which moreover shared a high level of formal identity (Par 1923, Badia 1947, Moll 2006, and Batlle *et al.* 2016). Therefore, the phoric use of *hi* was in contrast with the deictic use of *hic*, which referred to the addressor's space. In addition, *hic* had also adopted the deictic ablative value of the Latin adverb *hinc* and thus converged semantically and functionally with the adverbial clitic pronoun *en* (< ĬNDE); as in the case of the opposition *hi* vs. *hic*, *en* and *hic* only differed with respect to the phoric reference of the former and the deictic reference of the latter.

Moreover, the three term Latin space deictic system (*hic-iste-ille* and their cognates) had been reduced to a two term system in Old Catalan (*aquest-aquell / ací-allí*). However, a three term deictic system was reconstructed from the 14th century onwards (Pérez Saldanya 2015, Pérez Saldanya & Rigau 2011), based on the originally phoric demonstratives *aqueix* (< ACCU-ĬPSE) and *aquí* (< ACCU-HĪC). As a result, *hic* was also overlapping with the stressed demonstrative adverbs *ací* and *aquí* as markers of space deixis.

By analyzing the data provided by the *Corpus Informatitzat de Català Antic* (CICA), this paper deals with the constraints that determine the rise, the decline and the subsequent disappearance of *hic* between the 11th and the 16th centuries (Ribera forthcoming). Specifically, this study tries to shed some light on the following questions:

a) The first tokens of *hic* in the CICA occur in the second half of the 13th century. Thus, is this adverbial pronoun actually continuing the corresponding Latin adverb *hīc* or may it be the result of a cultish reintroduction?
b) What was the role of the functional, semantic and pragmatic oppositions within the paradigms of the demonstrative adverbs and of the clitic pronouns in Old Catalan as to constrain the decay of *hic*?
c) In what measure is the decline and subsequent disappearance of *hic* part of the wider process of restructuring of the space deictic system that took place in Old Catalan from the 14th century?

The results show that the pronoun *hic* had certain vitality during the 14th century, began to decline in the early 15th century and disappeared during the 16th century. As for the rise of *hic*, its presence both in formal and colloquial texts does not point to a cultish reintroduction, but its absence before the second half of the 13th century keeps this point still unclear. As for its fall, the highest frequencies of use of the stressed adverbs *ací* and *aquí* suggest that paradigmatic tension within the demonstrative system caused that the pronoun *hic* gradually remained unused. Moreover, the set of asymmetric oppositions among *hic*, *hi* and *en* within the paradigm of the clitic pronouns rendered the system pragmatically inoperative. All in all, the problem was solved with the relegation of *hic*, the most superfluous element in both paradigms.

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⚕

Exemplification as a discourse strategy: Evidence from different text-types

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Keywords: exemplifying markers, scientific texts, news reports

Schedule: Fri 15.00 Room 9

Examples are discursive instruments used to make a text more accessible to the reader. Nonetheless, the use of examples has not always been accepted in higher forms of cognition. In fact, they were considered a lower form of reasoning in Classical Antiquity, only appropriate for those who could not follow long or complex arguments (see Barnes 1984: 2157 and Lischinsky 2008: 243). Lyons (1989: ix) explains the stigmatised character of examples on the basis of their obvious and direct format as they are usually introduced by an explicit marker like *for example*. However, this pejorative conception of examples has vanished over time. In fact, examples, being episodic and concrete, are considered an essential part of higher forms of thought (cf. Lischinsky 2008: 244). Given their stronger persuasive power, they have a deeper impact on the interlocutor than the general assertions they accompany (see Brosius and Bathelt 1994: 48-50; Gibson and Zillmann 1994: 605; Perry and Gonzenbach 1997: 230-232; Hyland 2007: 278; and Lischinsky 2008: 247, among others). The study here proposed (with evidence from the *Brown* family of corpora) confirms that the use of examples is in fact on the increase in recent and present-day English, although their use depends to a large extent

on the text-type. In fact, the results show that there is a sharp divide between fiction (where exemplification is scarce) and non-fiction (where examples are a common discourse strategy). Not only that, different text-types favour the use of different exemplifying markers. Thus, exemplification skyrockets in science, a genre which shows a clear inclination to use long, complex examples (typically whole sentences introduced by *for example*; cf. (1) below) which appeal to concrete episodes that are more familiar for the reader/hearer. In turn, short, nominal examples introduced by *including* (see (2)) are the preferred option in news reports, a text-type characterised by brevity, concision and objectivity (cf. Biber and Conrad 2009: 110).

(1) In the rather primitive eyes of the adolescent male, sexual and violent acts are the two main means through which they can prove their male commitment. ***For example***, adolescent males have been found much more likely than females (68% versus 44%) to tell their friends about their first experience with sexual intercourse (Carns, 1973), apparently because reporting such intercourse has status value in the eyes of peers. (FROWN, J43 66)

(2) If the new organisation is a success, it is likely to spread to other trades, ***including*** radio, and electrical goods. (LOB, A15 118)

The presentation will therefore explore the use of four exemplifying markers (namely, *including*, *included*, *for example* and *for instance*) in the different text-types available in the *Brown* family of corpora. These six corpora allow the analysis of such forms at three points in time (i.e. 1960s, 1990s and 2000s) and two varieties of English (British vs. American), thus bringing to the fore any potential diachronic and/or geographic variation in their use. The reasons which may account for the use of the four selected markers in the different text-types (such as the defining characteristics of the text-type itself, the relationship between reader and writer or the degree of formality) will also be explored.

Primary sources

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LOB: *Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus.* 1976, 1986. Compiled by Geoffrey Leech *et al*. Lancaster University, University of Oslo and University of Bergen.

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⌀

Possession in Vamale (Southern Oceanic, New Caledonia)

Jean Rohleder & Fernando Zúñiga
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Schedule: **Fri 15.00 Room 7**

Many non-Polynesian Oceanic languages are known to have two morphological strategies to express attributive possession, namely direct and indirect possession: the host of the affixes indicating person and number of the possessor is the nominal with the former and a possessive/relational classifier with the latter (Ross 2004, Lichtenberk 2009). Direct possession is typically found with a distinct set of possessums: kinship terms, body parts, and things done to or used on the possessor. Indirect possession is typically used with items related to food, items related to potables, and general items; Lynch (2000) reconstructs **ka*, **m^{(w)}a-*, and **(n)a-* as the classifiers for these three groups, respectively.

Based on original fieldwork, the present paper outlines how possession marking works in Vamale, which shows a picture that is both similar and different from the above, in several intriguing respects. First, there are two sets of possessive suffixes:

| (1) | | Set I: | *xhetham* | 'plate' | - | *xhetham-an* | 'his plate' |
| | | Set II: | *vwen* | 'turtle' | - | *vwen-ea* | 'his turtle' |

Second, there is an inalienable-alienable opposition that follows the pan-Oceanic distribution rather closely. Inalienable possessums include most kinship terms (but not forms of address), body parts (except blood), and characterizing items (e.g., spirit, appearance, strength). Alienable possessums include animals and plants, as well as general items. Nevertheless, while alienable items can take suffixes of either set (those of Set II typically for contrastive focus), inalienable items invariably take Set I suffixes. Third, possession can be expressed via juxtaposition if the possessor is lexical rather than pronominal; in such cases, vowel-final possessum stems take a marker *-n* (< POc **-ɲa* '3SG.PSR'; Ozanne-Rivierre 1982: 43), e.g. *mwa-n daahma* [house-N chief] 'the chief's house'. Fourth, when

taking Set II suffixes of any person, a semantically bleached version of this marker *-n* appears under (apparently non-semantic) conditions not fully understood yet.

Lastly, and most notably, some alienable kinship terms and inalienable possessums, as well as nominalizations expressing ways of acting, additionally take an obligatory marker *-ka* when possessed:

(2) a. *bifidu-ka-n* [twin-KA-3SG.PSR] 'his twin'
     b. *vwasee-ka-n* [sadness-KA-3SG.PSR] 'his/somebody's sadness'
     c. *hun-vwa-ka-n* [NMLZ-do-KA-3SG.PSR] 'his/somebody's way to do (sthg.)'

Unlike Rivierre & Ehrhart's (2006) account of closely related Bwatoo, the analysis espoused here casts some doubt on seeing *ka* either (i) as the host of an element formally detached from the possessum nominal or (ii) as a relational classifier (e.g., as the present-day reflex of the POc food classifier *ka). The present paper argues on semantic and morphological grounds in favor of considering the possibility of (synchronically) regarding *-ka* as a suffix that allows selected items to become possessed and, therefore, in favor of regarding the morphology-based direct-indirect distinction as inadequate for Vamale. We claim that the latter analysis is not only explanatorily and descriptively more adequate but that it also does more justice to the quite simple and well-behaved morphophonemic regularities found in the language, to which a purported classifier *ka-* would be an exception.

Abbreviations
NMLZ nominalizer, POc Proto-Oceanic, PSR possessor, SG singular

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☒

Cause and Correlation in Language Change

Malte Rosemeyer and Freek Van de Velde

<pdf>

Schedule: Thu 9.00 Room 8

☒

Concurrent Systems of Nominal Classification in Piaroa (Sáliban)

Jorge Emilio Rosés Labrada
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Keywords: typology, classifiers, gender

Schedule: We 15.00 Room 7

Recent typological research on nominal classification (cf. Fedden & Corbett (2017) demonstrates that a single language can exhibit concurrent systems of nominal classification. In this presentation, I focus on four nominal classification systems, namely two gender systems, a classifier system, and a possessive classifier system, in Piaroa [ISO: pid]—a Sáliban language spoken along the Middle Orinoco River, on the border between Venezuela and Colombia—and show that concurrent systems of nominal classification (cf. Fedden & Corbett 2017) can include both multiple gender and multiple classifier systems. Data used in this presentation comes from published sources as well as the author's own fieldwork.

Two different gender systems co-exist in Piaroa. The first system distinguishes between animates and inanimates: subject animate nouns are indexed on verbs (2); subject inanimate nouns, on the other hand, cannot be indexed on the verb (see Rosés Labrada 2016). Additionally, a second system distinguishes between masculine feminine but only for animates. Some animate nouns take a feminine suffix *-a* while others are marked with a masculine suffix *-o* (1) and all animate nouns, regardless of whether they are overtly marked for gender with *-a* or *-o*, are indexed as masculine or feminine in the third person singular forms of verbs (2) and possessed nouns (3).

(1) a. *ʧ-iɾekʷ-**a***   1SG-spouse-FEM   'my wife'   (Caula 1999:134)
     b. *ʧ-iɾekʷ-**o***   1SG-spouse-MASC   'my husband'   (Mosonyi 2002:77)

(2) a. ***∅**-ãdĩt-æˈkʷ-**ã***   3SG.MASC-work-FUT-CL:MASC   'he will work' (Mosonyi 2000:662)
     b. ***kʰ**-adit-æˈkʷ-**æhu***   3SG.FEM-work-FUT-CL:FEM 'she will work' (Mosonyi 2000:662)

(3) a. ***∅**-ĩtʰĩ-mũ*   3SG.MASC-child-PL   'his children'
     b. ***kʰ**-ĩtʰĩ-mũ*   3SG.FEM-child-PL   'her children'

In addition to gender, Piaroa exhibits a rich system of classifiers (see Krute 1989). The Piaroa classifiers include a feminine and a masculine classifier for singular animate referents (see *-ã* and *-æhu* in (2) above) and a plural classifier *-æti*, as well as a large set of shape/function classifiers for inanimate referents. This classifier system behaves like many other Northwestern Amazonian systems (see Aikhenvald 2000, 2007; Seifart & Payne 2007, *inter alia*): classifiers in Piaroa are realized in different loci (e.g. nouns, deverbal nouns, demonstratives, and numerals) and serve five primary functions (i.e. classification, agreement, individuation, derivation, and anaphora).

The fourth classification device consists of a closed system of possessive classifiers. These are used in what Krute (1989:84-95) terms "indirect possession" constructions where the possessor is expressed on a possessive classifier via a preffix. The possesive classifiers given by Krute, all marked here for a 1SG possessor with *č-*, are *č-æhi* for pets, *č-i'oñæ* for dead animals/plants, *č-ukʷæ* for edible animals/plants and foods, and *č-iære* for borrowed objects.

This presentation contributes our cross-linguistic understanding of nominal classification through a case study of a language where four different systems co-exist and interact, thus expanding current recent typological research (e.g. Fedden & Corbett 2017) on the co-occurrence of nominal classification systems.

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ℬ

Exploring the potential of the Relational Responding Task (RRT) as a new approach to measuring the social meaning of language variation

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(University of Leuven)

Keywords: sociolinguistics, language attitudes, language variation and change, Dutch

Schedule: We 17.00 Room 12

For decades, quantitative language attitude research has known little methodological innovation (Rosseel et al. 2018). Yet, in the last few years, linguists have started to overcome this deadlock and have turned towards social psychology for new attitude measures. Especially the Implicit Association Test (IAT) has proven a successful new addition to the sociolinguist's toolbox (e.g. Pantos & Perkins 2012, Campbell-Kibler 2012). Despite its relative success, the IAT has a number of limitations, such

as the fact that it measures the association between two concepts (e.g. 'I' and 'skinny') without controlling for the relationship between those two concepts (e.g. 'I am skinny' vs. 'I want to be skinny'). The Relational Responding Task (RRT), a novel implicit attitude measure recently developed by social psychologists (De Houwer et al. 2015), makes up for exactly that limitation by presenting participants with full propositions expressing beliefs rather than loose concepts as is the case in the IAT.

In this paper, we present a study that explores the RRT as a novel measure of language attitudes. We employ the novel implicit method alongside a traditional direct rating task to investigate the social meaning of two varieties of Dutch: Standard Belgian Dutch (SBD) and colloquial Belgian Dutch (CBD). Previous research suggests that the former variety enjoys prestige associations, while the latter is perceived as dynamic and trendy (e.g. Impe & Speelman 2007, Grondelaers & Speelman 2013). Some of these previous studies have emphasized that the dynamism attitudes towards CBD are strictly situated at the implicit level and that they are hard to detect using traditional indirect methods like the speaker evaluation paradigm and virtually impossible to measure when language users are questioned directly (Grondelaers & Speelman 2013). We investigate whether the RRT can be an alternative technique to measure these dynamism associations at the level of implicitness and whether it is indeed still the case that they are impossible to detect using a direct attitude measure.

In total, 391 native speakers of Belgian Dutch participated in the experiment. Our results confirm that CBD is associated with dynamism. This means that participants perceive speakers of CBD as sounding trendy and entertaining. Speakers of SBD, by contrast, are not linked to dynamism, but are perceived as sounding prestigious (e.g. intelligent, serious). Remarkably, these results were found both on the implicit level (i.e. in the RRT results), and on the explicit level (i.e. in the rating task results). In addition to presenting and discussing the results of our study, this paper will reflect upon the usefulness of the RRT as a new measure for linguists to study social meaning of language variation.

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Flapping of coronal /n, l, d, s/ in Spanish: A transversal lenition process

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Keywords: sound variation, rhotics, flap, acoustic phonetics

Schedule: Thu 12.00 Room 10

This work is devoted to a variation phenomenon in Spanish: /n, l, d, s/ flapping, which has been traditionally accounted for from a dialectological perspective. In fact, the literature describes an [l]-[ɾ] alternation in some meridional Spanish dialects (Zamora Vicente 1967, Quilis 1999: 355-359, Alvar 1996a, 1996b), but it is not common to find references relating to /n, d, s/ flapping (Núñez Cedeño 1987, Granados 1999), excluding some historical studies based on written documents (Lapesa 1981). However, some work on /n/ and /l/ variation (Rost Bagudanch 2009, 2014) showed that flapping was a possible allophone for these phonological categories.

At this point, some interesting questions arise, the most important being whether [ɾ] can be a widespread realization for coronal segments, that is, a peripheral exemplar which can be at the intersection point of the cloud of variants corresponding to /l/, /n/, /d/ and /s/ (in the sense of Pierrehumbert 2001, 2002, Bybee 2002: 69). It would seem that such a segment would emerge as a consequence of a lenition process consisting on duration reduction, probably due to hypoarticulation situations in informal speech (see Bauer 2008: 612-613, Lindblom 1990). Another relevant issue is whether the flap displays acoustic variation depending on the phonological category it is associated to.

The main goal of this research is, then, to examine the production of /l/, /n/, /d/ and /s/ phonemes in Spanish from an acoustic point of view in order to investigate if the flap is a possible allophone for them. If this is the case, a second aim is to describe its acoustic characteristics to classify the potential variation.

We thus carried out a pilot experiment involving spontaneous speech, a situation in which lenition processes are more likely to be present. We recorded 5 Madrilenian speakers, aged between 30 and 35, all of them with university studies. The recordings were carried out in the Phonetics Lab in CSIC (Madrid), with an AKG C444 microphone connected to a PC equipped with Adobe Auditon software. We extracted the lexical words containing /l/, /n/, /d/ and /s/ and we analysed its production with Praat, taking into account their acoustic proprieties (including duration). We considered three factors: stress, word position and the adjacent context.

The hypothesis is that flap cases are part of the cloud of exemplars of the above-mentioned phonological categories and that this type of segment can be defined as a transversal element when occurring weakening processes. First results seem to confirm this idea.

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ꝸ

Syntactic variation, constructional entrenchment and World Englishes: Inside the English dative alternation

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Keywords: Construction grammar, allostructions

Schedule: Thu 9.00 Room 12

This paper investigates regional variation in the lexical items associated with the English dative alternation, that is, speakers' choice between the ditransitive dative as in (1) versus the prepositional dative as in (2), across nine regionally distinct varieties of English. By focusing on the range and diversity of lexical items associated with either of the two dative variants, this paper finds not only support for the claim that the two variants constitute allostructions, that is, two instantiations of a more general TRANSFER OF POSSESSION construction that is underspecified for word order (see Cappelle 2006; Perek 2015). The present study also shows that these allostructions are asymmetrically entrenched in non-native compared to native varieties.

(1)   *I give John*[recipient] *a book*[theme]
(2)   *I give a book*[theme] *to John*[recipient]

While cross-regional variability in the probabilistic factors that condition the choice between the two

variants has been extensively studied (e.g. Bresnan & Hay 2008 among others), little is known about the extent to which lexical considerations – besides the verb – might be cross-regionally malleable. To that end, the present study compares the lexical profiles of 13,171 interchangeable dative variants across five non-native – Hong Kong, Indian, Jamaican, Philippine and Singapore English – and four native varieties of English – Canadian, British, Irish, and New Zealand English – sampling spoken and written data from the International Corpus of English and the Corpus of Global web-based English. Following traditional variationist approaches (Tagliamonte 2006), the data was restricted to interchangeable dative variants only, excluding thus tokens where the other variant was not semantically equivalent or grammatically acceptable. Degrees of association between lexical items and the two variants (collostructions) were measured using distinctive collexeme analysis (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003; Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004). Lexical items were restricted to verb, theme heads and recipient heads.

Results reveal that speakers of non-native varieties tend to reuse lexical items in both argument slots in the ditransitive variant, more so than native speakers, suggesting that syntactic variation is lexically more specified in non-native compared to native varieties. These findings not only provide evidence for the cognitive reality of meso-constructions and their role in usage-based models of syntax (Diessel 2016), the lexical specificity of the ditransitive variant also points to asymmetry in the allostructional relationship between the two variants in non-native varieties. Finally, the study also illustrates how the development of entrenched lexical biases with particular syntactic variants among different language varieties can lead to the emergence of variation in the probabilistic factors governing the choice among more abstract constructional schemas.

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✍

On the inventory and functions of final particles in Lithuanian

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Keywords: final position, (inter)subjectivity, spoken discourse

Schedule: Thu 14.30 Room 10

The proliferation of studies into the complex category of discourse particles (Fischer 2006, Aijmer, Simon-Vandenbergen 2006, Degand, Simon-Vandenbergen 2011, and Fedriani, Sansó 2017) has brought to light the question of the categorial distinction of final particles, which occur in utterance final position and display a cluster of formal and functional features unattested in other positions (Hancil el al. 2015). The inventory, description and categorization of final particles have been thoroughly covered in East and Southeast Asian languages, whereas in European languages (English, German, Dutch, Russian, etc.) the formal and functional distinction of final particles and their affinities with other functional classes have been at initial stage of investigation (Hancil el al. 2015). In Lithuanian, the distinction of final particles has not been addressed yet. Discourse particles have been primarily considered in terms of their functional classes (Ambrazas 2006a), lexical sources and categorial status (Holvoet, Pajėdienė 2005) as well as diachronic development (Ambrazas 2006b, Nau, Ostrowski 2010). The present study deals with the focus particles *gi*, *net* and the demonstrative particle *va* in Lithuanian occurring in utterance final position:

(1) *-Bet jis į medį nemoka lipt gi!*
   '-But he cannot climb the tree, **even**!'
(2) *-Čia tau klausimų jokių negali kilti net.*
   '-You cannot have any questions here, **even**.'
(3) *Aš turėjau mmm keletą draugų vyresnių gerokai, kurie man vis patardavo ir padėdavo, va.*
   'I had mmm several much older friends, who used to give me advice and help, **so**.'

The aim of the study is to examine whether the particles *gi*, *net* and *va* found in utterance final position display functional differences when compared to their occurrence in other positions and show potential for being considered within the category of final particles. By applying a corpus-driven methodology, the study explores the correlation between the final position of the particles under analysis and the dimension of (inter)subjectivity (Traugott 2010). Since final particles most frequently occur in spoken language, the data have been drawn from the spoken and fiction sub-corpora of the Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language.

The preliminary results show that the particles under analysis tend to display a range of attitudinal functions that highlight speaker-hearer interaction, i.e. the intersubjective dimension. The focus particles *gi* and *net* may convey the speaker's surprise with the state of affairs. The particle *gi* may also be used as a corrective device in response to the hearer's previous contribution, thus challenging the hearer's knowledge and judgement of the situation. The intersubjective dimension of the particles and their high degree of emotivity are highlighted in directive speech acts. The particle *va* marks the speaker's conclusive remarks and checks whether the hearer follows the speaker's explanation. However, utterance final *va* may also be used as a demonstrative particle, found in initial or medial position. Although the current study does not provide conclusive evidence for the categorial status of the particles under analysis, it illustrates their functional distinction on the right periphery, also attested in Germanic and other languages (Hancil et al. 2015).

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ജ

Finite verb placement and accentuation in Estonian main clauses

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Keywords: sentence prosody

Schedule: Thu 14.30 Room 10

In Estonian main clauses, the verb is generally in the second position (e.g. Lindström 2017). As an exception, the verb may be in the third position; in this case, it is usually preceded by a weak pronominal subject, and a fronted adverbial (Vihman and Walkden 2017) or contrastive topic (Sahkai and Tamm, ms.). In addition to the V2/V3 orders, certain types of main clauses may be verb-initial or verb-final (Lindström 2017).

The aim of the present study is to examine a further finite verb position, which has not been previously described; it could be referred to as 'clause-medial' (1-3). This position can be observed in the respective placement of verbs and non-fronted sentence adverbials. In V2 sentences (and the V3 sentences of the kind described above), non-fronted sentence adverbials follow the finite verb, while in the examined case, they precede it. The examined sentences differ from the V3 sentences described above in two more respects: the verb may be preceded by more than two constituents, and all the constituents preceding it may be phonologically heavy. The examined position also differs from the clause-final position in that it is not completely final, the verb being followed by any internal arguments and VP adverbials.

(1)   *Tema   hinnangu-l*   *EVP*   *hind*
     *lähiajal   ilmselt   **tõuse-b**   *pisut.*
     3SG.GEN estimate-ADE   EVP.GEN   price.NOM   soon   probably   rise-
3SG   a.little
     'According to his estimates the price of the EVP will soon probably rise a little.'

(2)   *Faasani-d*   *vist*   *juba*   ***kisa-sid***
                         nälja-st.
     pheasant-NOM.PL probably   already scream-PAST.3PL   hunger-ELA
     'The pheasants probably already screamed with hunger.'

(3)   *Politseinik*   *tavaliselt*   ***esitle-b***   *ennast.*
     policeman.NOM   usually   introduce-3SG   self.PAR
     'A policeman usually introduces himself.'

The paper will present the results of a corpus study aimed at examining sentences with a clause-medial verb in comparison with V2 sentences. The data consists of main clauses that contain adverb-verb and verb-adverb sequences consisting of different types of non-fronted sentence adverbials in combination with a 3rd person verb form.

In particular, the study will test the hypothesis that the clause-medial verb position occurs in sentences where the verb would receive the nuclear (last) pitch accent. The hypothesis is inspired by the observation of Remmel (1963:321) that an accented main clause predicate occurs generally at the end of the clause or at least later than its usual position, suggesting that both the clause-final and the clause-medial verb position are related to prosody.

The accentuation of the verb will be determined on the basis of previous findings on verb accentuation in Estonian, which suggest that a finite verb receives the nuclear accent when it is a simplex predicate that is in focus without an accentable argument (Sahkai and Veismann 2015). The study will thus test the prediction that in the adverb-verb sequences (the clause-medial position) the verb is in focus without an accentable argument, whereas in the verb-adverb sequences (the second position) it does not.

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Insubordination in Spanish wh-interrogatives

María Sol Sansiñena & Malte Rosemeyer

☙

Atolls, islands and endless suburbia: Space and landscape in Marshallese

Jonathan Schlossberg
(University of Newcastle)

Keywords: spatial reference, frames of reference, lexical semantics, variation and change

The nature of the relationship between spatial reference and the physical landscape has recently become of considerable scholarly interest (Majid et al. 2004; Bohnemeyer et al. 2014; Palmer 2015). In this paper I discuss findings based on data collected from Marshallese speakers living in three disparate topographies: an atoll (Jaluit), a non-atoll island (Kili) and an inland urban environment (Springdale, Arkansas). In the case of both Kili and Springdale, the communities are the result of relatively recent migration, therefore allowing for direct analytical access to how communities shape their systems of spatial reference to the landscapes they find themselves inhabiting.

On the basis of a mixed-methods approach, including quantitative analyses and ethnographic inquiry, along with traditional language documentation and description techniques, I explore the Marshallese conceptualisation of space via two of the most commonly-invoked coordinate systems of linguistic spatial reference.

The first is *(i)ar-lik*, which has traditionally been translated as a lagoonward-oceanward axis. However, these terms are also employed on islands like Kili which do have a lagoon. Here I use a mixture of historical-comparative evidence and ethnographic interviews to show that the translation 'calm side – back side' better captures the underlying senses of the terms.

The second is the Marshallese cardinal system. I use evidence from the unusual use of cardinals on Kili (where the 'north-south axis' runs parallel to the 'east-west axis'), as well as testing of cardinal knowledge in Jaluit and Springdale, to demonstrate that individual cardinals are locally-anchored for the majority of Marshallese speakers, functioning more like landmarks rather than true cardinals.

In addition, other aspects of Marshallese spatial reference are discussed more briefly, including the use of terms for 'left' and 'right' which are rare in the Marshall Islands, but common in Springdale, as well as the use of landmarks, which overwhelmingly tend to be larger and more distant in the Marshall Islands (schools, houses, airports, etc.) but more immediate and accessible in Springdale (walls, doors, televisions, etc.). Together, this use of egocentric terms and more *ad hoc* landmarks indicates that the Springdale community is moving away from a geocentric worldview, and provides evidence for the possibility that use of the relative frame of reference is more likely in urban environments (see Majid et al. 2014).

Finally, these findings are then discussed within the framework of a Socio-Topographic Correspondence Model (Palmer et al. 2017) to illustrate how the relationship Marshallese people have with their local environments – both historically and presently – shapes their linguistic system of spatial reference.

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Mental schemas in production and perception

Eleonore Schmitt
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Keywords: self-paced reading, German morphology, language variation

Schedule: Sa 10.00 Room 5

The role of mental schemas has been discussed with regard to different cases of morphological variation (Bybee and Molder 1983, Bybee 1985, Köpcke 1999). The idea that a certain set of formal features is associated with a certain kind of inflection has been put forward, e.g. for English irregular verbs (Bybee and Molder 1983). For German, the influence of schematicity has been proposed for nouns belonging to the so-called weak declension class (Köpcke 1999). In contrast to the more frequent so-called strong declension class, the weak declension class marks the genitive with *-n* instead of *-s* and is highly specified as it is prototypically associated with polysyllabic nouns stressed on the penultimate syllable, ending with schwa, and referring to animate referents, e.g. *der Matróse* 'the sailor'. The existence of this schema has been corroborated by corpus studies and production tasks (Schäfer 2016, Köpcke 2000). However, studies on the perception of this schema are missing so far.

In this talk, the perspective on mental schemas is complemented by testing their plausibility using a psycholinguistic paradigm. With the help of a self-paced reading (spr) task, the reading times of the genitive suffixes *-n* and *-s* are compared. To eliminate the influence of token frequency, pseudo-nouns are used. The pseudo-nouns – taken from a production task by Köpcke (2000) – are associated with the weak declension class to a different extent: *Schettóse* represents the prototype of the weak declension class, *des Schettosen* should therefore be preferred over *des Schettoses*. *Knatt* could belong to both classes. Hence, *Knatten* and *Knatts* should be possible. In contrast, *Grettel* cannot belong to the weak declension class as nouns ending with *-el* never show this declension pattern. To control for animacy, all nouns were introduced as referring to humans. 52 German native speakers read short texts in the style of an encyclopedia article. The pseudo-nouns were always used with a definite article in genitive case, e.g. *Somit war das Amt **des Schettosen/s** offensichtlich ein verantwortungsvoller Posten* 'Hence, the function of the Schettose was obviously a responsible post'. A within-subject design was

used in which each pseudo-noun was included twice, once with the weak and once with the strong genitive suffix. In addition to the spr task, participants completed a production task including the pseudo-nouns. Hence, the study allows for comparing production and perception of mental schemas.

The results lend strong support to the hypothesis that mental schemas can account for the results of the production task. While *Knatt* varies between *des Knatten* and *des Knatts*, *Schettose* shows a strong preference for the weak ending and *Grettel* for the strong ending (χ^2-test: $p < 0.001$, Cramer's V = 0.68). However, these results are not mirrored in reading time. Here, the endings have been read in a similar speed on average. Only *des Gretteln* elicited statistically longer reading times than *des Grettels* (t-test: $p < 0.05$). Hence, the results lead to the conclusion that schemas influence language production but may play a less significant role in language perception.

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☙

What connects predicates like *be certain* and *believe* and what divides them?

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Keywords: predicates embedding of if-clauses, polarity sensitivity, antonymy, complementarity, neg-raising

Schedule: Fri 11.30 Room 4

Predicates like *be certain* and *believe* have propositional arguments and thus can embed *that*-clauses. *Be certain*, which like *know*, is regarded as a responsive predicate, can co-occur with interrogatives if it is in the scope of a non-veridical operator: (1) Tom is not certain if Mary will come. The latter observation is intriguing since *be certain* and *believe* are subjectively veridical in terms of Giannakidou 2013, but only *be certain* allows an *if*-clause if it is in the scope of a non-veridical operator. Additionally, *believe* goes along with 'neg-raising' contrary to *be certain*: (2) Tom doesn't believe that Mary will come. ⟺ T believes that M will not come.

There are various approaches trying to explain the observation exemplified with (1), the most recent ones being Mayr 2017 and Öhl (to appear). They aim at an analysis that treats matrix predicates that allow *that-* as well as *if-*clauses alike by saying that these predicates always affect propositions. In contrast to Mayr's and Öhl's analyses, my analysis manages without "exhaustification", which is proposed by Mayr, and "(blocked) extensionalization" being advocated for by Öhl. In my analysis, the *if-*clause combines with a responsive matrix predicate by means of an operator, which is an extension of Adger & Quer's 2001 polarity sensitive operator. It applies the interrogative 'if p' to the matrix predicate provided the latter is either objectively veridical like *know* or polarity sensitive like *be certain*. As for an *if-*clause and *be certain* as given in (1), this yields the informally given logical form: (3) Tom is not certain that p (Mary is in Rome) and he is not certain that not p. (3) reveals that *be certain* is contrarily antonymic. That is, it allows the epistemic states i. 'T is certain that p' (c_t p), ii. 'T is not certain that p' ($\neg c_t$ p), iii. '$c_t \neg$p', and iv. '$\neg c_t \neg$p', with *i* and *iii* being contrary and *ii* and *iv* being consistent as shown in (3). As to *believe*, it allows, similarly to *be certain*, i. 'T believes that p' (b_t p), ii. $\neg b_t$ p, iii. $b_t \neg$p, and iv. $\neg b_t \neg$p. But contrary to *be certain*, it excludes the consistency of *ii* and *iv*, provided the epistemic subject has any epistemic attitude towards p. The complementarity of *i* and *iii* (4b) and of *ii* and *iv* (4a) lead to neg-raising ' $b_f \neg$ p $\Leftrightarrow \neg$ b_f p' as shown in (4c)

(4) a. $(\neg (\neg b_f p \wedge \neg b_f \neg p)$ $\Leftrightarrow$ $(\neg b_f \neg p \Rightarrow b_f p) \Leftrightarrow (\neg b_f p \Rightarrow b_f \neg p)$

 b. $(\neg (b_f p \wedge b_f \neg p))$ $\Leftrightarrow$ $(b_f p \Rightarrow \neg b_f \neg p)$ $\Leftrightarrow$ $(b_f \neg p \Rightarrow \neg b_f p)$

 c. $(a \wedge b)$ $\Leftrightarrow$ $((b_f p \Leftrightarrow \neg b_f \neg p) \wedge (b_f \neg p \Leftrightarrow \neg b_f p))$

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⌀

Subjectivity, inferencing and epistemic commitment: the modal verb *deure* and the attitudinal category in Modern Catalan

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Keywords: semantics, modality, evidentiality, corpus, cognitive-functional linguistics

Schedule: We 11.30 Room 9

Modality and evidentiality have been included as qualificational categories, together with time and aspect. However, as Nuyts (2017) points out, modality and evidentiality differ from time and aspect in

that the former are not coherent categories at all. Only inferential evidentiality, epistemic modality and deontic modality share some semantic features, and therefore they are considered attitudinal categories (Nuyts 2005, 2017). Other notions, however, such as hearsay and direct evidentiality are excluded from attitudinal domains. It is also relevant that obligation is distinguished from deontic modality: unlike the traditional conception, Nuyts (2005) and Nuyts *et al*. (2010) argue that deontic modality refers to the degree of moral acceptability of the state of affairs, and therefore it is an attitudinal category, whereas obligation is a speech-act notion in which the speaker is ordering to someone to do something.

Among the attitudinal categories, epistemic modality and inferential evidentiality have not been settled clearly (Nuyts & van der Auwera 2016, Cornillie 2009 and Boye 2012). Although traditionally the non-deontic reading of modal verbs such as English *must* or French *devoir* has been qualified as epistemic, there are several studies arguing that the essential element in these constructions is actually evidential (Dendale 1994, Cornillie 2007 and Squartini 2008).

The aim of this presentation is to describe the semantic meanings and pragmatics of the modal auxiliary *deure* ('must') in Modern Catalan, focusing on colloquial registers and assessing diatopic variation. We deal with its semantic properties (speaker commitment, performativity, scalarity, (inter)subjectivity and scope) and show its inferential or epistemic nature. Likewise, we contrast these data with other evidential and modal constructions (such as *poder* 'can', *haver de* 'have to', *em sembla que* 'it seems to me that', *es veu que* 'it seems that', etc.), following Nuyts' (2017) proposal on the qualificational hierarchy.

This is a corpus-based study with data from several diatopic corpora (*COD, COC*, *Parlars*) and diachronic ones (*CICA, CIMTAC, CTILC, CIVAL)*. From the theoretical perspective, our study adopts a functional-cognitive approach (Nuyts 2005, 2017, Traugott & Trousdale 2013 and Langacker 1987, 1991, 2006).

Catalan *deure* is a subjective polysemic modal verb with an inferential core meaning (1), and different degrees of reliability. However, a fully subjective epistemic extension is found (2-3):

(1)   *Pues en sa primavera **deu ser**, que és quan hei ha més herbes. (COD)*
        'Well, it **must be** in spring, because it is when there are more herbs'
(2)   *La caseta eixa qui la **degue fer**?*
        'Who **must have built** that house?'
(3)   *–No cal que agafes les ulleres de sol, oi? –Sortirà poc [el sol], però **deurà sortir**, no?*
        [Packing to travel to England] 'You don't need your sunglasses, don't you? –There won't come out much, but **I suppose it will come out**, won't it?'

The semantic configuration of *deure* sketched above is the result of the diachronic evolution and grammaticalization of the modal verb (Sentí 2015a, 2015b, 2017). It is also worth mentioning that in some varieties *deure* has preserved a deontic reading. Nuyts' (2005) qualificational hierarchy, which distinguishes deontic modality from obligation, reveals to be crucial to explain the semantics of this reading and its relation with other deontic verbs (*haver de*).

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CIVAL = Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua: *Corpus Informatitzat del Valencià*.

COC = Payrató, Lluís & Núria Alturo (ed.) (2002): *Corpus oral de conversa col·loquial. Materials de treball*. Barcelona: Publicacions de la Universitat de Barcelona.

COD = *Corpus oral dialectal*.

Parlars = *Parlars. Corpus oral del valencià col·loquial*.

CTILC = Institut d'Estudis Catalans: *Corpus textual informatitzat de la llengua catalana*.

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✍

Grammatical nominalisations in Yoron Ryukyuan

Tohru Seraku & Tohyama Nana

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Schedule: We 15.30 Room 7

Grammatical Nomialisation (GN) structurally alters a non-NP element to an NP-like element (e.g. *Tom sleeps > Tom's sleeping*). In Ryukyuan languages, GN has not been extensively studied (Rieser and Shirata 2014, Shibatani and Shigeno 2013, and Shinzato 2011). Based on fieldwork data, we describe GN in Yoron Ryukyuan (spoken on Yoron island, Japan). This language variety distinguishes four GN-related items:

・ *-ɕi* and *-ɸutu* are productive nominaliser in that (i) they are attached to various types of predicate (i.e. verb, adjective, nominal predicate), (ii) they realise both GB and GL nominalisations (see below), and (iii) they derive a number of constructions (e.g. clefts).

・ *munu*, which serves as a nominaliser in other Ryukyuan languages, behaves as a formal noun. In some (but not all) cases, *-ɕi* alters with *munu*; this distribution follows from the structural-semantic nature of *munu*-examples.

・ Zero nominalisations are unproductive in that they appear only in fixed expressions or constructions.

We concentrate on *-ɕi*, though the other types of nominalisation are occasionally mentioned in comparison with *-ɕi* in the presentation.

In general, grammatical nominalisation is structurally divided into two types:

・ Gap-based (GB) nominalisation: the nominalised part involves a "gap."
・ Gap-less (GL) nominalisation: the nominalised part does not involve a "gap."

-ɕi realises these two types of nominalisation.

(1)   [*Mari-ga*   *ɕigu-ta*]-*ɕa:*   *na-tɕa-n*
        [M-NOM   hit-PST]-NMNS.TOP   cry-PST-IND
        'The one who Mari hit cried.' <**GB** nominalisation>

(2)   [*Mari-ga*   *Naomi ɕigu-ta*]-*ɕa:*   *wassa-i*
        [M-NOM   N.ACC hit-PST]-NOMS.TOP   merciless-EVID
        'It is merciless that Mari hit Naomi.' <**GL** nominalisation>

In (1), the nominalised part has a gap at the object position of *ɕigu-* 'hit.' The nominalised part denotes the person who Mari hit, and it functions as the subject of *na-* 'cry.' In (2), the nominalised part lacks a gap; it denotes the event where Mari hit Naomi, and it functions as the subject of *wassa-* 'merciless.'

   -ɕi is used to constitute cleft constructions and certain types of relative construction (i.e. "change-relatives," "genitive-marked relatives").

(3)   [*mari-ga*   *tɕuku-ta*]-*ɕa:*   *anu*   *rjo:ri-e-N*
        [M-NOM cook-PST]-NOMS.TOP   that   meal-COP-IND
        'It is that meal that Mari cooked.' <**cleft** construction>

(4)   [*kibja:-nu*   *ɸumakuhaiki-tɕa*]-*ɕi*   *tɕiko:-ta-n*
        [scallion-GEN   finely   cut-PST]-NOMS.ACC   use-PST-IND
        'I used the scallions that were cut finely.' <**genitive-marked relative** construction>

In particular, the "genitive-marked relative" is cross-linguistically uncommon; it is found in Japanese but not in Korean and Mandarin (other East Asian languages) (Hiraiwa 2012: 381).

   -ɕi also has a use in what Yap et al. (2011) call "stance constructions," where a whole sentence is nominalised and expresses, e.g., the speaker's emotion towards the content of the nominalised part.

(5)   [Situation: The speaker sees a child cry suddenly.]
         wai   [*haɕɕi-gadi*   *nakjuː*]-*ɕi*
         INTJ   [that.much-LMT   cry]-NOMS
         'Oh, that child cries so much.' <**stance** construction>

In (5), the speaker expresses her surprise about the crying child. As in the cases of other languages, "stance constructions" in Yoron Ryukyuan constitute a heterogeneous set, where one finds a range of other types of data than (5).

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Differential object marking, word order and verb adjacency in Komi

Natalia Serdobolskaya & Svetlana Toldova

<pdf>

Schedule: We 17.30 Room 9

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Evolution of bound person indexes: the dynamic-typology approach

Ilja Seržant

<pdf>

Schedule: Thu 9.30 Room 7

⌀

Towards a typology of participial systems

Ksenia Shagal
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Keywords: participles, relative clauses, typology, TAM, morphosyntactic alignment

Schedule: Thu 16.00 Room 7

This study is a typological survey of participial systems, i.e. paradigms of non-finite verb forms employed for adnominal modification that are attested in individual languages. The study is based on the data from 86 genetically and geographically diverse languages possessing the relevant forms. The main goal is to provide a comprehensive overview of participial systems and parameters underlying them, and to discuss certain cross-linguistic tendencies related to these matters.

Setting aside the languages that have only one participial form, we can notice that participial systems in the world's languages are primarily based on orientation (relativizing capacity of the forms, cf. Haspelmath 1994: 153), TAM distinctions, or the intersection of the two.

Orientation-based systems mostly consist of inherently oriented participles, i.e. forms that can only relativize one particular participant. Four types of oppositions are attested in the systems of this kind:
1. active (S/A) vs. passive (P), e.g. Wolio (Austronesian, Indonesia, Anceaux 1952);
2. absolutive (S/P) vs. agentive (A), e.g. Urarina (isolate, Peru, Olawsky 2006);
3. subject (S/A) vs. non-subect, e.g. Dolakha Newar (Sino-Tibetan, Nepal, Genetti 2007);
4. active vs. passive vs. oblique, e.g. Warihio (Uto-Aztecan, Mexico, Félix Armendáriz 2005).

When a language has several participial forms exhibiting the same type of participial orientation (in this case, almost always contextual), the participial system of the language is usually based on TAM distinctions demonstrated by the forms. The distinctions themselves can belong to different subdomains within TAM. For instance, Nanga (Dogon, Mali, Heath, ms.), differentiates between perfective and imperfective participles, while Tamil (Dravidian, India, Lehmann 1993: 284) has an opposition between future and non-future.

Although orientation and TAM can form participial systems on their own, it is fairly common for languages to have participial systems based on both parameters simultaneously. Interestingly, hardly any of these languages have symmetric systems where the two parameters are independent from each other. All of them have at least some deficiencies in their paradigms, e.g. English does not have either a present passive participle or a past active form.

As a result of the study, two typological generalizations can be formulated concerning the organization of participial systems. First, if a language has a participial form inherently oriented towards a certain participant, then it has participial forms inherently oriented towards all the participants more accessible to relativization. This can be regarded as an extension of the Keenan & Comrie's (1977) Accessibility Hierarchy related specifically to participles. Second, based on the fact that almost all participial systems considered in the study are asymmetric if they are based on both orientation and TAM characteristics of participial forms, we can conclude that these parameters are interrelated, which reflects the mixed nature of the participle as a hybrid (verbal–adjectival) category. This observation is also in line with the earlier studies on interrelation between morphosyntactic

alignment and TAM, such as DeLancey (1981), and it supports the semantic and pragmatic nature of this connection.

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ℐ

What are Hill Mari "collective numerals"?

Maria Sidorova
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Keywords: Uralic, morphosyntax, semantics, typology, secondary predication, anaphora

Schedule: Sa 12.30 Room 2

This paper focuses on the so-called "collective numerals" (CNs) in Hill Mari (Finno-Ugric). The data comes from the fieldwork in the village of Kuznetsovo (Mari El, Russia) and nearby villages in 2016–2017. I will show that, actually lacking obligatory collective interpretation, they differ both from cardinal numerals and from each other in a number of semantic and syntactic features, which has not been described for Hill Mari yet. Neither have such patterns been elaborated on in broad typological research on numeral systems.

Nominal "collectivity" can be expressed by different types of markers, but a general problem is that the term "collective" has a huge variety of uses both cross-linguistically and for individual languages, covering quite a few heterogenous entities (Gil 1996: 66–70; Corbett 2000: 117). A similar problem concerns "collective numerals", which still lack a full-scale research (see e.g. Gil 1982: 36).

A very salient example of CNs are those in the Slavic languages (Suprun 1969: 35–38; Kim 2009). They are sensible to a noun's gender, animacy and to whether it is pluralia tantum. Items traditionally considered as CNs in Slavic function as modifiers of a head noun. However, some Slavic CNs have no obligatory collective interpretation (Kim 2009: 187), which poses a question about the adequate label for them.

I will contribute to this issue with Hill Mari data. A special focus will be put on some peculiar anaphoric properties of these numerals.

There are three different entities traditionally treated as collective numerals in Hill Mari (Alhoniemi 1993: 96–98; Savatkova 2002: 153–155), see Table 1. All the three series differ considerably.

Table 1. Collective series (derived from cardinal *kə̂m* '3' / *kə̂m-ə̂t* '3-FULL')

DERIVATION	+ adverbializer *-ə̂n*	+ *-n'-* + POSS & CASE	+ comitative-like *-n'ek*
EXAMPLE	*kə̂m-ə̂t-ə̂n*	*kə̂m-ə̂n'-na-m*	*kə̂m-ə̂n'ek*
GLOSS	3-FULL-ADV	3-COLL-1PL.POSS-ACC	3-COLL

Semantically, CNs formed with *-n'ek* are exhaustive and denote a pre-defined set. The other two series refer only to entities with a higher position in Animacy Hierarchy (mainly human) and are not necessarily exhaustive. The most confusing is that none of these series has a constraint on distributive / collective interpretation.

As regards morphosyntax, CN types demonstrate different anaphoric properties. As claimed by Alhoniemi (1993: 97), numerals with *-n'ek* refer only to a noun in Subj(ect) or DO position. However, according to my data, *-n'ek*-series are co-indexed mainly with DO (1) (for some speakers also with inanimate Subj), whereas *-ə̂n*-numerals co-index only with Subj (2).

(1) *mä*$_i$ *nə̂nə̂-län*$_j$ *podarka-vlä-m*$_k$ ***kə̂m-ə̂n'ek***$_{k/*i/*j}$ *podar-en-nä.*
    we   those-DAT   present-PL-ACC   3-FULL-ADV
         give_a_present-PFV-1PL
    'We gave them **all three presents**'.

(2) *mä*$_i$ *nə̂nə̂-län*$_j$ *podarka-vlä-m*$_k$ ***kə̂m-ə̂t-ə̂n***$_{i/*j/*k}$ *podar-en-nä.*
    we   those-DAT   present-PL-ACC   3-FULL-ADV
         give_a_present-PFV-1PL
    '**We (three persons)** gave them presents'.

The third type of "collective" numerals can co-index with different types of Obj(ect) (3), but not with a Subj noun, as forms like **kə̂m-ə̂n'-ə̂štə̂* '3-COLL-3PL.POSS' without an overt case marker are not permitted in nominative. However, they exist in postpositional constructions (^{OK}*kə̂m-ə̂n'-ə̂štə̂ dokə̂* 'towards three (persons), lit.: 3-COLL-3PL.POSS towards').

(3) *mä*$_i$ *nə̂nə̂-län*$_j$ ***kə̂m-ə̂n'-ə̂štə̂-lan***$_{j/*i/*k}$ *podarka-vlä-m*$_k$ *podar-en-nä.*
    we   those-DAT   3-FULL-ADV   present-PL-ACC   give_a_present-PFV-1PL
    'We gave **them (three persons)**'.

To sum up, Hill Mari numerals, known as CNs, occur in distributive contexts, so they do not indicate collectivity. Instead, they are involved in a variety of oppositions beyond collectivity itself and have a number of morphosyntactic features (Table 2), which also distinguish them from cardinal numerals. I will discuss a possible analysis stemming from Himmelmann, Schultze-Berndt (eds.) (2005), Büring (2005), Madariaga (2006), Ahn (2015) and compare Hill Mari system with CNs in some other Finno-Ugric languages (relying on my field data from Moksha Mordvin, Khanty and Komi-Zyrian).

Table 2. Summary

SERIES	*-∂n*	*-n'-* + POSS & CASE	*-n'ek*
ANIMACY	animate	animate	mainly inanimate
EXHAUSTIVENESS	−	−	+
DISTRIBUTION	adverbial	NP	NP
ANAPHORA	subject	DO, IO, Obl	DO, subject

Abbreviations

ACC — accusative; ADV — adverbializer; COLL — collective; DAT — dative; EL — elative; FULL — full form; PL — plural; POSS — possessive; PFV — perfective.

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EVEN: Syntax-Pragmatics Matches and Mismatches

Shu-ing Shyu

(National Sun Yat-sen University, Kaohsiung)

Keywords: focus, conventional implicature, quantification domain

Schedule: We 16.30 Room 9

As pioneered in Karttunen and Peters K&P (1979), it has largely been acknowledged that English *even* evokes conventional implicatures (Horn 1969; K&P 1979; Krifka 1991; Francescotti 1995; Wilkinson 1996; Lahiri 1998; Nakanishi 2012 among others): an existential implicature, in which a set of alternatives to the focus (focus quantification domain) is triggered, and a scalar implicature, in which the asserted *even*-focus is placed at the lower/lowest degree of a contextually relevant likelihood scale (e.g., Fauconnier 1975a, b). One issue among the studies of EVEN concerns whether there exist lexically polysemous *even*'s (Rooth 1985) on account of the ambiguous interpretations when *even* is embedded in a downward entailing context. The lexical theory (Rooth 1985) suggests two lexical *even*'s (regular $even_p$ and negative polarity $even_n$). However, in defending K&P's (1979) scope theory, Wilkinson (1996) has managed to derive the felicitous interpretation parallel to that of Rooth's $even_n$ without recourse to the lexical distinction.

While the scope theory may well reflect the implicatures triggered by *even* (syntax-pragmatics match)*,* there are cases where the focus quantification domain of *even* are not readily syntactically apparent, but contextually determined (Kay 1990, Bercksman 1993, etc.), syntax-pragmatics mismatch. Unlike English, Mandarin Chinese (MC) has two constructions of expressing EVEN: the *lian…dou* 'including…all' construction (1) and the use of focus adverb *shenzhi, jingran* in (2); see Paris (1979, 1991), Shyu (1995, 2004, 2018), Hole (2004); Badan and Del Gobbo (2015), Yuan (2008), Liao (2016), etc.

(6)　　　　　　　*Zhangsan* **shenzhi**　　　　　　*du-guo*
　　　Syntactic Structures.

　　　　　　　　　　　　'Zhangsan **even** has read *Syntactic Structure*.'
(7)　　　　　*Zhangsan*　　**lian**　　**Syntactic Structures**　　***dou***
　　kan-guo.
　　　　　　Zhangsan　　　LIAN　S.S.
　　　　　　　　　　　　DOU　　　read-
Exp

Particularly Shyu (2004, 2018) has shown that the conventional interpretations predicted by the scope theory can be derived in *lian…dou* sentences (syntax-pragmatics match). However, cases that conventional implicatures are not readily apparent (syntax-pragmatics mismatch) are expressed by the default EVEN *shenzhi* sentences.

On account of the above discrepancies between *lian…dou* and *shenzhi*, this paper first articulates their asymmetric conditions and investigates how the impossible *lian…dou* sentences can be better explained in consideration of the presupposition and pragmatic inferences (e.g. Kay 1990, 2005). Secondly, this paper further presents authentic examples (from United Daily Newspaper, UDN) in which *lian…dou* deviates from its canonical implicatures and usurps the semantics of *shenzhi*. Particularly in some subject-predication sentences, the focus quantification domain does not follow what the *lian*-focused subject normally evokes (e.g., *Lian* subject *dou* VP); the *lian*-subject is not necessarily new information, and the whole sentence is focused in the context of the news reported. It is suggested that focus association may override the focus quantification domain encoded in the syntax of *lian…dou*. Eventually it is suggested that the study of EVEN should take into consideration of interfaces of syntax, semantics and pragmatics, as evidenced in Mandarin cases in which pragmatic inferences are not unconstrained.

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<div align="center">ℬ</div>

Deriving richer picture of traditional variational features of Finnish dialects using digital corpora: The cases of vowel stems in nouns and impersonal forms instead of 1st person plural forms in verbs

Mari Siiroinen & Rigina Ajanki
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Keywords: Finnish dialects, digital corpora, impersonal, 1st person plural, vowel stem consonant stem

Schedule: We 15.00 Room 4

Present paper will show that using newly digitalized dialect corpora we get a far more richer picture of the areal distribution of variational phenomena. Our study is made by using the three corpora listed in the end.

In this presentation, we focus on two morphosyntactic phenomena of colloquial Finnish: i. the change from consonant stem to vowel stem and ii. the replacement of traditional first person plural verb form with an impersonal verb form. The two phenomena occur everywhere in spoken Finnish regardless of regional and social boundaries, with no remarkable variation in respect to age or gender (see Mantila 2004). In Auer's (2008) terms, the phenomena are reflected in non-standard language data displaying degree of structural regularity or consistency.

Heikki Paunonen (2003) pointed out that these two on-going changes will change the Finnish basic morphology and syntax considerably in future. Our aim is to illustrate that with the new digital corpora we can track more precisely **where** these changes have started spreading out. In the end, we will also address the question **why** these features of dialects have started to spread.

i.   Spread of vowel stems in nouns

Some of the Finnish nouns display two stems in forming the many Finnish case forms. The vowel stem is used in certain cases and the consonant stem is used only in certain other cases, see examples 1 and 2.

1. 'island'		2. 'knife'	
Nominative	*saari*	*veitsi*	
Genitive	*saare-n* (vowel stem *saare-*)	*veitse-n* (vowel stem *veitse-*)	
Partitive	*saar-ta* (consonant stem *saar-*)	*veis-tä* (consonant stem *veis-*)	

For some decades, there has been an ongoing morphological change from consonant stems to vowel stems (Bussenius 1939, Itkonen 1976). This has been come what puzzling to Finnish dialectologists: why the change?

ii.   Replacement of 1PL verbal forms by impersonal forms

In contemporary spoken Finnish you hear seldom the traditional verb form for first person plural. Instead, the impersonal (called traditionally passive in Finnish grammar) is used. In Example 3, the standard and the colloquial variants to encode the meaning 'we are', and in Example 4 for 'we buy' are illustrated.

3. 'we are'		4. 'we buy'	
Standard	Colloquial	Standard	Colloquial
ole-mme	*me ol-laan*	*osta-mme*	*me oste-taan*
be-1PL	we be-PASS	buy-1PL	we buy-PASS

This has started spreading out in eastern dialects in the 18th century and has now reached nearly all the dialects (Nirvi 1947, Pertilä 2000).

Dialect corpora used:
The Helsinki Korp Version of Samples of Spoken Finnish
http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-2015040101
Digital Morphology Archives
http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-2016032102
The Finnish Dialect Syntax Archive's Helsinki Korp Version
http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-2014052715

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⌀

Expressions of epistemic modality and evidentials in Desano (Eastern Tukanoan)

Wilson De Lima Silva, Scott AnderBois
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Schedule: Thu 12.00 Room 7

In this paper, we provide a description of epistemic modals and evidential markers in Desano [ISO 639-3: des], a highly endangered Eastern Tukanoan language spoken in Brazil and Colombia. Specifically, we investigate the relationship between epistemic modality and evidentiality and how these notions are expressed in Desano. Based on data extracted from narratives and dialogues, Silva (2012) identifies six evidential markers in Desano, coding attested (visual *-ø* vs. nonvisual *-ku*), reported (secondhand/hearsay *-yõ* vs. thirdhand/folklore *-yũ*) and inference (result '-ya' vs. reasoning '-ka').

Following Michael (2008), we take evidentials and epistemic modals to be notionally distinct. In the typological literature, epistemic modality is characterized a grammatical category that indicates the degree of certainty that a speaker has about what is uttered (Palmer 1986), whereas evidentiality is a linguistic category that indicates source of information (Aikhenvald 2004). Although these two definitions seem to make a clear distinction between the two categories, it can be difficult to distinguish between them because of the intrinsic relationship between source of information and certainty. Furthermore, in some languages, an individual morpheme may express both of these categories (cf. Faller 2002 on Cuzco Quechua *-chá*).

In this paper, we address the following research questions: (i) Do all of the Desano evidentials really have evidence source as their semantics, as opposed to epistemic modality? And (ii) In regards to the null *-ø* visual evidential, does it encode 'direct visual' evidence or does it encode "Best Possible Grounds" as Faller (2002) claims for Cuzco Quechua? We take a cross-linguistic typological approach to answering these questions. The data was collected using two distinct methodologies: an elicitation task (cf. Matthewson 2004; AnderBois & Henderson 2015) involving describing a (possibly hypothetical) scenario to a Desano speaker who then provided a sentence in Desano that best fits the scenario described; and a gameplay methodology (cf. Silva & AnderBois 2016) for eliciting naturalistic (i.e. conversational) data targeting epistemic notions and evidentials based on reasoning in Desano.

This paper provides the first systematic analysis of modality and evidentiality in Desano, considering both semantic and pragmatic criteria. We show that pragmatics also plays a role in the choice of modal and/or evidential marker used in a given situation. In light of these new data, we propose that Silva (2012)'s proposal of *-ø* as 'VISUAL' could be best analyzed not as a null morpheme, but as the absence of any evidential morpheme at all (or as a necessity modal) with the apparent 'VISUAL' meaning being due to pragmatic competition with the other evidential forms. We additionally propose that Silva (2012)'s 'REASONING' marker *-ka* might be best analyzed as having a semantic restriction to 'INFERRING' with the perceived restriction to 'REASONING' being due to pragmatic competition with the more specific *-ya* 'RESULT'. Similar sorts of competition may also be happening with the reportative evidentials. While we focused on modal and evidential markers in one language, the basic idea is extensible to other languages, thus allowing comparison of the semantics and pragmatic meanings expressed by these categories cross-linguistically.

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⌀

Negation and intersubjectivity in contrastive constructions

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Keywords: contrastive negation, English, Finnish, Interactional linguistics

Schedule: Thu 14.30 Room 12

Negative constructions are known to scope over content that is either discourse-active or can be accommodated by the hearer (see e.g. Givón 1978, Tottie 1991). To use Givón's (1978:80) classic example, an utterance like *Oh, my wife's not pregnant* is infelicitous if the possibility of the wife's pregnancy has not been entertained. Negation thus participates in the coordination of the cognitive states of interlocutors, i.e. intersubjectivity. With some exceptions (Verhagen 2005; Deppermann 2014), however, the intersubjective character of negation has largely been left unexplored.

Intersubjectivity is a highly contested notion even within cognitive-functional linguistics (Verhagen 2005, Zlatev et al. 2008, Traugott 2010, Ghesquière, Brems & Van de Velde 2012, Nuyts 2012, Krawczak 2016), not to mention more generally (Schiffrin 1990, Schegloff 1992). In broad terms, two groups of definitions may be discerned. Interactional definitions (Schiffrin, Schegloff, Verhagen) treat intersubjectivity as an underlying principle in communication: interlocutors often (but not always) work towards attaining a shared understanding (Schiffrin 1990:143). By contrast, grammatical definitions (Traugott, Nuyts) treat intersubjectivity as a grammaticalising feature of certain constructions, contrasting with objectivity and subjectivity; while subjective evaluations are ascribed exclusively to the speaker, intersubjective evaluations are construed as belonging to not only the speaker but also other parties, which may or may not include the hearer (Nuyts 2006:14). Previous studies on the intersubjectivity of negation have mainly used interactional definitions.

The empirical focus of this presentation will be on contrastive negation (McCawley 1991), i.e. constructs that combine a negative and an affirmative part, the latter replacing the former in the discourse universe. Examples from English are given in (1)–(4):

(1) Shaken, not stirred

(2) Not stirred but shaken

(3) Not stirred – shaken.

(4) I don't want my martini stirred; I want it shaken.

Using conversational data from English and Finnish (the spoken BNC for English, Arkisyn for Finnish), the presentation will ask whether and to what extent we can characterise contrastive negation as an intersubjective construction type and which theoretical constructs of intersubjectivity are most suited to this task. The analysis suggests that several notions of intersubjectivity are applicable to contrastive negation, but they capture different aspects of it. Contrastive negation is shown to co-occur with other markers of intersubjective alignment such as mental and communication verbs (*I mean, I said*) and adverbs (*siis* 'so, in other words') and it may target views ascribed to the speaker or hearer. This is compatible with an interactional definition of intersubjectivity. On the other hand, in some cases, contrastive negation targets content that is not ascribed to the interlocutors but to a more generic voice in the interaction. In these cases, the target of the negation may be treated as self-evidently false to both speaker and hearer. This would correspond to Nuyts's grammatical definition of intersubjectivity. The results thus show that both interactional and grammatical definitions of intersubjectivity may be useful in studying negation. In both English and Finnish, some constructions have specialised for certain kinds of intersubjective usages, although the specific ways in which this happens are language-specific.

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Reformulation markers in research writing: A cross-linguistic and cross-disciplinary study

Jolanta Šinkūnienė
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Keywords: metadiscourse, reformulation markers, Lithuanian, English

Schedule: Thu 16.30 Room 10

Research writing in different science fields and cultures has been one of the favored objects of discourse studies of the past several decades. One area of research writing that has attracted considerable attention of scholars is the use of metadiscourse markers, which are employed by academic writers to create convincing, powerful and coherent discourse. A growing body of literature on hedges, boosters, attitudinal lexis, personal pronouns and other metadiscourse items has revealed interesting ways in which the 'big culture' (i.e. national culture) and the 'small culture' (i.e. disciplinary culture) (cf. Atkinson 2004) play a role in the creation of academic text (see Fløttum *et al*. 2006, Hyland 2005, Hyland & Sancho Guinda 2012, Mur-Dueñas 2011, *inter alia*). One metadiscourse category, reformulation markers or code glosses (Hyland 2005), are very important contributors to "coherent, reader-friendly prose" (Hyland (2007: 266), employed to facilitate the reader's understanding of the message the writer tries to convey. While there is a number of studies investigating reformulation markers in English (see, for example, Del Saz Rubio 2007 for an overview) these metadiscourse items received less attention in languages other than English or in a contrastive perspective, a notable exception being Spanish vs English studies (Cuenca 2003, Murillo 2012, 2016).

The aim of the present paper is to address this gap by contrasting forms and functions of reformulation markers employed in research writing in two languages (American English and Lithuanian) and three science fields (humanities, medicine, technology). Quantitative and qualitative approaches are employed alongside contrastive analysis to reveal the ways in which the two languages and three science fields overlap or differ with regard to the use of reformulation markers. The English language data is taken from the Academic language subcorpus of COCA, while the Lithuanian language data comes from Corpus Academicum Lithuanicum (www.coralit.lt), a specialized synchronic corpus of written academic Lithuanian (roughly 9 million words). The first part of the paper looks at the distribution and frequency patterns of reformulation markers taking into account disciplinary and language specific variation in their use. The second part follows the classificational framework suggested by Murillo (2012) in order to reveal the primary functions these markers perform in different disciplines and research cultures. The preliminary results suggest that it is the humanities scholars who employ reformulation markers most frequently in both languages. The cross-cultural analysis reveals interesting rhetorical and pragmatic functional employment of these markers in the two languages. Extending research on the use of metadiscourse elements in languages other than

English helps to highlight universal patterns of research writing as well as peculiar features typical to specific cultural communities.

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Towards a Typology of Non-Compositional uses of Future Anterior in Europe

Dmitri Sitchinava

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Null *se* constructions in Brazilian and European Portuguese – Morphosyntactic deletion or emergence of new constructions?

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Keywords: constructional variation, Cognitive Grammar

Se constructions have a counterpart in Portuguese that is formally characterized by the deletion of the clitic *se*, and that is most frequently used in the informal register. The so-called null *se* constructions are far more frequent in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) than in European Portuguese (EP). It is also in BP where the deletion of the clitic is observed in all *se* constructions, namely, impersonal (1), passive/impersonal (2), middle (3), anticausative (4), and reflexive/reciprocal (5). The middle construction is the one which exhibits greater variation (7). The deletion in EP, on the contrary, is more limited, occurring in anticausative constructions (6) and only with certain causative alternation verbs such as *abrir* 'open', *partir/quebrar* 'break'.

(1) *No meio Ø usa um verde cor cana* (BP, Fóruns)
    'In between, a sugarcane green colour is worn.'
(2) *Uh, vai Ø inaugurar uma agência em Descalvado* (BP, Museu Pessoa)
    'Uh, an agency in Descalvado is opening up'
(3) *pq ela já Ø lembra dos episódios que ela viu* (BP, Fóruns)
    'Because she already remembers about the episodes she saw'
(4) *Sempre coloque coisas que podem Ø estragar com o calor na geladeira* (BP, Fóruns)
    'Always place food in the fridge that can rot in the heat'
(5) *Realmente cada caso é um caso, e isso não é sinal que um não goste do outro, nem que vão Ø largar depois daquele tempo.* (BP, Fóruns)
    'In fact, every case is different, and that is not an indication that one doesn't love the other nor that they will break up after that time when they've been apart'
(6) *Quem mora num meio rural é fácil falar assim, até temos fruta a estragar Ø* (EP, Fóruns)
    'For those who live in the countryside, it is easy to speak in this way, we even have fruit which is going bad'
(7) *procure toda a vez que você se lembrar dele, não Ø lembre dos momentos felizes juntos,* (BP, Fóruns)
    'Try everytime you remember him; don't recall the happy moments together'

Null *se* constructions in BP are usually interpreted as the result of an ongoing general tendency in BP towards the morphological loss of clitics (Galves 2001, Cyrino 2007, Carvalho 2016). Even though they acknowledge that the absence of the clitic triggers constructional changes, these studies interpret the presence or the absence of the clitic in essentially morphosyntactic terms.

This study is part of a broader research project about *se* constructions in EP and BP. It consists in a corpus-based sociolectometric and sociocognitive study aiming to measure the relative (dis)similarity between the two national varieties along the geographical, stylistic, and historical axes. We argue that the presence or the absence of the clitic *se* in fact generate different constructions that express different conceptualizations of particular events. Hence, these are considered to be innovative constructions rather than *se* constructions in which the clitic was deleted.

We explain this constructional difference according to the framework of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 2008) in terms of different *construals*. In line with certain studies about *se* constructions within Cognitive Linguistics (Maldonado 1999, Vesterinen 2011), we show how the innovative BP and EP constructions without the clitic *se* encode an *absolute construal* and therefore an *objective construal*. As a consequence, a higher degree of impersonalization is observed because the clitic codifies the inductive force of the event, even if it is not specified. Furthermore, these innovative constructions may profile different stages of the event. The presence of the clitic encodes, therefore, an *energetic* and *subjective construal*, through which the event is conceptualized as sudden, spontaneous, uncontrolled, or unexpected.

2

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✄

Zero-marking and canonicity

Thomas Stolz & Nataliya Levkovych
(University of Bremen)

Keywords: morphology, canonicity, zero-marking

Schedule: Fri 12.30 Room 7

The talk addresses the issue of zero-marking (Mel'čuk 2002) as a potential morphological mismatch (Corbett 2007). Morphological mismatches are phenomena which deviate from the patterns of canonicity which require that features and values "multiply out" to yield a consistently structured paradigm (Corbett 2011: 109). On the basis of the principles of the canonical approach (Corbett 2005: 25–26), we check in what way zero-marking of grammatical categories constitutes an instance of non-canonicity. Hitherto, this question has not received sufficient attention in the pertinent literature so that the phenomenon is as yet still absent from the extant catalogues of non-canonical properties as attested in the languages of the world (Table 1).

Table 1: Canonical vs non-canonical properties of inflectional paradigms (Corbett 2007: 30)

	canonical situation		types of deviation	
	cells	lexemes	cells	lexemes
composition/structure of the inflected word	same	same	fused exponence, periphrasis	defectiveness, overdifferentiation, anti-periphrasis
lexical material = shape of stem	same	different	alternations, suppletion	homonymy
inflectional material = shape of affix	different	same	syncretism, uninflectability	inflectional classes, heteroclisis, deponency

The absence of zero-marking from Table 1 needs to be discussed because the phenomenon does not only violate the prerequisites of canonical paradigms but is also frequently attested cross-linguistically. An oft-cited example of canonical paradigms is given in Table 2.

Table 2: Standard example of canonical paradigms (Corbett 2011: 111)

	lexeme A (= DOG)		lexeme B (= CAT)	
	category X	category Y	category X	category Y
category P	*DOG-**a***	*DOG-**i***	*CAT-**a***	*CAT-**i***
category Q	*DOG-**e***	*DOG-**o***	*CAT-**e***	*CAT-**o***

Each cell of the paradigms hosts a distinct morphologically complex word-form which consists of a stem and a suffix as exponent of the grammatical categories. There is no zero-marking of any of the categories in Table 2. There is no place for zero-marking because the logic of canonicity requires that the cells are filled by word-forms which reflect identical constructional principles. If only some of the word-forms involve identifiable exponents of grammatical categories whereas other members of the same paradigm make do without overt grammatical morphology the paradigm fails to meet the criteria for paradigmatic consistency. The Hindi examples in Table 3 are indicative of the extent to which zero-marking (= grey shading) may affect canonicity in "real life".

Table 3: Free paradigms of Hindi nouns (McGregor 1977: 1)

	lexeme A_masculine (= *kamrā* 'room')		lexeme B_masculine (= *din* 'day')		lexeme C_feminine (= *mez* 'table')	
	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural
direct	*kamr-**ā***	*kamr-**e***	*din*	*din*	*mez*	*mez-**eṁ***
oblique	*kamr-**e***	*kamr-**oṁ***	*din*	*din-**oṁ***	*mez*	*mez-**oṁ***

In Hindi, zero-marking is crucially involved in two further mismatches, namely syncretism (case and number) and inflectional classes. In the talk, further evidence of the role played by zero-marking in the creation of non-canonical situations is presented from a sample of 24 languages. A strictly qualitative methodology is applied. We expect our results to demonstrate clearly that zero-marking must be added to the catalogue of morphological mismatches so that it can be adequately taken account of in the future theory-borne discussion of morphology in general.

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✍

English placeholders as manifestations of vague language

Jarmila Tárnyiková
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Keywords: vague language, strategies in use

Schedule: Thu 14.00 Room 10

The present paper is a sketch of a longitudinal research focusing on vague language and the strategies of its use in English and in Czech. After having investigated vague reference to quantity (*bags of people*) and vague reference to notional categories (*a book or whatnot*) in a cross-language perspective, the author pays attention to relatively peripheral, yet communicatively relevant means of vague language, i.e. *placeholders* (PHs), discussed in Channell's (1994) monograph and Cutting's (2007) studies. In the present contribution, PHs are approached as vague pro-forms used to refer to animate and inanimate objects and locations (cf. *Mr Thingy, John Whatsisname, Angelica Thingummy; gadgats, widget, whatchamacallit; Timbuktu, Anytown, No man's land*) as substitutes for temporarily forgotten or intentionally replaced naming units. Many of them are of uncertain spelling because of their main distribution in spoken discourse.

The analysis of the BNC and COCA data is expected to disclose formal, functional and distributional properties of a selected sample of English PHs, based on Channell's (1994) tentative list. The frequency of occurrence and contextual clues emergent from the data will be used to identify the presupposed spectrum of communicative strategies underlying PHs' use (e.g. when the identity is unknown, irrelevant, or should be protected; when a person or a space is vaguely referred to as a prototype of some qualities (*Joe Doe, Ms Walking Encyclopedia; Timbuktu, backwoods*); when the name of the object is forgotten or searched for). Some of the PHs are perceived as generally shared prototypes (or *shared social spaces* in Evison et al. 2007), some belong to ad hoc creative formations.

In the analytical part, two axes will be activated to taxonomize the frequency-based results of corpus data, i.e. the vertical axis of possible alternations within the emergent paradigm (i.e. whether *Thingy/Whatsisname/So and so*…), and horizontal, syntagmatic axis of co-occurrence, projecting PHs into the surrounding verbal, situational and pragmatic contexts with the aim to verify the following research tasks: Is the choice among possible alternatives of PHs random or has each PH a distinct role in language use? What is the status of PHs in the lexicon of a given language? Are PHs close in function to semantic containers (shells) whose content is context-retrievable?

The data-based quantitative and qualitative analysis is hoped to support the expected results, i.e. that PHs, though peripheral in their status (compared to such core manifestations of vagueness as

vague reference to quantity or vague reference to notional categories), have their place within the network of vague language, and as such have to be approached as integrated parts of our talking habits, sensitive to socio-cultural norms of interaction and endowed with a whole spectrum of communicative functions, most of them connected with the sociolinguistic notion of facework.

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ᔕ

Aspectual constraints on the personal passive in Estonian

Reeli Torn-Leesik
(University of Tartu)

Keywords: aspectuality of input verbs, voice constructions

Schedule: We 11.00 Room 4

This paper studies aspectual constraints in the personal passive in Estonian. Earlier studies on the aspectuality of verbs that can be passivized in other languages (Zaenen 1993, Carnie and Harley 2005, Abraham and Leiss 2006) suggest that different types of passives exhibit different constraints on the aspectual class of input verbs. For instance, Abraham and Leiss (2006) claim that German subjectless passives can only be formed from imperfective predicates and do not allow the use of perfective adjuncts. It is generally known that dynamic personal passive and stative personal passive constructions show aspectual differences. For instance, the German *Zustandspassiv* is restricted to perfective predicates only (Leiss 1992). Siewierska (1988: 247) also notes that Russian "employs the periphrastic personal passive exclusively with perfective verbs, while imperfective verbs occur in the reflexive passive."

Estonian has both an impersonal and a personal passive voice. The impersonal voice (*Jäätised söödi ära* 'Someone ate the ice creams') is insensitive to the transitivity and aspectuality of input verbs. In contrast, the personal passive (*Raamatud olid tudengite poolt läbi loetud* 'The books had been read through by the students') is more limited in usage and can only be formed from transitive verbs. It is usually described as resultative or stative and in this sense is similar to *Zustandspassiv* or the adjectival passive of English (Bresnan 1982: 21).

The aspectual restrictions on Estonian personal passive have not been investigated in detail in the descriptive or theoretical literature. Many Estonian linguists (e.g., Rajandi 1999[1968], Mihkla et al 1974, Mihkla and Valmis 1979) claim that both partitive and aspectual verbs can be passivized, yielding detransitivized constructions in which the object of the active functions as a subject, which receives nominative case and agrees with the auxiliary. Yet, if the Estonian passive is similar to

Zustandspassiv, it should also be restricted to perfective predicates as Abraham and Leiss (2006) claim. This does not pose any problems in relation to the Estonian aspectual verbs, which readily allow a resultative reading. However, it is not clear whether all partitive verbs, which usually have an imperfective reading, can be used in the personal passive.

The preliminary results of the study (involving a native speaker judgment test and corpus analysis) show that partitive verbs, which mostly express activities (e.g., *hingama* 'breathe') or states (e.g., *lootma* 'hope') and are thus inherently unbounded, are in general incompatible with the personal passive. Hence these constructions tend to be infrequent and unacceptable to speakers. Yet, when activity verbs are modified by an aspectual marker giving them an active accomplishment reading, they can become compatible with the passive. Judgements about the acceptability of stative verbs in the passive vary in ways that are clarified by the present study. While verbs such as *kadestama* 'envy' were judged unacceptable in the passive by informants, verbs such as *alahindama* 'underestimate' were deemed acceptable. The contrast in acceptability between these cases seems to be conditioned by the degree of adjectivization of the participle, though ongoing study of these constructions may identify other relevant factors.

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✄

Interface of morphology, syntax and information structure in NPs in Beserman Udmurt

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Keywords: information structure, Udmurt, Beserman, NP

Schedule: We17.00 Room 9

Beserman Udmurt is a consistently head-final Uralic idiom (Finno-Ugric, Permic) with relatively strict SOV word order and agglutinative morphology. As a typical Finno-Ugric idiom (Simonenko, Leontyev 2012), it has two types of encoding syntactic relation between two nouns: juxtaposition with no overt marking [N N] (standard choice for non-specific dependents), which has been analyzed as compounding (Fejes 2005), and double marking with the genitive on the dependent noun ([N-Gen N-Poss]; for specific and especially definite dependents). All the nominal inflection markers are on the NPs head (1).

(1a)	*korka*	*kośag-e*		(1b)	*korka-len*	*kośag-a-z*
	house	window-ILL			house-GEN	window-ILL-P.3SG
	'to a/the house window'				'to the window of the house'	

Syntactic relation in juxtaposed constructions is very strong: one cannot change the word order, place anything between the head and the dependent etc. If the speaker wants to emphasize only one part of the construction, the only means to do it is intonation. The genitive construction is much less stable: one can insert a whole clause between the head and the dependent, change their order etc. For genitive construction there is a (not strict) rule that disfavors splitting a syntactic constituent between several units on the level of information structure. If one needs to draw an information structure boundary within a syntactic constituent, (s)he should make two constituents out of one. This syntactic restructuring is reflected in morphology: the former dependent gains possessive, case and plural markers together with the former head (2). The suffixes are not just copied from the head (4): nouns in Beserman NumPs are not normally marked for plural, but their former dependents are. Splitting the constituent also facilitates transferring the former dependent from the left of the former head to the right of it, which is not obligatory (3).

(2) ***kiz-ze***   ***kor-de***   *baśt-ậ*
       thick-P.3SG.ACC   log-P.2SG.ACC   take-IMP.SG
'Take the thick log [and leave the thin one].'

(3) *i*   *so*   ***pukon***   ***vậl-e*** *tậb-iz,*   *zậk-a-z,*   *mậrdem*   *tậb-iz*
       and   s/he   chair   up-ILL climb-PST.3SG   big-ILL-P.3SG   hardly   climb-PST.3SG
'And she climbed on the chair, the big one, she had difficulty climbing.'

(4) *zậk*   *śậres*   *vậl-ận*   *sậl-e*   *tậnad*   ***kậk***   ***mašina***   ***śed-eś***
       big   road   up-LOC   stand-PRS.3SG   you.GEN   two   car   black-PL
'On the big road, two black cars [not the red ones] are standing.'

This split of one constituent into two is always marked with 3SG possessive on the dependent. Therefore, this 3SG possessive marker is one of two morphological means responsible for the interaction between the morphology/syntax and the IS layers. It can be treated as the marker of a category other than possessiveness as Alatyrev (1983) claimed. The second means is the suffix *-eš'* which marks plurality of adjectives in predicative position.

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ꕥ

Synchronic and Diachronic Analysis of the Valency Modiffier *–tu* in Shiwilu (Kawapanan): Applicative-Antipassive Polysemy and Beyond

Pilar Valenzuela

Keywords: applicative, antipassive, valency change, transitivity, Amazonian languages

Schedule: We 16.30 Room 7

Shiwilu is a critically endangered language spoken by a few elders in Peruvian Amazonia (Jeberos District, Alto Amazonas Province, Loreto Region). A puzzling morpheme in Kawapanan grammar is the suffix *–tu*, which performs two seemingly opposite functions depending on the verb to which it applies: adding an object or supressing an object. That is, suffixation of *–tu* may either increase or reduce the verb valency by one, as shown below:

1) Adding an object: *lanpi'*- 'swallow'   >   *lanpi'-tu* 'swallow sth.'
2) Suppressing an object: *apu'*- 'abandon sth./sb.'   >   *apu'-tu* 'become detached'

Following Malchukov (2017), I view the behavior of *–tu* as an instance of applicative / antipassive polysemy. As pointed out by this author, comparable affixes have been attested in other languages of the world such as Bella Coola (Beck, 2000), Central Alaskan Yup'ik (Mithun, 2000), and Chukchi (Malchukov, *op. cit.*). In Shiwilu's only sister language, Shawi, the cognate suffix *–tɨ* may also add or suppress an object (Hart 1988).

Also associated to the object manipulation function is the fact that *–tu* is required in three types of applicative constructions, simultaneously to a dedicated marker (Valenzuela, 2016). Finally, when added to a noun or an adjective *–tu* may derive a verb, usually intransitive. Given that the functions of *–tu* are associated to a change in verb valency, or the assignment of valency to a non-verbal stem, this suffix has been called a 'valency modifier' (VM) (Valenzuela, *op. cit.*).

After introducing the argument structure and other relevant features of Shiwilu grammar, in this presentation I will deal with the various functions performed by the suffix *–tu* in Shiwilu. Then, based on a corpus of 125 (intransitive, transitive, and ambitransitive) verbs I will determine whether the object adding vs. object suppressing effects triggered by this suffix can be predicted from the semantic

and syntactic properties of the verb to which it attaches. Finally, I will address the possible development of the valency modifier in Kawapanan languages.

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$\mathscr{D}$

Influences on changes in gender assignment: A comparative study of six Scandinavian languages

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Keywords: grammatical gender, morphological change, comparative linguistics

Schedule: Fri 14.00 Room 4

Previous research has shown that various factors can play a role in how grammatical gender changes over time. For instance, inflectional class often influences gender both generally (Corbett 1991), and in the Scandinavian languages (Källström 1995, 1996, Trosterud 2001, 2006, and Enger 2001, 2004). In addition, research on Swedish dialects (Van Epps & Carling 2017, Rabb 2007, and Thelander 1975) shows that some genders are more susceptible to change than others. Gender assignment can also be influenced by semantics. For instance, gender agreement has been partially restructured along semantic lines in Dutch (Audring 2006, and Kraaikamp 2012, 2017) and in the Danish dialect of West Jutland (Braunmüller 2000; Josefsson 2013).

In this study, we look at gender assignment in six Scandinavian language varieties in order to determine the degree to which gender assignment has changed from ancient languages to present-day three-gender languages, as well as which factors most strongly influence gender change.

The material for this study is a data set consisting of 1130 cognate sets, with lexical items and gender from six Scandinavian varieties: Old Norse, Old Swedish, Jamtlandic (a Swedish dialect), Elfdalian (a small Scandinavian language of Sweden), older Standard Swedish, and Norwegian Nynorsk. The arrangement of the data into cognate sets allows us to compare whether or not gender assignment of a single cognate has changed over time. In addition, we have included the source of the lexical item (loan or inherited), the declension in Old Norse, various semantic classifications

(animacy, count/noncount, concrete/abstract) and frequency in Swedish and Norwegian Nynorsk. For each cognate set, we have marked whether the set is a stable cognate (where gender is the same in all languages) or a change cognate (where gender assignment is inconsistent across languages).

For the statistical analysis, we investigate several independent variables: frequency, semantic factors, loan status, Old Norse inflectional class, and Old Norse gender. The dependent variable in this study is the change status of the cognate set (stable vs. change cognate). We calculate the percentage of change cognates for each independent variable, and then calculate the chi-squared statistic for each of these to determine significance. Preliminary results indicate that Old Norse gender, Old Norse declension, and loan status are significant in influencing whether or not an item changes gender. Semantic factors are less significant. Results have not yet been obtained for frequency, but we expect based on previous research on frequency (Bybee 2007; Zipf 1935) that more frequent items will be more resistant to change.

This is part of a larger study on comparative gender that will help us better understand the various factors that interact to shape gender assignment in Scandinavian languages. Future studies will focus on gender assignment rules in these six Scandinavian varieties, and how varying assignment rules help explain changes in gender. This study contributes to our understanding of what drives change in gender systems and in morphology more broadly.

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ℒ

The role of verb semantics in differential object marking:
A corpus study of Hindi

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Keywords: verb semantics, corpus research

Schedule: Sa 12.30 Room 7

Differential object marking is a well-known phenomenon in Hindi, to the extent that Hindi is often used as exemplary for the phenomenon (e.g. Aissen 2003, de Hoop & Malchukov 2008, Klein 2007, Malchukov 2008…). Typically, the parameters which determine the dative-accusative *ko*-marking of the patient in Hindi are animacy and specificity. These semantic criteria influence the marking of the patient in different ways: animate arguments are generally marked; marked inanimate arguments can only be interpreted as specific.

However, apart from animacy, a third influencing factor mentioned is the role of verb semantics. Several linguists (Mohanan 1994; de Hoop & Narasimhan 2005; Klein 2007) describe that the *ko*-marking in Hindi might depend on selective properties of the verb. Mohanan (1994) even differentiates between two groups of verbs: those which can take marked as well as unmarked objects, and those that only take one type of object. The question to be asked is: does the patient of a certain verb indeed always get *ko*-marked, and, vice versa, are there verbs of which the patient is never marked? Thus far, the answers given on this question rely on native's speakers intuition. To answer this question into the nature of Hindi differential object marking in a different manner, I conduct an analysis of an analysis of the EMILLE Spoken Hindi corpus (Lancaster University, available on https://cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk/) in order to find the frequencies of occurrence of *ko*-marked objects and their correlation with the semantic parameters of animacy, definiteness/specificity and verb meaning.

The results of this investigation could throw a different light on differential object marking in Hindi specifically, as well as on differential object marking as a linguistic universal phenomenon. If DOM in Hindi turns out to be greatly influenced by the semantics of the verb, we will have to look at it from a constructional point of view: the construction of verb + arguments determines the marking of the argument, not the properties of the arguments themselves. If, on the other hand, animacy and specificity remain the decisive criteria of the marking, then clearly this is an argument for the universality of these two semantic features in determining the object marking, as has been argued in many typological works.

A preliminary study based on a sample of 450 sentences split over 7 verbs shows results which are very particular for each verb: some verbs clearly follow the animacy/specificity rule for DOM, but simply select more arguments of a particular type. However, there are also verbs with a clear

preference for one type of marking which sometimes overrules the animacy/specificity rule. For instance, *gānā* 'sing', has only unmarked patients, even when they are pronominal and thus highly specific arguments. In a more extensive corpus analysis, we aim to find general tendencies and clear indications of why this is the case for these particular verbs.

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⌀

Depiction, sign theory, and viewpoint management

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Keywords: direct and (free)indirect discourse, narrative, communication theory

Schedule: Thu 15.00 Room 10

Clark (2016) proposes an approach called *staging theory* to account for phenomena of depiction (iconic gestures, depictions made with one or more body parts, the face, the voice, etcetera) in human communication alongside description and pointing. Clark argues that models of language processing are incomplete if they do not account for depiction, i.e. if they are limited (implicitly or explicitly) to description and pointing. This conclusion follows quite directly from the observation that depictions are often literally 'integral' to verbal utterances, even in the sense that a depiction can be a constituent of a grammatical construction, e.g. object of a verb or preposition. In this talk, I will explore some properties and consequences of this theory, especially in the domain of 'mixing viewpoints' in narrative discourse.

The first point concerns the connection between staging theory and a general theory of signs. Staging theory is a generalization of an earlier approach to, specifically, quotations, viz. as demonstrations (rather than purported copies of other people's utterances; Clark & Gerrig 1990). With the explicit conception of depiction, description, and pointing as different *methods* of communication based on distinct principles, the theory starts to look like a general theory of signs. Especially the distinction between depiction and description is reminiscent of the one drawn by Keller (1998) between iconic and symbolic methods of sign use. I will argue that these two approaches can (and should) indeed be integrated, and formulate some consequences and new research questions that this gives rise to. For example, Keller's sign theory plays a foundational role in his theory of language change (Keller 1994) and in Verhagen's (2009) theory of constructions as complex signs, so the incorporation of staging theory raises research questions on the relation between depiction and

description in complex signs, and on possible historical changes in the status of depiction and its relation to description.

Secondly, the insight that description and depiction are commonly mixed in communicative acts throws new light on multiple viewpoint phenomena in narrative discourse. Quotation –"direct discourse" in narratology and discourse studies− partly motivated the theory, but many languages also allow for some form of 'indirect discourse' (e.g. with subordinated clauses in a language like English) and particularly for a highly variable range of forms *in between* direct and indirect discourse (a well-known one is 'free indirect discourse', but cross-linguistically there are many different intermediate forms; cf. Evans 2013, and a number of studies in Dancygier et al. 2016). Staging theory allows us to re-conceptualize the mechanism underlying such phenomena as the mixing of depictive and descriptive elements in utterances. Again, this idea has a number of interesting theoretical and empirical consequences. For example, it provides an explanation for the commonality of 'canonical direct discourse' in the world's languages as opposed to 'canonical indirect discourse' (Evans 2013), as well as for certain viewpoint ambiguities. It also produces new research questions and hypotheses, e.g. about the acquisition of direct, indirect, and intermediate forms of viewpoint representation.

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✍

Impersonal constructions and the typological profile of Swedish

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Keywords: corpus-based, contrastive

Schedule: Thu 9.30 Room 12

Impersonals have attracted a lot of interest from a typological perspective (see in particular Malchukov & Siewierska 2011) but there have been relatively few corpus-based contrastive studies, except for studies of the *man*-construction (Altenberg 2004/2005, Johansson 2004, Coussé and van der Auwera

2012, Gast 2015). Data for the present study are taken from the Multilingual Parallel Corpus (MPC), which consists of extracts from 21 Swedish novels and their translations into German, English, French, and Finnish (see Appendix in Viberg 2013). The Swedish originals comprise around 600,000 words. The present paper is an extension of an exploratory study (Viberg 2010) which was based on data from only 5 of the novels. As a first step, impersonals are identified with simple formal criteria in the Swedish texts. All occurrences of non-referential *det* 'it' in the subject slot and of the Swedish generalized pronoun *man* were extracted for further analysis. As a second step, this material is analysed from a functional point of view. A typical subject has high degrees of agentivity, referentiality and topicality (Li 1976). *Man* is an example of a non-specific agent impersonal with a subject that has general ('all of mankind') or vague reference, whereas *det* appears as a formal subject (or place-holder) in agentless sentences or sentences with low agentivity. There is a close interaction between lexis and grammar in this type of impersonals. In Swedish, formal *det* as an impersonal subject appears with verbs from specific semantic fields. The semantically corresponding verbs in other languages also tend to have non-canonical subjects but of other types (cf. Aikhenvald, Dixon & Onishi 2001, Helasvuo & Huumo 2015). In the MPC corpus, this is most pronounced in Finnish but to various degrees, the same applies to the other languages in the corpus. *Det* also appears in the impersonal passive (*Det spelades pingis* literally 'It was=played ping-pong'), which has a subject with low referentiality and refers to a bare event (Sansò 2006). The presentative construction introduces a logical subject with low topicality (*Det kommer en man på vägen*, literally 'It comes a man on the road'). The strategies used to realize impersonals in Swedish are motivated by the place-holder constraint (Hammarberg & Viberg 1977), which is a central part of the typological profile of Swedish (see Viberg ed. 2006) and is shared by Swedish and a group of West-European languages. The placeholder constraint refers to the obligatory use in Swedish of a number of semantically more or less empty grammatical words that are important for signalling grammatical contrasts by word order, for example statement/question: *Det regnar* 'It is raining'/ *Regnar det*? 'Is it raining?' The typological profile is important for applied areas such as second language acquisition and translation studies (cf. Filipović 2017).

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ℒ

Motion events in translation: Changes in event types

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Keywords: motion events, event types, translation

Schedule: Thu 14.00 Room 12

This study deals with translations of motion events descriptions in novels and addresses the issue of changes of motion event types (i.e. spontaneous motion, caused motion, "motion cum purpose") from the source language to the target language. Previous research on motion descriptions in novels (Sugiyama, 2000; Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2003; Slobin, 2005) have brought the conceptualization of events to the fore and have shown that such process of conceptualization relies heavily on typological characteristics which shape what Slobin (2004; 2005) calls the "rhetorical style" of languages. While these studies have focused on how Manner and Path are maintained, lost or adapted through translation, the question that remains open is whether the event types are maintained as such in the translation or whether they are represented differently in the linguistic structure. The present study investigates this question through a thorough analysis of motion event descriptions and their translations in typologically different languages.

The study is based on a corpus of parallel texts in three languages, French (v-framed type), English and Polish (s-framed type) (cf. Talmy, 1985; 2000). There is one text in each source language accompanied by its translations in the two target languages. Thus, the corpus includes motion event descriptions extracted from *Le Petit Prince* 'The little Prince' (St Exupéry, 1946), *Animal Farm* (Orwell, 1945) and *Wiedźmin: ostatnie życzenie* 'Witcher: the last wish' (Sapkowski, 1993). The data set represents 1067 descriptions of spontaneous motion (including "motion cum purpose" events, cf. Lamiroy, 1983; Schmidtke-Bode, 2009) and caused motion, both of which implying either a change of location or a change of placement within a location (cf. Borillo, 1998).

A preliminary analysis of the data shows that, in the three languages, the event type is usually maintained in translation (i.e. spontaneous and caused motion in the source language are typically represented as spontaneous and caused motion in target languages). However, when changes of event types occur, it appears that translations from English and Polish trigger more variation than

translations from French. This is illustrated in examples (1-3). The original description in Polish (1) expresses a spontaneous motion implying a change of location (cf. *po-* 'away from initial location'). The English translation (2) loses the original Source-oriented meaning (the satellite *back* expresses direction of motion). Thus, although still spontaneous, the motion of the vampire is represented in English as a change of placement within a location. As for the French description (3), the original event of spontaneous motion (1) is translated as a caused motion event (cf. passive voice of transitive caused motion verb *projeter* 'throw').

(1) Polish (Slavic, s-framed)

Strzyga	*po-leciała*	*w tył*	*kilka*
striga.NOM.SG.F	away.from-fly.PST.3SG.F	backwards.ACC	few.NOM.PL.M

kroków [...]
steps.NOM.PL.M
'The striga flew few steps backwards (away from initial location)'

(2) English (Germanic, s-framed)
The striga fell back [...]

(3) French (Romance, v-framed)

La	*strige*	*fut*	*projetée*
ART.DEF.SG.F	striga.SG.F	be.AUX.PST.3SG	throw.PTCP.SG.F

à plusieurs pas   *en arrière [...]*
to.a.distance.of.some.steps   backwards
'The striga was thrown backwards to a distance of some steps'

In this talk, I will examine which types of events undergo changes most frequent and investigate factors that trigger such changes (i.e. characteristics of v-framed or s-framed language and/or narrative choices).

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⌀

Subject encoding in participial relative clauses

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Keywords: participles, Uralic, Meadow Mari, Hill Mari

Schedule: Sa 12.00 Room 2

Participial relative clauses (pRCs) in Mari languages (Uralic) allow overt subjects and encode them: (i) with a possessive suffix on the head noun; (ii) with nominative; or (iii) with genitive. The present paper contrasts the fieldwork data from two Mari languages: Meadow Mari and Hill Mari, which differ wrt constraints on subject encoding.

Meadow Mari presents a rather rigid system of subject encoding. The subject of a participle derived with –*me* can be marked with genitive (all argument types on the animacy hierarchy, AH (1)) or with nominative (only the lower part of the AH, Brykina & Aralova 2012) – cf. (2) & (3). In case of +human nouns, both genitive and nominative are possible (4).

(1) 1&2 person > other pronoun > proper name > human > non-human > inanimate

(2) Məj   [təj-*(ən) /   Vasja-*(n)   purl-mo]   melna-m   kočkaš   om   tüŋal.
    I   you-GEN   Vasja-GEN   bite-NZR   pancake-ACC   eat   NEG.PRS.1SG   will
    'I will not eat the pancake nibbled by you / Vasja.'

(3) Məj   [pərəs-(ən)   purl-mo]   melna-m   kočkaš   om   tüŋal.
    I   cat-(GEN)   bite-NZR   pancake-ACC   eat   NEG.PRS.1SG   will
    'I will not eat the pancake nibbled by the cat.'

(4) Jəvan   [buxgalter(-ən)   pu-əmo]   pašadar   nergen   šon-a.
    Ivan   bookkeeper(-GEN) give-NZR wages   about   think-PRS.3SG
    'Ivan is thinking about the wages given to him by the bookkeeper.'

The time adverb *teŋgeč'e* 'yesterday' can both precede and follow the Genitive subject in a pRC (5), while it can only precede, but not follow the Nominative subject (6).

(5) Jəvan [(teŋgeč'e) buxgalter-ən (teŋgeč'e) pu-əmo] pašadar-ž-əm šotl-a.
  Ivan (yesterday) bookkeeper-GEN (yesterday) give-NZR wages-P.3SG-ACC count-3SG
  'Ivan is counting the wages that the bookkeeper gave (to him) yesterday.'
(6) Jəvan [(teŋgeč'e) buxgalter (??teŋgeč'e) pu-əmo] pašadar-ž-əm šotl-a.
  Ivan (yesterday) bookkeeper (yesterday) give-NZR wages-P.3SG-ACC count-3SG
  'Ivan is counting the wages that the bookkeeper gave (to him) yesterday.'

Hill Mari: The subject of a participle derived with *–mə̂* can also be marked with genitive or with nominative, but genitive encoding is only obligatory for the personal pronouns (7). In the other cases, genitive encoding is optional (8).

(7) Mən' [tən'-*(ən) pə̂rə̂l-mə̂] melenä-m a-m kač.
  I you-GEN nibble-NZR pancake-ACC NEG.NPST-1SG eat
  'I will not eat the pancake nibbled by you.'
(8) [Maša(-n) / buxgalter(-ən) pu-mə̂] oksa-m Ivan šotl-a.
  Masha(-GEN) bookkeeper(-GEN) give-NZR money-ACC Ivan counts-PRS.3SG
  'Ivan counts the money given to him by Masha / by the bookkeeper.'

When combined with the time adverb *tengeče*, all four options for the position of the adverb in the pRC are possible irrespective of the encoding of the subject (9).

(9) [(Tengeče) buxgalter(-ən) (tengeče) pu-mə̂] oksa-m Ivan šotl-a.
  Yesterday bookkeeper(-GEN) yesterday give-NZR money-ACC Ivan counts-PRS.3SG
  'Ivan counts the money given to him by the bookkeeper yesterday.'

From that I conclude that (i) in both Mari languages, Genitive subject is assigned Case within the embedded clause; (ii) in Meadow Mari, Nominative is assigned lower in the structure than Genitive. Mari data supports drawing finer differences in the syntactic structure of pRCs (contra Doron & Reintges 2005 and in line with Miyagawa 2011) resulting in a more adequate typology of pRCs.

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✆

Negation coding strategies in posterior adverbial clauses

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Keywords: complex sentences, typology, grammaticalization, aspect

Schedule: We 11.30 Room 7

This paper surveys constructions which contain negation morphemes in 'before' and 'until' adverbial clauses in a diverse convenience sample of 100 languages. As pointed out by Thompson et al. (2007:247-248), the use of negation is pervasive in posterior clauses, which is confirmed by our findings. In addition to reference grammars, the data used here consists of 80 passages in the New Testament, which allows us to strictly pursue a functional domain approach where translation equivalents can be compared cross-linguistically on the level of concrete examples. Convenience sampling is useful because there is considerable diversity across closely related languages.

Examples (1)-(2) from Indonesian illustrate Kortmann's (1997:85) POSTeriority ("*p* simply follows *q* in time") and Terminus Ad QUEM ("*p* identifies a point or period of time in the (relative) future up to which *q* is true"), which reflect opposite poles of the posterior clause domain, between which there is an intermediate zone (INTERM). Indonesian uses the adverb *belum* 'not.yet' or the subordinator *sebelum* derived from *belum* in POST/INTERM, but lacks negation in TAQUEM. Erzya Mordvin (3), however, uses a negation strategy in a part of the TAQUEM domain. The existence of two independent distributional types is evidence against negation in posterior clauses reflecting a single uniform principle as claimed by Kortmann (1997:184) and Thompson et al. (2007:248).

POST/INTERM-negators typically originate from constructions meaning 'not.yet' and are found in languages from all continents. However, there are also other negation coding strategies in 'before'-clauses not deriving from 'not.yet'. TAQUEM-negators cluster in Eastern Indo-European languages (Slavic, Baltic, Indo-Iranian), which use standard negation with subordinators also expressing 'as.long.as'. A further kind of TAQUEM-negation is attested in Wolof.

Several languages have both TAQUEM-negation and POST-negation-constructions. Occasionally, 'not.yet'-negation can extend all the way to TAQUEM, as in Hixkaryana.

Many languages have mixed constructions combining spatiotemporal ('in front of/before') or temporal ('firstly') elements with negation. In such mixed constructions, the two elements have different syntactic functions, where the 'before'-element tends to be the subordinator. Another kind of mixed type involves borrowing as in Isthmus Zapotec *ante* 'before' (<Spanish). Due to subordination-drift, 'not.yet' markers tend to become subordinators as in Indonesian in (1) with the subordinator *sebelum*.

Negation interacts with posterior adverbial clauses in multiple and complex ways. It affects different areas of 'before'- and 'until'-clauses in different languages. Posterior clauses deserve to be studied because most different core areas of grammar, including subordination, negation and aspect, interact in it in highly complex manners. Furthermore, the use of negation in these clauses typically represents expletive negation (negation does not indicate change of polarity), is pragmatically motivated and closely tied to speakers' expectations.

EXAMPLES
(1) Indonesian (Austronesian) POST (40026034)
...***sebelum*** *ayam berkokok kelak, engkau sudah menyangkali Aku tiga kali.*
SUB.not.yet chicken crow later, 2SG already/IAM deny 1SG three times
'...**before** the rooster crows, you will deny me three times!'
(2) Indonesian (Austronesian) TAQUEM (42015008)

...sampai　　　　　*di-temukan-nya...*
until　　　　　PASS-found-3
'...**until** she finds it'
(3) Erzya Mordvin (Uralic) TAQUEM (42015008)
z'ar-s　　　　　*a*　　*mus-i*
until[how.much-ILL]　　**not**　　find-PRS.3SG
'...**until** she finds it'

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☙

The BATH vowel in British English popular music vocal performance

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Keywords: sociophonetics, public performance, singing

Schedule: We 17.00 Room 10

Trudgill (1983) identified five variables for which UK pop singers typically (but variably) used American-like variants in singing but not in speech. He also noted that there had been a move away from those variants between the mid-1960s and the time of his writing. Since that seminal article, the topic has been studied by other authors (e.g. Simpson 1999, Morrissey 2008, Beal 2009, Coupland 2011, Gibson 2011, Gibson and Bell 2012, Duncan 2017, Konert-Panek 2017), with various explanations offered for the initial adoption of the variants, their continued use, and partial demise.

This paper will report on work in progress investigating the vocal performance of selected UK vocalists. The specific research questions were: (1) Are the American-like variants indeed on the decrease, as Trudgill suggested; (2) Do "non-American" realizations index local identity (Beal 2009)?; (3) Does mainstream pop involve responsive audience design (Gibson and Bell 2012)?

We will report the first results concerning the BATH vowel (vowel keywords per Wells 1982). One of Trudgill's original variables, it has BATH=TRAP as the American-like variant. Since BATH=PALM is unambiguously associated with south-of-England, but not other, accents, it lends itself well to an investigation of dialectal allegiance. LOT unrounding and other variables (notably, intervocalic /t/ glottalization) will be studied next.

Twenty acts were selected from among the nominees of the BRIT Awards British Breakthrough Act category, with a view to capturing younger singers, thus maximizing any differences from older research. All originated from London or South-East England, and were verified to have BATH=PALM in interview speech. For each, up to 10,000 words of recent lyrics were harvested, and transcribed phonemically using the BAS suite (Reichel 2012). The variants used were determined impressionistically in audio material.

The singers formed three broad groups. Some, e.g. Adele and James Bay, displayed 100% BATH=TRAP. Some, e.g. Lily Allen and Stormzy, had 100% BATH=PALM. The rest (11), e.g. Ed Sheeran and London Grammar, were intermediate, with rates of BATH=PALM in the 20-60% range.

Importantly, none of the acts can be argued to project a specifically local identity in the way that e.g. Arctic Monkeys do (Beal 2009). The BATH=PALM group, however, does include three rap/grime acts, and for those, BATH=PALM can be argued to simply form part of the vernacular indexing a more general "authenticity" (cf. O'Hanlon 2006). In contrast, a strong orientation in the BATH=TRAP group towards genres that are stereotypically more specifically American (such as blues or r'n'b) seems to suggest that, at least for this variable, the "American" feature is performed as initiative ("deliberate") audience design, contra Gibson and Bell (2012). In turn, the robust albeit variable presence of BATH=PALM in the intermediate "mixer" group suggests, at a minimum, that it is not an inappropriate variant in the mainstream, again contra Gibson and Bell (2012). Also, if mainstream pop has an institutionalized norm applied "as a matter of course" (Beal 2009), this norm does not necessarily contain BATH=TRAP any more, at least for singers stemming from the relatively culturally powerful background of London English.

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☒

What is actually lost? Risking yet another view at the Balkan league

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Keywords: areal linguistics, infinitive, syntactic relations, language contact, historical linguistics

Schedule: We 17.30 Room 8

Recent research has stressed the fact that defining the notion of "linguistic area" is extremely difficult (e.g. Campbell 2017; Campbell 2006), and the debate is dominated by questions of ontology. This can be seen from the example of one of the most well-known purported areas, the Balkans, where much of the discussion pertains to enumerating features, postulating inventories and negotiating boundaries (for a recent assessment, cf. Friedman & Joseph 2017). However, whether or not languages in spatio-temporally definable settings are more similar than one would expect apart from vertical and/or universal biases or chance, is an empirical question, not a matter of definition.

Another open issue is that all too often, areality effects are postulated based on cherry-picked features without checking the geographic density and diachronic dynamics of particular feature specifications outside the area under discussion. For example, the availability of "clitic doubling" is regarded as constitutive of the Balkan league, but rarely checked against its distribution and evolution across adjacent geographical spaces, larger and smaller. A closer look might as well reveal that within Europe, clitic doubling is by no means restricted to the Balkans nor to a specific chronological layer. Furthermore, the strength of an areally biased signal will significantly be altered when one adds less obviously biased features. That is, areality might very well depend on the features selected for investigation.

Moreover, focusing on surface similarities and ignoring important differences may add further biases towards areality. This in turn is related to yet another shortcoming, namely the degree of granularity of investigation. Concerning, for instance, finer-grained distinctions, the conditions on, and functions of, clitic doubling are different also in languages with a comparable degree of grammaticalisation of this feature, such as Macedonian and Albanian (cf. the list of conditions in Tomić 2011). But also larger distinctions resulting from the co-working of features might be overlooked when focusing on mere surface realisations. Cases in point are the restructuring of transitivity marking (Aronson 1997) and the expression of factivity-contrasts in the nominal and verbal domains (Topolinjska 2007) that both seem to have emerged as pervasive feature in the Balkan area.

In our presentation, we will flesh out two often invoked Balkan league phenomena, viz. Clitic doubling and double finite constructions. This will show, (1) that speaking of 'loss' (infinitive loss, case loss) is acutally ill-guided and (2) that when looked at with a high degree of typological resolution, much of the suggestive power of superficial similarities vanishes. Instead, other signals arise that have hitherto been overlooked.

In a nutshell, we argue that such a fined-grained analysis as illustrated on the two examples mentioned is more appropriate to assess potential arealities and is able to capture spatio temporally biased densities that are indicative of area formation processes across many constructions.

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⌀

Datives and Accusatives as binders in a grammar of subject-oriented reflexives

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Keywords: binding, non-nominative antecedents, Object Experiencer, Anaphor Agreement Effect, psych verbs

Schedule: Thu 9.30 Room 4

The aim of this presentation is twofold: (**A**) to present a theory of binding in subject-oriented binding grammars (Polish and Norwegian vs. English); and then concentrate on peculiar properties of dative and accusative experiencers (OE). Specifically, (**B**) we explain why dative and accusative OEs function as antecedents to both pronominal and reflexive possessives in local domains (nominative antecedents require reflexive possessives only) and why they find it hard to function as antecedents to reflexives embedded at the edge of nominative NPs. (**A**) Polish and Norwegian show subject oriented reflexives and anti-subject oriented pronouns:

(1) a. Jan$_1$ pokazał Marii$_2$ [swoje$_{1,}$*$_2$ /jej$_2$ /*jego$_1$ zdjęcie]. (Pol)
    Jan$_{NOM}$ showed Maria$_{DAT}$ self/ her/ his picture$_{ACC}$
    'Jan showed Maria his/her picture.'
(2) John$_1$ ga Per [$_2$sin$_1$/*$_2$/hans*$_1$/$_2$ jakke] (Nor)
    John gave Peter his$_{REFL}$/ his jacket
(3) a. John$_1$ showed Mary$_2$ herself$_2$ in the mirror.
    b. John$_1$ showed Mary$_2$ to herself$_2$ in the mirror.

We propose a theory of binding based on Nikolaeva (2014) and Hestvik (1992), implementing Index Raising (IR): the anaphoric/pronominal element (henceforth the **index**) is (covertly) moved to v and next, optionally, to T, the only two positions where it can be bound:

(4) $[_{TP}$ Sub$_{NOM}$ **index-T** $[_{vP}$ ~~Sub$_{NOM}$~~ **index-v** $[_{VP}$ Obj$_{DAT/ACC}$ [V [Obj$_{DAT/ACC}$ …index]]]]]
ditransitive VP

(5) $[_{TP}$ … **index-T** $[_{vP}$ OE$_{DAT/ACC}$ **index-v** $[_{VP}$ V [Obj …index]]]]]
psych VP

The distribution of anaphoric and pronominal elements is determined by two factors: the landing site of the index and the case position of the antecedent:

(6) *When the sentence is sent to spell-out, if an index is co-indexed with a specifier of the [head] to which it is adjoined (v/T), the index has to be realized as reflexive.*
Pronominal is an elsewhere condition: if an index has not been realized as reflexive, it is realized as pronominal.

While Norwegian and Polish anaphors and pronouns undergo IR, English ones do not.
(B) Although Polish dative and accusative objects are infelicitous binders in (1), dative and accusative OEs fulfil this role (Bondaruk and Szymanek 2007, Tajsner 2008, Wiland 2016):

(7) Marii$_1$ żal   było   swojej$_1$/jej$_1$ koleżanki.
Maria$_{DAT}$ sorrow$_{3SG.M}$ was$_{3SG.N}$ self's/   her friend$_{3SG.F.GEN}$
'Maria felt sorry for her female friend.'

(8) Marię$_1$ odrzuca   od   listów   swojego$_1$/jej$_1$ byłego męża.
Maria$_{ACC}$ puts off   from [letters$_{GEN}$ [self's$_{GEN}$/her$_{GEN}$ ex-husband$_{GEN}$]]
'Maria is put off by letters of her ex-husband.'

OEs are proper antecedents for both reflexive and pronominal possessives in (7-8). This is a puzzle for the traditional formulations of Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981, 1986, Manzini and Wexler 1987, Rappaport 1986, Willim 1989), as well as current reductionist models Safir (2004), Boeckx et al. (2008) and Reuland (2011), who stress the significance of competition and derivational preference for reflexives in local domains. The IR-based account in (4-6) offers a solution: if the index moves to v in (5) and (7-8) it is c-commanded by the OE in [spec,vP] and is spelled out as a reflexive possessive; if the index moves to T it is not commanded by OE and is spelled out as a pronominal possessive.

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♬

Variation in child-directed speech: standard and vernacular pronouns of address in control acts

Eline Zenner & Dorien Van de Mieroop
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Keywords: colloquial Belgian Dutch, standard language ideology, mixed methods

Schedule: We 12.00 Room 12

Parents shift between standard and vernacular forms when addressing their children and this way (unconsciously) provide them with opportunities to acquire a deeper knowledge of the norms of their speech community (e.g. AUTHOR et al. 2016). This paper verifies whether such implicit language-oriented pedagogical efforts can be correlated with more explicitly observable pedagogical choices parents make by zooming in on linguistic variation in the social control acts (Blum-Kulka 1990) they direct at their children (Examples 1 to 3).

Specifically, we study the social meaning of standard and vernacular pronouns of address in Dutch by zooming in on the position they hold in parents' control acts to their children. Linking the hyperstandardized linguistic situation in Flanders with the Western-European ideal of democratic parenting, we expect to find that the standard forms *je/jij/jouw* (Example 1) are more typically connected to more indirect, softer control acts than the vernacular forms *ge/gij/uw* (Example 2).

1   Nu moeten wij **jouw** handje en **jouw** gezichtje een beetje wassen.
     ("now we have to wash your hands and your face a bit")
2   Zeg zeg zeg zeg zeg wa zijde [: zijt **ge**] daar nu weer aant [: aan het] doen?
     ("well well well well well what are you doing there now")

This hypothesis is tested through a mixed method approach, where quantitative and qualitative analyses are used to chart the choices of ten Belgian Dutch parents when instructing their children. Studying 452 pronouns isolated from 32 hours of self-recorded dinner tables conversations for 5 Belgian Dutch families, we identify a clear link between the choice of variety and parameters such as type of control act, repetition, mitigation and boosting and type of pronoun, with 'irritation' as mediating factor. Additionally, we study the relationship between these control act characteristics and more traditional social variables such as age of the addressed child, gender (also of the parent), and professional background (see Vogt et al. 2015).

The results are processed both quantitatively (conditional inference trees) and qualitatively (multimodal discourse analysis), revealing a complex interplay between the social and interactional parameters and as such further advancing our insight into the importance of style-shifts for the acquisition of a complete sociolinguistic repertoire.

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Endoclitics vs Exoclitics: A Parametric Typology

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Keywords: clitics, linguistic typology, interfaces, clause structure, morphosyntax

Schedule: Thu 14.30 Room 7

Basing on a sample of languages including two dialects of Udi (Lezgic), Andi (Avar-Andic), Degema (Edoid), Gban, Yaure (both ― Mande), two dialects of Ossetic, Pashto, Sorani Kurdish (all ― Indo-Iranian), European Portuguese (Romance), Albanian, Old Czech (Slavic), Gothic (Germanic), Old Latin (Italic), I develop a parametric typology of endoclitics i.e. clitics inserted into morphological structure. The main hypothesis is that world's languages with endoclitics constitute a class definable in terms of shared parameters on linearization and prosody-to-syntax interface. The models of grammar denying endoclisis, cf. Bresnan & Mchombo (1995), Klavans (1995) fail to make correct predictions. At the same time, the practice of ascribing unique morphosyntactic properties to endoclitics, cf. Harris (2002), Spencer & Luis (2012) rather than to structures hosting them is not entirely justified. I claim that endoclisis is triggered by specific features of those clitic hosts which are ambivalent between morphological and syntactic structures in languages with exoclitics (proclitics and enclitics) and not by any inherent features by clitics. Endoclitics are a subset of exoclitics. In all known languages, they retain parallel uses as proclitics or enclitics, while endoclitic insertion requires special syntactic positions where only part of clitics existing in this language can appear. E.g., endoclisis in Yaure and Gban takes place in clausal right periphery, where only few discourse clitics can appear due to the limitations imposed by clausal structure.

Cross-linguistic variation in the class of languages with endoclitics is triggered by such parameters as endomorphemic vs exomorphemic insertion, external syntactic position, possibility of clustering, category of the inserted element and its prosodic type.

<u>Endomorphemic vs exomorphemic languages</u>. Degema and two dialects of Udi — Vartashen and Nigj, cf. Ganenkov, Lander & Maisak (2012) are rigid endomorphemic languages, which ban the insertion of clitics between morphemes. Gban and Yaure are free endomorphemic languages, where insertion of clitics into roots or affixes is an option. All other languages in our sample require exomorphemic insertion, typically — between a preverb and stem.

<u>External position</u>. Endoclitics are oriented towards clausal left periphery in Ossetic, Pashto, Old Czech, VP-internal left periphery in Sorani, clausal right periphery in Degema, Gban, Yaure and Andi.

<u>Clustering</u>. Most languages only allow single endoclitics, while Ossetic, Pashto, Old Czech and European Portuguese allow the insertion of clusters. Gothic and Udi allow clustering with endoclisis, not with exoclisis.

<u>Category of endoclitic</u>. Endoclitics can be pronominals, auxiliaries, person markers and discourse particles.

<u>Prosodic type</u>. In most languages, endoclitics behave as phonetic enclitics, but proclitics/universal clitics (Albanian) are attested. Clitic clusters in Nidj Udi and Gothic may consist of prosodically heterogeneous elements.

It is plausible that endoclisis is possible with elements lacking the properties of phonetic clitics. E.g., Russian licenses insertion of heavy prepositions into reciprocals, *ни*-negatives and *кое*-indefinites according to Arkadiev (2012) and insertion of weak pronouns into split word forms of idioms like *так и надо* 'X deserved it'.

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☙

Transitivity Discord Constructions: Unity and Diversity

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Keywords: transitivity, voice

Schedule: Thu 14.00 Room 7

The descriptive and typological literature has noted the existence of a clause type that has received a variety of labels (e.g., "semi-transitive," Dryer 2007; "transitivity discord constructions [TDCs]," Margetts 2008). TDCs display morphological and syntactic features that place them formally and functionally between default intransitive and default transitive clauses in their respective languages. Formally, case marking and agreement patterns resemble those of intransitive clauses, but in addition to the agentive argument there arguably is a patientive argument in the clause (sometimes, with an unclear syntactic status). Functionally, such clauses often denote a low degree of individuation of the patientive argument (usually: non-specificity). Example (1) from Chintang (Tibeto-Burman, Nepal) illustrates the opposition between these clause types:

(1)   Chintang (Schikowski 2013: 34, 39)

a.	*Kosi-beʔ*	*maʔmi*	*lums-e*.
	river-LOC	person	sink-IND.NPST[3SG.SBJ]
	'Someone sank in the river.' (intransitive)		
b.	*Debi-ŋa*	*seu*	*kond-o-ko*.
	D.-ERG	apple	look.for-3[SG].OBJ-IND.NPST[3SG.SBJ]
	'Debi is looking for the/an apple.' (transitive)		
c.	*Debi*	*seu*	*kon-no*.
	D.	apple	look.for-IND.NPST[3SG.SBJ]
	'Debi is looking for apples.' (TDC)		

Based on the extant literature on such phenomena, the present paper surveys some of the variation found with these constructions, both within and across language families, paying special attention to Oceanic, Algonquian, Sahaptian, and Tibeto-Burman languages. It claims that, while some languages may restrict the use of such clauses on a lexical basis (e.g., as in Senni and, partly, in Oceanic), it is more common to find them distributed on a grammatical basis. It also claims that such constructions are formally heterogeneous regarding their exact syntactic make-up, but that their functional homogeneity appears to be remarkably consistent.

Abbreviations
ERG ergative, IND indicative, LOC locative, NPST nonpast, OBJ object, SBJ subject, SG singular

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POSTER PRESENTATIONS

<u>Schedule</u>: Thu 10.30-11.30

The syntax of participant-oriented secondary predicates in Hill Mari

Natalia Abovyan

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This work focuses on the Hill Mari depictive construction containing an adjective which characterizes an argument during the event denoted by the main predicate. The depictive construction expresses the state of a participant that holds all through the main event.

In Hill Mari NP an adjective precedes the NP head and does not agree with it in case or number. In depictives agreement is obligatory and the adjective is strictly postpositional. Following (Himmelmann&Schultze-Berndt 2005, Motut 2010), I use the term depictives in the broad sense to include depictives proper (1) and appositive depictives (2). They are morphologically identical although the latter can be distinguished in some contexts by a preceding pause. Such a prosodic unit is marked by brackets.

(1) tӛdӛ   Maša-m   jükšӛ-m   väsli-n.
    he   Masha-ACC   drunk-ACC   meet-PRET
    'He met Masha$_i$ drunk$_i$.'

(2) [tӛdӛ   jükšӛ] Maša-m   väsli-n.
    [he   drunk] Masha-ACC   meet-PRET
    'Drunk, he met Masha.'

Hill Mari depictives can be subject-oriented or object-oriented. The indirect object can control the appositive depictive:

(3) ävä-žӛ   Peta-lan   roza-m   jükšӛ-län   pu-en.
    mother-POSS.3SG   Petja-DAT   rose-ACC   drunk-DAT   give-PRET
     'Mother gave Petja$_i$ a rose drunk$_i$.'

I use several syntactic tests taken from (Heringa 2009, Motut 2010) to draw a clear distinction between depictives proper and appositive depictives. As expected, they behave quite differently under negation and in the elliptic context. For example, in (4) the depictive is under the scope of the main predicate negation, while the main verb itself is not which is typical of depictives proper. Appositive depictives do not behave this way and are always outside the scope of negation.

(4) Mӛn   Maša-m   jükšӛ-m   väsli-tel-am.
    I   Masha-ACC   drunk-ACC   meet-NEG.PRET-1SG
    'I have not met Masha$_i$ drunk$_i$ (ever; i. e. I have met Masha on several occasions, but she was never drunk at the time)'

I will also show that subject-oriented depictives themselves are not homogeneous and their syntactic properties may vary. Speakers show a curious preference in the choice of either appositive depictives or depictives proper depending on whether the main predicate is transitive or intransitive. The majority of speakers prefer appositive depictives to depictives proper if the main verb is transitive, as in (2).

I tentatively propose that the differences in properties shown by the subject-oriented depictives can be accounted for if I assume (following Bailyn 2012, 2013, Matushansky 2012) appositive depictives and depictives proper to be different level adjuncts headed by the Pred functional head. Object-oriented depictives are inside the VP, subject-oriented ones can be either vP or TP adjuncts, which determines their status of depictives proper and appositive depictives respectively.

I will also consider semantic distribution of depictive secondary predication in Hill Mari relying on the semantic map proposed in Himmelmann&Schultze-Berndt (2005) in comparison with other types of secondary predication. I examine the way the aspectual properties of the main predicate affect the acceptability of depictives and also discuss the prosodic properties of appositive depictives.

List of Abbreviations:
1SG – first person singular, 3SG – third person singular, ACC – accusative, DAT – dative, POSS – possessor, PRET – preterite.

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✑

Contextualized and non-contextualized concreteness ratings

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There are concreteness/abstractness rating lists for a variety of languages (e.g. Brysbaert et al. 2014). A similar list has recently been produced for nouns, verbs and adjectives in Croatian (Peti-Stantić, Stanojević 2017). Such lists are based on rating words in isolation and do not take into consideration the polysemy of words, as well as the fact that context-free estimates rely on the creation of minimal context (Fauconnier 1994). The aim of this paper is to explore to what extent different semantic contexts impact concreteness ratings. More specifically, we claim 1) that greater combinatorial potential of words will be linked to higher variance scores for the respective word, because different collocations may cause different concreteness ratings, and 2) that contextualized concreteness ratings will yield different scores when tested on native speakers.

To substantiate our claim, we have selected 32 nouns from the list of 1000 nouns that have been rated for concreteness by at least 30 native speakers of Croatian each in a previous study. The nouns were selected based on their high or low combinatorial potential. The combinatorial potential was checked on 16 semantically ambiguous and 16 semantically non-ambiguous words in the 2.2 B corpus of Croatian (hrWac). To determine semantic ambiguity, a qualitative analysis was performed in order to determine potential semantic groups within different collocations.

The selected nouns were used as input in three sets of experiments with 120 students attending the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, and 120 majoring in a STEM area at the Polytechnic of Zagreb.

The first was a pen-and-paper concreteness rating of the 32 chosen words in isolation, tested on 30 students in each group.

The second experiment involved concreteness ratings of the same words in contexts constructed on the basis of naturally-occurring two-word phrases in the hrWaC corpus, but controlled for semantic group and length, as well as several other factors. It was presented to 60 participants in each group.

The third experiment was a lexical decision task, where we checked for the variability and reaction time for selected words with respect to their concreteness or abstractness and in connection with different contexts, tested on 20 participants in each group.

Preliminary results show a difference in contextualized and non-contextualized ratings. Nouns with higher variance scores yielded different semantic groups whose concreteness is then, in turn, rated differently. The variability seems to be connected with different reaction times.

This suggests that concreteness values are not stable in different contexts. This is visible not only in the questionnaire-based study, but is confirmed in reaction times. Overall, when tested in isolation, the results seem to be realistic only in as much as native speakers agree upon a shared minimal context. Such a conclusion has consequences for lexical access theories and theories of language processing, such as Dual Coding Theory (Paivio 1986; 2010).

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☙

Acquisition of noun derivation in Estonian and Russian

Reili Argus and Victoria Kazakovskaya

The main controversial theoretical claims when discussing the acquisition of derivatives have been those made that children acquire derivatives while mastering them via affixation (Clark 2014: 425–

439) and the opposite view that derivatives-may be acquired as one item (Gleason 1958: 176, Nagy et al. 1993: 45).

We have focused on testing the factors influencing the acquisition of noun derivation in typologically different languages, Estonian, a Finno-Ugric (and compound-rich) language and Russian, an East-Slavic, derivative-rich one. The main research question is what plays the most important role in the acquisition of this phenomenon: general factors, such as learning strategies (from simplex to complex) as well as semantic categories of derivatives, or language-specific factors, such as the productivity of different patterns and availability/frequency of different affixes in the input (child-directed speech, *CDS*). We have chosen to use the building block model (Zurek 1990, Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 2014), which states that complexity increases during development, meaning that the child may acquire complex structures only after acquiring simplex ones.

More specific research questions in our study are the following. 1) Do simplex stems occur first and, only afterwards, derivatives? 2) Does the child use derivational affixes first with simple stems and then, subsequently, with complex words such as compounds and derived stems? 3) Are the semantic categories of affixes (e.g., agent, instrument, process, object) acquired in the same sequence in both languages? 4) Are the productive patterns of derivation acquired first? 5) How does the frequency of different patterns, models and affixes in CDS affect the acquisition?

Our study is based on naturalistic observations – longitudinal data (1;3–3;0) of spontaneous child speech (*CS*): 4 children, 62,5 hours of recordings, 12300 tokens (CHILDES).

The results revealed significant differences in the acquisition of noun derivation in the languages under observation. The system of noun derivation is acquired at a faster pace in Russian, while Estonian children have much fewer noun derivatives in their speech and they use different suffixes with less regularity.

However, in both languages there is no clear evidence that derivational suffixes emerge only after corresponding simplex stems have been acquired. Furthermore, suffixes do not always emerge first with simplex stems, they can occur with derived stems as well as a part within the compounds. More than half of all noun lemmas appear in CS for the first time as derivatives, and later so-called "decomposition" takes place.

The order of emergence of semantic categories seems to be quite similar, at least, for those categories which are represented in both CS corpora: diminutive > person > process, result. There are some suffixes used productively at the early stages: with diminutive semantics in both CS, with process/actions semantics in Estonian, and with semantics of stylistic modifications in Russian. All these suffixes are also productive in CDS, as well as in adult-directed speech. The main factor influencing the order of the derivational patterns and affixes can be considered to be the input frequency and productivity in the target-system.

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⅏

Comparing degrees of ungrammaticality of Person and Number violations: Implications for the ordering of phi-features

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The aim of this paper is to shed light upon the syntactic representation of the Number, Person hierarchy through evidence coming from ungrammaticality judgments in Romanian, suggesting that Person violations are harder to process than Number violations. The paper is based on the assumption that ungrammaticality is a cline (Chomsky 1957,Villata, Rizzi & Franck 2016), along which the violation of a certain feature is more acceptable than the violation of another. While there is fascinating evidence to this point from current psycholinguistic and neurolinguistic literature (Nevins & al. 2007, Mancini & al. 2011 a, b, Mancini et al. 2014 a.o.), the paper proposes a novel method for testing processing, a "false choice" method which involves asking speakers to compare degrees of ungrammaticality of phi-feature violations. Biases towards the violation of a certain feature (Person rather than Number) are taken to reveal speakers' subconscious awareness of a hierarchy of phi-features.   A "false choice" task with violations of number, person was devised, and 30 native speakers of Romanian were asked to choose the "lesser evil" out of two ungrammatical sequences of words. The subjects were given 6 pairs of sentences (a pair for each pronoun-see Table 1, except for the 3rd singular feminine, so as to avoid a gender effect), each pair consisting of a sentence where there is person agreement between the subject and the verb, but not number agreement (1a), and a sentence where there is person agreement between the subject and the verb, but not number agreement (1b): Table 1:

(1) a. *Ei   citeşte   o   carte.*
3rd.MASC.PL read- 3rd.SG ART-FEM.SG book
   b. *Ei   citim   o   carte*
3rd.MASC.PL read- 1st .PL ART-FEM.SG book

Person	Singular	Plural
1	eu	noi
2	tu	voi
3	el (M) ea (F)	ei (M) ele (F)

The results of the false choice task for Person and Number reveal that Person violations generate a more serious perturbation than Number anomalies. For each pair, more than 70% (> 21) of the speakers chose the variant with the Number violation as the more acceptable of the two. The sentences with Person violations that were chosen as correct more, but still not enough to overturn the result of the ungrammaticality task were *Tu dorm* ("2nd.SG.sleep-1st.SG"), *El găteşti tot timpul* ("3rd. MASC. SG. cook-2nd. SG. all time-the"), sentences where the verbal form is somewhat more similar, phonetically, to the correct verbal form corresponding to the subject pronoun (*dormi*-2nd.SG, *găteşte*-3rd.SG). In the other cases, almost all speakers unanimously considered the Number violation sentence less anomalous.

The paper adopts Mancini et al. (2014) explanation that a Person violation disrupts the evaluation of the perspective from which a sentence is reported (Sigurdsson 2004), while a Number violation only changes the Number of the subject, starting from Sigurdsson (2004)'s idea that there is an anchoring between the morphosyntactic and the speech act participant representation characterizing Person Agreement. However, unlike Sigurdsson (2004), it places Number above Person in the

hierarchy, relying on semantic and morphological evidence in favour of the idea that the plural seems to contain the singular (Corbett 2000, Harley & Ritter 2002, Ackema & Neeleman 2017, Wyngaerd 2018 a.o.):

(2) [CP Force … Λ_A, Λ_P … Top … S_T … S_L [IP … Num_s … $Pers_s$ … M … T … [vP …]]], where ST=time of speech, SL= location of speech, ΛA= the logophoric agent, ΛP= the logophoric patient

   Corrobating the results of a "false choice" ungrammaticality test with morphosemantic arguments can thus be extremely revealing with respect to the structural ordering of phi-features.

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℻

Overt contrastive topic marking in East Asian languages: The case with Wenzhounese

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This paper proposes that the Wenzhounese (Sinitic-Wu) sentence-medial affix *-ŋi* is a dedicated contrastive topic (CT) marker. The diagnostics in (1) lend support to *-ŋi*'s CT-marker status, following standard definitions of CTs, in which speakers address an overall question by partitioning it into subquestions (Büring 2003, 2014, and Tomioka 2006): In (1a), *-ŋi* resists an exhaustive focus reading. In (1b), it resists maximal elements (in contrast to non-maximal elements). In (1c-d), *-ŋi* marks a hypothetical if-clause, while incompatible with a factual if-clause.

(1) a. [Question: who said this?]

ləsi-(*ŋ̊i)   kuo   gi

teacher-(*CT)   said DECL.PRT

'[The teacher]^foc said this.'

b. {doubuvaŋzigy-ŋ̊i/ʔaŋ̊izigy-(*ŋ̊i)},   o   ɕi-ŋ̊aba.

{most.thing-CT/any.thing-(*CT)},   all   very-hard

'As for most things, they are pretty hard to do./??As for all things, they are pretty hard to do.'

c. ŋ̊i tɕaŋai ɦuo-ŋ̊i, ŋ̊i youfu vai   yaŋ kai peisei.

you if   be.tired-CT, you then   not will win this game

'If you're tired, then you won't win this game.'

d. [A: I do not feel well today. B utters the following]

ŋ̊i tɕaŋai   fu   sivu-(*ŋ̊i),   ɦuŋ̊i   you ga   ŋ̊i   pogmi ba.

you if   not be.well-(*CT),   we   then another day meet.up DECL.PRT

'If you aren't feeling well, let's meet up another day.'

Assuming that CTs denote alternatives corresponding to subquestions of a prior overall question, they necessarily resist an exhaustive focus, which provides a complete answer and disallows the overall question to be partitioned. CTs similarly resist maximal elements (e.g. *all*-NPs), since the latter lacks contrasting alternatives. Hypothetical conditionals are CT-compatible, as they denote contrasting sets of possible worlds (Iatridou 1991), each corresponding to a hypothetical situation (if situation A, then…; if situation B, then…). Factual conditionals, in contrast, don't plausibly invite contrasting scenarios (it's already established that speaker A isn't feeling well, hence no contrasting question to be addressed about what if speaker A is feeling well, etc.).

A plethora of studies have shown that the CT operator in East Asian languages tends to be overtly realized by bound/affixal particles attached to topic phrases (Hara 2006, Heycock 2008, and Tomioka 2014). Against this landscape, we argue Wenzhounese differs from Japanese/Korean in that Wenzhounese -*ŋ̊i* exclusively marks CTs (example 2a), and doesn't mark non-contrastive thematic topics (example 2b). Contrarily, contrastive and thematic topics are subsumed under the same marker in Japanese/Korean (e.g. Japanese –*wa* marking).

(2) a.ʔama maiŋ̊i   o   kʰø tsə ɕi. ʔaba-ŋ̊i tsaitsai tʰauyi tɕʰoŋ.

mom every.day all   sleep early   very. dad-CT, often   stay.up

'(As for) mom, she sleeps early every day. (As for) dad, he often stays up late.'

b.koŋkuotsʰø maiŋ̊i o zaiditɕyo təŋ. ʔaba-(*ŋ̊i) tsaitsai tɕʰo kai koŋkuotsʰø.

bus every.day all ten stop.by.   dad-(*CT) often   take that bus

'The bus stops by at ten every day. Dad, he often takes that bus.'

-*ŋ̊i*'s failure to mark thematic topics patterns with Mandarin CT-marking affix –*ne* when occurring sentence-medially (Constant 2012, 2014). We observe that Wenzhounese -*ŋ̊i* further differs from Mandarin –*ne* in that the former doesn't appear in sentence-final positions, whereas –*ne* independently functions as a sentence-final progressive aspect marker and clause typing operator. We thus identify Wenzhounese as the first known Sinitic language to feature an exclusive CT marker.

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⍦

The Coding of Turkic Indirectivity

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Indirectivity is a genuine Turkic grammatical category conveying the meaning that "a narrated event E^n is not stated directly, but in an indirect way, by reference to its reception by a conscious subject, a recipient R" (Johanson 2003: 274). It constitutes a specific type of the typological category evidentiality (Aikhenvald 2003). The source of evidence for a given information is not necessarily specified, i.e. the reception can be realized through hearsay, inferentiality, or perception (Johanson 2000: 61). Indirectivity is relatively well-described in a comparative perspective, in some cases also in language-specific detail.

The poster presentation aims to provide a map of the distribution of the formal types of indirective markers. The coding of indirectivity is morphologically realised by two types of markers. One type consists of postterminals that tend to vacillate between indirective and non-indirective readings. The other type consists of copular particles that are stable markers of indirectivity (Csató 2000, 2013). Markers such as Turkish MIŞ or Kazakh IPTI < IB-DIR are postterminal viewpoint operators expressing anteriority. Indirective particles grammaticalized from postterminal forms of copular verbs, e.g. Turkish *imiş/-(y)mIş* (< ÄR-MIŠ < copular verb *är-* 'to be' + the postterminal marker MIŠ), Kazakh *eken* (< ÄR-KÄN < copular verb *är-* 'to be' + the postterminal marker GAN), or Noghay *bolïptï* (< copular verb *bol-* 'to be(come)' + the postterminal marker IB-DIR), are pure indirectives that do not express anteriority (Johanson 2003, Csató 2000, 2013, and Karakoç 2005, 2011).

Three types of indirective systems can be distinguished (Johanson 2018):
• The inflectional marker IB-DIR plus two copula particles, ÄR-KÄN, tending towards non-reportive (inferential, perceptive) uses, and ÄR-MIŠ, tending towards reportive uses.
• The inflectional markers IB-DIR and GAN plus the copula particle ÄR-KÄN.
• The inflectional marker GAN (without a competing IB-DIR) plus the two copula markers ÄR-MIŠ (reportive) and ÄR-KÄN (non-reportive).
Some Turkic languages and varieties have lost the indirective category.

The presentation seeks to establish correlations between the distribution of the types of indirective systems and types of contact situations. Languages on the peripheries of the huge Turkic speaking world are, depending on the contact situation, (i) conservative, e.g. Turkish, (ii) innovative, copying other evidentiality categories, e.g. Salar and Karaim (Simon 2018; Csató forthcoming), or (iii) deprived of the category, e.g. Irano-Turkic. Languages with intensive family-internal contacts tend to renew the category and, in some cases, to introduce distinctions between reportive and non-reportive markers.

The map will show the distribution of old and renewed markers, indicating their type (inflectional, copular) and functions (inferential, perceptive, reportive) in the respective sociolinguistic settings. The languages will be classified according to the types of systems represented by them.

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☒

Prosody-First Grammar: Intonation Units, Liminal Words, and the Emergence of Complexity in Language

John Du Bois

It is a view widely held that syntax and prosody, while representing partly independent systems, nevertheless reveal a tendency for their respective hierarchical structures to converge. According to one common view, the prosody-syntax correlation is to be accounted for by deriving the prosodic hierarchy from the syntactic hierarchy (Nespor & Vogel, 2007). Doubts arise, however, given that the formal theories of syntax that underlie the assumed syntactic structures are based largely on the analysis of written language at its most formal, while prosodic structure characterizes the full range of informal to formal speech. This paper seeks a new beginning in the data of spontaneous discourse, analyzing the patterns of prosody and grammar that arise in naturally occurring spoken language use. From a discourse-functional perspective, I argue that the correlation of syntax and prosody arises in the opposite direction from what is commonly assumed (but see prosodic bootstrapping, Gleitman & Wanner, 1982; Peters, 1983). Prosody precedes grammar, across three time scales: in spontaneous conversation (seconds), child language (months), and grammaticization (generations). On this view, the intonation unit is a fundamental unit of spoken language, playing a critical role in organizing the flow of consciousness that underlies the verbalization of experience (Chafe, 1994; Du Bois, Cumming, Schuetze-Coburn & Paolino, 1992). Given that the verbalization of complex experience places potentially overwhelming demands on on the limited cognitive resources of the speaker (Ariel, Dattner, Du Bois & Linzen, 2015; Du Bois, 2003), a strategy must be invoked to manage the process. The intonation unit constitutes a kind of prosodic envelope which readily aligns with the cognitive verbalization process, defining a prosodic template that offers predictable affordances for the production, differentiation, and diversification of grammar. The result is the elaboration of increasingly complex syntactic structures. Evidence to support this conclusion is based on the analysis of prosodic and grammatical patterns in more than 38,000 intonation units from the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (Du Bois, Chafe, Meyer, Thompson, Englebretson & Martey, 2000-2005). Sixty conversations totaling 247,000 words were transcribed by UCSB transcribers (Du Bois et al., 1992), and subsequently analyzed by Biron and Baum using the Montreal Forced Aligner (McAuliffe, Socolof, Mihuc, Wagner & Sonderegger, 2017) and the Weizmann Human Intonation Parser (WHIP) (Biron & Baum, forthcoming). Change in the ratio of speech rate between words in initial and final positions yields an automatic segmentation that reliably identifies intonation unit boundaries using only timing information (i.e. *lag*, a.k.a. final lengthening, tempo shift) (Biron & Baum, forthcoming). A prosodically and syntactically distinctive class of "liminal words" is identified (e.g. complementizer and relativizer *that*, infinitive *to*, connective *and*, etc.) which appear frequently in prosodic isolation between two longer intonation units, but also either initially or finally within a larger intonation unit. This paradoxical prosodic distribution reflects the function of liminal words as a structure broker, deployed at boundaries precisely to bridge beyond them. The liminal word strategy expands beyond the limited capacity of the current intonation unit, uniting several smaller syntacticprosodic units into larger, more complex structures of emergent grammar (Hopper, 1998; Hopper, 2011).

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Aspectual composition, aktionsart and event structure in Tomo Kan Dogon

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The paper considers the aktionsart/aspectual system in the Tomo Kan language (< Dogon < Niger Congo) and discusses some challenges that this system poses to the theory of telicity. The data were collected during author's own fieldwork in Mali and Burkina Faso in 2011 – 2017.

A verb can be considered telic if it combines with the so-called *in*-adverbials (or time-frame adverbials) such as *in ten minutes* (in sense 'within ten minutes') and atelic if it combines with adverbials like *for ten minutes* (the so-called time-span adverbials), cf. (Verkuyl 1972, Dowty 1979, Krifka 1989, Tatevosov 2010). This can be illustrated by the following examples where (1) is a clause containing a telic verb and (2) an atelic one:

   (1) *The room emptied in/*for ten minutes.*
   (2) *John danced for/*in ten minutes.*

S. Tatevosov (2010) shows that languages of the world differ in how they draw the line between telic and atelic verbs. To be precise, there are languages where a large class of verbs can be both telic and atelic, and the verbs of this class are usually change-of-state verbs or incremental predicates.

In Tomo Kan the majority of verbs are compatible with both *in-* and *for*-adverbials:

   (3) ŋ̀   miniti hinna (wá) ɲà: dὲlὲ

        1SG   minute 1   LOC   fire   kill.PFV

        lit. 'I extinguished the fire for/in one minute'.

(4) sátámìnìtì   lɔ́:   (wá)   kɔ̀ⁿ   kwɛ̀mɛ̀

     S.   minute   2   LOC   cry   cry.PFV

     lit. 'Sata wept for/in two minutes'.

For-adverbials (marked by the Locative morpheme in Tomo Kan) and *in*-adverbials (NPs without postposition) could be treated as synonymic since they do not provide means for distinguishing telic and atelic verbs. However, some predicates can be distinguished by these two types of adverbials:

(5) *jì: mìnìtì   pyɛ̀lɛ̀:   bɛmì

     jì: mìnìtì   pyɛ̀lɛ̀:   wá   bɛmì

     water   minute   10   LOC   boil.PFV

     'The water boiled in/*for 10 minutes'.

The verbs that are compatible with *in*- but not with *for*-adverbials include predicates which encode prototypically instant events ('lose', 'break') and many change-of-state verbs ('rotten', 'be spoiled'). Surprisingly, I could not find any predicates which would be compatible only with *for*-adverbials (this class is usually referred to as activities in the sense of (Vendler 1957)).

I will try to account for such a distinction using the event structure framework (Ramchand 2008). Firstly, I argue that the absence of activities in Tomo Kan is closely connected to the fact that many verbs require cognate objects like in (6):

(6) ámàdù   jɔ́   jwɛ̀bɛ̀

     A.   run   run.PFV

     Amadou ran.

First, I will show that cognate objects are true NPs, they are incremental and their incrementality is associated with the telicity of the clause. Using this notion, I will try to account for the fact that activities are absent in Tomo Kan. Second, I will describe the semantics of the Perfective marker and the nature of event boundaries provided by Perfective semantics. Third, I will show that the resulting state is not provided by the aktionsart of a verb but rather by the semantics of the Perfective marker and by chain verb constructions. I will also analyze the specific contribution of causative and reversive morphemes to the aspectual composition.

Abbreviations

1 – 1st person; LOC – locative; PFV – perfective.

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Effects of transparency vs L1 influence in Estonian EFL learners' idiom comprehension

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Decomposability and transparency in meaning appear to affect idiom comprehension; the existence or the absence of a link between the literal meaning of the constituent parts and the figurative meaning as a whole may either facilitate idiom processing or impede it, respectively (e.g., Abel 2003, and Steinel et al. 2007). Similarly, L1 knowledge may facilitate L2 idiom comprehension. In her study of L2 learners' idiom comprehension and production, Irujo (1986) found that idioms mismatching with language learners' L1 idioms were the hardest to understand, while idioms identical to their L1 equivalents were the easiest to comprehend. Even though understanding idioms has always been considered a challenging process for foreign-language learners, some idioms are to a certain extent analysable and/or similar to their L1 counterparts, which makes them easier to understand; however, idiom comprehension studies have traditionally concentrated on native speakers. For example, Estonian EFL learners' idiom comprehension has not been subject to much linguistic research.

Starting from the premise that both analysability and L1 similarity matter in idiom processing, this study aims to investigate Estonian native speakers' ability to comprehend English idioms. Based on e.g. Yoshikawa's (2008) findings suggesting that L1 knowledge positively influences L2 idiom processing but may also interfere with comprehension, this study aims to determine whether idiom analysability (i.e., their degree of transparency) facilitates Estonian EFL learners' idiom comprehension more effectively than the similarity between English and Estonian idioms. A deductive approach is chosen to develop a hypothesis based on the premises that have been confirmed by earlier studies and to test the hypothesis on Estonian EFL learners.

To this end, forty-one L1 Estonian learners of English (age 12–13 years) performed a multiple-choice comprehension test. The subjects were presented with idioms in brief linguistic contexts and asked to choose the correct definition from four given options. To indicate the expected difference between the transparency/opaqueness aspect and the L1 similarity aspect, each participant earned five separate raw scores for the number of correct responses – that is, separate scores for opaque idioms with identical Estonian counterparts, e.g. "bite sb.'s nose off" ("kellelgi nina peast ära hammustama"); for opaque idioms with partially similar counterparts, e.g. "hear the birdies sing" ("ööbikuid kuulma", which literally means "hear the nightingales"); for opaque idioms without similar counterparts, e.g. "a fine kettle of fish"; for transparent idioms (in which at least one element is used in its literal sense) without similar Estonian counterparts, e.g. "donkey work"; and for semi-transparent idioms without similar Estonian counterparts, e.g. "a whale of a" (when used to refer to a great amount of something). The data gathered as by above means was then subjected to statistical analysis. The results suggest the following order of idiom intelligibility among Estonian learners of English: (1) transparent idioms and opaque idioms identical to their Estonian counterparts, (3) semi-transparent idioms, (4) opaque idioms without similar Estonian counterparts, and (5) opaque idioms partially similar to their Estonian counterparts.

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<p style="text-align:center">✍</p>

Direct quotation strategies in Polish

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The paper investigates the range of strategies employed to introduce direct quotation in conversational Polish, as in (1). Direct quotation is used here to refer to reported speech, but also other common objects of quotation: thought, attitudes, gestures.

(1)
   A ja taka „nie ma mowy"
   Lit. 'And I like this "no way"'

The general research question is how the quotation strategies in Polish compare to those observed cross-linguistically, based on the overview of the general tendencies in quotation cited by Buchstaller and Van Alphen (2012).

   The results are based on an analysis of audio recordings taken from Spokes – a corpus of spoken Polish (Pęzik 2015). 401 tokens of direct quotation were collected from 4 randomly selected conversations covering almost four hours of audio material. These tokens were categorized according to the type of quotation strategy employed.

   As is shown, the strategies observed in Polish fall rather neatly in line with the cross-linguistic patterns. The proposed typology of the most prominent types is as follows (in descending order of frequency):

i) Verbs of direct reports (VDR) ('say', 'ask', etc.)
ii) Zero quotation (free-standing quotes)
iii) Self-standing participant-referring nominals ((Conj) NP) (*a on „nie ma mowy"* 'and he "no way"')
iv) Demonstrative deictics *tak/taki* 'like so, like this'
v) Quotative *że* (derived from the homophonous *that*-type complementizer)
vi) Paralinguistic and associated action verbs (e.g. 'He nodded, "That's okay"')
vii) Lexical presentationals (*w stylu* 'in the style (of)'), *typu* 'of the type')
viii) Similative/approximative markers (*coś* 'something')

Additionally, the basic types shown above may combine into amalgam quotatives, which is also attested cross-linguistically. The basic and amalgam types are collated in the table below, along with their quantitative contribution to the sample.

Basic types	Specific subtypes (basic and amalgam)		N	%
VDR	VDR	136	177	44
	VDR+*że*	32		
	VDR+*tak*	5		
	VDR+*taki*	4		
Zero quotation			62	15
(Conj) NP	(Conj) NP	46	48	12
	Conj NP+*że*	2		
Demonstrative deictics *tak/taki*	*tak/taki*	43	45	11
	(Conj) NP *taki*+*że*	2		
że	*że*	23	24	6
	NP *że* +lexical presentational	1		
Paralinguistic verbs and associated action verbs			17	4
Lexical presentationals			6	1
(*no*) *i*			5	1
coś	*coś*	2	5	1
	coś+*taki*	1		
	coś+lexical present.	1		
	coś+lex. present.+*że*	1		
Demonstrative pronouns	dem. pronouns	3	4	1
	dem. pro.+NP+ lex. presentational	1		
tam			2	<1
Quantifier			1	<1
Embedded			5	1
Total			401	100

Besides the parallels with the cross-linguistic tendencies, a pattern that stands out in the Polish data is the versatile quotative usage of *że* (otherwise a complementizer), which may be employed as a quotative complementizer but also as a purely quotative marker dissociated from any subordinator function.

We also note a familiar functional asymmetry between VDRs and other strategies in that VDRs are generally incompatible with non-lexical quotations (gestures, facial expressions, sound effects), for which (Conj) NP and *tak/taki* are better-suited. Thus, the non-VDR quotatives are more versatile in this respect. Recall that the same asymmetry holds in English between speech verbs and quotative *go/be like*.

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Passives as goal constructions in oral, literary and academic Kurmanji

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This paper analyses traces of lexicality in passive constructions in Kurmanji Kurdish. Passive in Kurmanji is standardly constructed on the basis of the auxiliary verb *hatin* 'come' plus a verb-nominal form of a lexical verb; see example (1):

(1) *Berî   hingê   li   Yêvropa-yê   di   nivîs-ên   çend   zanyar-ên*
     before   little   PRP   Europe-OBL   CRP   writing-EZF.PL   some   scholar-EZF.PL
     Yêvropî   da   di-hat   gotin   ku …
     European   CRP   ASP-come.PST.3SG   say.VN   COMP
     'A short time ago, in Europe, in some writings by European scholars, it was said that…' (KA_046_kur_m_020f)

Hatin is at the same time used as a lexical verb of movement in goal constructions (Haig 2014; Haig & Thiele 2014). Goal constructions in Kurmanji may feature oblique-marking of the goal (example 2) and/or directivity agreement on the verb (example 3):

(2) *Ez   hatim   **Stockholm-ê**   û   min   dest   bi*
     1SG.RCT   come.PST.1SG   Stockholm-OBL.F   and   1SG.OBL   hand   PRP
     jiyan-a   xwe   ya   nû   kir.
     life-EZF.F   REFL   EZF.F   new   do.PST.3SG
     'I came to Stockholm and started my new life' (KE_005_046)

(3) *Xwesûya   Gewrê   gava   li   bûk-a   xwe   di-nêrî*
     Xwesûya   Gewrê   when   PRP   daughter.in.law-EZF.F   REFL   ASP-look.PST.3SG
     *ciwani-ya   wê   **di-hat-e**   bir-ê.*
     youth-EZF.F   3SG.OBL.F   ASP-come.PST.3SG-DIR   mind-OBL.F
     'When Xwesûya Gewrê looked at her daughter-in-law, her youth came to her mind' (KE_001_027)

The crosslinguistic tendency of auxiliaries to retain some lexical features (Redder 1992; Lehmann 2015: 30–34) can be observed in *hatin*-passives as well: in (4), the lexical verbal noun *weşandin-ê* is an oblique-marked form. In (5), the auxiliary form *tên-e* carries a directionality marker:

(4) *Piştî   sal-ekê,   sal-a   1929-an   bi   wê*
     after   year-INDEF.OBL.F   year-EZF.F   1929-OBL.PL   PRP   DEI.OBL.F
     elfabe-yê   kitêb-a   perwerdekirin-a   ziman-ê   kurdî   ya
     alphabet-EZF.M   book-EZF.F   education-EZF.F   language-EZF.M   Kurdish   EZF.F
     Îsahak   Marogûlov   û   Erebê   Şemo   bi   sernav-ê   "Xo-xo
     Îsahak   Marogûlov   and   Erebê   Şemo   PRP   title-EZF.M   self-self
     hînbûn-a   xwendin-a   nivîsar-a   kurmancî"   li   Yêrêvan-ê
     learn.VN-EZF.F   read.VN-EZF.F   writing-EZF.F   Kurmanji   PRP   Yerevan-OBL.F
     *hat   **weşandin-ê**.*
     come.PST.3SG   publish.VN-OBL.F
     'A year later, in 1929, the Kurdish language textbook by Îsahak Marogûlov and Erebê Şemo with the title "Autodidactically learning to read Kurmanji writing" was published in this alphabet in Yerevan' (KA_066_kur_m)

(5) *Daxwaz-ên   kurd-an   yên   mîna   bidestxistin-a   nasname-ya*
     claim-EZF.PL   Kurd-OBL.PL   EZF.PL   such.as   obtain-EZF.F   identity-EZF.F
     etnîkî   û   bidestxistin-a   nasname-ya   neteweyî,   bi   têgeh-a
     ethnic   and   obtain-EZF.F   identity-EZF.F   national   CRP   concept-EZF.F
     *"nîjadperestî-ya   hindikahî-yê"   re   wekî.hev   **tên-e***
     racism-EZF.F   minority-OBL.F   CRP   identical   ASP.come.PRS.3PL-DIR
     dîtin   û   ji.ber   vê   yek-ê   jî   kurd
     see.VN   and   because.of   DEI.OBL.F   one-OBL.F   also   Kurd
     tên-e   rexnekirin.
     ASP.come.PRS.3PL-DIR   criticise.VN
     'The claims of the Kurds, such as their wish to obtain an ethnic identity and to obtain a national identity, are seen as identical with the concept of 'racism of the minority' and because of this, the Kurds are also criticised' (KA_024_kur_t_026)

It will be assumed that the semantic potential of *hatin* 'come' may unfold to project morphosyntactically full-fledged goal constructions; however, these phenomena are rare overall and involve some degree of variation. Analysing a corpus of oral, literary and academic Kurmanji, the present paper is set out to identify functional, stylistic and/or dialectal reasons for this variation.

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The formation of subordination in clause combining: a diachronic and synchronic assessment of complementation strategies in Akkadian

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The processes involved in the development of clause combining strategies resulting in subordination patterns have received a renewed attention in studies of diachronic syntax, and are central to theories dealing with the concepts of language complexity. A commonly cited example of an attested development of complemental subordination is the rise of Akkadian finite complement clauses, a syntactic innovation that has been linked to the increasing complexity of communicative needs in early historical societies (Deutscher 2000). Despite divergent interpretations of some textual data and their subsequent conclusions (Streck 2002), the existence of written evidence of an ancient language, where prior non-recursive structures gave way to more complex embedded clauses, has become a commonly held assumption in the linguistic literature (e.g. Sampson 2009).

It has not yet been considered, however, that Akkadian underwent a parallel process of substantial phonological and grammatical reduction, accompanied by the decisive language switch towards Akkadian of the otherwise dominant Sumerian region. Under the consequent sociological changes, and without any discernible linguistic compensation strategy, the contrast between the rather expected featural 'loss' and the less-predictable syntactic 'gain' remains unexplained. On the other hand, the assumed the way whereby finite complements emerged suggest adverbial clauses - and not paratactic constructions- as the analogical origin of finite embedding, which differs from channels of grammaticalization suggested in the literature (Heine & Kuteva 2007). Furthermore, a wider comparative scope that includes other old Semitic languages might be relevant to assess similitudes in complementation.

The analysis of the textual record in the oldest stages of the Akkadian language suggest that there is no evidence for the nonexistence of finite complementation in the oldest period of Akkadian. Consequently, the plausibility of both the indirect influence of writing and the assumed late development of adverbial clauses into complement clauses must also be called into question.

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Univerbation vs. lexicalization of particle-verb combinations in Vedic Sanskrit

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The issue of univerbation and lexicalization in Vedic particle-verb combinations (PV) such as (1) has recently been addressed by Papke (2010), Kulikov (2012), Sturm (2014), and Casaretto & Schneider (2015). However, with the exception of Papke, focus has been on single-particle structures; with the exception of Sturm, univerbation and lexicalization have not been distinguished; and in general, diagnostic accentual evidence has not been considered.

(1)   a.   *pári*   *ṣṭaḥ*
               around   be.PRS.3DU
               'they encompass/contain'
    b.   (*yat*) … *sam-*   *ájāti*
               when   together   drive.SUBJ.3SG
               '(when) … he will drive together'

I show that it is necessary to distinguish univerbation from lexicalization, and that accentuation provides important diagnostic evidence for univerbation.

Accentuation shows that univerbation is not limited to single-particle structures. Significantly, multiple-particle structures tend to have alternating accent as in (2). The fact that this is limited to particles occurring in structures like this shows that PVs form a single morphological (and prosodic) domain; in this sense, then, they are **univerbated**. (The anchor for alternating accent is the verb, which is unaccented in main clauses, accented in dependent clauses; hence the difference in accent distribution between (2a) and (2b).)

(2)   a.   *sam-*   *ā́-*   *vavarti*
               together   toward   turn.PRS.INTENS.3SG
               −acct   +acct   −acct
               '(it) comes back'
    b.   (*yátra+*)   *abhí*   *saṁ*   *návāmahe*
               where   forth   together   shout.PRS.MID.1PL
                           +acct   −acct   +acct
               '(where) we shout out together'

PVs like (1a) and (2a) are semantically noncompositional: The meanings 'encompass, contain' and 'come back' are straightforwardly derivable from *pári* 'around' and *ṣṭaḥ* 'they (DU) are', or from *sam* 'together', *ā́* 'toward', and *vavarti* 'turns again and again'. Similarly, in *ā (...) dā* (3), the meaning 'take' is not derivable from *ā* 'toward' and *dā* 'give'. PVs like these, therefore, must be listed as single entries in the lexicon—they are **lexicalized**. By contrast, the meanings of PVs like (1b) and (2b) are derivable from the meanings of their parts; e.g. *sam* 'together' + *ájati* 'drives' = 'drives together'. Listing all such combinations as lexical entries would unduly burden the lexicon. Rather, like their Sanskrit nominal counterparts (Molina Muñoz 2013), they should be accounted for at the interface of the syntax and the phonology.

Significantly, as (1b) and (2b) show, univerbation does not entail lexicalization.

Conversely, lexicalization does not require univerbation, i.e. adjacency within a PV with accent alternation; see (3a) beside (3b), where the combination of *ā* 'toward' and *dā* 'give' = 'take' is lexicalized. While in (3a), *ā* is adjacent to an imperfect form of *dā*, in (3b) it is not.

(3)   a.   *ā́-*   *(a)datta*
                  toward   give.IMPF.MID.3SG
                  'he took'
       b.   *ā́*   *sā́yakaṁ ...*   *(a)datta*
                  toward   arrow   give.IMPF.MID.3SG
                  'he took the arrow'

My findings have clear implications for discussions about the position of morphology in relation to the lexicon, as well as in relation to the interface between syntax and phonology (e.g. Harley 2009). Time and space permitting, I will conclude by comparing the behavior of Sanskrit PVs to German "separable-prefix verbs" (e.g. *zusammen-arbeiten* 'together' + 'work' = 'work together' vs. lexicalized *zusammen-schlagen* 'together' + 'beat' = 'beat up').

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The Finnish possessive suffix and the anaphor agreement effect

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This paper examines the distribution of Finnish possessive suffixes and reflexive anaphors with regard to the Anaphor Agreement Effect (AAE) by Rizzi (1990). The AAE captures the observation that reflexive anaphors do not occur in agreement positions. The Finnish 3rd person possessive suffix is an agreement marker for a covert anaphor with reflexive properties. The 3rd person possessive suffix

therefore offers an interesting viewpoint to the AAE, and cross-linguistic research on agreement and anaphors.

The Finnish possessive suffix (Px) is an agreement marker for the phi-features of a possessive pronoun (1a) (Anderson 2005, 235–239, Karlsson 1977, Nikanne 1989, van Steenbergen 1991). Common nouns do not trigger agreement (b). (Not all Finnish speakers accept the local reference for the possessive pronoun in (1a).)

(1) a. Pekka   näki   [hänen   laukku-nsa]
        Pekka.NOM   saw   his/her.GEN   bag.ACC-PX/3
        'Pekka$_i$ saw his/her$_{\%i/j}$ bag.'

   b. Pekka   näki   [Merjanlaukun].
        Pekka.NOM   saw   Merja.GEN   bag.ACC
        'Pekka saw Merja's bag.'

The 3rd person Px is interpreted as a reflexive anaphor in the absence of an overt possessor (2a) (Pierrehumbert 1980, Vainikka 1989, Trosterud 1993). We assume that the 3rd person Px is, in these contexts, caused by an unpronounced reflexive element (REFL) (van Steenbergen 1991, Huhmarniemi and Brattico 2015). The covert possessor thus appears to violate the AAE. The self-reflexive is ungrammatical in this context (2b).

(2) a. Pekka   näki   [REFL pyörä-nsä].
        Pekka.NOM   saw   bike.ACC-PX/3
        'Pekka$_i$ saw his$_{i/*j}$ bike.'

   b. *Pekka   näki   [itse-nsä   pyörän].
        Pekka.NOM   saw   self.GEN-PX/3 bike.ACC

The possessive suffix is a widespread agreement marker in Finnish; it can be suffixed to participial adjectives, postpositions (3), adverbs, and different types of non-finite verbs. The self-reflexive is disallowed in many of these contexts, but the 3rd person anaphoric Px is available.

(3)   [minun   lähellä-ni]
      I.GEN   near-PX/1SG
      'near me'

The Finnish self-reflexive may occur in parallel with the Px in contexts such as (4a-b). However, the two sentences differ in the interpretation of the anaphor. The preferred interpretation of (4b) is that Pekka sees his clone or e.g. imagines himself walking at the street.

(4) a. Pekka   tiesi   REFL kävelevä-nsä   kadulla.
        Pekka.NOM   knew   walk.INF-PX/3 street.at
        'Pekka knew he was walking at the street.'
   b. Pekka   näki   itsensä   kävelevän   kadulla
        Pekka.NOM   saw   self.GEN.Px/3SG   walk.INF-PX/3 street.at
        'Pekka saw himself to walk at the street.'

The Anaphor Agreement Effect (Rizzi 1990, see also Woolford 1999) states that anaphors do

not enter into phi-agreement (person, number, gender agreement) with e.g. clausemate verbs:

(5)   The anaphor agreement effect (AAE) (Rizzi 1990, 26)
         Anaphors do not occur in syntactic positions construed with agreement

The AAE is also in effect in non-finite contexts, such as in possessive constructions (e.g. Haegeman 2004, Sundaresan 2016). In addition, Tucker (2012) argues that the AAE concerns only Agree, not concord.
         We propose that covert anaphors do not obey the AAE in Finnish. In additon, we argue that most of the violations of AAE by the self-reflexive, such as (3b) can be explained by relying on the interpretation of the self-reflexive.

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ꕔ

Dative DOM and additional licensing

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One of the cross-linguistically robust uses of dative (adpositions) is to signal certain classes of structural (direct) objects, normally including animates, specifics, definites, or a combination thereof (Givón 1984, Bossong 1991, Lazard 2001, de Swart 2007, Manzini and Franco 2016, a.o). A typical

example is seen in Spanish (1), where animate definite objects must take the dative *a*, under *differential object marking* (DOM - Aisssen 2003, Bossong 1991, Comrie 1981, etc.).

(1) Spanish   (Ormazabal and Romero 2013, ex.1 a,b)

a. He   encontrado ***(a)**   **la niña**.
Have.1.SG   found   DAT=DOM   the book
'I have found the girl.'

b. He   encontrado **(*a)**   **el libro**.
Have.1.sg   found   DAT=DOM   the book
'I have found the book.'

In recent licensing accounts DOM encodes a split between Case-checked (licensed - the animate in (1a) and Caseless (unlicensed - the inanimate in (1b) nominals (López 2012, Ormazabal and Romero 2013, a.o.). Under similar reasoning, inanimates in (1b) carry lexical case as opposed to animates in (1) whose Case is structural (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007). And yet another recent assumption equates DOM to a last resort operation, i.e., if 'canonical' Agree/licensing can apply, DOM should be blocked (see Kalin to appear, Levin 2018, a.o.).

Some puzzles and their solution. This abstract addresses some DOM patterns which have received less attention in the (formal) literature, but which pose various challenges not only to theories of DOM and dative licensing, but also to Case/agreement, more generally. Once examined in detail, these data point toward two important conclusions: i) DOM involves a distinct type of licensing, which cannot be always subsumed under canonical theories of the type listed above. ii) DOM can signal a supplementary licensing operation on objects that have undergone a previous layer of licensing. The supplementary operation is connected to the valuation of a [+PERSON] feature which the initial probe might not contain. On the other hand, it is shown that various puzzles raised by the data can be solved by an account that a) relativizes valuation and licensing to (non-phasal) domains (see also Baker 2012, 2013, 2015); b) encompasses a fine-grained decomposition of DP featural structure and the licensing mechanisms that correspond to each of the features. The relevant patterns are seen in both NOM-ACC, and ERG-ABS languages.

The data come from Romance, as well as Indo-Aryan varieties, where (certain classes of) objects exhibit overt past participle agreement (PPA). Additionally, similar classes of structural objects as the Spanish (1a) require DAT morphology. Thus, differential objects behave just like the agreeing objects with respect to PPA, with the exception of supplementary DAT. Despite the DAT marker, DOM is distinguished from indirect objects in that the latter cannot show PPA, are not sensitive to animacy, take a DAT clitic, etc. Patterns of this can be straightforwardly derived under the assumption that DOM involves an additional licensing operation on structural objects (see also Béjar and Rezac 2009). Dative morphology results from an Impoverishment operation on the additional accusative.

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ℬ

Is Basque incorporating a non-native phoneme (through loanwords)? Evidence from Basque-French bilinguals

Oroitz Jauregi and Irantzu Epelde

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ℬ

Marker *-ge* in Hill Mari: Is it really a comitative?

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This paper deals with the affix *-ge* in Hill Mari: I will propose a new analysis of its semantics relying on my field data, collected in the village of Kuznetsovo and nearby villages (Mari El, Russia) in 2016-2018. In traditional Hill Mari grammars this marker is referred to as sociative case (Savatkova 2002: 100) that marks the accompanying entity (Tuzharov 1987: 89). T. Stolz et al (2006: 70) suggest that *-ge* is "a number-marking affix", which introduces the meaning of totality. Alhoniemi (1993: 60), Savatkova (2002: 100) and Salo (2016: 197) also mention the latter meaning.

My data show that prototypical comitative constructions (CC) mentioned in (Arkhipov 2009) tend to be encoded with the postposition *dono* 'with':

(1)   *ivan*   *maša*   *dono*/   ***maša-ge**   *šǝrgǝ-škǝ*   *ke-n*
       I.   M.   with   M.-COM   forest-ILL   go-PRET
       'Ivan went to forest with Mary.'

The marker *-ge* occurs in CCs only if they refer to some full set. In (2) a mother and her child make up such a set, whereas in (3) they do not as a child is not hers.

(2)   *ävä*   **t'et'ä-ge**   *xǝnal-aš*   *tol-ǝn*
       mother   child-COM   visit-INF   come-PRET
       'A mother paid [us] a visit with her child.'

(3)   *ǝdǝrämäš   *jäl*   **t'et'ä-ge**   *mašinä-š*   *sǝnz-ǝn*
       woman   smb.else's   child-COM   car-ILL sit-PRET
       'A woman got into a car with somebody else's child.'

In such constructions *-ge* marks either a salient part of the whole entity (4) or an object that forms a complete set with another one (5), but it cannot be used if two objects do not constitute a set pragmatically (6).

(4)   *maša*   *divan-ǝškǝ*   **jal-ge**   *kuz-en*   *šǝnž-ǝn*
       M.   couch-ILL   foot-COM   climb-CVB   sit-PRET
       'Mary sat with her feet up on the couch'

(5)   *mǝn'*   *törelkä-m*   **cäškä-ge**   *šu-en-äm*
       I   plate-ACC   cup-COM   throw-PRET-1SG
       'I threw away a plate with a cup.'

(6)   **mǝn'*   *xalat-ǝm*   **xolodil'n'ik-ge** *šu-en-äm*
       I   dressing.gown-ACC   fridge-COM   throw-PRET-1SG
       'I threw away a dressing gown and a fridge.'

Moreover, *-ge* has quantificational functions, which is untypical of comitative markers. It encodes CMP-quantification (in terms of (Tatevosov 2002)) marking a set of similar objects (7).

(7)   **klas-ge**   *poxod-ǝš*   *ke-ät*
       class-COM   camping.trip-ILL   go-NPST-3PL
       'The class are going camping.'

However, if a CMP-quantified object does not consist of equal parts, *-ge* is only possible with a quantifier, e.g. *cilä* (8). The same restriction emerges for DEF- and GEN-quantification.

(8)   **licä**   **cilä(-ge)**/   ***licä-ge**   *kec-eš*   *jǝl-en*   *ke-n*
       face   all-COM   face-COM   sun-LAT   burn-CVB   go-PRET
       'All (my) face got sunburnt.'

Therefore, *-ge* serves rather as an intensifier than as a quantifier, also expressing emphatic meaning in some more contexts.

To sum up, the main property of *-ge* is not just totality, which was previously mentioned. I propose its another semantic invariant: *-ge* emphasizes important separable parts of an object or of a set. In its "comitative" function *-ge* marks one salient part of a (complex) object necessary to make up some complete set (4), (5). In its "quantificational" function it marks every part of a (complex) object (7). If an object is not quantified by itself, it requires additional quantification (8). I will elaborate on this analysis in my talk, relying on theoretical approaches to the connections between quantification and intensification (Burnett 2014).

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✑

Syntactic differences between ECM and ECM-like constructions in Japanese

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Japanese has the ECM (Exceptional Case-Marking) Construction where the logical subject of the embedded predicate (selected by verbs like *omou* 'think' and *iu* 'say') is marked with accusative case rather than nominative case. Since, in Japanese, the ECM clause includes a complementizer *to* 'that', there is an issue in the literature as to whether the ECM subject is located in the matrix clause or in the embedded clause (see, e.g. Kuno 1976, Hiraiwa 2005).

(1)   Ken-ga Mari-o   kirei-da   to   it-ta.
        Ken-NOM Mari-ACC   beautiful-PRES that   say-PAST
        'Ken said Mari to be beautiful.'

It is sometimes suggested (e.g. Takano 2003) that the accusative argument is located in the matrix

clause, on the basis that the noun *koto* may occur with this argument, which is typically allowed in object position (Kishimoto 2004), as in (2).

(2)   Ken-ga   Mari-no koto-o   kirei-da   to   it-ta.
       Ken-NOM Mari-GEN fact-ACC beautiful-PRES that   say-PAST
       'Ken said Mary to be beautiful.'

In this paper, I will argue that the facts regarding the occurrence of *koto* with accusative arguments do not argue for the view that the ECM subject is located in matrix clause. Rather, I suggest that the ECM argument without *koto* resides in the embedded clause, realized as a 'true' ECM subject, as in (3a), while the accusative argument with *koto* is realized as a major object in the matrix clause, as in (3b).

(3)   a. [$_{TP}$ SUBJ   [$_{CP}$ Mari-o kirei-da-to] iu]
       b. [$_{TP}$ SUBJ Mari$_i$-no koto-o [$_{CP}$ pro$_i$ kirei-da-to] iu]

I suggest that (2) is construed as a Japanese counterpart of the construction *John believes of Mary that she is beautiful*.
       It can be shown that the two types of accusative arguments occupy distinct syntactic positions, on the basis of *soo* 'so' replacement (and the same point can be made by indefinite pronoun binding by *ka* and the scrambling of the embedded clause). Specifically, this paper shows that the two accusative arguments behave differently with regard to *soo* replacement, which replaces an embedded clause, as in (4).

(4)   a.   *Masao-mo Mari-o   soo   it-ta.
              Masao-also Mari-ACC so   say-PAST
              'Masao said Mari so, too.'
       b.   Masao-mo Mari-no   koto-o   soo it-ta.
              Masao-also Mari-GEN fact-ACC   so say-PAST
              'Masao said so of Mari, too.'

When (1) is a linguistic antecedent, the accusative argument with *koto* cannot be overtly realized when *soo* replacement applies, as in (4a). By contrast, when (2) is a linguistic antecedent, *soo* replacement allows the accusative argument with *koto* to remain undeleted, as shown in (4b). *Soo* replacement deletes the complementizer *to*, so it must replace the entire CP (Complementizer Phrase). Then, the data show that the accusative argument occurs with *koto* resides in the matrix clause, as in (3b), while the accusative argument with *koto* appears in the embedded clause, as in (3a). This leads us to the conclusion that the two types of accusative arguments appear in two distinct constructions, i.e. (1) is a genuine ECM construction, and (2), a major object construction.

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⚘

On evidential uses of non-canonical 'say' in the Poshkart dialect of Chuvash

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Non-canonical uses of 'say' in Turkic is a widespread phenomenon (Matić, Pakendorf 2013 (M & P)). Turkic 'say' can be used as a quote marker, as a complementizer, as a marker of adjunct clauses, among other uses. Interestingly, evidential uses attested for non-canonical 'say' in Siberia, are rare or even exceptional for Turkic. As noted by M & P, evidential 'say' is mostly restricted to the southeast or northwest of Siberia (e.g., found in Enets, Nanai and Udihe, etc.), where it is expressed with nontransparent particles. In this contribution, I would like to draw attention to evidential uses of 'say' in (the Poshkart dialect of) Chuvash (PC), which have not been discussed previously, see, e.g., Khanina's (ms) fieldwork report on Standard Chuvash, cited in M & P.

Most non-canonical uses of 'say' in PC are associated with the form *teze* 'say-CV', the *-sa* converb of *te-* 'say', used as a standard complementizer with verbs of speech and cognition, as in (1)–(2).

(1)   eki$_1$ [katɕ-a   kaj-ap$_1$]   **te-ze**   kala-r-ë
              sister   guy-OBJ   go.out-PRS.1SG   say-CV say-PST-3SG
              '[My] sister said she is getting married'.

(2)   [pört   xiɕ-ən-dʑə   koʑak] **te-ze**   şotla-t   petja
              hous   behind-P.3-LOC   cat   say-CV think-PRS   Petja
              'Peter thinks the cat is behind the house'.

An interesting and easily overlooked feature of non-canonical *te-* in PC is that it can also be used in the participle form *tenine* 'say-PC.PST-P3-ACC' (marked with accusative case and 3sg possessive agreement).

Several features or *tenine* have been identified (none of which are discussed in Khanina, ms): (a) it is optional and can always be substituted by the respective past participle of the embedded verb, as in (3); (b) it is restricted to verbs of receiving information such as *ilt* 'hear' in (3)–(4), *pil* 'know/learn' in (5) and *anlan* 'understand' in (6); (c) its presence indicates that the attitude holder had indirect access to the information in the complement; (d) it is often preferred to the form *teze*, as shown in (6) and (8). To conclude, *tenine* can be categorized as an evidential use of non-canonical 'say'.

(3)   maşa   ilt-së   [jonaʑar   jal-da   poʑar { pol-za]
        Masha hear-CV   neighbor   village-LOC   fire   become-CV
        te-n-i-ne /   **pol-n-i-ne]**}
        say-PC.PST-P3-OBJ   become -PC.PST-P3-OBJ
        'Masha heard that there was a fire in the neighboring village.'

(4)   ep   abi-ren   [piɕi   armi-ne   kaj-at] **te-n-i-ne/$^{??}$te-ze**
        I   mother-ABL brother army leave-PRS   say-PC.PST-P3-OBJ say- CV

ilt-r-em.

hear-PST-1SG

'I heard from [my] mother that [my] brother has gone to the army.'

(5)   ep anlan-d-əm [ɨrën   şömər bol-at]   **te-n-i-ne**

          I   understand-PST-1SG   tomorrow   rain   become-PRS   say-

PC.PST-P3-OBJ

          '(After looking at the sky) I understood that it is going to rain tomorrow'

(6)   ep eki-rën   [on   koşag-ë   tar-za]   **te-n-**

i-ne/   ***te-ze**

          I sister-ABL   she   cat-P3   run.away-CV   say-PC.PST-P3-OBJ   say-CV

          pil-d-ëm

          know-PST-1SG

          'I learned from [my] sister that her cat has ran away.'

Tenine raises several questions, yet to be clarified: (a) the nature of its competition with *teze*; (b) its relation to the evidential past in PC; (c) its deictic properties; (d) its status as an areal vs. genealogical feature.

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✄

Topic and focus marking in Shiwiar (Chicham, Ecuador): From discourse markers to clause linkers

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Since the beginning of the discussion on grammaticalisation, it has been observed that discourse markers can acquire syntactic functions over time (Givón 1979). There is an ample body of literature on the diachronic pathways of information structure markers as well as on the relationship between their discourse and syntactic functions (Haiman 1978, König 1988, Lehmann 2008, Shibatani 1991, *inter alia*). This presentation will explore the diachronic development of information structure markers in Shiwiar by analysing their use as discourse markers as well as subordinators in conditional and concessive clauses.

Shiwiar is a Chicham (Jivaroan) language spoken by 1,200 people in eastern Ecuador and northern Peru. It is a highly synthetic language, with mostly suffixing and encliticising morphology. Constituent order is strictly SOV in subordinate clauses, but it is flexible and pragmatically-motivated in finite clauses. Clause-chaining with a complex system of switch-reference is pervasive in Shiwiar.

There are two widespread discourse markers in Shiwiar, the enclitics *=ka* and *=ʃa*. They constituents they attach to roughly correspond to the notions of topic and focus respectively, as defined by Lambrecht (1994) (see examples (1) and (2)). Interestingly, the same two markers are used as subordinators in conditional and concessive clauses respectively (examples (3) and (4)).

(1)   nélsoŋga hujwíntsanmaja. áwka unwíkjaɾtiɲwitjaj.
       [Nelson=**ka**   Juyuintsa-nma-ja]
       [Nelson=**TOP**   Juyuintsa-LOC-ABL]
              [áu=**ka**   unuí-kʲart-inʲu-itʲ-a-i]
              [DIST=**TOP**   teach-IND.OBJ-AG.NMLZ-COP-3-DECL]
       'Nelson is from Juyuintsa. He's a teacher.'

(2)   hu juráŋʃa jutájndjaj.
       hu   juráŋ=**ʃa**   ju-tãĩ́=itʲ-a-i
       PRX   fruit=**FOC**   eat-NSA.NMLZ=COP-3-DECL
       'This fruit we normally eat.'

(3)   ámĩ awímbɾatin wakíɾakmɨka, amíka nuŋgá taútmitia.
       [ámĩ   awɨ́-m-ra-tin   wakíɾa-k-mɨ=**ka**]
       [2SG   save-REFL-PFV-AS.NMLZ   want:IPFV-SIM-2:SS=**COND**]
              [amɨ́=ka   nunká   taú-t-m-i-tʲa]
              [2SG=TOP   ground:LOC   dig-APPL-REFL-PFV-IMP:2SG]
       'If you want to save yourself, dig yourself into the ground.'

(4)   húundjũw̃ãkʃa ɨsámdajʃa, ajámbɾin ámjaji níi.
       [huunt_jãw̃ãã=k=ʃa   ɨsa-mtai=**ʃa**]
       [jaguar=RESTR=FOC   bite-3:DS=**CONC**]
              [ajamɾ-in   a-mia-ji   níi]
              [defend-AG.NMLZ   COP-DIST.PST-3:DECL   3]
       'Even if a jaguar should attack (lit. bite), he would defend her.'

       The link between topic marking and conditional clauses on the one hand, and focus marking and concessive clauses on the other hand has already been observed in the literature (Haiman 1978; König 1988). Well-established cross-linguistic pathways of grammaticalisation and comparative evidence from the Chicham language family will be used as motivation for the claim that in Shiwiar information structure markers have grammaticalised as subordinators.

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✄

"Incorrect" relative clauses and Basque historical syntax

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Apart from the prenominal relativization strategy (1), in most pre-20th century Basque texts a postnominal construction with a relative pronoun (usually *zein* 'which', (2)) is very common.

(1)   [Belar berde-a   dago-en]   mendi-a
        grass   green-DET   be.3SG-SUB   mountain-DET
        'The mountain where green grass is'

(2)   Mendi-a,   [zein-etan   belar   berde-a   bai-tago]
        mountain-DET   which-INES   grass   green-DET   SUB-be.3SG
        'The mountain where green grass is'

Zein relative has not been studied in detail, probably because of many scholars' preconceived opinion that it is an uninteresting calque from Romance languages. Moreover, in the few works where the construction is mentioned, the discussion is limited to examples from printed sources written by highly educated authors.

The goal of this paper is to analyze the use of this relative in 18th-19th century private letters and administrative documents. We show that adapting the perspective "from below" (Elspaβ, 2005) provides us with interesting insights on the development of the construction, as well as on the sociolinguistic reality of the Basque Country in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Our study shows that in administrative texts *zein* relative was very common, which might be due to influence of Romance languages (which predominated in administration). However, the presence of *zein* relative in private letters –and especially those written by members of lower social strata– demonstrates that the construction cannot be considered a calque used by poor translators.

Furthermore, in this kind of texts, *zein* relative is quite often constructed in a nonstandard way: inessive marked pronoun relativizes all cases and functions as an invariant relative clause marker (3). This is not found in printed sources, nor it is possible in surrounding Romance languages.

(3)   saluta-tzen   zaituzte   aizpa   Nana-k,   [zein-etan
        greet-IPFV   AUX.2PL>3SG   sister   Nana-ERG   which-INES
        Miarritze-n   bai-ta   neskato]
        Biarritz-INES   SUB-be.3SG maid
        'Your sister Nana, who works as maid in Biarritz, sends greetings' (Lamikiz *et al*. 2015)

It thus seems that in some registers a new relative construction started to develop. Romaine (1984) proposed that new (interrogative pronoun based) relativization strategies often start with the lower end of the Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie, 1977). For example, the English *wh*-forms started to be used in oblique cases before spreading to subjects (see also Rissanen, 2000). Something similar might have happened in Basque too. The construction could be used to relativize local cases first, and then the pronoun was reinterpreted as an invariable relative clause marker and extended to other cases without changing its form. In particular, the inessive form could have spread from a few partially fixed formula, such as those commonly found in letters.

From a different perspective, the spread of this construction gives us an insight into writing practices and models. For instance, in private letters it is mostly found in half fixed formula (e.g. letter openings), which are likely to spread from one author to another.

Finally, if *zein* relative developed through contact induced change (Heine & Kuteva, 2003), the construction's nonstandard variant shows that it underwent developments that did not happen in the model language.

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⚮

Religion and language preservation: The case of Sora

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The interaction between language and religion in a sociolinguistic perspective has been attracting the attention of scholars for a long time. However, systematic research of the influence of religious practices on language processes in sociolinguistic context began as recently as in the beginning of the new millennium [Darquennes, Vandenbussche 2011: 3]. Essential works containing main theoretical theses in the area are [Omoniyi, Fishman 2006], [Sawyer 2001], [Spolsky 2004 и 2009], [Mukherjee 2013], etc.

Our research deals with the influence of religion on the state of preservation of the Sora language (South Munda: Odisha & Andhra Pradesh, India). Processes of modernization, Indo-Aryan and English languages dominance in Indian government institutions, schools, mass media and Internet, as well as a "low prestige" of Munda languages (in particular due to stereotypes of tribal "backwardness") lead to language and cultural assimilation and language loss in younger generations. Bonda, Didayi and Gorum languages have been assigned a "severely endangered" status by UNESCO. Sora is the most widely spoken and well preserved among South Munda languages, still the number of its speakers is diminishing dramatically due to aforementioned trends. Modern works on South Munda languages mostly deal with lexical and grammatical description (some of them are [Biligiri 1965], [Zide 1976], [Starosta 1967 and 1976], [Anderson 2008]), but the sociolinguistic situation in the areas of distribution of these languages remains beyond the scholars' scope of attention.

Sora people belong to five different religious communities. Historically, some of them preserve a tribal animistic tradition; others, as a result of Christian and Hindu proselytism, are Baptist, Catholic or Hindu. Besides that, there is a so-called "alphabet worshipper" (term introduced by [Vitebsky 2017]) community. The latter belong to a Neo-Animistic "Matar Banom" movement,

worshipping a newly invented Sora language script as sacred. Every community establishes a specific sociolinguistic situation within itself.

Our research is based on field data collected by an expedition to Odisha, India (October-November 2017). The work was carried out in Serango, Barangsing, Samagaita (Baptists), Porida, Ollada (Catholics) villages of Gajapati district, Bagasala, Dombosara, Marichaguda, Engerba (both animists and alphabet worshippers) villages of Rayagada district and within the Hindu community of the town of Paralakhemundi. According to our results, language is best preserved by the Baptist and Mattar Banom movements. In Sora Baptist churches pastors are native speakers of Sora and conduct services in Sora (adding some Oriya). Visiting the church on Sunday is mandatory for all members of the community. The Bible and other religious texts have been translated into Sora and are in use everywhere, therefore religious tradition supports (sometimes even a secondary) adoption of the Sora language. Matar Banom believers worship the script invented specially for the Sora language, so language itself becomes sacred: they use only Sora in religious practices, have an ashram where children are taught in Sora, etc.

Other religious communities have other situations. Catholic priests are mostly Malayalam native speakers from Kerala. With varying levels of success, they study Oriya and sometimes Sora specifically to conduct services in Odisha. Services and confessions proceed in Oriya (with additions of Hindi and English). Though some religious texts have been translated into Sora, they are not in wide use. All these circumstances make a negative impact on the Sora language.

One of the main principles of the animistic tradition is mediumism, or possession (the deity/spirit/ancestor possesses a human's body and talks to worshippers through the possessed). This kind of communication as well as traditional incantations is performed in Sora only. The language is thus preserved, but the problem is that newer generations leave religious traditions behind and become prone to language loss. Among modern Sora people, mostly animists and Hindus are vulnerable to language assimilation.

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ℒ

Generic References in Norwegian

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Generic references are grammatical and semantic phenomena present in most languages. One can differentiate between two senses of genericity: kind-referring sentences and habitual sentences (see e.g. Dahl 1975, Carlson and Pelletier 1995, Pelletier 2010 and Mari et al. 2013 among others). The first kind of sentences expresses a reference to a given species or a group of entities, whereas the second describes a regularity or a characteristic feature of a person/an object.

Generics may be expressed in different ways depending on the language group. In Germanic languages, including the Norwegian language, genericity can be expressed by the use of articles as well as the lack of them in noun phrases, as presented in the examples below:

(1) <u>Hund</u> er det beste selskap.
(2) <u>En hund</u> er det beste selskap.
(3) <u>Hunden</u> er det beste selskap.
(4) <u>Hunder</u> er det beste selskap.
(5) <u>Hundene</u> er det beste selskap.

The sentences 1-5 illustrate all possible ways of saying in Norwegian that a dog (dogs) is (are) the best company. The examples were constructed for the sake of this paper and not all of them might be considered correct and/or acceptable by a native speaker of Norwegian in every given context. They illustrate however that generic references in Norwegian are not as clear-cut as they might be in other languages (see e.g. Carlson and Pelletier 1995, Oosterhof 2008 and Carlsson 2012).

This poster aims to present preliminary results of the research on genericity conducted with the use of the Acceptability Judgement Task (AJT). AJT was used in a survey and applied as it was described by Ionin et al. (2011), namely the respondents had the possibility to choose more than one answer in each of the questions.

The survey consisted of 30 short texts with gaps and was conducted on 630 native speakers of Norwegian. In each of the gaps the participants could choose one or more noun forms to complete a generic sentence. The results were then analysed with the use of quantitative and qualitative methods.

The study, even though preliminary, can already be considered novel and ground-breaking due to the lack of comprehensive research on the phenomenon in Norwegian (one can only find minor mentions of the subject as in Dyvik 1979, Delsing 1993, Borten 2003, Faarlund et.al. 1997 and Hagen 2002).

The survey has shown main tendencies in the use of particular noun forms in generic contexts and is a part of a Phd project and a research grant on generic references in Norwegian. AJT, which will later be combined with corpus analysis, shall allow to determine whether or not generics have been grammaticalised in modern Norwegian and if so to what extent. The interchangeability of the noun forms in particular generic contexts was also taken into account in the presented study.

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✍

The distribution of Russian telic-extent adverbials with the prepositions *v* 'in' and *za* 'behind'

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In adverbial constructions, expressing the time required for a telic situation to be completed (according to (Haspelmath 1997), *telic-extent adverbials*), Russian does not follow the typologically widespread strategy, which is to use spatial interior marker (English *in*), but allows the choice between two prepositions, namely *v* "in" and *za* "behind":

(1) *Ja   spravilsja   s   zadaniem   v/   za   minutu*
I   managed   with   task   in   behind   minute
'I did this task in a minute.'

The present work analyzes the factors, influencing the preposition choice in Russian telic-extent adverbials. The study is based on a continuous sample from the Russian National Corpus (www.ruscorpora.ru) with subsequent manual filtration. The sample includes 1820 examples of Russian sentences from three periods (18th, 19th, and 20th centuries).

Based on the results of the corpus research, it can be argued, that:
1) there was a diachronic change in the distribution of the prepositions under discussion;
2) the choice of the preposition correlates with the semantic features of the time span.

Table 1. Types of time segments

Time units	Cyclic time spans (Nesset 2013)	Indefinite time spans
instant, minute, hour, day, week, month, year	*morning, evening, night, summer, autumn, winter, spring*	*time, period*

Figure 1 summarizes the observations on the distribution of *v* in Russian telic-extent adverbials with the words for time units from the 18th to the 20th century. It shows that after the 19th century there was a significant recession in the usage of *v* so that it was replaced by *za* in most contexts. The observed shift is asymmetric, *v* remaining the preferred option for the nouns referring to short time periods, while the nouns denoting long time intervals almost completely switched to marking with *za* until the 20th century.

In the combinations of cyclic time terms (*night, summer*) with *v* have been infrequent throughout the whole period under review, as opposed to the combinations with *za* in the 20th century, which is, as can be suggested, due to the semantics of the cyclic time spans (weakly delineated and mobile boundaries), which prevents them from to be conceptualized as a "box" (see below).

In combinations with indefinite time spans the choice of the preposition is defined by the semantic feature of the modifier ("short" or "long"). Less common and idiomatic expressions preserve the preposition *v* (*n-dnevnyj srok* 'in n-day period'; *v recordnyj srok* 'in record time').

The found tendencies allow to argue, that the choice of the preposition in Russian telic-extent adverbials can be influenced by the accusative nature of government, which actualize the idea of placement in the limited boundaries — "boxes" in Haspelmath's terminology (cf. *v minutu*$_{Acc}$ 'in a minute' and *vošël v komnatu*$_{Acc}$ 'entered the room'). The smaller the available allocation space, the greater the pains to place the whole situation inside it. The correlated suggestions for English are expressed in (Declerck, Cappelle 2004).

Figure 1. The distribution of the preposition *v* in combination with time units (measured in fractions).
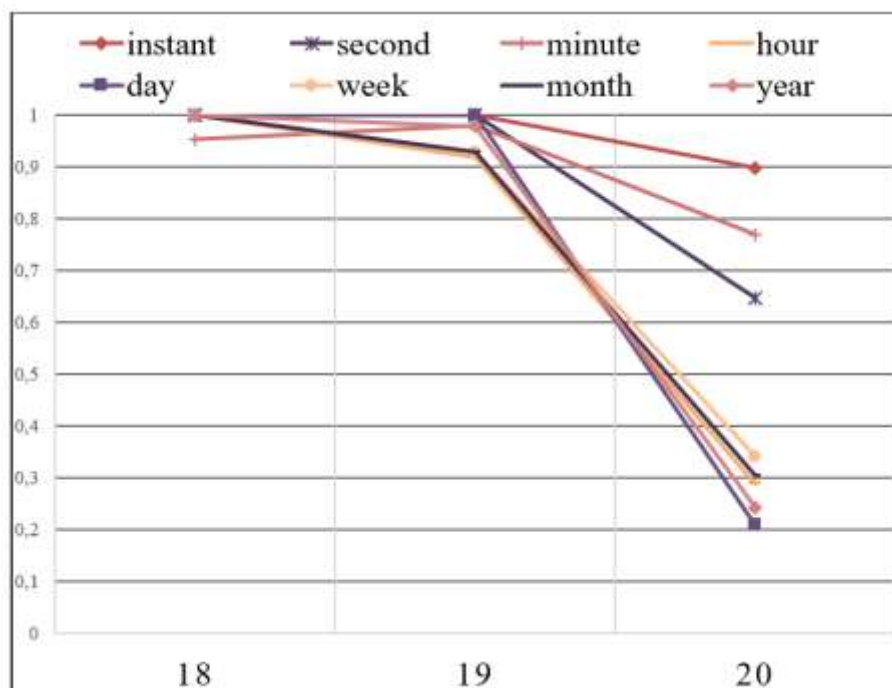
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Deviations in argument structures of Russian predicates: Corpus evidence

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The goal of the study is to describe non-standard morphosyntactic realizations of (or deviations from normative) argument structures in Russian. The study is based on 706 examples from the Corpus of Russian Student Texts (CoRST), which is an online, free of charge, easy accessed, constantly updating, annotated collection of academic texts (of various genres) written by Russian students of various degree levels: BA, MA and PhD. This corpus contains both standard and non-standard realizations of various language phenomena. On the one hand, the idea behind it is that while acquiring an unknown language subsystem (such as academic style and genres), students tend to use awkward, or non-standard, expressions. In this sense, their acquisition of a new language subsystem resembles the acquisition of L2 learners. On the other hand, non-standard realizations indicate which language phenomena might undergo changes in the nearest future.

The study reveals the following deviations in argument structures of Russian predicates. The bolded fragments are non-standard forms, whereas standard forms are bracketed in [].

1. Assimilation of case marking of an argument of the second conjunctive phrase to case marking of an argument of the first conjunctive phrase:

(1) *U nego mnogočislennye oskoločnye raneniya v život i vnutrennee krovotečeniye **v bryušnuyu polost'** [v bryušnoy polosti].*
'He has numerous missile wounds in the belly (ACC) and internal hemorrhage in the abdominal cavity (ACC) [in the abdominal cavity (LOC)].'

2. Assimilation of case marking of an argument of the first conjunctive phrase to case marking of an argument of the second conjunctive phrase, accompanying with an elided argument of the first conjunctive phrase:

(2) *Zapovedi **ponytny** i soblyudyemy ne tol'ko **veruyuščimi lyud'mi** [ponytny veruyuščim lyudyam i soblyudyemy imi].*
'The commandments are comprehensible (ASSIGNS DAT) and are observed (ASSIGNS INSTR) by religious people [are comprehensible to religious people (DAT) and are observed by them (INSTR)].'

3. Assimilation of case marking of an argument to case marking of its head:

(3) *Kakoy vred dobyča etikh resursov nesyot ekologii **našey planete** [našey planety]*.
'How harmful the mining of these natural resources is (ASSIGNS DAT) for the ecology (DAT; ASSIGNS GEN) of our planet (DAT) [our planet (GEN)].'

4. Ellipsis of an argument recoverable from a general context (the following text is about some specific position in a company):

(4) *Menya zainteresovala vakansiya na dol'žnost' v Vašey kompanii [na dol'žnost' analitika]*.
'I got interested in a vacant position [position of an analyst] in Your company.'

5. Default Genitive marking of an argument of some nominalization occurred in the context of successive embedding of Genitive marked noun phrases:

(5) *Tendentsiya **usileniya** [k usileniyu] vliyaniya upravlenčeskoy deyatel'nosti...*
'The tendency (ASSIGNS DAT) towards strengthening (GEN) [strengthening (DAT)] of influence of maintenance management...' (lit.)

We divide the observed deviations into several classes: case marking (1, 2, 3, 5) and ellipsis (2, 4). Such deviations take place under the influence of a so-called "external" context: conjunction (1, 2), successive embedding of constituents (3, 5) or some implicit knowledge recoverable from a context (4).

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Corpus of Russian Student Texts (CoRST, webcorpora.net/learner_corpus)

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The validity of a parental-report measure of grammar in Czech: Acquisition of verb and noun forms

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The parental-report method (e.g. Fenson et al., 1993, 2007) has been widely used for studying language acquisition in recent years. This method is predominantly used for assessment of vocabulary, nevertheless some aspects of grammar are assessed by parental reports as well. The main objective of our study is to further extend the use of parental reports to the assessment of function words and grammatical morphemes in a morphologically rich language such as Czech, and to examine the validity of this method for assessment of grammar. The paper is part of a larger project which additionally aims to obtain some descriptive data about the acquisition of grammar, since there is a lack of empirical research in Czech concerning this topic.

The study examines the acquisition of verb forms and case inflection of nouns spontaneously produced by children between 18 and 48 months of age. In Czech, there are three verb persons in singular and plural for each tense, as well as seven noun cases in singular and plural form (nom., gen., dat., acc., voc., loc., instr.). The data were collected through two web-based questionnaires completed by the children's mothers. Besides the grammatical phenomena, the questionnaires also included

demographic questions about children and their family backgrounds. Overall, we collected data on 117 children for nouns. The data collection for verbs is still ongoing. We currently have data on 108 children.

The paper presents developmental data about acquisition of individual verb forms and noun cases. We determined the order of verb and noun forms acquisition using fixed effect estimates from mixed logistic models. The order will be more discussed in the paper. Furthermore, we used linear model analyses to examine the effects of various demographic factors on the order of acquisition, e.g. child's gender, birth order, parental education. Contrary to many studies (e.g. Bleses et al., 2008; and Arriaga et al., 1998), these demographic factors did not affect the acquisition of noun forms in our research. We expect to obtain similar results for verb forms.

In order to validate parental reports for the assessment of grammar, we compared our data from the parental-report questionnaires with the data from the transcripts of spontaneous mother-child conversations recorded at home (5 children studied longitudinally) and/or in lab settings (50 children). These studies included different children. We correlated the aforesaid fixed effect estimates for verb and noun forms obtained from the parental-report data with the frequency of the forms in the children's transcript data. The preliminary results showed that the data from the parental reports correlate with the data from the spontaneous speech samples (e.g. for noun forms, the correlation between the parental-report data and children's transcript data from the lab was 0.85).

The study indicates that the parental-report method is a satisfactory tool even for the assessment of acquisition of grammatical words and forms. This method at least captures a similar picture of developmental trends as spontaneous speech samples.

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Defining comparative concepts in practice: Towards a definition of "passives"

Nicklas Oranen

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Syntactic properties of resultative constructions in Russian Sign Language

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Russian sign language (RSL) uses resultative secondary predication to describe causal situations. The first predicate in resultative construction denotes a process, and the second predicate denotes a state – the result of this process (1). Some linguists claim that resultative constructions are contain a small clause (Hoekstra 1988). And others argue that these constructions have properties of monoclausal constructions (Loos 2017).

(1) I   HAMMER   WINDOW   BROKEN
  'I hammered the window broken.'

The syntactic structure of such resultative constructions was investigated for American Sign Language (Kentner 2014) and for German Sign Language (Loos 2017), but not yet for RSL. The present study focuses on syntactic properties of resultative constructions in RSL.

Our aim is to establish whether they are monoclausal or biclausal (coordinating or subordinating) constructions. We present original data elicited from five native signers of RSL. Relying on such tests as fronting, restrictions on wh-movement, and scope of modal verbs, we claim that RSL resultative constructions are monoclausal.

Fronting in RSL is clause bounded (2a,b). Resultative constructions allow object fronting (3).

(2a) SOUP   BOY   EAT
  [RSL]
  'The soup, the boy is eating.'
(2b) *BUS   BOY   KNOW   HERE   STOP
  Intended: 'This bus, the boy knows it stops here.'
(3) WINDOW I   HAMMER   BROKE
  'The window, I hammered it broken'

Wh-movement: Wh-phrases in RSL obligatorily occupy the final position in simple clauses (4a). Rightward wh-movement is impossible from coordinated clauses (4b) or across subordinate clauses (4c). The acceptability of rightward wh-movement, however, (5) suggests that resultative constructions have properties of monoclausal constructions.

(4a) t_{WHO} READ   BOOK   WHO
  'Who is reading the book?'
(4b) *t_{WHO} WATCH   TELEVISION   FATHER   SLEEP   WHO
   Intended: 'The father is sleeping and who is watching television?'
(4c) $^{??}t_{\text{WHO}}$ WANT   MOTHER   BUY   CHOCOLATE   WHO
   'Who wants mother to buy a chocolate?'
(5) t_{WHO} CLOSE   HANG DRY   WHO
  'Who did hung the close dry?'

Modal verbs and adverbs only take scope over the nearest clause. The different position of the modal verb (6a) and (6b) results in distinct interpretations. However, the different position has no influence on the meaning in resultative constructions (7).

(6a) YOU MUST KNOW P-E-T-Y-A DO HOMEWORK
    'You must know that Petya is doing his homework.'
(6b) YOU KNOW P-E-T-Y-A DO HOMEWORK MUST
    'You know, that Petya must do his homework.'
(7) I MUST SUITCASE CLOTHES THROW FULL
    I SUITCASE CLOTHES THROW FULL MUST
    'I must pack the suitcase.'

Conclusions: After analyzing our data, we conclude that resultative constructions in RSL are monoclausal as has been demonstrated for ASL and DGS. This expands our knowledge database on the structure of resultative constructions in the world's languages.

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The effect of genre on argument realization in Estonian -mine verbal noun constructions

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Maarja-Liisa Pilvik

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Transitivization and detransitivization in Andi

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This paper discusses the mechanisms, behavior and distribution of the valency-changing devices of Andi, with a focus on the Zilo dialect, based on first-hand elicited data. Andi has two different causative strategies and no overt valency-decreasing derivation. However, all transitive verbs lend themselves to lability, making unmarked detransitivization pervasive.

Andi is an unwritten Nakh-Daghestanian language of Russia. Three of its dialects have been documented by Dirr (1906), Sulejmanov (1957), Cercvadze (1965) and Salimov ([1968] 2010), but

none of these authors tackle syntactic matters. The Zilo dialect has been under investigation since 2016.

Zilo has P-alignment and a noun class system. The syntactic roles of noun phrases in the clause are indicated through case marking and, for many verbs, agreement in class-number with the nominative argument. The omission of any argument is allowed with either anaphorical or unspecified reading.

The most productive causative process in Andi is the suffix /-oɫ/ (realized [oɫ] before vowel *i*), which has unspecialized semantics and attaches to any stem regardless of its argument structure. Many causative verbs are lexicalized. When the causative is based upon a transitive stem, the causee is marked by the affective case:

1)   (1)   *q'urbani-<b>o*   *sakinati-di*
           Qurban.OBL-AFF<INAN1>   Sakinat.OBL-ERG
           2)   *riƛ'i*   *k'amm-oɫ-i.*
           meat[INAN1][NOM]   eat-CAUS-PST(AOR)
           'Sakinat made Qurban eat the meat.'

The causative lends itself to recursion, whereby each suffix introduces an additional agent. With verbs of two specific classes, the causative may not increase valency, but instead color the verb with a conative-intensive meaning. In the dialect of Andi and Gagatl, the causative suffix agrees in number with the nominative argument.

Besides, Zilo has an analytic transitivizing device, which is the synthetic causative form of the past copula *#iʁi* 'stand' and has unspecialized semantics. It is used with various finite forms of intransitives designating a non-volitional process, and with predicative nominals in the illocative case. When this causative can be used, it is usually preferred to the synthetic one, although the latter is not prohibited.

3)   (2)   *mič':i-di*   *kulik-um-allo*
           nettle-ERG   itch-PST-PROG
           4)   *r-oʁ-oɫ-i*   *reʔobil.*
           INAN2-PL.stand-CAUS-PST(AOR)   hand[INAN2].PL[NOM]
           'My hands itch because of the nettle.'
5)   (3)   *den-ni čiraqi*   *gʷanʁi-la*   *b-iʁ-oɫ-i-j.*
           I-ERG   lamp[INAN1]   shining-IN.ESS   INAN1-stand-CAUS-PST-PF
           'I lit the lamp.'

Zilo does not have any A-labile verb. The omission of the DO in transitive constructions may trigger a reassignment of the semantic roles, but not their syntactic encoding, e.g. the alternation *baʔi* {X$_{ERG}$, Y$_{NOM}$} 'X read Y' / {X$_{ERG}$} 'X study'. Several tests from Haspelmath (1993), Kibrik (1996) and Forker (2013) evince pervasive P-lability within verbs allowing the transitive construction. Compatibility with the causative marker is a criterion to differenciate between labile verbs that are originally transitives and those which are intransitives. This test shows that a few labile verbs might be originally intransitive, but the majority is of transitive origin.

Andi has a strong tendancy both to transitivize and to detransitivize, using processes of different nature. The study of its valency-changing strategies and how they interact between each other is unprecedented and crucial for the understanding of its lexical valence orientation (Nichols, Peterson & Barnes 2004).

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⌀

Double causatives in Hill Mari and the semantics of intensification

Anastasia Sibireva

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⌀

The feature of reduplication in the Typological Database of the Volga Area Finno-Ugric Languages

Ditta Szabó, Laura Horváth, Erika Asztalos, Nikolett F. Gulyás, & Bogáta Timár
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The present poster focuses on general formal and functional properties of reduplication in those Finno-Ugric languages that are target languages of the ongoing project *Typological Database of the Volga Area Finno-Ugric Languages* (henceforth, VTDB), which is, after the *Typological Database of the Ugric Languages* (henceforth, UTDB) compiled by Havas et al. (2015), the second major step towards the creation of a complete online typological database of the Uralic languages. Both the UTDB and the VTDB aim at analyzing over 200 morphosyntactic parameters covering a various range of topics from possession to the encoding of different grammatical relations.

The topic of reduplication is one of the typological parameters discussed in the above mentioned databases. In our poster, formal and functional properties of reduplication will be examined in two Permic (Udmurt and Komi-Permyak) and a Volgaic (Meadow Mari) language of the Uralic language family.

Total reduplication – repetition of an entire word, a relative or an absolute stem, or of any morphological unit (see, e.g. Schwaiger 2015: 468) seems to be typical in the languages discussed both in the VTDB and the UTDB. In the Ugric languages, e.g., verbs and prefixes can be reduplicated and provide different meanings linked with aspectuality, or Aktionsart. Repeated prefixes can express, e.g., frequentative Aktionsart in Hungarian:

(1) Hungarian

a	*fiú*	*ki~ki-néz-ett*		*az*	*ablak-on*
the	boy	out~out-look-PST.3SG		the	window-SUP

'The boy looked out the window a few times.'

Regarding the languages of the VTDB, reduplication can express evaluative meaning – heightened intensity, expressiveness, and high degree of quality (cf. Riese 2016: 3287–8, Shljakhova 2013: 1330–1):

(2) Udmurt

gord~gord

red~red

'very red' (Keľmakov & Saarinen 1994: 112)

In addition to these meanings, fully or partially reduplicated words of onomatopoetic nature have widespread usage in the Permic languages (cf. Shljakhova 2013: 1330–1) and in Mari as well (cf. Riese 2016: 3288). In Mari, even completely new meanings can be formed by reduplication:

(3) Mari

man-eš~man-eš

say-3SG~say-3SG

'gossip' (Riese 2016: 3287)

In Udmurt (more specifically, in some Northern Udmurt dialects, see Keľmakov & Saarinen 1994: 125), pluractionality (and also habituality) of an action can be emphasized by reduplicated frequentative suffixes:

(4) Udmurt

pios-jos no,	*nyl-jos no*	*kyrǯa-ľľa-ľľa-zy*		*udmort kreźź-os-ty*	
man-PL too	girl-PL too	sing-FREQ-FREQ-PST.3PL		Udmurt	song-PL-ACC

'[A long time ago], men and girls used to sing Udmurt songs.' (Keľmakov & Saarinen 1994: 125)

In addition to giving an overview of the functional properties displayed by reduplication in these languages, the present poster concentrates on reduplication as a word-formation process in a broader cross-linguistic perspective and also aims to discuss whether there are specific features regarding reduplication in the Finno-Ugric languages of the Volga-Kama area. Possible Turkic relations will also be discussed, since reduplicative intensive forms are typical of Turkic languages as well (cf. Johanson 2002: 31).

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✍

On Asymmetries in Parasitic Gap and Across-the-Board Constructions in Mandarin Chinese

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In both parasitic gap (PG) (1a) and across-the-board (ATB) (1b) constructions, there is more than one gap associated with the dislocated element; therefore, it is perhaps not surprising that since Ross (1967), they have been assimilated by identical derivations (Pesetsky 1982, Williams 1990, Munn 2001, Hornstein & Nunes 2002, and Bruening & Khalaf 2017) although there is no consensus on whether they have asymmetrical syntactic behaviors.

(1) a. [Which paper] did you read *e* after Mary recommended *e*?
    b. [Which paper] did you read *e* and Mary recommend *e*?

In contrast to the unified approach, the two constructions are regarded as involving different derivations by Postal (1993), Nissenbaum (2000) and Niinuma (2010). The non-unified approach is argued to be empirically supported by asymmetries between the two constructions. In this paper, investigating PG (e.g. Lin 2005) and ATB (e.g. Zhang 2009) constructions in (Mandarin) Chinese, I argue for a unified approach to deriving PG and ATB sentences. I first show that Chinese PG and ATB sentences permit full reconstruction of variable binding into the multiple gaps, as shown in (2), thus in support of generating the two constructions by the same extraction mechanism in a single chain.

(2) a. Ziji$_{i/j}$ de   zhaopian,   meige   Yidaliren$_i$ zai   meige Faguoren$_j$
       Self   DE   photo   every.CL   Italy.person   at   every   France.person
       kaishi   zhencang   hou,   ye   kaishi shoucang.
       begin   precious.collect   after   also   begin   collect
       'His $_{i/j}$ own photos, every Italian$_i$ starts to collect after every Frenchman$_j$ starts
       to treasure them.'
   b. Ziji$_{i/j}$ de   zhaopian,   meige Yidaliren$_i$ xihuan, er   meige
       self   DE   picture   every.CL   Italy.person   like   but
       every.CL
       Faguoren$_j$ ye   xihuan.
       France.person   also   like
       'His$_{i/j}$ own pictures, every Italian$_i$ likes and every Frenchman$_j$ also likes.'

Then I demonstrate that unlike the debate on the English facts, Chinese exhibits clear

asymmetries in licensing the two constructions. Like the classical observations for English (Cinque 1990, Postal 1993), Chinese PG constructions are licensed by theta-selected true arguments and not by adjuncts like frequency or measure NPs, while the licensing of Chinese ATB constructions is not sensitive to such distinction--a fact that casts doubt on analyses predicting no asymmetries between these two constructions such as Williams (1990), Bruening & Khalaf (2017), and Levine & Hukari (2006). Crucially, Chinese PG constructions can also be licensed by locative phrases, theta (Ting & Huang 2008) or non-theta selected (3).

(3) [Xiaozhang [zai   Xiaoli e_i mai-le rou   yihou] ye e_i
    Xiaozhang   at   Xiaoli buy-ASP   meat   after   also
    mai-le   cai   de]   shichang$_i$
    buy-ASP   vegetables   DE   market
  'the market where Xiaozhang bought vegetables after Xiaoli bought meat'

By Occam's razor and empirical evidence, I will argue for a unified approach where PG and ATB constructions in Chinese are derived by sideward movement (Nunes 2001). While ATB constructions in both Chinese and English can copy adjuncts via sideward movement, contra the proposal for English PG constructions by Hornstein & Nunes (2002), I argue that what is copied via sideward movement in Chinese PG constructions is not true arguments but rather elements with referentiality (Rizzi 1990) including locative prepositional phrases.

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✍

Many Ways to Complement 'Between' in Russian

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Prepositions with the semantics of 'between' typically require a conjunctive or plural complement. Using primarily Russian data (examples from the Russian National Corpus), we show that the conjuncts under *meždu* 'between' are syntactically freer than normal for other collective or even distributive predicates, and point out the violations of the plurality requirement. As the facts pertaining to collectivity are nevertheless indispensable, we argue that the apparent violations are best viewed in terms of violable constraints à la Optimality Theory.

Problems for collectivity. First, a universal quantifier can scope out of a conjunct embedded under *meždu* in violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint (at LF).

(1) *A   sejčas budet očnaja stavka meždu   **každym iz**   **vas**   **i***
     and   now   will.be confrontation between   each   of   you   and
     Nikitskim.
     N.
     'And now there will be a confrontation between each of you and Nikitsky'   ∀ > ∃

Second, *meždu* is the only head in modern Russian whose complement licenses conjunctions of case-matching wh-words (in contrast to 'who and whom' as in Chaves and Paperno 2007; Paperno 2012):

(2) *Meždu   **čem**   *i*   **čem**   budet   vybirat' Putin   posle*
     between   what.INS   and   what.INS   will   choose   P.   after
     pereizbranija   v   2004   godu?
     re-election   in   2004   year
     'What are the options Putin will be choosing between after his re-election in 2004?'

Third, the distributive quantifier *každyj* 'each', which takes a singular NP and quantifies over atoms, is marginally allowed in the complement position of *meždu*:

(3) *Stali   vxodit', vystroivšis'   cepočkoj: meždu*
     start.PST.PL   enter.INF having.formed.GER   chain.INS.SG   between
     ***každym** iz   nix   šël   žandarm.*
     each.INS.SG   of   they.GEN   go.PST.SG.M   gendarme
     '[They] started to enter in a queue, a gendarme walking between each (two) of them'

In defence of collectivity. First, as usual under collective predication, meždu does not allow an emphatic conjunction (Haspelmath 2005) as argument:

(4) **meždu kak   Mašej, tak i   Sašej*

between	either	M.	or	S.

Second, sometimes the complement of 'between', though syntactically singular, is semantically plural:

(5)   *Rasstojanie*   *meždu*   **paroj**   *razdražajuščix*   *èlektrodov —*   *okolo 5 mm.*
       distance   between   pair   excitingelectrode.GEN.PL   about 5 mm
       lit. 'The distance between the pair of exciting electrodes is about 5 mm'

Optimality considerations. The phenomena exemplified by (1), (3) and (5) are attested at least in other European languages such as English and German. Yet in Russian they are somewhat exceptional. All of (1), (3) and (5) employ the hearer's understanding of the actual relations between group members—e.g. in (3) 'between' is in fact between some two in the chain; cf. various sorts of reciprocity in Dalrymple et al. 1998; Schein 2003; Nedjalkov, Geniušienė, and Guentchéva 2007. Saying 'between each two' in (3) is thus unnecessarily costly and potentially confusing, as a marginally possible interpretation would then be

<div align="center">PP G PP G PP G …</div>

Similarly, 'between some' would suggest a smaller gendarme/prisoner ratio than needed:

<div align="center">P G P P G P P …</div>

and 'between all' would misrepresent the chain architecture. This suggests that the plurality of *meždu*'s complement may be a violable constraint observed insofar as no stronger one comes into play.

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The linguistic prehistory of Northern Peru: The case of Chachapoyas

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The dominant indigenous language families of the Central Andes of Peru and Bolivia today are Quechuan and Aymaran. Quechuan in particular has expanded in late prehistoric times at the expense of unrelated, local languages. In this talk, I explore the linguistic situation in Northern Peru as it may

have existed before the arrival of Quechua on the eastern slopes of the Andes in the area of Chachapoyas.

Chachapoyas Quechua has some highly unusual typological features from a Quechuan point of view (cf. Taylor 1979): stress falls regularly on the word-initial syllable and concomitantly, elision of vowels creates heavier syllables than in any other Quechua variety. At the same time, local toponymy and personal names are distinctly non-Quechuan. Interference from a local non-Quechua language, which would eventually have been replaced by Quechua and also be the source of local toponymy and personal names, is a real possibility.

Here, I seek to give an identity to this pre-Quechua local language of Chachapoyas, conventionally known as Chacha (cf. Taylor 1990). Specifically, I suggest that this language was closely related to, yet distinct from, the Cholón language, formerly spoken at the intersection between Andes and Amazonian lowlands further south and known through a colonial grammar (Alexander-Bakkerus 2005). This inference is based on evidence from three different types of linguistic evidence:

(i) a significant portion of local Chachapoyas toponymy can be explained through Cholón lexical material. Limabamba, for one, is a small village situated on a plain which is surrounded by a horseshoe-shaped mountain chain. The ending -bamba is Quechua and means 'plain'. Lima, I suggest, has got nothing to do with the Peruvian capital nor with the Quechuan family, but instead reflects Cholón *limaŋ* 'mountains, highland' (Alexander-Bakkerus 2005), befitting the situation of the village. Also recurrent endings of Chachapoyas toponyms can be identified with Cholón lexical items. This does not only pertain to the case of -gat which resembles Cholón *kot* 'water' (cf. e.g. Torero 1989: 236-237)., but also to -mal, which appears to be cognate with Cholón *mol* 'ground, day' (cf. Jolkesky 2016: 241) and to -puy, which appears to be cognate with Cholón pey 'earth'. More evidence will be discussed, too.

(ii) the same is true of personal names. Though the evidence here is slimmer, the name Bueloc, for one, likely reflects Cholón *pul(up)* 'son', especially because there is a very frequent local name Oc. More evidence will be discussed, too.

(iii) the Chachapoyas Quechua lexicon contains a small number of items that do not have cognates in other Quechua varieties (cf. Taylor 1979). Analysis of these is at present ongoing, but for two items having to do with material and local culture, i.e. those where "substrate" vocabulary is likely retained, Cholón etymologies can already be proposed. For instance, rather than cognate with <salla> 'mat', a form which appears in a 16th century Quechua dictionary, as suggested by Taylor (1979), the Chachapoyas Quechua form *shalla* 'basketry' may more likely reflect Cholón *šala* 'basket' (Alexander-Bakkerus 2005).

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Person constraints in modals: the case of the Hill Mari –*šaš*

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Modal forms sometimes exhibit constraints on the person of their subject argument (see Ueda (2009) on the Japanese utterance modals, Hoe; Park (2016) on the Korean causal marker -*ese*). A person restriction is likewise observed in the Hill Mari -*šaš* form.

In this talk I will try to shed some light on the nature of this kind of restrictions. The -*šaš* form is a suitable research object for this purpose because it appears with different constraints in several types of utterances. The data was obtained via elicitation in the villages of Kuznetsovo and Mikryakovo (Mari El Republic, Russia) in 2016-2017.

According to Savatkova (2002): 174, the -*šaš* form expresses the 'necessity to perform the action in the future'. My data show that the -*šaš* form is used in some very specific necessity contexts and, apart from this, it can express the speaker's wish (optative meaning).

1. Necessity

In most contexts of necessity the -*šašlə̂k* form (diachronically related to -*šaš*) is used. Of all necessity contexts, the -*šaš* form is used in deliberative questions (1) and in reactions to commands, which have a reluctant feeling to them (2). In these contexts subjects other than 1SG cannot be expressed, more than that, even if they are covert, utterances like (1), (2-3) are infelicitous:

> *kə̂ce   ajo-eš   šk-ə̂m-em-ə̂m/   *šk-ə̂m-žə̆-m*
> *näräjä-šäš?*
> how holiday-LAT   REFL-ACC-POSS.1SG-ACC   REFL-ACC-POSS.3SG-ACC
> dress_up-OPT
> 'How should I dress for the holiday?'/ *'How should he / she dress for the holiday?'

{Wash the dishes!}

> *jara   mə̂š-šaš*
> all_right   wash-OPT
> 'All right, I'll wash them' {the speaker is reluctant}.

{A schoolboy has missed all the classes and will most probably get an unsatisfactory grade. His mother has come to the school to talk to the teacher. The teacher is ready to give a C if the schoolboy hands in the home assignments.}

> Mother: *#jara   kandə̂-šaš*
>   all_right   carry-OPT
>   intended: 'All right, he will hand them in'.

2. Optative

The optative meaning of -*šaš* arises if the speaker has no control over the situation:

> *jur cärnə̆-šäš!*
> rain stop-OPT
> 'If only the rain stopped!'

In optative contexts the -*šaš* form may refer to any person and number combination. However, unless it is 1SG, the subject must remain covert:

> *(*tə̆də̆)   ə̆šk-ə̂m-žə̆-m   näräjä-šäš*
> this   REFL-ACC-POSS.3SG.ACC   dress_up-OPT
> 'He / she'd better dress up'.

According to van der Auwera, Plungian (1998), optatives may develop from necessity markers. If we assume that the necessity meanings illustrated in (1-3) are in fact incompatible with non-1SG subjects and the optative use developed from the necessity meanings, that would explain the overt subject restriction in optative uses of -*šaš*.

Besides, these two kinds of subject restrictions also call for synchronic syntactic analysis. In my talk I will try to suggest such an analysis.

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The function of number and classification in Persian

Gita Zareikar

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WORKSHOP PRESENTATIONS

WORKSHOP 1

A specter is haunting Europe: The Alps as a linguistic area?

Livio Gaeta & Guido Seiler

(University of Turin & University of Munich)

It is a well-known fact that the Alps are a zone of long-standing, intensive contact and multilingualism between Germanic, Romance and Slavic languages and varieties. Exchange between Alpine dialects of different genetic affiliations is well attested in vocabulary and onomastics (Krefeld & Lücke 2014). However, the Alpine context seems to meet exactly the kind of extralinguistic setting where areal convergence in grammatical structure is likely to emerge, too.

Indeed, *unidirectional* grammatical borrowing has been reported: As for Germanic varieties, Mayerthaler & Mayerthaler (1990) have made the (controversial, cf. Rowley 2017) proposal that many syntactic traits of Bavarian German are actually pattern-borrowings from (Rhaeto-) Romance. In a similar vein, Ramat (1998) draws attention to different morphosyntactic features resulting from long-lasting contacts around the Alps, and particularly to what Wiemer (2011) in a survey on passive constructions has even termed the 'Alpine passive' based on the auxiliary verb COME. As for Romance, cases of verb second (Poletto 2002, Liver 2009) or DO-periphrasis (Benincà & Poletto 2004) have been reported in Alpine varieties, i.e. constructions that are highly reminiscent of similar patterns otherwise much better known from Germanic. As for Slavic, Reindl (2008) attributes a number of morphosyntactic features of (varieties of) Slovenian to the influence of Germanic varieties.

Crucially, the structural effects of long-standing language contact may be more complex than putative unidirectional grammatical borrowing. For example, it is not clear whether the passive based on the auxiliary GO as it is found for instance in Walser German islands in Northern Italy also results from the adoption of a Romance model or rather points to a more complex context of contact-induced grammaticalization (cf Gaeta ms., 2017). Furthermore, *bidirectional* contact-induced change may result in Alpine shared innovations (cf. Seiler 2004 on case marking and clitic doubling): developments that (i) are plausibly explained on the basis of language contact within the Alpine region, (ii) are shared among languages/varieties of different genetic affiliations, and (iii) are much less (or not at all) found in non-Alpine varieties of Germanic, Romance, and Slavic. Shared innovations seem to be the most striking examples for areal structural convergence within the Alpine area.

The goals of the workshop are twofold:

– first, to discuss the question as to whether there exists an Alpine linguistic convergence area, based on convincing empirical case studies of Alpine contact-induced change, in particular shared innovations (in the sense as defined above) in phonological, morphological, and syntactic structure, especially with regard to other closely located convergence zones such as the Charlemagne area or the Balkan area;

– second, to discuss methodological challenges related to fieldwork, language documentation, use of (electronic) resources especially with lesser-used languages, quantification, and the interpretation of change as being contact-induced or not.

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Different sources of convergent patterns in the Alps

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Language convergence is explored on the basis of particle verb constructions in (Italo-)Romance and Germanic Alpine dialects. Particle-verb constructions appear to be an inherited feature in Germanic, whereas they are an innovation with respect to Romance in the Alpine dialects (and beyond) (Mair 1984). The innovation may be related to the widespread deictic specification of direction/location of actions and states characterizing the interactions of small (mountain) communities, as e.g. *gh'éra fò ön sùl*, lit. 'there was out a sun', meaning 'the sun was shining' in the dialect of the province of Bergamo (Bernini 2010; 48); *il giat ei sut meisa en*, lit. 'the cat is under table in' for 'the cat is under the table' in Sursilvan Rhaeto-Romance; *isch d'üüle imene soä bäumloch inne*, lit. 'is the owl in-a so-a tree-hole in' for 'the owl is in the hole of a tree' in Muotathal Alemannic (cf. Berthele 2006: 199, 254-256).

In the coding of motion events in Italo-Romance, deictic specification by means of the verbs 'go/come' involves the expression of path in spatial adverbs reflecting the satellite-framed pattern of Germanic typology (Talmy 2000) and differing form the verb-framed pattern of Romance as in *ér ğo* 'go down' (AIS 1341, point 28 Zuoz, Grisons) vs. It. *scendere*, and also *ndẹ zǫ́ lazǫ́*, lit. 'go down there-down' for 'go down there' (AIS 1611, point 244, Sant'Omobono, Lombardy). Furthermore, spatial specifications with prepositional phrases, also redundant as in *sö söl mùt* 'up on-the mountain', give rise to reanalysis as verb particle constructions (cf. *andare* [*su sul monte*] vs. [*andare su*] *sul monte* 'go [up on the mountain]' vs. '[go up] on the mountain'). Reanalysis may be started with pronoun cliticization and stranding of the path adverb, as in *andare su* <u>sul monte</u>, lit. 'go up on-the mountain' > *andar<u>ci</u> su*, lit. 'go-there up'. The resemblance of these constructions in the Romance and Germanic Alpine contact area may have acted as the template for transfer processes and the development of Particle-Verb constructions in other semantic areas as the second source of convergence, as in the case of German *austrinken* ≡ Bergamo dialect *bìf fò*, literally 'drink out' for 'drink up', though with different constituent order.

The investigation is carried out on the basis of data drawn from language atlases such as AIS and of collections of transcribed narratives with particular focus on Romance. The investigation aims at identifying the role of communicative habits such as the deictic specification of actions/states in language convergence in the Alpine area besides transfer processes resulting from contact in bilingual speakers.

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S-retraction in the Alps

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The Alps are a perfect area for investigating Sprachbund phenomena because they constitute a homogeneous biological and cultural environment in which the three main European language families – Germanic, Romance, and Slavic – meet. The proposed paper will probe the Alpine Sprachbund Hypothesis from a phonological point of view, focusing on the retraction of the alveolar sibilant /s/ before another consonant, e.g., /st/ > /ʃt/ (cf. Alber 2001, Hall and Scott 2007). Regardless of the

question where the innovation originated – Schmid (1956: 23) hypothesizes an innovation path from Northern Italy through South-Western Germany to Eastern France – today we find instances of *s*-retraction in the whole Alpine area. With respect to national language areas (we consider German, Italian, and Slovene) we hypothesize that the closer the dialects of one language are located to dialects affected by the process of *s*-retraction the more frequent the contexts and/or words which exhibit *s*-retraction will be. In order to verify this hypothesis we analyze data from linguistic atlases (AIS, ALD-I, ALI, ASLEF, SLA, TSA), dictionaries (among others, *Zimbarbort*, Benedetti and Kratter 2010, Denison and Grassegger 2007) and own field work focusing on the following language-contact areas:

– Cimbrian, Mòcheno and Tyrolean dialects (Germanic) and Romance dialects in the South-Tyrolean/Trentino area;
– Sauris and Sappada dialects (Germanic minority languages) and Romance dialects in the Veneto/Friuli area;
– Slovene and Romance dialects in the Friuli area and neighboring parts of Slovenia.

A first analysis of the data show that in all investigated areas the local dialects show instances of *s*-retraction not attested in other, non-Alpine varieties of the respective languages, e.g.:

– [ʃ]*vie*[ʃ]*da* 'star' in the Slovene dialect of Cergneú in Friuli vs. *zvezda* (without *s*-retraction) in Standard Slovene;
– *Ne*[ʃ]*t* 'nest' in the Sauris and Sappada dialects vs. *Nest* (without *s*-retraction) in Standard German;
– [ʃ]*teyla* 'star' in the Ladin dialect of Sëlva in South Tyrol vs. *stella* (without *s*-retraction) in Standard Italian.

A systematic investigation of the available resources will shed light on the question whether the precise contexts of *s*-retraction are also similar, across contact varieties. Thus, *s*-retraction takes place in preconsonantal contexts both word-initially and word-internally in the (Southern-Bavarian) Tyrolean varieties, e.g., [ʃ]*we*[ʃ]*ter* 'sister', but does not cross morpheme-boundaries, e.g., *er les-t* 'he reads'. Word-internally, there is furthermore a restriction as to the types of preconsonantal contacts triggering *s*-retraction: the process takes place before obstruents, but not before sonorants, cf. *Me*[s]*ner* 'sacristan'. Comparison of varieties with respect to affected contexts will make it possible to establish the degree of contact and, hopefully, the direction of expansion of the phonological process.

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Slavic_Alpensprachbund

Walter Breu and Malinka Pila

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Progressive periphrases in language contact:
Assessing morphosyntactic variation in an Alpine area

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There are numerous studies on aspect and aktionsart in Germanic and Romance languages (inter alia Krause 2002, Bertinetto 2001). However, to the best of our knowledge, there are yet no in-depth descriptions on the expression of the progressive aspect in the Raeto-Romance varieties.

The purpose of this empirically oriented research is to list and describe the several modalities of progressive expressions in a trilingual area from the point of view of typology. We will analyze the data collected through fieldwork in 2017 in the Alpine area (Swiss Grisons, Ladin valleys and Carnia in Northern Italy).

The goal of this research is twofold. First, we will conduct an inventory of the available forms. We will consider as a starting point the forms listed from the Atlas ALD-II (e.g. Map 322):

I sun tl laur da scri lit. I am at work to write
I sun tl scri lit. I am at writing
I sun ch'i scri lit. I am that I write
son do/daré che scrive lit. I am behind the writing

I stoi scrivint lit. I stay writing
"I am writing"

      Furthermore, in the ALD-II maps we don´t have information about the use of progressive periphrases in the German linguistic enclaves of Carnia (Sappada, Sauris and Timau). This research will show the interesting presence of the following type:

die ist dahinter z schreiban lit. She is behind at writing
„She is writing"

      Among other things, we will discuss the methodology we apply to the elicitation of aspectual markers: visual stimuli (both videos and picture cards) and written stimuli (a selection from the „Questionnaire on the Progressive Aspect", Bertinetto et al. 2000: Appendix 3). Besides that, we submitted sociolinguistic questions about the language competences of the informants.

      The second aim is to explain if and which of these periphrases are the result of borrowing from the nearby main languages. In order to achieve this goal, we will control several variables that can influence the process, following Heine/ Kuteva (2005: 220 et seqq.).

      In sum, by determining how far the structural transfer occurs, we face two possibilities:

(i) the borrowing may be solely unidirectional:

e.g lld.fass./lld.fod. son do/daré che scrive < nordit. Son drio a scriver;

(ii) the languages' genetic background may allow convergence of structural features, which is possible because of inner-language acceptability (s. Braunmüller 2000):

e.g. fur. Stoi scrivint = it. Sto scrivendo, besides fur. Soi daur a scrivi, o soi che scrivi

      We will then discuss the possibility of tracing a pan-raeto-romance way to express progressive meanings.

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Contact phenomena in the verbal complex: The Walser connection in the Alpine area

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German historical minorities in Northern Italy are the consequence of several migrations from the Northern side of the Alps to the Southern valleys descending toward the Romance-speaking plains. Despite the stubborn resistance until present of German-speaking varieties, contact with Romance can be identified at different levels of the structures displayed by these varieties. From this perspective, they qualify for the ideal testbed for identifying processes of convergence hinting at the identification of possible areal features such as the so-called Alpine passive (cf. Gaeta ms.), but also autonomous developmental patterns, which are particularly interesting because they witness of a lively elaboration of different features in a clear contact situation (cf. Gaeta 2017, Gaeta & Angster 2017).

Among other aspects of the verbal complex (cf. Geyer et al. 2014 for a survey), the paper will focus on the strategies that the different varieties exploit to express two functions connected to verbal aspect and argument structure, namely the progressive and the causative construction.

In particular, Titsch, the Walser German variety spoken in Gressoney, has developed a strategy for expressing progressive aspect based on an adverb (*eischter* meaning 'continuously'; Angster 2006), while the cognate variety of Pomatt/Formazza displays a strategy calqued on Romance varieties *z'wäg si* meaning 'to be on the way' (Dal Negro 2003). Note that in both cases the strategy developed differs from other strategies common in (sub-)standard varieties of German for encoding progressive aspect, as for instance the adverb *gerade* 'directly' or the so-called *Rheinische Verlaufsform*: *sie ist am / im Schreiben* 'she's writing, lit. she's at / in the writing'.

As far as causation is concerned, Walser German varieties of North-Western Italy, beside the construction with a cognate of Standard German *lassen* 'to leave', exploit a construction with the verb 'to do'. Differently from the phenomenon of the *do*-periphrasis, also widespread in the area, in this case the full verb expressing the action is governed by the verb 'to do', but takes the form of an infinitive introduced by *z*, cognate to Standard German *zu* 'to' (Angster 2011): Pomattertitsch *i tömu zwei chastjé epfla und dri chastjé purtugalli z geen* 'I make him take (lit. I do.him to take) two boxes of apples and three boxes of oranges'.

The examples provided will show on the one hand the importance of contact both as a source of pattern borrowings (Matras, Sakel 2007) and as a factor in the instigation of the development of internal patterns (contact-induced grammaticalization: Heine, Kuteva 2003). On the other hand, the data will show the need of a comparative approach to detect shared patterns of grammaticalization in the area, because the phenomena discussed reflect possible processes of convergence in the area in neat contrast with other varieties of German, as well as peculiar developments partially resulting from the original elaboration of contact patterns.

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Language synchronization north and south of the Brenner pass: Modelling the continuum

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Sprachbund is the definition that conceptualizes the convergence of typologically different languages in the same region (for Europe, cf. Roelcke 2011). Even for the alpine region some linguistic phenomena have been analyzed from a *Sprachbund*-perspective: the 'preterite decay' by Abraham & Conradie (2001), anticausative constructions by Ziegler (2010), the prepositional use of indirect object by Seiler (2004), the 'alpine passive' by Gaeta (*submitted*).

This perspective contrasts with the traditional notion of parameter as fixed value of a core syntactic option (± V2, ± null subjects, VO vs. VO, a.s.o.). Our talk aims to tackle this problem proposing a methodological differentiation between surface forms and structural differences. Continua refer primarily to surface forms. For instance, all dialects north and south of the Brenner pass require the lexicalization of the 3. singular subject pronoun (cf. Rabanus & Tomaselli 2017). Nevertheless, the theoretical status of these convergent forms is very different. In the Italian dialects they turn out to belong to verbal morphology assuming their status as verbal prefixes (cf. Brandi & Cordin 1989) that implies a null subject. On the contrary, Bavarian dialects are clearly non-null-subject languages, since they present a full-fledge typology of formal expletives (impersonal subjects, positional expletives and *es*+extraposed subject clause). The same can be observed for the possibility to extract the subject-DP from the embedded clause violating the *that-trace-effect*, traditionally linked to a positive value of *pro-drop*:

(1)   Wer moanst-n, **dass** in d'Mess kimmt?   (Bavarian)
(2)   Chi penses **che** vegna a messa?   (Trentinian)
(3)   *Who do you think **that** comes to the mass?   (English)

Although the surface linear order overlaps in both German and Italian dialects, we assume that the structure behind requires a different analysis: (i) in Bavarian the subject-DP is extracted from a 'low' position inside the vP; (ii) in Trentinian the extraction implies subject inversion ala Italian (= VP DP).

In modelling the continuum, we revisit the traditional *Wellentheorie* (cf. Schmidt 1872) taking the values of the core parameter (i.e.: +/-referential null subject) to be the *foci* of two different but

intersecting parameter settings. At the boundaries, the two systems show convergence phenomena and a consistent overlapping of surface patterns. This explains the continuum despite of the structural differentiation. In the following simplified representation:

$$A\text{----}A'\text{----} \| A'' \| \text{----}A'''\text{---}>$$
$$<\text{---}B'''\text{--} \| B'' \| \text{----}B'\text{----}B$$

line *A-A'''* represents the Germanic typology that is characterized by a negative value of the core phenomenon. Line *B-B'''* represents the Italian typology that manifests a positive value. A''/B'' shows the overlapping point of the two different systems of variability, contrary to a model which implies a system A changing into a system B.

Sprachbund-phenomena show the convergence of surface liner orders which does not necessarily produce a convergence of grammars (contrary to the *Isomorphism Theory,* cf. Sasse 1992). Nevertheless, the convergence of superficial patters favored by linguistic contact may affect the speed in the developmental path of both lines of variability, either accelerating (innovative phenomena) or decelerating the change (conservative phenomena) (see Padovan et al. 2017).

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The meandering path of VO and OV up in the Alps

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Comparing Italian, French and German, the three major standard languages spoken in the Alps, one notices that from a strictly linear point of view there are cases in which the three languages actually overlap in having the object preceding the past participle:

(1) a.   Es ist alles gemacht
                 It is all done
    b.   E' tutto fatto
    c.   C'est tout fait

One might object that this is just a special case, and that the three languages have the same word order only "by chance" in these cases but these apparently identical linear orders correspond to distinct syntactic structures. However, they might still be interesting in terms of language contact under the assumption that language change goes through overlapping linear orders. For this reason, we think that there is more to be said about the apparent/non apparent parallel in (1): in our talk we will show that being VO or OV is not a predefined property, a parameter in GB classical terms, but depends on the interplay of several factors like a) the height of the inflected/past participle raising b) the type of object which can itself raise higher than its basic position. We will examine three German minority languages spoken in the Eastern Alps: Cimbrian, Plodarisch (Sappadino) and Saurisch and will show how the VO/OV property is sensitive according to the verb type. We will first analyse Cimbrian, which is VO and resembles French for the last residues of OV with bare quantifiers, a type of objects that are known to maintain the OV order also in other VO languages (see Svenonius 2000 for Icelandic and Pintzuk 2011 for Old English). Plodarisch is at a different stage of evolution and display only the first instances of VO with auxiliaries and modals according to a pattern known as verb projection raising for Dutch and German dialects (notably West Flemish and Swiss German first investigated by Haegeman and van Riemsdijk 1986). Saurisch stays "in the middle" following a pattern similar to the one already investigated for Fersentalerisch (Cognola 2010, 2013). We will also show that in all the VO instances found in German varieties, the VO type is similar to English and Scandinavian and not to Romance, i.e. the verb does not raise to the T domain, but remains lower in the vP area and is preceded by aspectual adverbs and the negative marker. Furthermore, we will analyse the position of pronouns and show that they are always enclitic of the Wackernagel type even in Cimbrian, which is consistently VO. This means that language contact with Italian is either not responsible for the development of VO in German minority languages, or that language contact does not work through a copy procedure of the lending language into the borrowing one. Our investigation will also allow us to establish a possible diachronic path from OV to VO which starts out with auxiliaries and compound modals and ends with clitics and quantifiers, which are the last elements to assume the opposite word order.

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Doubly-filled COMPs in Alpine varieties:
A contrastive study on Germanic and Romance

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Violations of the Doubly-filled COMP filter (in the following: DFCs), most notably in the context of embedded questions, can be observed in Germanic (e.g. Alemannic, Bavarian), Romance (e.g. Rhaeto-Romance, Friulian, Ladinian, Venetian), and even Slavic varieties (e.g. Slovenian, Croatian) in the

Alpine regions. Even though this phenomenon is not exclusively restricted to this contact zone, the respective varieties show interesting convergences as well as differences in its grammatical properties.

With regard to the Germanic varieties, it has been claimed that the presence/absence of a complementizer is dependent on factors like length of the wh-expression, its phrase-structural complexity, syntactic function, or animacy (Bayer & Brandner 2010, Bayer 2014, Schallert et al. 2018). A look at the more fine grained distributional facts in Romance reveals some similarities, but also important differences to Germanic (see Hack & Kaiser 2013: 149–150): Some varieties show compulsory filling of the complementizer position (Ladinian, Friulian) while it is optional in others. Orthogonally, grammatically geared restrictions can come into play with certain types of wh-expressions or in specific syntactic contexts (depending, for example, on the exact position of the subject, ± root contexts, etc.).

Using both direct and indirect survey techniques (cf. Seiler 2010, Cornips and Poletto 2005), we examine DFC-phenomena in several dialects of Southern Bavarian (Tyrol, Carinthia) – including language islands like the Fersina-Valley (for Mòcheno) and Sauris –, and the adjacent Italian regions (for Venetian, Friulian, etc.) in order to check for relevant similarities as well as differences with regard to the above-mentioned factors. As of now, no contrastive study in this vein has been conducted. Preliminary results for the German variety of the language island Sauris indicate that it generally patterns quite well with the surrounding Friulian varieties in terms of obligatory filling of the complementizer position. This can be seen in contexts like (1), featuring the wh-item *bas* 'what', which is ungrammatical with an additional complementizer in most German dialects. On the other hand, the restriction to embedded questions clearly deviates from the Romance model, where DFCs are quite common also in root questions, cf. (2).

(1)   I vöscha-mer   bas   as   hòt   gerichtet   di muatar   [Sauris]
                I ask=me.DAT   what   that   has   prepared   the mother
                "I wonder what mom has prepared."

(2)   Kuj   ku   tu   as   dit?   [Friulian]
                what   that   you   have   said
                "What did you say?"
                (Hack and Kaiser 2013: 152)

In theoretical terms, we take the account of Holler (2001) as a point of departure. She assumes an empty complementizer for embedded questions in Standard German that can (optionally) be spelled out in the dialectal variants. Our specific approach is couched in an optimality-theoretic setting and relies on the idea that the "spell-out" of the complementizer is governed by several ordered and violable "soft" constraints. In this scenario, (micro-)typological differences can be captured quite naturally via constraint re-ranking. As far as the *Sprachbund*-dimension of this phenomenon is concerned, it can at least partially be viewed as a transmission effect operating on the grammatical surface.

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WORKSHOP 2

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Attenuated qualities in a cross-linguistic perspective

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Our workshop focusses on the diverse morphological and lexical means of expressing attenuation (reduced degree of a quality) in the languages of the world. Examples (i)-(iii) illustrate the use of derivational morphemes to mark a quality as being attenuated; in (iv) a reduced degree of a quality is marked by reduplication, and in (v) attenuation is expressed by the use of a dedicated ideophone.

(i)   English *-ish* as in *green-ish*

(ii)   French *-âtre* as in *blanch-âtre* 'whitish'

(iii)   Kambaata (Afroasiatic, Cushitic) *-lab* as in *biish-lab-á* 'reddish' (from *biishsh-á* 'red') and *qaraar-lab-á* 'a bit bitter' (from *qaraar-á* 'bitter') (Treis field data)

(iv)   Gashua Bade (Afroasiatic, Chadic) *ɓuwâ-ɓuwâ* 'reddish' (from *ɓuwâ* 'red') (Ziegelmeyer 2015)

(v)   Sar (Nilo-Saharan, Central Sudanic) *pùtì-pùtì* attenuates the basic colour terms *ndà* 'white', *kìrē* 'white', *ndùl* 'red'(Gotengaye & Keegan 2016)

Typological studies of derivational morphology show that attenuation is among the most frequent adjectival derivational categories in the languages world-wide (see e.g. Bauer 2002: 42), and we find attenuative morphology mentioned in descriptions of languages from different families all over the world, see e.g. Czech (Janda & Townsend 2000), K'ichee' (Mayan) (Polian 2017), Khanty (Finno-Ugric) (Sauer 1967) and Udihe (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001), to name but a few arbitrarily chosen examples. Note that grammatical elements with attenuative meaning are also labelled "moderative", "approximative", "diffusive", "deintensifying" in the literature.

So far attenuative morphology has attracted much less attention in cross-linguistic studies than, for instance, diminutive morphology. Although attenuation is discussed in the major typological works on "Evaluative morphology", most notably in the seminal work by Grandi & Körtvélyessy (2015), there are still synchronic, diachronic and areal aspects of attenuative derivation that remain unexplored. To the best of our knowledge, it has so far not yet been investigated systematically which semantic classes of adjectives (or quality lexemes) are most likely to permit attenuative marking (maybe colours?). We also have little knowledge of the diachronic origin of attenuative morphology of non-Indo-European languages. Furthermore, we would like to extend the study of attenuation from purely morphological, mostly derivational attenuative marking, to lexical means of expressing attenuation (see (v) above) and to also study modifying attenuative adverbs and ideophones. Note, for instance, that among African languages – which are well-known for their ideophonic colour intensifiers – there are (at least) 17 languages that possess specialized ideophonic colour attenuators (Segerer & Flavier 2011-2018).

The aim of our workshop is to bring together scholars from different subfields and theoretical frameworks of linguistics and working on a variety of languages world-wide. We do not only focus on languages in which attenuation is grammaticalised, but we would also like to include studies on the lexical means of attenuation. Although the existing literature is mostly concerned with the attenuation

of adjectives, we are, of course, also interested in languages that do not have a word class of adjectives and thus mark attenuation on quality nouns, quality verbs, etc.

The aim of this workshop is to address one or more of the following questions from the perspective of language-specific analysis (especially of little known languages), corpus linguistics, typological comparison, areal linguistics, semantics and pragmatics and/or grammaticalisation.

1) What are the morphological means to mark attenuation on adjectives (or other quality lexemes) in individual languages or language groups? Does the occurrence of attenuative morphology exclude the marking of other grammatical categories (e.g. the comparative **greenisher*)?

2) How productive is attenuative morphology in individual languages? Which semantic sub-classes of adjectives or other quality lexemes are most likely to permit attenuative derivation, which semantic sub-classes are hardly ever attenuated in individual languages and across languages? Are there languages with several attenuative morphemes that specialise on certain semantic sub-classes (as e.g. the attenuative prefixes *pa-* and *ie-* in Latvian, see Kalnača 2015)?

3) What are dedicated lexical attenuators in individual languages and which (classes of) adjectives (or other quality lexemes) do they modify? What is their degree of semantic specialisation? To which word class do they belong?

4) What are the precise semantic features of attenuative morphemes in individual languages? Are attenuated adjectives (or other quality lexemes) mostly neutral, pejorative, ameliorative in meaning (see e.g. that many attenuated non-colour adjectives in French are pejorative: *douçâtre* 'sweet but not in a nice manner, badly sweet', *bellâtre* 'beautiful (usually for a man) but in a ridiculous way')? What are frequent discourse-pragmatic contexts in which attenuated adjectives are used in individual languages (see Hengeveld & Keizer 2011)?

5) What are possible diachronic sources of attenuative morphology?

6) It is known that nominal diminutive morphology can convey attenuative meaning on adjectives (or other quality lexemes), see e.g. the suffix *-úluluka* in Kikongo (Laman 1936). But what are other attested, little known functional extensions or multifunctionality patterns of attenuative morphology in individual languages, groups and areas? (For a case study of English *-ish*, see e.g. Morris 2009.)

7) In which geographical areas and which language (sub-)families is attenuative morphology most common/absent? In which areas/families do we find attenuation by ideophones? In which areas/families do we find (partial or full) reduplication as a means to mark attenuation?

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Attenuation and categorization: a cross-linguistic study

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Evaluatives are by now a well-establish research domain, especially in morphology (Grandi & Körtvélyessy 2015), although not all the semantic functions performed by evaluatives are equally investigated: diminution, augmentation and intensification, for instance, have been subject to more extensive research than attenuation/approximation or non-prototypicality.

This paper aims at analysing strategies employed to express precisely the meaning of attenuation/approximation and non-prototypicality in a sample of four genetically and typologically different languages (to be intended as a starting point towards a larger typological investigation), namely: English [ENG], Italian [ITA], Japanese [JAP] and Mandarin Chinese [CHM]. More specifically, we focus on cases where an attenuative marker is applied to a lexeme L to mark its non-prototypical/marginal/unclear status as a member of the category expressed by L.

A preliminary survey of the four languages shows that this specific attenuation function is expressed via a number of strategies, both morphological (e.g. prefixes like *pseudo-* 'pseudo' and *quasi-* in both English and Italian; the prefix 类 *lei-* 'type' in Chinese; suffixes such as みたい *-mitai* 'seem like', っぽい *-ppoi* '-ish' in Japanese, *-ish/-like* in English) and lexical/syntactic (e.g. *kind/sort of* and *specie/sorta di* constructions in English and Italian, respectively; のような *noyouna* 'kind of' in Japanese).

Various lexical sources for these strategies can be identified, among which taxonomic items (*sort*, *kind*, etc., which are well-known to develop into approximators, cf. e.g. Tabor 1994, Denison 2002 for English; Mihatsch 2007, Voghera 2017 for Romance languages) and spatial proximity items (which metaphorically hint at conceptual proximity; cf. e.g. English *near-* and Italian *para-*).

Another, possibly less investigated, source for attenuative markers are similarity/comparison items (cf. e.g. Mihatsch 2009, Boyeldieu 2017). In this paper we focus precisely on the latter items, offering an overview of their use as attenuative markers of non-prototypicality in the four languages under investigation: see examples from English (1), Italian (2), Japanese (3) and Mandarin Chinese (4). In (2), for instance, ***simil**-estive* refers to temperatures that are close to those typically found in the summer, but not really summery.

(1)   *Death is an unconscious, sleep-**like** state.*   [ENG]

(2)   *Oggi   giornata   fantastica,   temperature   **simil**-estive.*   [ITA]
      today   day:F.SG   great:F   temperature:F.PL   <u>similar</u>-summery:F.PL
      'A fantastic day, today, summer-like temperatures.'

(3)   *Gakusha-**rashii**   senmon   baka   de   junkan-na   otoko.*   [JAP]
      scholar-<u>like</u>   speciality   idiot   COP   dull-ADJ   man
      'A scholar-like man who's ignorant outside his field of expertise and dull.'

(4)   ***Xiàng*** *yúncǎi* ***yīyàng-de*** *túàn.*   [CHM]
      <u>seem</u>   cloud   <u>same</u>-DE   pattern
      'A cloud-like pattern.'

Analogy is well-known to play a role, at a cognitive level, in the emergence of approximating meanings, as showed by Mihatsch (2009) and Voghera (2013) in their studies on comparative markers (e.g. Spanish *como* 'like') and taxonominc nouns, respectively. We apply a similar analysis to our data, in order to account for the emergence of attenuation/non-protoypicality meanings from similative items ('like', 'seem', 'similar', etc.) and constructions. Beside enriching our knowledge of possible, crosslinguistically valid sources of attenuation markers, our study aims at improving our understanding of the relationship between attenuation/approximation in general and (fuzzy) categorization.

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The expression of attenuation in Nivkh

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Nivkh (Paleosiberian) is a moribund language spoken in several dialects on Sakhalin Island and in the Amur region of Russia. It is an agglutinating polysynthetic language with some elements of morphological fusion and SOV word order. The paper focuses on data from the Amur and East-Sakhalin dialects that was collected during the author's fieldwork (1989-2017) and from the existing sources on Nivkh grammar and lexicon.

Nivkh verbs oppose several aspects and moods and two tenses (non-future and future). There are no adjectives that would be morphologically distinct from verbs. The majority of ca. 400 verbs denoting qualities carry the suffix *-la-* that indicates a (permanent) property, cf. *pi-la-* 'be big'. Qualitative verbs may be used in various syntactic functions both as finite and non-finite forms.

The semantic core of expressive evaluation is formed by the meanings of intensification and attenuation. Both of these meanings are conveyed in Nivkh almost exclusively through verbal morphology. Evaluation applies not to verb arguments, but to the quality, state or action referred to by the corresponding verb. Attenuation, which implies that a certain state of affairs manifests itself to a lesser degree or incompletely, can be expressed in Nivkh by suffixation, reduplication, analyticisation, vowel lengthening and *a*-raising. These strategies vary in productivity and their application depends on the dialect. The most productive and common means of rendering attenuative meaning is the suffix *-jo-* that in the verb form takes the position after the transitivizing suffix and before the TAM suffixes, cf. *ñeñi-* 'be sweet' → *ñeñi-jo-* 'be sweetish'. The paper will discuss in detail the functions and usage of this suffix in various types of verb forms and syntactic constructions. It will also consider other Nivkh attenuative strategies, which, despite their marginal nature, offer some interesting insights into the status of attenuation per se and in comparison with intensification within the scope of expressive evaluation.

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Ideophones and Attenuatives in Korean

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This paper investigates the role of ideophones in lexicalization of the semantic feature 'attenuation'. A special focus is placed on color terms, but the discussion is extended to other domains of auditory, gustatory, and olfactory perceptions. The data are largely taken for analysis from authoritative dictionaries and lexicons as well as media resources such as TV programs and online blogs.

Korean has a large number of attenuative forms for lexicalization of terms across perceptual domains. The inventory of color words, for example, is extraordinary with 752 entries in an authoritative dictionary. Especially noteworthy is the modulation of the magnitude dimension. For

instance, *ppalgat-*, the base word for 'red' can be modulated for attenuation, as shown in part in (1):

(1) a. *ppalgat-* 'red' (basic)
  b. *balgat-* 'reddish' (weaker in intensity)
  c. *pulk-* 'reddish' (weaker in luminosity)
  d. *ppalgusurumha-* 'reddish' (wider distribution and uneven solidity)
  e. *balgumureha-* 'reddish' (weaker in intensity and uneven solidity)
  f. *bulgumureha-* 'reddish' (weaker in intensity and luminosity, and uneven solidity)

Rhee (2016) lists 127 'red'-words in Korean, all derived from the base form ppalgat-. Korean ideophony provides systematicity in word derivation, through manipulation of vowel polarity, force dynamic iconicity in consonants, iconicity of multiplicity in reduplication, among others (Koo 2007). For instance, with respect to attenuation, positive vowels create the sensation of 'smallness' in size; negative vowels create the sensation of lowness in luminosity; non-aspirated and non-tensed consonants create the sensation of 'smallness'; and reduplication of onomatopoeic suffixes creates the sensation of extension of stimuli over space or time, often associated with uneven and weaker solidity.

A large number of Korean ideophones are used across sensory modalities, i.e., auditory, visual, gustatory and olfactory perceptions. For instance, many are used for encoding the sounds emanating from an object, for visual perception of color, and for gustatory perception of taste (Rhee and Koo 2017). Focusing on attenuation, this presentation elaborates on the features that make the Korean ideophones a unique class of linguistic signs with respect to their systematic word derivation (thus making the paradigm expandable with neologisms) and synesthetic encoding of human perception in language.

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Adverbial attenuation in a weak adjective Nilo-Saharan language

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The Eastern Nilotic language Maa (Maasai), of the Nilo-Saharan phylum, does not have a clearly dedicated form to mark attenuation. This is despite the fact that some research suggests attenuation is among the most frequent adjectival derivational categories in the world (cf. Bauer 2002: 42). In this context, it is perhaps noteworthy that Maa is a language with a "weak" adjective category in that nearly all property concept words are stative verbs or can become nominal referring forms simply by adding a determiner (Schneider 1998, Shirtz & Payne 2013).

Maa does have a productive means of attenuating a verbal concept via the adverb *pɛ́nyɔ*. Depending on context, *pɛ́nyɔ* can be translated by 'probably not' or 'unlikely' as in (1), as an adverb of time 'a little while' (Mol 1996 : 328), or as 'somewhat, slightly, a little bit' as in (2) through (4). It can modify all types of verb classes, including stative verbs like 'be equal' (2), inchoative verbs like 'be/become sick' (3), and dynamic verbs like 'approach' (4).

Pɛ́nyɔ doí   n-ɛ́-tɔn   ɛ-ɛtá-ī   ɔl=tʊŋáni
unlikely indeed CN1-3-still 3-have-IMP   MSG=person
'It is unlikely there will still be a person'

pɛ́nyɔ   n-é-risíó
ATTENUATIVE   CN1-3-be.equal
'they are somewhat (un)equal (the number of young men who went for warriorhood versus
    to school)' (omon.0329)

N-é-mūē-yū**pɛ́nyɔ**
CN1-3-sick-INCHOATTENUATIVE
'they became slightly sick' (Smallpox.016)

N-ɛ́-nyik-áa   in=kíshú   **pɛ́nyɔ**
CN1-3-approach-ITIVE   FPL=cattle   ATTENUATIVE
'the cows moved a little bit' (owaki.021)

Though the Maa data reveal temporal, modal, and attenuative uses of *pɛ́nyɔ*, the direction of semantic shift is unknown at this point. Indeed, it is arguable that 'attenuative' or 'not quite' is synchronically the over-arching meaning, encompassing both 'a little bit (amount, distance, or time)' in the more physio-temporal domain, and the modal meanings 'probably not, unlikely' in the reality domain.

Aside from *pɛ́nyɔ*, some verbs can be attenuated, or alternatively intensified by root reduplication, so this is not a dedicated attenuative device. Some nouns can be made diminutive and/or pejorative by using a Feminine determiner, as with masculine gender *ɔl=ámʊyɛ* 'male donkey' versus feminine gender *ɛnk=ámʊyɛ* 'wimpy male donkey.' One might consider this a type of attenuation of the prototype meaning of the root *ámʊyɛ* 'male donkey' in that the referent is "not a very good" instance of what is designated.

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On attenuated qualities in Chadic

Georg Ziegelmeyer

A first examination of patterns expressing attenuated qualities in Chadic languages reveals that reduplication is the most wide-spread morphological process to reduce the degree of a quality.

For instance, in Hausa shortening of the final vowel and full reduplication derives denominal "*X-like*"-expressions, or "*X-y*" and "*X-ish*" adjectives, i.e. concrete nouns may form adjectives with the meaning "*characterized by*", sometimes retaining nominal status with an attenuated meaning, e.g. **gishirī** 'salt' > **gishiri-gishiri** 'salty', but **barcī** 'sleep(ing)' > **barci-barci** 'a nap'. In a similar manner abstract nouns of sensory quality (ANSQs) allow reduplicated forms, with a detensified "*X-ish*" meaning, e.g. **zāƙī** 'sweetness' > **zāƙi-zāƙi** 'sweetishness' (**lḕmō mài zāƙi-zāƙi** 'a sweetish soft drink'). According to Schuh (Ms.) Ngamo employs partial reduplication to expresses the concept "*NOUN-like*", "*NOUN-ish*".

Apart from this, several Chadic languages allow reduplication of simple or derived adjectives, usually denoting colours or physical attributes, in order to get a detensified/attenuated meaning of a quality, e.g. Hausa: **bàbba** 'big' > **bàbba-bàbba** 'biggish' (cf. Jaggar 2001); Bade: **ɓuwâ** 'red' > **ɓuwâ-ɓuwâ** 'reddish' (cf. Ziegelmeyer 2015); Bole: **dài** 'red' > **dài-dài** 'reddish' (cf. Gimba & Schuh Ms.); Malgwa: **dzáyye** 'white' > **dzáy-dzáyye** 'whitish' (cf. Löhr 2002).

In Hausa, adverbs may also be reduplicated, usually intensifying the adverbial meaning, though some denominal adverbs also detensfy the basic, usually spatial, meaning, e.g. **bāyā** 'back' > **bāya** 'behind' > **bāya-bāya** 'slightly behind' (cf. Jaggar 2001: 657).

While full or partial reduplication in Chadic languages has been described as a frequent process to intensify verbal actions, i.e. to form pluractionals (cf. Newman 1990), the data we had at hand, so far suggests that the direction of intensification might depend on word class, i.e. adjectives intensify to a lower/attenuated degree, verbs to a higher degree (plurality of actions), while reduplicated nouns or adverbs usually intensify to a higher degree, though sometimes also to a lower degree.

Following a comparative approach I will first give an overview of attenuation patterns in Chadic languages, and then put forward the hypothesis that reduplication in Chadic, depending on word class, triggers intensification to a higher, or lesser degree.

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Lexical and grammatical means to express attenuation in French Caribbean Creoles. *Yon ti* and the lexical reiteration

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In French-based Caribbean Creoles the reduplication pattern which involves a contiguous series of lexemes typically concerns adjectives and conveys either an intensive (1a) or an attenuative (1b) meaning (Bakker & Parkvall 2005).

1. Haitian
a. *Sé   ti   zoranj **piti piti piti piti**   yo*
   It is small orange small-small-small-small 3PL
   'They are the microscopically small oranges'

b. *Li   pale   anglé   **mal mal***
   3SG speak English bad-bad
   'He/she speaks English not so well'

Another pattern of reduplication occurs for predicative elements: the predicate is doubled and some attributes of quantity (*yon*, *sel*) and quality (*bon*, *byen*, *gwo*, *piti*) are inserted between the predicate and the reduplicated element.

2. Haitian
*Djo **kouri** yon   ti   **kouri***
     P1   P2
Djo run   one small/mediocre   run
Lit. 'Djo ran/runs one small/mediocre run' → 'Djo ran/runs for a little bit/pathetically'
P2 is analysed by Glaude & Zribi-Hertz (2014) as a cognate object, whose function is to modify semantically P1 using the meaning of the inserted lexical material.
   In this paper I want to enquire the use of *yon ti* to convey attenuation within this second type of reduplication.
Yon ti expresses the small quantity and poor quality of an event.
When the cognate head is a verb, it can encode the aspectual value of brief duration of a process (2); whereas, when the cognate head is an adjective, it encodes an attenuative value (3).

3. Haitian
*Djo **malad** yon ti   **malad***
Djo sick   one small/mediocre   sick
'Djo is slightly sick'

I will examine in depth which semantic classes of adjectives are compatible with the Creole *yon ti* reduplication pattern, since it seems that only those which encode non-persistent states or qualities can feature in it.

4. Cross-linguistic hierarchy of persistent states and qualities (Stassen 1997)

+ PERSISTENT	
	DIMENSION
	PHYSICAL PROPERTIES
	COLOUR

HUMAN PROPENSION
AGE
VALUE
SPEED

- PERSISTENT

In addition, I shall discuss the implication that these data have for the general theory, taking into account:

1. The interaction between the actionality of the reduplicated predicates and the expression of attenuated manner on them, considering that, according to Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010), resultativity and manner are often incompatible.
2. (Given that the *yon ti* reduplication pattern is a prototypically verbal strategy,) which semantic classes of verbs are allowed in these reduplication constructions and what properties they share with non-persistent adjectives.

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From *rougeâtre* to *plutôt rouge*: Renewed evaluatives in French

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In this paper, we investigate the evolution of the evaluative derivational suffix *–âtre* '–ish' in French, focusing on its use with color terms, and its attenuative meaning (Körtvélyessy 2015, Grandi & Körtvélyessy 2015), as in *rougeâtre* 'reddish'.

Following Moris's (2009) study on the diachrony of English *–ish*, retracing the extensions of the suffix from nationality adjectives to animate nouns, then inanimate nouns and on to any type of base, our aim is to examine the evolution of *–âtre*. We investigate its use in diachrony and in present-day French, along with concurrent constructions, which seem to be more recent in use, such as *plutôt rouge* 'rather red, reddish'.

The suffix *–âtre* affords an interesting case to study the evolution of the expression of attenuation. It comes from Latin *–aster/–astrum*, already polyfunctional in Classical Latin: it appeared on nouns and adjectives, seems to have evolved from a diminutive meaning to negative connotations (e.g. *pallium* 'coat' > *palliastrum* 'run-down coat'), and could be analyzed as an approximative suffix.

In Old French, *–astre* formed both nouns and adjectives (e.g. *boler* 'to deceive' > *bolastre* 'deceptive'), but its use with color adjectives appeared later on (14th-15thc.). In Modern French, *–âtre* seems productive and polyvalent with formations of adjectives on adjectival (e.g. *douceâtre* 'sweetish') and nominal (e.g. *opiniâtre* 'stubborn') bases, and, to a lesser extent, of nouns on nominal (e.g. *musicâtre* 'bad musician') and adjectival (*bellâtre* 'dandy') bases. The most frequent and productive uses, however, are linked to color terms, while combinations with other types of adjectives or nouns are more limited in productivity (Pupier 1998).

To investigate the evolutional path of the suffix and the emergence and the evolution of morphologically complex color adjectives with *–âtre*, our study is based on the data extracted from two historical corpora: Frantext (12 centuries, 270 million words) and GGHF (12 centuries, 15 million words).

The analysis points to a series of semantic changes, with phases of increase and decrease in frequency of *–âtre*. The data confirms the limited range of uses of *–âtre* in Old French: at that stage, it is not frequent, and mainly used with kinship terms such as *parastre* 'stepfather'. Its use with color terms is marginal until the 15th c. and it increases significantly from the 18th c. onwards. The association with color terms seems to have ousted another emerging tendency, the combination of *–âtre* with various nouns to form adjectives, as attested by e.g. *hugolâtre* ('worshiper of Victor Hugo', 19th c.). The increasing use of *–âtre* to modify color terms seems to go against the well-known analytic tendency of French, but it is only a passing whim. The use of alternative strategies to convey the meaning of attenuation (e.g. *plutôt rouge* 'rather red') seems to be slowly gaining the upper hand, thus providing another illustration of the analytic tendency of French.

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WORKSHOP 3

Circum-Baltic languages: Varieties, comparisons, and change

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The languages of the Circum-Baltic region belong primarily to the Indo-European (Baltic, Slavic, Germanic) and Uralic (Finnic, Saami) families. These languages have historically developed common features which have triggered discussions over a possible *Sprachbund* (see e.g. Stolz 1991). The University of Stockholm research project "Language typology around the Baltic Sea" (1991–1996) yielded the 2001 compendium "The Circum-Baltic languages" (Dahl, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001a, 2001b), in which it was concluded that the region is more properly regarded as a contact superposition zone (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Wälchli 2001). The Indo-European languages of this region are considered close to Standard Average European (SAE) languages, while the Uralic languages fall on the periphery of SAE or outside of it entirely (Haspelmath 1998, 2001). The area as a whole forms part of a buffer zone between SAE and Central Eurasia (Wälchli 2011).

The Circum-Baltic language area has developed as a result of historical contacts between historical language forms. In the modern world, language contact is no longer as dependent on geography; interaction takes place online and English has become the *lingua franca*. Changes are being observed which are bringing languages on the periphery of SAE closer to typical SAE languages (Heine, Kuteva 2006, see also Lindström, Tragel 2010, Metslang 2009). The boundaries of language areas may not be stable, and they may be formed by shared or diverging trends of language change rather than by the presence or absence of stable features (see Campbell 2016).

Language comparison and typological generalizations have thus far been based overwhelmingly on studies of standard language. It has been observed that the SAE features are more typical of the standard forms of European language than their non-standard variants (Fiorentino 2007, Seiler 2016). If a language lacks an established standard form, studies rely on other available material, primarily from dialects. Thus a single language form is often taken to represent the language as a whole. In order to obtain a more accurate picture, it is necessary to analyze the languages of this region in all their variety, to compare different forms of the same language as well as similar/analogous forms of different languages. Without including non-standard language varieties, the resulting picture is coarse and one-sided, from both a static and a dynamic perspective (Kortmann 2010, Murelli, Kortmann 2011, Auwera 2011, Wälchli 2011, Szmrecsanyi, Wälchli 2014).

The rapid development of corpora in the 21st century creates better opportunities for comparison of language variants. Corpora may represent different registers, regional dialects, idiolects, communication channels (verbal, written, online) etc. Such diverse corpus material is well-suited for identifying characteristic features of particular language varieties. In addition to corpora, new data may come from other sources, such as linguistic questionnaires, linguistic experiments or new media.

The aim of the workshop is to take a new look at the Circum-Baltic area, taking into account new data sources of standard languages as well as including data coming from non-standard varieties, registers, etc. The use of new data sources makes it possible to improve comparisons between the individual languages in the area as well as to identify common linguistic features and usage patterns in the area which have hitherto been understudied or even unnoticed. The broader goal is to add new data into the discussion on areal features in Circum-Baltic languages.

We welcome presentations which bring new data and knowledge regarding the common and distinctive features of Circum-Baltic languages:
- concerning standard or non-standard varieties of Circum-Baltic languages using data from new data sources (e.g. corpora)
- concerning comparisons between the languages in the area on different levels of language (phonetics and phonology; morphosyntax; (lexical) semantics and pragmatics), based on new data;
- pointing out the changes taking place in this region both in terms of individual language features as well as in the delimitation of the language area itself.

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✄

Presuppositional comitatives in the Circum-Baltic languages:
Another areal feature?

Natalia Perkova

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✄

Change-of-state predicates in the Finnic languages

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This paper discusses the usage of change-of-state predicates in intransitive analytic constructions in the Finnic languages (e.g. 1). Change-of-state is here associated with inchoative meanings that typically set the focus on the beginning of a new state (Radden & Dirven 2007), such as *being ill* in ex. (1). Whereas there are previous studies on the usage of change-of-state predicates in Finnish, Estonian, and Livonian (e.g. Huumo & Sivonen 2010; Pajusalu & Tragel 2007; Norvik 2014), the other Finnic languages (Ingrian, Karelian, Ludic, Veps, Votic) have not received much separate attention in this respect. Thus, the aim is to fill in this gap.

> (1) Ingrian (Laanest 1966)
> ***Tulin***   *minä*   *läživäks.*
> come:PST:1SG I   ill:TRA
> 'I fell ill.'

Within one language there can be several change-of-state predicates, licensed usually by the fact that there are differences in their usage. For instance, in English *become* is regarded as the most neutral one (*he **became** a teacher*), *go* is associated with unexpected and unpleasant changes (*he **went** mad*; cf. the use of 'come' in ex. 1), *turn* with abrupt changes (*the light **turned** red*) (see more in Radden & Dirven 2007). It is also possible that there are syntactic restrictions, e.g. in English, the comparative

form may be used with *grow* but not *go* (cf. *He was **growing/*going** older*) (Bonnefille & McMichael 2001).

Like English, the Finnic languages are also rich in change-of-state predicates but the set of predicates differs. The analytic constructions discussed in the presentation, for instance, include predicates (originally) expressing the meanings 'come' (1), 'be born' (2), 'do' (3), 'rise', 'go', 'remain', and 'become'. The aim of the paper is to determine how these predicates are specialised in separate languages, i.e. (i) in what constructions they occur and why; (ii) what are the similarities/differences with change-of-state predicates in the neighbouring languages or language varieties.

(2) Ludic (AEDKL)
hän   ***rodihese***   *vratša*
s/he   be_born_PST:REFL.3SG   doctor
'S/he became a doctor.'

(3) Veps (Grünthal 2015)
hö /…/ ***tehtas***   *vanhembaks*   *i*   *vanhembaks*   *i*   *koleba*
they   do:REFL.3PL   old:COMP:TRA   and   old:COMP:TRA   and   die:3PL
'They will grow older and older and will die.'

Preliminary results show that some of these predicates (e.g. 'come', 'remain') express change-of-state in all the Finnic languages, although to varying extents, but some are spread only in a particular area (e.g. 'be born' is common in Ludic and in the neighbouring Olonets Karelian dialect; 'do' can be found mainly in Veps). As regards the constructions, it is common to mark the GOAL (see translative marking in ex. 1 and 3), but it is also possible there is no marking at all (ex. 2); less frequently the SOURCE is marked. There also seems to be semantic and syntactic restrictions on the complements, which will be discussed in more detail in the paper.

The linguistic data used in the study originates from collections of texts (e.g. Laanest 1966) and fieldwork data (e.g. AEDKL), including my own. The analysis combines functional-typological and cognitive approaches.

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Nominal forms with temporal meaning in minor Finnic languages of Ingria

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In languages with developed case systems, nominal case forms often function as temporal adverbials (Heine, Kuteva 2002; Blake 2004: 179; Butt 2005: 7; Creissels 2008: 624). This paper investigates variation in the case marking of adverbial nouns denoting "time units" (Haspelmath 1997: 26) in minor Finnic languages of Ingria: 'in winter', 'in the evening', and the like. In major Finnic languages, Finnish and Estonian, such expressions are regularly encoded with the adessive (e.g. Estonian *Suvel ma elan maal* 'In the summer.ADESS I live in the countryside'). However, in minor Finnic varieties that do not have a literary standard, we find a competition of three or more case forms, the adessive, elative, essive and, rarer, some other, that does not have an obvious explanation. For instance, Votic 'in winter' is encoded with the essive (*таɭven*) or, rarer, the adessive (*таɭveɭɭə*), but never with the elative (*таɭvessə), while 'in spring' is expressed with the adessive (*tševäellə*) or, rarer, the elative (*tševäessə*), but never with the essive (*tševäen).

The goal of this paper is to investigate the factors that account for the tendencies towards a particular case marking. The material comes from three almost extinct Finnic varieties, the Western dialect of Votic, Soikkola Ingrian and Lower Luga Ingrian, recorded by the authors in 2002-2017. The analyzed corpora comprise 260 hours of elicited speech for Votic, 300 hours for Lower Luga Ingrian, 600 hours and a 4-hour corpus of transcribed narratives for Soikkola Ingrian.

The analysis suggests that the following factors play a role:

1. The variety. In Votic, three cases are intensively used for encoding adverbial nouns; in Lower Luga Ingrian, the adessive competes with essive; and in Soikkola Ingrian, the essive is used only in specific constructions and the main competition is between the adessive and elative.

2. The lexeme. For example, the Votic *üü* 'night' allows only the adessive (*üüllə* 'at night.ADESS'), while for *oomnikko* 'morning' there are three options (*oomnikoɭɭə ~ oomnikossə ~ oomnikon* 'in the morning.ADESS~ELAT~ESS').

3. The degree of lexicalization. Case marking often corresponds to higher or lower lexicalization (the latter allows dependent words more easily, cf. Lehmann 2002, Velsker 2005), cf. Lower Luga Ingrian *talven* 'in winter.ESS' and *männel talve* 'last winter.PART'. The degree of lexicalization correlates also with the meaning of a temporal adverbial, cf. Soikkola Ingrian *keväešt kaig kukkii* 'In spring.ELAT everything is blooming' vs *täl keväel miä paljo tein tüüdä* 'This spring.ADESS I did much work'. Here, the lexicalized adverb-like form with low referentiality is opposed to the nominal form with higher referentiality.

4. Speakers may have individual preferences for a particular case form.

Our research proves that language contacts are an important factor of variation, and expands the picture of convergent processes in Ingria (cf. Savijärvi 1998, Muslimov 2005). In particular, the

elative forms seem to have recently spread in Votic under the contact influence from Soikkola Ingrian (Ariste (1968) does not list this function of the elative). At the same time, Lower Luga Ingrian is more similar to Votic than to Soikkola Ingrian.

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☙

Danish and Estonian: Typological parallels in two innovative Circum-Baltic prosodic systems

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Word prosody of Estonian and Danish is atypical cross-linguistically and reveals functional and phonetic similarities, in spite of diverse genetic origins of the two languages. This might be, a least partially, a result of an intense contact influence in the Circum-Baltic linguistic area (Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001). The phonological profile of both Danish and Estonian is innovative in comparison with their cognate languages, and the prosodic development of Finnic and Scandinavian languages has a lot in common. The major driving force in both groups has been a prosodic reinforcement of the initial stressed syllable along with an apocope of the non-initial ones. In Estonian (together with Livonian) and Danish, placed close to the center of contacts, these two processes have developed furthest.

A remarkable outcome of this process is an isotopy between a non-tonic prosodic feature (laryngealization in Danish and quantity in Estonian) and stress (Eek 1986, Basbøll 2005). Already

Jakobson (1931: 156-158, 1938: 243-244) included both in the Circum-Baltic Sprachbund of languages with two distinctive varieties of word stress (see also Niit 1980, Wiik 1997, Sutrop 1999). Surface phonetic differences between the 'tonal' and the 'glottal'/'quantitative' manifestations of this contrast in various languages of the Baltic sea area did not prevent Jakobson from observing the underlying structural similarity of Estonian and Danish word prosody to the Latvian, Lithuanian, Swedish, Norwegian one. These parallels, in turn, are not well grasped in modern mainstream word-prosodic typologies. For example, the latter four languages are typically grouped together in a [+stress, +tone] box, while the former two are placed in the [+stress, -tone] group and their non-tonic lexical prosody other than plain dynamic stress is ignored (Fox 2000: 265, Hyman 2006: 240).

The term 'ballistic' has been independently applied to the marked member of the stress paradigm both in Danish and Estonian research traditions: /+stød/ in Danish (Grønnum and Basbøll 2007: 199-200) and /heavy accent/ (Q3) in Estonian (Harms 1978: 31). The marked members are opposed to the unmarked ones: /-stød/ in Danish and /light accent/ (Q2 and Q1) in Estonian, respectively. At a deeper level, one could speak of a prosodic contrast between the 'even vs. uneven pronunciation energy distribution' (Eek and Meister 1997: 77) in both cases. A 'controlled' phonetic pattern with a smoother distribution of values of various phonetic features throughout the foot (vocal-fold vibration, timing, F0 curve, subglottal pressure, tenseness of articulation) is opposed to a 'ballistic' articulatory gesture (momentary vocal-fold stiffening, local peak in lengthening, intensity, F0 curve). In both languages, the marked pattern is linked only to the heavy/long syllables, which have enough segmental space to allow a ballistic gesture to be realized.

These and other functional similarities in the word prosody of Danish and Estonian, as well as their particular typological status, will be discussed on the basis of existing functional phonological descriptions of their standard varieties (Basbøll 2005, Eek and Meister 2003-2004, Viitso 2003), with a reference to dialects and recent dynamic processes in spoken languages.

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✄

Reference in Estonian, Finnish, and Russian: Resources and practices

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Many studies have shown that linguistic forms functioning as referential devices (e.g., personal or demonstrative pronouns, definite NPs) can have significantly different usage contexts and discourse functions in different languages even when their grammatical label is similar (Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski 1993, and Kibrik 2011). Thus, many researchers have applied empirical, including experimental, methods to investigate the exact nature of referential forms in different languages (Coventry et al. 2008, Kaiser 2011, and Arnold & Griffin 2007). Such studies usually focus on one context (e.g., spatial or textual) or on one referential device (e.g., demonstrative pronouns), but there are considerably fewer studies that compare different referential contexts (e.g., March & Pattison 2012).

In this presentation, we examine the similarities and differences between Estonian, Finnish, and Russian referential systems and discuss them in relation to other Circum-Baltic languages. We compare the results of two production experiments conducted in all three languages. The research questions are as follows:

1) How do language contacts affect syntactic, pragmatic, and semantic features of referential devices (e.g., is spatial usage of demonstratives less affected by language contact than the usage of demonstratives as definite determiners)?

2) Are the speakers of languages with different pronoun systems relying on different factors (distance, accessibility etc.) when choosing a referential form?

The experiments were designed to elicit the use of referential devices in two distinct linguistic contexts. The first experiment used a picture-sequence based narrative elicitation: the participants were asked to tell a story based on the events performed by animate referents in picture-books. For the second experiment, we devised a physical setting where participants were asked to describe and compare three houses that they could see around them. Thus, we investigate how the same referential devices are used anaphorically as well as in spatial reference. Both experiments were conducted with native speakers of either Estonian, Finnish or Russian, involving at least 20 participants per language

and experiment. The data were tagged for the presence and type of various referential expressions (demonstrative and personal pronouns, demonstrative adverbs, zero reference, relative clauses) and for other variables (e.g., distance, animacy).

The preliminary results indicate that

1) Some syntactic features are influenced by areal-typological contacts, e.g., the use of article-like determiners in Estonian, Finnish, and Russian.

2) The spatial use of demonstratives remains rather unaffected by language contacts. That is, each language exhibits its own system of spatial reference, even though the factors that influence the choice of demonstratives are similar.

3) Even if referential devices with similar grammatical labels are available in the three languages, they are not always used in a similar way. For example, in all three languages, it is possible to use demonstrative pronouns as determiners, and relative clauses as identification tools. However, the use of these devices in these functions diverges greatly across the languages.

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✍

Demonstrative pronouns in press texts: The case of Latvian and Finnish

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There are several functions of demonstrative pronouns (DP) in Latvian and Finnish press texts. Some of them correspond with basic functions of demonstrative pronouns, but some are adopted from spoken language.

To gather examples of usage of DP and compare them, two thematic pairs of online sites were chosen: www.diena.lv (D) and www.hs.fi (HS) (both are edited daily newspaper sites) and www.lsm.lv (LSM) and www.yle.fi (YLE) (both are public media news sites).

Three main functions were discovered:

a) Subsantival use of DP (example 1). In this case, DP replaces the noun it corresponds to;

b) Adjectival use of DP (examples 2a-b), which is closely linked to DP functioning as definite article (DA) (examples 2c-d). In this case, DP is used in front of a noun instead of replacing it (Bhat 2004 and Lyons1999). DP as adjective is distinguished from DP as DA in the context. DP as adjective have

referential function while article expresses that referent is already known to speaker and addressee. Usage rules overlap partly with those of DA in article languages and those of adjectives with definite endings in Latvian (Lyons1999 and Kalme, Smiltniece 2001);

c) DP functioning as emotional marker to express the stance of the writer/speaker (example 3, Ozola 2006). Similar to adjectival use of DP, but there are formal indicators, such as use of emotionally expressive vocabulary and accumulation of DPs.

(1)   a) ***tajās***   *ir*   *trīs*   *līmeņi* (LSM)
        that.F.PL.LOC   be.3.PL.PRS   three   level.M.PL.NOM
        'they have three levels'

      b) *se*   *on*   *ymmärrettävää* (HS)
        that.SG.NOM   be.3.SG.PRS.   understandable.PART
        'that is understandable'

(2)   a) ***šis***   *incidents*   *nav*   *saistīts*
        this.M.SG.NOM   incident.M.SG.NOM   be.NEG.3.SG.PRS.   related.M.SG
        ar   *terorismu* (D)
        with   terrorism.M.SG.ACC.
        'the incident is not related to terrorism'

      b) *ryhdytään*   *jatkokehittämään*   ***tätä***   *peliä* (YLE)
        start.PRS.PASS   continue+develop.ILL   this. PART   game.PART
        '[we will] start to develop the game further'

      c) ****šis***   *postmodernisms*   *bija*   *kaut*   *kas*
        jauns (LSM)
        this.M.SG.NOM   postmodernism M.SG.NOM   be. 3.SG.PST   some   what
        new.M.SG.NOM
        'the postmodernism was somethin   g new'

      d) ***se**   *koodaus*   *tulee*   *kouluun* (YLE)
        that.SG.NOM   coding. SG.NOM   comes.SG.PRS   school.ILL
        'the coding comes to school [curriculum]'

(3)   a) *tu*   *taču*   *piederi*   *pie*   ***tās***
        you.SG   but   belong.2.SG.PRS   to   that.F.SG.GEN
        nožēlojamās latviešu literatūras (D)
        pitiful.F.SG.GEN   Latvian.GEN   literature.F.SG.GEN
        'but you belong to the pitiful Latvian literature'

As can be seen from examples 1–2, most functions are similar in both languages, while DP as emotional marker has appeared in Latvian press texts only. Even though there are no articles in either Latvian or Finnish grammatical system, adjectival use of DPs is common in both languages. However, cases when DP is clearly used as DA, are rare in both languages. In neither language, their usage is mandatory. What differs is that in Latvian they can be used, for example, to replace adjectives with definite endings, whereas Finnish language offers less choices to mark objects in sentences as definite.

In this report, DP as adjective and DP as DA will be inspected in more detail in order to establish, whether they can be viewed similarly in both languages, or should they be viewed as two different phenomena.

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ℳ

Pronoun omission in Estonian dialects in areal perspective: A corpus-based study

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Estonian and other Finnic languages belong to the group of languages which feature subject pronoun drop. Historically, the use of pronouns has been secondary in Uralic languages and the primary device for person reference has been the use of person endings, which have developed from pronouns (Janhunen 1982). Using both person ending and a pronoun can be thus considered, from a historical perspective, a doubling of the same element, since the referent of the implicit subject can already be inferred from the grammatical inflection on the verb.

In contemporary spoken Estonian, pronouns occur with 82% of sg1 verb forms (Duvallon & Chalvin 2004). In dialect data, the features of spoken language are entwined with regional variation. Previous studies (Lindström et al. 2009, Lindström et al. 2017) concerning Estonian dialects have indicated that there is indeed a remarkable dialectal variation in the expression of 1sg pronouns (overt marking of the pronoun is between 24 and 71%). However, there are also many other factors influencing the choice between overt expression or omission of the pronoun, most important of which is the referential distance between the 1sg form and the previous mention of the same referent: the closer the last mention of the same referent, the more likely the pronoun is omitted from the clause. To a somewhat lesser extent also the expression of the person ending *-n* on a verb form, the tense of the verb form, and form of the last mentioned reference play a role. Some of these factors (esp. referential distance) have been found significant also for Finnish (Helasvuo 2014, Väänänen 2015, Väänänen 2016).

In the current study, we turn our attention from strictly interdialectal differences to wider areal variation and language contacts, and further exploit the data in the Corpus of Estonian Dialects, which in addition to being a resource of Estonian dialects, also contains morphologically annotated transcripts of Votic and Livonian. We look at the choice between expressing or omitting the pronoun with 1sg verb forms in these two Finnic languages based on the corpus data and compare the results with the tendencies found in Estonian dialects. We hypothesize that due to long-standing Russian influence, Votic makes less use of pronouns with 1sg verb forms, whereas Livonian, which has homonymous forms for 1sg and 3sg verb forms, almost exclusively expresses the pronoun. This, along with uneven exposure to influences from Germanic languages, helps us to further explain the differences in pronoun expression in Estonian dialects. However, as long-term language contacts are hard to detect, the contact-induced influence can be estimated only roughly, on a very general level.

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⌀

Auxiliaries and the passive voice construction in the Baltic languages

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This paper will deals with the auxiliaries in the passive voice constructions (Keenan & Dryer 2007; Siewierska 2013) in the Baltic languages (Latvian and Lithuanian) and the analysis of them in the Lithuanian-Latvian-Lithuanian Parallel Corpus (LiLa). (Utka, et al. 2012; Rimkute, et al. 2013) Although similar in meaning, nonetheless, the passive constructions differ in both Baltic languages. The auxiliary *tikt* 'to get' (indefinite tenses) and the auxiliary *būt* 'to be' (perfect tenses) in combination with the past passive participle constitute the passive forms in Latvian (1b). (Nītiņa & Grigorjevs 2013) Unlike Latvian, Lithuanian has just one auxiliary *būti* 'to be' in combination with the present passive participle (indefinite tenses) or with the past passive participle (perfect tenses) (1a). (Ambrazas 1997)

(1)   a.   Lithuanian

             Karas   *buvo*   *suplanuotas..*

             war-nom.m   be.aux.pst.3   plan-ppp.nom.sg.m

      b.   Latvian

             Karš   *bija*   *ieplānots..*

             war-nom.m   be.aux.pst.3   plan-ppp.nom.sg.m

             'The war had been planned..'

The passive constructions with two (2a) or even three (2b) auxiliaries, expressing stative/dynamic perfect forms, also possible both in Latvian and Lithuanian.

(2)   Latvian

      a.   *..vardarbība*   *ir*   *bijusi*   *piemērota.*

             violence-nom.f be.aux.prs.3   be-aux.ppa.nom.sg.f   apply-ppp.nom.sg.f

             '..such violence has been applied.'

      b.   *..filmai*   *ir*   *jābūt*   *tikušai*

movie-dat.f   be.aux.prs.3   be.aux.deb   get-aux.ppa.dat.sg.f
pārstāvētai..
represent-ppp.dat.sg.f
'..the movie must have been represented..'

However, such passive forms are not used in completely regular and consistent way, but their use is rather occasional. (for Latvian see Nītiņa & Grigorjevs 2013; Kalnača, Lokmane 2015)
Besides, the auxiliaries (usually in third person in the present tense) may be omitted from the predicate in both Baltic languages (3a), (3b).

(3)   a.   Lithuanian
            ..ženklas   [yra]   *duotas..*
            hint-nom.m   [is]   give-ppp.nom.sg.m
      b.   Latvian
            ..mājiens   [ir]   *dots..*
            hint-nom.m   [is]   give-ppp.nom.sg.m
            'a hint has been given..'

      This report will provide a further contrastive analysis of the Lithuanian and Latvian passive, focusing not only to the formal aspects of the passive constructions in both Baltic languages, but also looking at their functions in both languages. The research will be carried out in the Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian (the analysis of the passive constructions in Latvian) (Levāne-Petrova 2012) and in the parallel corpus LiLa (the contrastive part of the research).

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☙

Semantics and pragmatics of the Latvian oblique

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Latvian (alongside Lithuanian, Estonian, Livonian, and other languages) is one of the relatively few languages that have developed specific oblique mood for the expression of evidentiality (e.g., Plungian 2001, 2010; Aikhenvald 2004). Oblique forms are used to indicate that the author of a text is not the source of the information contained in that text (e.g., Holvoet 2007; Nītiņa, Grigorjevs 2013), i.e., to express quotative or reportative.

The fact that information has been obtained from an extraneous source in Latvian is either expressed by means of the oblique mood alone or signalled by *verbum dicendi* in the first part of a composite sentence (1) (among others, Nītiņa, Grigorjevs 2013; Chojnicka 2008, 2016):

(1)   *Man*   ***sacīja,***
           I.DAT   **told.PST.3**
           ka   *pret*   *sauli*   ***der-ot***   *arī*   *pūderis.*
           that   against sun.ACC.F   **be_useful-OBL.PRS**   also   powder.NOM
           'I was told that powder could also do as a sun-screen.' (Z.Skujiņš)

However, the oblique narration can vary from a relatively precise citation to a more loose one, even taking the form of a commentary on the text from external sources. So, the oblique forms in Latvian can have also epistemic overtones, and this fact clearly shows that evidentiality and epistemicity are interrelated (Cornillie 2009; Boye 2012).

The oblique forms can acquire epistemic meanings such as doubt, critical examination and irony. These meanings of Latvian oblique may arise due to pragmatic (2)-(3), contextual (4) and syntactic (5) factors to be analyzed in detail:

1) by reference to shared assumptions oblique forms may express doubt (2) or clear disbelief of a fact or version (3).

(2)   *Šogad*   ***būš-ot***   *ļoti*   *silta*   *vasara,*
           this_year   **be-OBL.FUT**   very   warm.NOM.F   summer.NOM.F
           prognozē   *sinoptiķi.*
           say.PRS.3   meteorologist.NOM.PL.M
           'This year a very warm summer is to be expected, the meteorologists say.'   (Kas Jauns)
(3)   *Pareģo*   *kārtējo pasaules*   *galu –*
           prophesy.PRS.3 another .ACC.M world.GEN.F   end.ACC.M
           tas   ***būš-ot***   *klāt jau*   *rīt.*
           this.NOM.M   **be-OBL.FUT**   here already   tomorrow
           'Yet another end of the world is being prophesied, it would, they say, arrive   tomorrow.'
(www.tvnet.lv)

2) the author of an utterance can add an epistemic overtone to an evidential phrase by means of the particles implying doubt as to the veracity of the retold information:

(4)   *Limbažos*   *pilsētas*   *svētkos*
           Limbaži.LOC.PL.M   town.GEN.F   festival .LOC.PL.M
           it kā būš-ot   *rokgrupas*   *koncerts.*
           as_if   **be-OBL.FUT**   rock-band.GEN.F   performance.NOM.M
           'In Limbaži town festival, a rock-band **is likely to perform**.'   (www.korpuss.lv)

3) oblique forms are used in specific syntactic constructions of exclamative utterances expressing mirativity (e.g., Aikhenvald 2012) – in this case, defeated expectation with added negative evaluation of that fact.

(5)   *Un grīda!*
        Tas   **es-ot**   *parkets!*
        this.NOM.M   **be.COP-OBL.PRS**   parquet_floor.NOM.M
        Melns kā darva!
        'And the floor. Is this called "parquet floor"? Pitch black, it is.' (A. Eglītis)

The examples have been taken from different sources: fiction, public media, websites, and *The Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian* (*Līdzsvarots mūsdienu latviešu valodas korpuss,* available at www.korpuss.lv).

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⌀

Polysemy of Latvian verbal prefixes PA– 'by' and NO– 'from' in comparison with translations in Lithuanian-Latvian-Lithuanian parallel corpora

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Prefixation is a very productive way of derivation in the Baltic languages (Vulāne 2015, Ambrazas 1997). It is a formal way how to change some features of verb aspect although not systematically; frequently a choice of prefix is lexically determined (Holvoet 2001). Every prefix has several meanings; the polysemous meaning of the prefixal verb is influenced by the meaning of the prefix, the lexical meaning of the basic verb, and the context which causes problems in prefix classification. The language learners are often confused and have problems choosing the correct verbal prefix. In the past, different authors have based the prefix classification systems on examples either drawn from the fiction or made up by authors themselves. In this research, a classification system of prefixes *pa–* and *no–* is based on examples excerpted from the corpora representing contemporary Latvian language (DGT-Acquis, SAEIMA). There are 11 prefixes in the Latvian language used in word-formation, *pa–* and *no–* are chosen as they are among the most popular prefixes and have a rich meaning system.

The Lithuanian-Latvian-Lithuanian parallel corpus (LILA) helps to distinguish the meanings of the Latvian prefixes *pa–* and *no–*. Some verbs are translated to the Lithuanian language using a different prefix, although a matching prefix exists. The Latvian-Lithuanian dictionary (Butkus 2003) offers several translations for each of these prefixes. The Latvian prefix *pa–* is translated in Lithuanian as *pa–*, *pra–* , *su–* , *iš–*. The Latvian prefix *no–* has translations *nu–*, *su–*, *pra–*, *pri–*. The translation with a different prefix could hint at some variation of a certain meaning. Some examples. In Latvian, the meaning 'to pass by' is expressed by prefixal verb with a prefix *pa–* and an adverb *garām* (1a) while in Lithuanian the prefixal verb with a prefix *pra–* is used (1b). In Latvian, there is no analogic prefix to *pra–*.

(1)   a.   *vilciens pabrauc   garām savai   stacijai*
            train.NOM   ride.PRS3   past his.DAT   station.DAT
    b.   *traukinys   pravažiuoja   savo   stotį*
            train.NOM   ride.PRS3   his.GEN   station.ACC
            'The train rides past it's station'

Both, the prefix *pa–* (*pa–* in Lithuanian) and *no–* (*nu–* in Lithuanian) can mark the perfective value of an aspect. In (2a), in Latvian, the prefix *no–* marks a single action without any time notion. In (2b), in Lithuanian, the prefix *pa–* emphasizes the shortness of an action. Different prefixes are used, although it would be correct to use the prefix *pa–* in Latvian as well.

(2)   a.   *Drīz būs   stundai   gals,   nodomāja   skolotāja.*
            soon be.AUX.FUT class.DAT   end.NOM   think.PST3 teacher.NOM
    b.   *Greitai pamokos   pabaiga,   pagalvojo   mokytoja.*
            soon class.GEN   end.NOM   think.PST3   teacher.NOM
            'Soon the end of class, thought the teacher'

Examples from the parallel corpus show that the choice of a different verbal prefix in Latvian and in Lithuanian could be explained by non-existence of the corresponding prefix in the other language (as in 1a, 1b), by the wish of a translator to emphasize the different semantic aspect of the verb (as in 2a, 2b), or by tradition.

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DGT-Acquis = multilingual parallel corpora from the EU Official Journal. Available at https://ec.europa.eu/jrc/en/language-technologies/dgt-acquis

LILA = Lithuanian-Latvian-Lithuanian parallel corpus. Compiled in project HipiLatLit, 2012. Available at http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/page.xhtml?id=parallelLILA

SAEIMA = The transcripts of the Latvian parliament sessions. Compiled in project EKOSOC-LV Nr. 5.2.5., 2015. Available at http://saeima.korpuss.lv/

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Does Livonian have prefixes?

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Some authoritative sources (Sivers 1971, Winkler 2017) state that Livonian is one of the Finnic languages that has the prefix system and that these Latvian-like prefixes have been borrowed from Latvian as a result of prolonged language contacts. Older Livonian dictionaries (Wiedemann 1861, Kettunen 1938) also contain words with such prefixes (*ap-*, *ie-*, *no-*, *pa-*, *sa-* etc). My research on written Livonian (Ernštreits 2011) however shows that all such prefixes were entirely abandoned from written Livonian at once by Livonian authors already in 1931 prior to the launch of the first Livonian paper "Līvli"; studies on written Livonian corpora also indicate, that no prefixes were used ever again in written Livonian afterwards and newest Livonian dictionary (Viitso, Ernštreits 2013) does not contain any Latvian-like prefixes.

This contradiction and the fact that a grammatical element can be fully and effortlessly eliminated from a language makes it to question whether prefixes have ever formed a genuine part of Livonian grammatical system or are they just a reflection of everyday bilingual language environment in spontaneous speech.

Corpora data also shows that use of Latvian-like prefixes even in spontaneous speech varies strongly depending on informant's origin (prefixes are almost absent in *Vaid*, *Sīkrõg* and *Kuoštrõg*), background and attitudes; extended use of Latvian like-prefixes in speech has also been considered by informants as "speaking like a Latvian" (Viitso, Ernštreits 2013) and in most cases such prefixes are not used as independent grammatical units, differently from Latvian have no separate meaning and rather replicate the structure of matching Latvian words (e.g. *sa-mȯistõ* 'to understand' pro *mȯistõ* 'to understand; to know', comp. Latvian *sa-prast* 'to understand' versus *prast* 'to know').

Although Latvian-like prefixes seem not to be genuine part of Livonian grammar, Latvian prefix system does have had an impact on the Livonian by causing use of adverb-based prefixoids in Livonian (*ulzõ-*; *ilzõ-*) and beginning of emergence of some Livonian genuine prefixes (*äb-*, *ulz-*, *ilz-*) as a further development.

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Differences in morphosyntactic analyticity between language varieties

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In typological comparisons, a topical research question is how to compare language varieties with regard to analyticity/syntheticity. In our presentation, we seek to answer this question on the example of Estonian varieties.

Historically, Estonian is an agglutinative Finno-Ugric language, but shows stronger tendencies toward analyticity than e.g. Finnish (Grünthal 2000). An Estonian-Finnish parallel corpus study has shown that Estonian tends to choose analytic expressions while Finnish prefers synthetic ones (Metslang 1994). The degree of analyticity may also differ between varieties of the same language. Analyticity brings greater transparency, and therefore is preferred in spoken language and by non-native speakers (Haspelmath, Michaelis 2017). In written communication, however, economy trumps transparency, and therefore syntheticity is preferred. The degree of analyticity may also be influenced by language contacts and language planning.

We offer an usage-based approach to comparing the analyticity of different varieties which does not measure analyticity and syntheticity separately (e.g. Szmrecsanyi 2012, Siegel *et al.* 2014), but rather takes as indicators pairs of synonymous expressions that differ in analyticity/syntheticity. We examine the usage of the analytic expressions in question both quantitatively and qualitatively. For the quantitative analysis, we compare the normalized frequencies of the analytic expressions in corpus material (OLE, ERC, PC, EIC). For the qualitative analysis, we compare the usage of typical analytic/synthetic pairs in different varieties. We focus on two widely used pairs: 1) phrasal verbs with the perfective particle *ära* vs. perfectivity marking via object case and/or the semantics of the verb (Metslang 2001), ex. (1a), (1b), cf. (1c); and 2) phrases with the postposition *peale* 'onto' vs. the allative case (cf. Klavan et al. 2011), ex. (2a), (2b).

(1a)   *Peeter koristas köögi   ära*
        Peeter tidy:PST   kitchen.GEN   PP
        'Peeter tidied up the kitchen'

(1b)   *Peeter koristas köögi*

Peeter   tidy:PST   kitchen.GEN
'Peeter tidied up the kitchen'

(1c)   *Peeter   koristaskööki*
Peeter   tidy:PST   kitchen.PART
'Peeter was tidying the kitchen'

(2a)   *Peeter   pani   raamatu   laua   peale*
Peeter   put:PST book.GEN   table.GEN   onto
'Peeter put the book on the table'

(2b)   *Peeter   pani   raamatu   laua-le*
Peeter   put:PST book.GEN   table-ALL
'Peeter put the book on the table'

We have chosen varieties that differ with regard to factors influencing analyticity: written language of non-native speakers (17th–18th century written Estonian, developed by Germans; 21st century L2 Estonian); modern standard language; spontaneous spoken language; internet language. We hypothesize that analyticity is greater in spoken language and the language of non-native speakers than in modern written language and internet language. The preliminary results demonstrate the efficacy of the method and support the hypotheses. The method can be further expanded to the comparison of registers between languages.

Abbreviations
ALL – allative, GEN – genitive, PART – partitive, PST – past, PP – perfective particle

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EIC = Estonian Interlanguage Corpus. http://evkk.tlu.ee/?language=en (14.01.18.)
ERC = Estonian Reference Corpus. http://www.cl.ut.ee/korpused/segakorpus/index.php?lang=en (14.01.18.)
OLE = Corpus of Old Literary Estonian. http://www.murre.ut.ee/vakkur/Korpused/korpused.htm (14.01.18.)
PC = Phonetic Corpus of Estonian Spontaneous Speech. https://www.keel.ut.ee/en/languages-resourceslanguages-resources/phonetic-corpus-estonian-spontaneous-speech (14.01.18.)

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Typological evolution of Northern Sami from oral tradition to electronic conversations: Analyticity vs. syntheticity revisited

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Northern Sami is the best described of the Samic languages. Yet its typological evolution has little been studied from the perspective of an ecological evolution of minority language (Mufwene 2001), that is in the light of a change of communicative paradigm, under the pressure of written style, media and the neighboring Indo-European languages. Some preliminary results of a recent project supported by CNRS-LACITO and Helsinki Kone Foundation are presented here. The analysis has been conducted with a methodology for Information Structuring developed for over four decades from an ethnolinguistic and cognitive perspective, combining theoretical approaches and corpora-based observation (Bouquiaux & Thomas 1976, Hagège 1978, Lambrecht 1994, Fernandez-Vest 2009, 2015).

In old Sami, information strategies shaped by traditional orality were prominent: numerous Discourse Particles (DIP), a paratactic subordination. Two basic information strategies were frequent: the binary strategy 1 (Theme-Rheme), often with an Initial Detachment (ID), and the binary strategy 2 (Rheme-Mneme), with a Final Detachment (FD):

[Were there already motorboats even then?]
– *Jo / dat* _dat_ *gal álge dan áigge / mohtor-fatnasat* *gal*
'Yes / they indeed (DIP) yes started at that time / motor-boats (FD) yes'.
(Ohcejohka corpus, LACITO 1984)

In literary works, Detachment Constructions still happen to organize the language round unintegrated syntactic structures, but cleft constructions replacing spatial deictics and dialogic DIPs (Gundel 2002, Fernandez-Vest 2017) introduce into Sami a new morphosyntactic analyticity:

– Dat lea várra dat mii lea buot eanamusat váikkuhan.
'It is certainly that which has mostly influenced.'
(Oulu corpus, Giellagas Instituhtta 2015)
= *Dat dat* [themat.DIP] *lea várra buot eanamusat váikkuhan*. in traditional Sami.

Interestingly enough, a comparison extended to electronic social networks tends to blur again the analyticity / syntheticity opposition generally associated with spoken vs. written language (Miller & Weinert 2009, Fernandez-Vest & alii 2017, Haspelmath & Michaelis 2017). The short utterances of Facebook spontaneous conversations resort for instance to numerous thematizing DIPs that marginalize the Norwegian-inspired cleft constructions. Further distinctive criteria to be introduced into the analysis are the origin of the discussants and their command of the Sami language :

[Is Cinema '*Činu*' in Sami ? – Maybe if you are an Oslo-Sami.]

–*Doppe* <u>*han*</u>   *eai*   *máhte*   *šat*   *'č' jiena*   *dadjat*.

  There   themat.DIP   they-not   can   no longer   '*č*' sound   pronounce.

'There, as we know, they are not able any more to pronounce the *'č'* sound

<div align="right">(Facebook corpus 2017)</div>

This study has verified some hypotheses:

1) The internal boundaries of Northern Sami areas are partly correlated with the competing influences of the respective countries' major languages, Germanic (Norwegian) vs. Finno-Ugric (Finnish).

2) Northern Sami, observed in newer corpora including e-mail exchanges, is like its Finnic neighbors brought closer to typical SAE languages.

3) The main difficulty remains to distinguish the influence of major languages from that of the enunciation register.

In general linguistic terms, this evolution questions us about what we call « analyticity » vs. « syntheticity ».

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Language contact and standardization paving the way to typological change?

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From the 1980s on, measures have been taken to revitalize some of the endangered Finnic minority languages, whereby creating a written standard language plays an important, sometimes even dominant role. However, despite the authors' aspiration to authenticity, there are reports of traditional native speakers finding these new written languages unauthentic, unnatural, or "castrated" (e.g. Puura et al. 2013: 141 on Veps, Koreinik 2013: 91 on Võro), or even questioning the meaningfulness of a written standard. In some cases, linguists have noted that the new written standards systematically deviate from spoken language. A case in point is Veps, where the modern literary standard clearly differs from spoken dialects: for instance, certain derivational suffixes are applied more often and systematically, and the perfect tense is systematically formed with the 'be' verb (Grünthal 2015: 95, 111, 189).

Beyond the issues of the acceptance of neologistic vocabulary (see e.g. Knuuttila 2007 on Olonets Karelian) or the problems of orthography (see e.g. Reimann-Truija 2009: 36–37 for Võro), there is little if any systematic research on the possible causes of this strange "feel". The perceived strangeness may result from foreign influence, considering that the texts are often translations and that their authors have usually received their formal education in the majority language. But it is also possible that readers react to features which are actually typical of written language in general, or to the relative scarcity of spoken-language features ("vernacular universals" in the sense of Szmrecsanyi and Kortmann 2009). In some cases, these motivations may intertwine. Outside Finnic, a case in point is North Saami, which, as argued by Fernandez-Vest (2005, 2009), is experiencing a typological change in which the effects of the novel written modality and Scandinavian influences may conspire:

"initial" or "final detachments" of focused constituents, typical of spoken language, are being replaced by Scandinavian-style cleft constructions.

The processes of written-language codification in today's Finnic minority languages should also be compared with the development of Modern Standard Finnish and Estonian in the late 19th and early 20th century. In Finnish and Estonian, contact-induced typological changes may have taken place, as in the case of converb constructions preceding the (coreferent) subject in Finnish after the Latin model (shown already by Lindén 1966). Morphosyntactic changes can also be implemented by language planning, Estonian offering some impressive examples (Raag 1998). In this way, contact-induced or foreign-inspired changes can either contribute to the existing typological drift (cf. Metslang 2009 on Estonian) or "turn back the wheel of time".

In this talk, small pilot corpora from today's minority Finnic written languages will be compared with dialect samples from classical fieldwork in order to find out (i) whether there are demonstrable morphosyntactic differences, (ii) whether these can be explained with either foreign models or conscious puristic tendencies in language planning, (iii) whether the effects of language contact can be separated from structural features connected with the written modality itself, and (iv) whether the differences between modern written and classical spoken language can reflect an on-going typological change.

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WORKSHOP 4

Comparative corpus linguistics: New perspectives and applications

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Although the main bulk of existing corpus-based research is probably formed by language-specific descriptive studies, corpora have long been used successfully for large-scale language comparison and for testing linguistic generalizations, e.g. Zipf (1935) and Greenberg (1960). Nowadays, linguists can enjoy the abundance of large comparable and parallel corpora and other multilingual resources, such as the Universal Dependencies Corpora (Nivre et al. 2017), the parallel Bible translations (Mayer & Cysouw 2014), OPUS corpus (Tiedemann 2012), Multi-CAST (Haig & Schnell 2016) and Google Books Ngrams. The availability of such resources provides functional linguists, typologists, historical linguists and psycholinguists with new exciting opportunities to answer big theoretical questions, exemplified by successful applications of comparative corpus-based approaches such as the following:

- formulation, refinement and explanation of linguistic generalizations, e.g. Zipf's Law of Abbreviation (Piatandosi et al. 2011; Bentz & Ferrer-i-Cancho 2016), the principle of dependency length minimization (Futrell et al. 2015) and the principle of economy in morphosyntactic alternations (Haspelmath et al. 2014);
- computation of corpus-based measures that represent typological parameters, such as analyticity, syntheticity, complexity or referential density (e.g. Juola 1998; Bickel 2003; Stoll & Bickel 2009; Szmrecsanyi 2009; Ehret & Szmrecsanyi 2016);
- using massively parallel and comparable corpora for unsupervised pattern detection, e.g. finding the universal conceptual dimensions of motion verbs (Wälchli & Cysouw 2012) and automatic extraction of typological features (Virk et al. 2017);
- development of new statistical methods, and probabilistic and connectionist approaches to the study of language acquisition (e.g. Chater & Manning 2006, Behrens 2008), in particular from a cross-linguistic perspective (MacWhinney & Snow 1985; Moran et al 2016);
- quantitative diachronic typology, e.g. development of manner and path verbs in Indo-European (Verkerk 2015);
- detection of areal patterns in genealogically related languages (e.g. van der Auwera et al. 2005; von Waldenfels 2015);
- usage-based explanations of the evolution of linguistic types, e.g. studies related to the Preferred Argument Structure hypothesis (Du Bois 1987; Haig & Schnell 2016);
- cross-linguistic comparison of probabilistic constraints on multifactorial language variation, e.g. the use of analytic and lexical causatives (Levshina 2016).

The aim of this workshop is to bring together typologists, functional linguists, psycholinguists and other specialists who use cross-linguistic corpora for testing their hypotheses, and corpus linguists who build and use such corpora to address research questions in linguistic diversity. We want to discuss the recent developments, perspectives and challenges of corpus-based language comparison.

We seek contributions that sample a sizable amount of the world's languages or language varieties, whether at the global level, or within particular families or areas. A list of potential contributions includes, but is not limited to, the following:

- case studies showing how one can use the information derived from corpora for the purposes of typological classification;
- corpus investigations of linguistic generalizations and explaining these findings in terms of processing-related, communicative and learning constraints or biases;
- corpus-based language comparison from a genealogical and/or areal perspective;
- corpus-based studies in diachronic typology and historical linguistics;
- studies addressing the problem of comparative concepts (Haspelmath 2010) and its consequences for comparative corpus linguistics, in particular, for the development of cross-linguistic annotation schemas;
- presentation of newly developed cross-linguistic corpora, preferably with a case study revealing their possibilities;
- discussion of statistical methods and visualization tools for analysing cross-linguistic corpus data.

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Comparative probabilistic variation analysis

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There is an extensive literature on how to determine the grammatical similarity of varieties and dialects based on dialect atlases or survey data (see, e.g., Spruit, Heeringa & Nerbonne 2009). Using naturalistic corpus data to measure the grammatical similarity of varieties is a trickier task without

well-trodden methodologies. In this talk, we present a corpus-based variationist method for calculating the similarity between varieties: what counts is not if and/or how often people use particular constructions, but how they choose between "alternate ways of saying 'the same' thing" (Labov 1972:188). As a case study, we discuss similarity patterns between regional varieties of English, fueled by a variationist analysis of three alternations in the grammar of English:

(1) The dative alternation (see, e.g., Röthlisberger et al. 2017) ($N = 13,171$)
   a. *I'd given Heidi my T-Shirt*   (the ditransitive dative variant)
   b. *I'd given the key to Helen*   (the prepositional dative variant)

(2) The genitive alternation (see, e.g., Heller et al. 2017) ($N = 13,798$)
   a. *the country's economic crisis*   (the *s*-genitive)
   b. *the economic growth of the country*   (the *of*-genitive)

(3) The particle placement alternation (see, e.g., Grafmiller & Szmrecsanyi accepted pending revisions) ($N = 11,514$)
   a. *just cut the tops off*   (verb-object-particle order)
   b. *cut off the flowers*   (verb-particle-object order)

These alternations are studied in nine regional varieties of English (British English, Canadian English, Irish English, New Zealand English, Hong Kong English, Indian English, Jamaican English, Philippine English, and Singapore English), based on materials from the International Corpus of English (ICE) and the Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE). Relevant observations of the (a) and (b) variants above were annotated for approximately 10 probabilistic constraints including e.g. the principle of end weight (longer constituents tend to follow shorter constituents; see e.g. Wasow & Arnold 2003) and animacy effects (animate constituents tend to occur early; see e.g. Rosenbach 2008). To evaluate the similarity between region-specific variation patterns, we draw inspiration from the comparative sociolinguistics literature (e.g. Tagliamonte 2001): are the same constraints significant across varieties? Do the constraints have similar effect sizes? Is the overall ranking of constraints similar? Regression and conditional random forest analysis indicate that the probabilistic grammars regulating variation between the (a) and (b) variants are overall fairly similar across varieties of English – in other words, we are dealing with a rather solid "common core" (in the parlance of Quirk et al. 1985:33) of the grammar of English. That said, we do find more or less subtle probabilistic differences both between regional varieties as well as between syntactic alternations. We will show how in the bird's eye perspective, the varieties under study can be grouped into a rather small number of clusters; for example, there is a split between L1 varieties and indigenized L2 varieties of English. In conclusion, we sketch ways to complement corpus-based evidence on the similarity of probabilistic variation grammars with experimentalist approaches.

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Language optimization in the light of standard information theory

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Zipf's law of abbreviation, the tendency of more frequent words to be shorter, emerges as a universal property of languages (Bentz & Ferrer-i-Cancho, 2016).

In coding theory, the problem of compression is the problem of minimizing the mean length of codes (e.g., words) under some coding scheme (Cover & Thomas, 2006). Non-singular coding is equivalent to using unambiguous words to represent meanings (Cover & Thomas, 2006, p. 105). Extensions of standard information theory predict that in case of optimal coding the correlation between word frequency and word length *cannot* be positive and in general, it is expected to be negative in concordance with Zipf's law of abbreviation (Ferrer-i-Cancho, Bentz, & Seguin, 2015).

Given the alphabet of a language and the probabilities of the word types, we can calculate the minimum mean word length that can be achieved assuming a certain scheme (Ferrer-i-Cancho et al., 2015). Then, we can measure the degree of optimality of a language with the so-called coding efficiency (Borda, 2011), that ranges between 0 and 1, reaching 1 in case of an optimal communication system.

Preliminary analyses of more than 1000 languages in the PBC, the Parallel Bible Corpus (Mayer & Cysouw, 2014), suggest that real languages are optimized to a 30% on average. Interestingly, the average optimization ratio increases to 40% if the non-singular coding scheme is replaced by uniquely decipherable encoding.

Such a mixture of suboptimalities in languages, which are neither perfectly non-singular nor perfectly uniquely decodable, provides support for the hypothesis that Zipf's law for word frequencies stems from a competition between optimal non-singular coding and optimal uniquely decipherable coding (Ferrer-i-Cancho, 2016). This account is not just one more model of Zipf's law. Compression also predicts Zipf's law of abbreviation as reviewed above, as well as Menzerath's law (Gustison, Semple, Ferrer-i-Cancho, & Bergman, 2016). Hence, it illustrates the combination of predictive power, parsimony and mathematical rigor that information theory offers to understand how languages evolve universal properties.

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Yiddish reflexives between Slavic and Germanic: A parallel corpus study

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We ask whether Yiddish, a genetically Germanic language that has been heavily influenced by mostly Slavic contact languages, shows a more Germanic, or Slavic, profile when it comes to the use of the reflexive or middle construction (Geniušienė 1987, Kemmer 1993). We approach this issue in two ways.

First, we build on a pilot study of reflexive marking in Slavic reported in Waldenfels (2014: 319) for a corpus-driven approach. We employ a set of parallel texts in Romance, Germanic, Slavic languages as included in ASPAC and ParaSol (see below) and enlarge it with Yiddish translations to get a fair coverage of European languages. We then use a semi-automatic clustering approach based on the similarity of reflexive use in translationally equivalent segments to assess the overall similarity of the relevant functional domain of reflexive marking across these languages. We then conduct a careful manual qualitative assessment of cases where Yiddish diverges, or does not diverge, from its neighboring languages in order to arrive at relevant domains.

The second approach is corpus based: taking departure from a typology devised for a corpus-based study of Russian reflexives (Goto & Saj 2009), we annotate random samples of Yiddish, German and Polish texts in the parallel corpus, distinguishing reflexiva tantum (like Russian *ulybat'-sja* 'to smile-RFX' without non-reflexive counterpart), true reflexives, alternations in referent structure and actant derivation, and various diathesis constructions (passives, impersonals). This approach makes it possible to both gauge the overall frequency of these types, and, since we are looking at translational equivalents, the extent to which they semantically coincide.

A preliminary study suggests that the impact of contact between Yiddish and Slavic varies in respect to different types of reflexives. It shows that Yiddish is close in frequencies to German in

respect to imperfectiva tantum (even though there is a certain amount of Slavic reflexiva tantum loans). We hypothesise this to be because the genetic signal is stronger in a lexical domain such as reflexives. In contrast, the preliminary study shows that Yiddish is closer to Russian and Polish in respect to referent structure and diathesis constructions. We take this to be evidence for more influence of contact in the syntactic domain.

In the final version of our study, we will focus on these issues in more detail based on the two approaches outlined above. We expect the genetic Germanic signal to dominate with lexical reflexives of various types, and Yiddish to show a tendency to be grouped with German, Dutch and Swiss Dialects (where they are available as parallel texts). In the case of diathesis uses of the reflexive, such as in Polish *mówi się* 'people say', we expect the areal signal to dominate, and Yiddish to be grouped with Slavic and, perhaps, Baltic; we also expect variation for different regional variants of Yiddish.

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Digital Infrastructure for Morpho-syntactic Analysis of Under-Resourced Languages: A Case Study for Luganda

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As described in (Beermann et al. 2016) a corpus-based linguistic analysis often depends on a workflow that allows for the combination of large scale text corpora such as the Leipzig Corpora Collection: http://corpora.uni-leipzig.de (LCC, Goldhahn et al. 2012) and a digital infrastructure such as TypeCraft: http://typecraft.org (Beermann & Mihaylov 2014) that facilitates corpus methodologies. In order to present our resources and give an illustration of the type of workflow we propose, we will present a case study which features the Bantu language Luganda (ISO 639-3 'lug').

In the LCC, Luganda was one of the smaller corpora with only 13,000 sentences. Using the newly established portal for Crawling of Under-Resourced Languages: http://curl.corpora.uni-

leipzig.de (CURL, Goldhahn et al. 2016), we successfully increased the corpus to 78,000 sentences. Additional data is found in Typecraft. This material has been annotated for morpho-syntactic features by linguistically trained native speakers. Our combined resources can now be used for detailed linguistic studies as well as for the automatic annotation of larger corpora using machine learning techniques. The case we would like to present is an investigation of the Luganda applicative. Previous analyses have focused on applicative constructions where an applied verb induces a change in valency by allowing an additional argument as part of its argument frame. (1) exemplifies this valency increasing operation with a locative applicative:

(1)   A- ka-   wuka   ka- kaab- ir-a   mu n-ju
        IV-DIM.12.AGR   insect SBJ-cry-APPL FV   in 9-house
        "The insect buzzes in the house."

The stem of the applied verb 'cry/buzz' in (1) is *ku kaaba, -ir-* is the applicative morpheme, and the PP 'i*n the hous*e' is the applied argument. Analyses of syntactic applicatives further assume that applied objects must carry one of thematic roles licensed by the applied verbs. Which objects can be applied is thus seen as dependent on the argument structure of the verb. Most frequently we find applied themes, (bene/mal)ficiaries, instruments or, as seen above, locatives. Our corpus shows that also embedded events can serve as applied arguments, as in (2):

(2)   We   n-a-tandik-ir -a   o-ku-soma   nga   nnina emyaka etaanu
        COND 1SG-PAST-begin-APPL-FV   IV-INF-study   COND ‚I was five years'
        "I was five years old when I went to school"

In fact, we can show that applicativisation can direct attention to any focal point of a situation, and thus go beyond taking thematic arguments as applied objects. We further will draw attention to the fact that Luganda features lexical applicatives for which the applied verb form does not have a base form. In the category we have found applied verb forms from different valency classes; the Luganda verb *ku-yingira*, meaning 'enter' is an intransitive verb while *kit-tindikira* is a transitive verb meaning *to pile up things*. Both verbs are lexical applicatives. Building on our Luganda resources, we will further propose to apply our annotated resources for the acquisition of data of closely related languages. Our overall goal is a synergy between corpus development and linguistic analysis and the build-up of larger annotated corpora for languages which still have too little public resources.

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Worldwide frequency distribution of phoneme types predicts their order of acquisition

Steven Moran, Sebastian Sauppe, Nicholas Lester & Sabine Stoll

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On the relationship between clause type and syntactic change: a corpus-based cross-linguistic study

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During the last few decades one of the central points of discussion in the literature on syntactic change has revolved around how different clause types behave diachronically. In this sense, three main proposals have been put forward, namely (a) that subordinate clauses tend cross-linguistically to be more resilient to syntactic change than other clause types (Givón 1979: 259-261, Lightfoot 1982: 154, Hock 1986: 332, and Bybee 2002: 4-5), (b) that subordinate clauses are more likely to innovate than non-subordinate clauses (Campbell 1991: 293, and Stockwell & Minkova 1991: 394) and (c) that syntactic change spreads at constant rates to all environments affected by the change (Stein 1986: 138-139, and Kroch 1989: 206, 2001: 704). These proposals have tried to explain, for example, the existence of word order asymmetries between main and subordinate clauses in languages such as German (1a-b) and Biblical Hebrew (1c-d):

(1)   a.   *sîe*   *stínchente*   *mit*   *den*   *bézzesten*   *sálbon*
             they   smell   with   the   best   scents
             "They smell with the best scents" (Williram von Ebersberg's *Expositio in Cantica Cantorum* 1, 1a, 8-9)
    b.   *da*   *er*   *di*   *tarenkappen*   *sit*   *albriche*   *an*   *gewan*
             where   he   the   disguise-cloak   then   Alberich   from   won
             "Where he then won the disguise cloak from Alberich" (*Song of the Nibelungs* 3, 97, 3)
    c.   *ve-ha-ʔadam*   *yada'*   *ʔet-ḥava*   *ʔišto*
             and-the-man   knew   Eve   wife-his
             "And Adam knew his wife Eve" (*Genesis* 4.1)
    d.   *ki*   *šat*   *li*   *ʔadonay*
             because listened to-me   lord-my
             "Because the Lord has listened to me" (*Genesis* 4.25)

In spite of the rich variety of contributions to the topic, most studies have focused on a limited number of Indo-European languages. This means that generalizations concerning the relationship

between clause types and syntactic change are biased by small quantity and lack of variety of the sources, an issue that has been pointed out in Bybee (2010: 103). By bringing together usage-based and formal approaches, this study is meant to provide a quantitative typology of syntactic change that will contribute to the ongoing discussion and attempt to clarify the diachronic behavior of different clause types. With this aim in mind, cross-linguistic comparison of individual documented syntactic changes has been carried out based on the analysis of historical data, which have been drawn from a number of digital corpora including the *Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America* (Kung & Sherzer 2013), the *Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien* (Gippert et al. 2010) and the *Bibliotheca Augustana* (Harsch 1997).

The sample of languages analyzed for syntactic change, which consists of twenty-five languages, aims to represent genetic, typological and areal diversity and includes the following: Achagua, Basque, Chinese, Dyirbal, Egyptian/Coptic, English, Estonian, French, German, Georgian, Greek, Hebrew, Icelandic, Japanese, Lardil, Malay, Mayan, Pitjantjatjara, Russian, Spanish, Tamil, Tiwi, Warlpiri, Welsh and Yiddish. The results provide support for Kroch's (1989, 2001) claims on syntactic change. They also indicate that syntax evolves differently depending on a number of factors, such as the subfield(s) of syntax (constituency, word order, etc.) affected by the change.

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Word order typology extracted from parallel texts, its evaluation, and its potential for exploring word order variability

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This paper explores the order of verb and object (VO/OV), noun and adjective (NAdj/AdjN), and verb and local constituent (VL/LV) in translations of the Bible. Dryer's (2013a/b) WALS typology, who investigates the dominant order of lexical object and verb in 1519 languages, and noun and adjective in 1366 languages, serves us as a gold standard to evaluate the usefulness of Bible translation as data and the performance of automatic methods for word order extraction from parallel texts. We use both manually extracted data from a world-wide sample of 100 languages and automatically extracted data from the whole N.T. in a world-wide sample of 1217 languages from the Bible Corpus (Mayer & Cysouw 2014), 464 of which overlap with Dryer's sample to allow for easy comparison.

Word order properties were extracted from the N.T. through multi-source projection (Östling 2015) from 254 N.T. translations in 46 languages where dependency parser tools are available. Only examples where 25% or more of source texts agree on a particular dependency relation are used, to ensure the exclusion of examples with inconsistent translation, poor parsing or poor word alignment.

For order of verb and object, there are only few languages where the Bible deviates from WALS, and if there is a mismatch, the Bible has usually dominant VO where WALS has dominant OV. This can partly be explained by the fact that some Bible translations use more VO order than original texts which descriptive statements in reference grammars derive from. An example for such a mismatch is Tobelo (North Halmahera), where the Bible translation is very close to the Indonesian text.

The order of verb and object has a strongly bimodal distribution (see also Wälchli 2009). The results from the Bible Corpus show that the extent of free word order is very limited. Most languages which do not have entirely strict word order still have a clearly dominant pattern. The approach used here is thus highly relevant for investigating the extent and nature of flexible word order.

The automatic extraction of noun-adjective order yields many texts with apparently rather free word order. This is partly because adjectives in European languages comprise many concepts which are not encoded by adjectives in other languages of the world, such as ordinal numerals and other quantifier-like concepts. In order to yield more accurate results, only phrases containing prototypical adjectival concepts should be counted. However, in the Philippines, where we expect many languages with free noun-adjective word order, the automatic extraction yields rather clearly dominant AdjN order in many languages.

Our findings show that verb-object and adjective-noun are rather different kinds of word order typologies. Adjective-noun is much more heterogeneous if a broad Eurocentric definition of the adjective domain is adopted. However, if a narrower definition centering on prototypical adjective concepts is opted for, the number of examples drops considerably both in terms of types and tokens involved.

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✍

Diachronic evidence of harmonic word order: A complex network approach

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One of the most well-known word order regularities in linguistic typology is that languages tend to put grammatical heads harmonically or consistently with respect to their dependents. This *harmonic principle* was first popularized by Greenberg (1963) as his basic order typology, but later researchers, like Lehmann (1973), Vennemann (1974) and Dryer (1992), largely focus on reducing various implicational universals on word order into a single general rule with reference to a common predictor (Song 2012: 18). Earlier work assumes a privileged status for the order of verb and object, but no clear evidence for such a special status has ever been provided (Dryer 1996: 1054), and some other researchers suggest that relative clause structure or adposition type may be a better predictor for word order correlations (Antinucci et al. 1979; Hawkins 1983).

Except for the internal disagreement on the basic predictor, divergent evidence on word order regularities has recently been observed in evolutionary linguistics and psycholinguistics. On the one hand, Dunn (2011) use a Bayesian phylogenetic method to examine the functional dependencies between typological traits in four language families, and find that most observed linkages are family-specific rather than universal. On the other hand, artificial language learning experiments reveal that English and French speakers favor a harmonic ordering of head nouns and different modifiers (numerals and adjectives), reflecting a cognitive bias for harmonicity (Culbertson et al. 2012; Culbertson & Newport 2017). Also, a recent comparative study by Jäger et al. (2017), using a giant phylogenetic tree of more than 1,000 languages, tends to favor universal correlations between certain word orders.

In this study, we conduct exhaustive comparisons of word orders with a complex network approach, giving no privileged status to any specific order, and we focus on characterizing the global property of syntactic harmonicity. Here two word orders are considered to be harmonic, when they prefer to co-occur in a sentence with the same branching direction. The network of harmonic word order at the sentential level is first constructed, and we describe the distribution of weighted network density as a metric of structural harmonicity.

With large dependency-annotated corpora of 10 languages from Universal Dependencies 2.1 Nivre et al. (2017), we report the primary observation of a diachronic trend towards more harmonic

word order from Ancient Greek to Modern Greek and from Latin to Romance languages (see Figure 1 below). Similar diachronic pattern is found when we only look at lexical dependencies, to avoid the debate on the status of function words. We will also discuss preliminary efforts to test this result with phylogenetic inference in Indo-European languages.
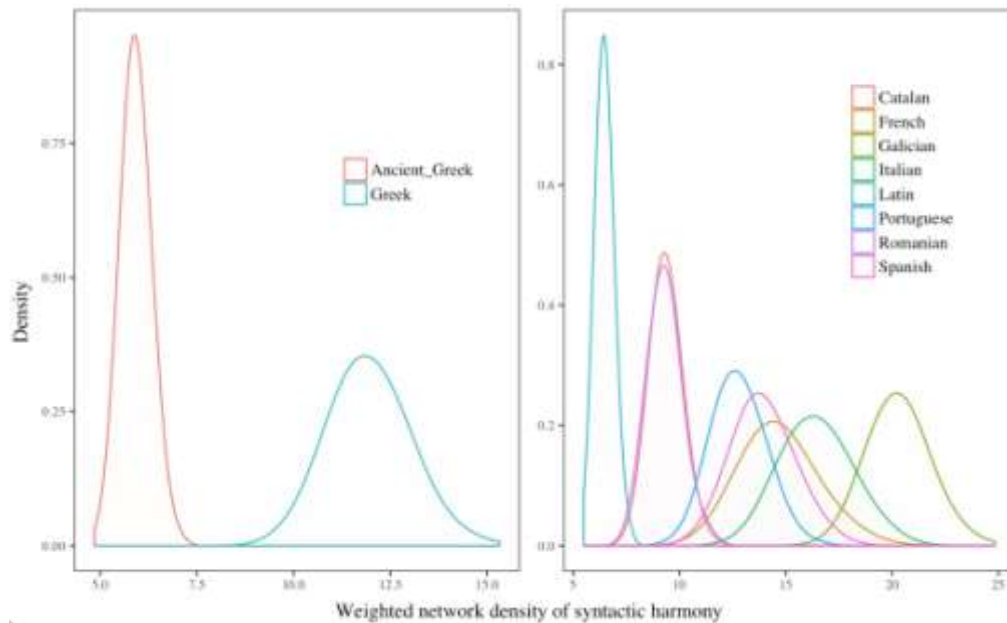
Figure 1: Distribution of syntactic harmony in 10 languages

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Stative verbs as edge cases in the PERFECT

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Research on the PERFECT usually focuses on the English *present perfect*, which has a continuative reading with stative verbs (e.g. "Mary has lived in London for five years", cf. Nishiyama and Koenig (2010)). However, most European languages do not share this continuative PERFECT and prefer a PRESENT in these cases (de Swart, 2016). On the other hand, while English rejects PERFECT tense (and resorts to the PAST) with past time adverbials ("Mary (*has) arrived yesterday") and in narration ("…and then Mary (*has) arrived"), languages like French and German do allow PERFECTS in these contexts (Schaden, 2009).

A cross-linguistic account of the PERFECT seems necessitated. Parallel corpora can help: translation equivalents provide form variation across languages while meaning stays stable. We propose an application of Wälchli and Cysouw (2012), who use multidimensional scaling (MDS) to generate semantic maps from corpus data. We however operate at the level of grammar instead of the lexicon: we apply their methodology to differences in tense use between languages (van der Klis et al., 2017).

We annotated translations of Albert Camus' L'Étranger (known for its narrative use of the *passé composé*) to investigate variation in PERFECT use. Starting from the French original, we annotated the verbal translations in English, German, Spanish, Italian, Greek and Dutch and attributed tenses to these verb phrases. After applying MDS, in line with the literature we find French and German on one end of the spectrum, and English and Spanish on the other. Our methodology allows to investigate where other languages reside on this continuum (Figure 1).

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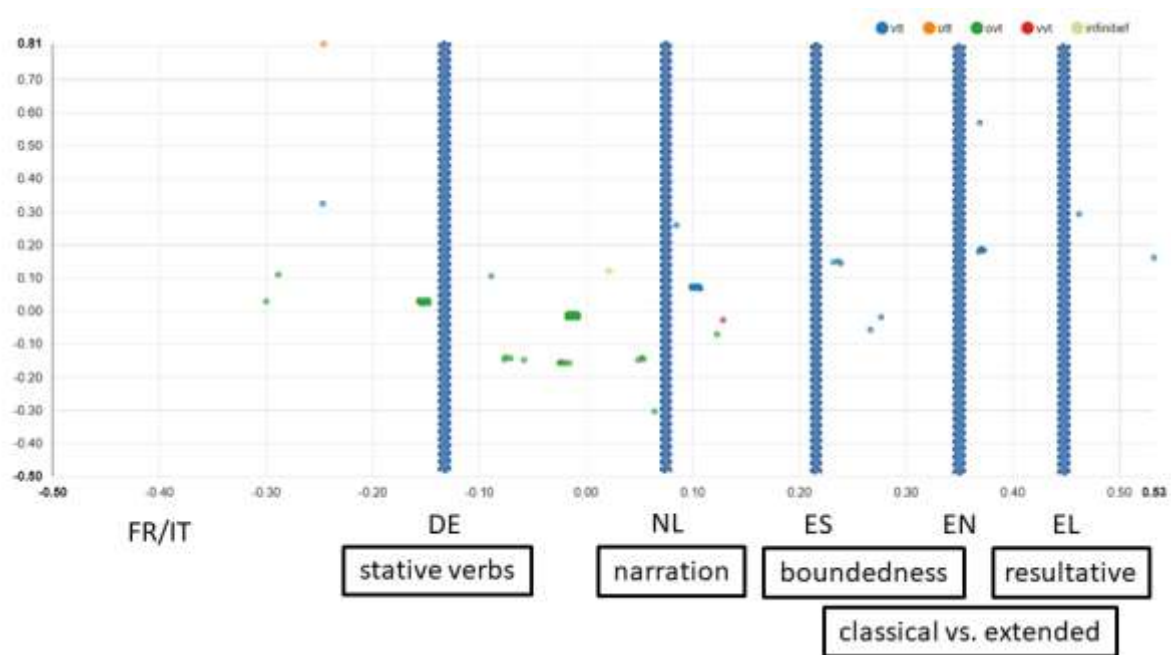
Figure 1: Results of applying MDS to tense variation in Albert Camus' L'Étranger. Each point (347 in total) represents a tuple of tenses, corresponding to a text fragment (containing a passé composé*). The colour labelling is according to Dutch tense attribution. Demarcation lines show where languages switch between* PERFECT *(left side of the line) and* PAST *(right). The boxes show our interpretation of semantic differences between the demarcation lines (on the left: use of* PERFECT *for this phenomenon, right: using* PAST*).*

We can also zoom in on fine-grained details: we e.g. find German (contrary to French and Italian) requires a PAST with (cognitive) stative verbs (like 'want', 'think', 'know', e.g. "J'**ai voulu** voir maman tout de suite" is translated with "Ich **wollte** sofort zu Mama"). And while Dutch does not allow a PERFECT in narration, it does in bounded situations (e.g. "Ik **heb** een beetje **gedoezeld**" is "I think I **dozed off** for a while"), separating Dutch from Spanish, English and Greek.

If we broaden our view to all VPs in L'Étranger, we find the only PERFECTS introduced by other languages are continuative *present perfects* in English (e.g. "Il y a longtemps que vous **êtes** là" becomes "**Have** you **been** here long?"). Stative verbs thus appear at the edge of the PERFECT in two ways: they are ingredients of both the PERFECT-PRESENT and the PERFECT-PAST competition. A preliminary collostructional analysis further suggests stative verbs are less likely to appear in a PERFECT per se.

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The origins of the scarcity of crossing dependencies in languages

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The structure of a sentence can be represented as a network where vertices are words and edges indicate syntactic dependencies (Mel'čuk, 1988). In this network, the space is defined by the linear order of words in the sentence. The number of crossings of real sentences is related to the computational complexity of language (Kuhlmann, 2013; Gómez-Rodríguez, 2016). Interestingly, crossing syntactic dependencies (edges that cross when drawn above the sentence) have been observed to be infrequent in human languages (Lecerf, 1960; Hays, 1964). Only recently, the number of crossings has been shown to be significantly small with respect to different kinds of random baselines (Ferrer-i-Cancho, Gómez-Rodríguez, & Esteban, 2018). This leads to the question of whether the scarcity of crossings in languages arises from an independent and specific constraint on crossings. We provide statistical evidence suggesting that this is not the case, as the proportion of dependency crossings of sentences from a wide range of languages can be accurately estimated by a simple predictor based on a null hypothesis on the local probability that two dependencies cross given their lengths. The relative error of this predictor never exceeds 5% on average, whereas the error of a baseline predictor assuming a random ordering of the words of a sentence is at least 6 times greater (Gómez-Rodríguez & Ferrer-i-Cancho, 2017). Our sample consists of treebanks from 30 different languages in two well-known annotation styles: Prague dependencies (Hajič et al., 2006) and Universal Stanford dependencies (Marneffe et al., 2014). These results suggest that the scarcity of crossings in natural languages is neither originated by hidden knowledge of language nor by the undesirability of crossings *per se*, but as a mere side effect of the principle of dependency length minimization, namely the minimization of the Euclidean distance between linked words. We will review the statistical support for such a principle (Ferrer-i-Cancho, 2004; Ferrer-i-Cancho & Liu, 2014; Liu, 2008; Futrell, Mahowald, & Gibson, 2015) and the mathematical theory of crossings that we have developed to reach the conclusions above.

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Interplay between conjunctions, coreference and bridging in Geman, English and Czech

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The purpose of our study is to analyse the interplay between conjunctions and other discourse-related phenomena, such as coreference and bridging relations in German, English and Czech. The difference between the phenomena under analysis lies in the type of relations, which is expressed by a corresponding device. Conjunctions express logico-semantic relations between propositions, coreference serves the task of linking identical objects or events (i.e. complex anaphors, see Zinsmeister et al. 2012) and bridging expresses near identical relations between referents, linking them with semantic meanings. All these devices contribute to the construction of meaningful discourse (Halliday – Hasan, 1976). These phenomena exist in all languages, but their realisations depend on the different preferences that languages have (both systemic and context-based). We aim at describing these preferences for German, English and Czech.

The following example provides an illustration for these preferences:

(en) *We've learned that a lot of people can cheat.They cheat just by a little bit*. – *(cs) Zjistili jsme, že hodně lidí je ochotno podvádět. Podvádějí [ale] pouze po troškách. – (de) Wir haben gelernt, daß viele Leute betrügen können. Der Einzelne betrügt [dabei] nur ein bißchen.*

The English sentence, which is the source, does not contain any explicit marker. The Czech translation contains the conjunction *ale* ‚but' which has the meaning of contrast and (in this case also) concession. The German sentence contains the pronominal adverb *dabei* which, depeding on its reading, can be interpreted as (a) coreference – *dabei* as a fusion of bei+dem (*beim Betrügen 'while cheating'*) – and then it has a temporal meaning or (b) a discourse marker with a meaning of contrast/concession.

German pronominal adverbs like *dabei* often represent an interplay between conjunctions, coreference and, in some cases, bridging. We aim at describing such cases and analysing various transformation patterns that are possible between German, English and Czech. Our approach is corpus-based: we use a trilingual parallel corpus that contains English original texts and their translations into German and Czech (TED talks). For our analysis, we select a set of 100 parallel sentences (along with a preceding sentence), whose German part contains a pronominal adverb, a

combination of the referential adverb *da* or *hier* and a prepoposition such as *damit, darüber, hierfür, hierüber* etc. The sentence triples are then manually analysed to obtain various transfer patterns (discourse equivalence as well as different tendencies in different languages).

Contrasting English, Czech and German gives the following preliminary observations:

(1) German is more explicit than Czech and English as concerns anaphoric locative references: local adverbs often find no correspondences in English and Czech;

(2) Difference between the interplay of discourse devices in the analysed languages may be due to systemic language differences (e.g. syntactic or morphosyntactic);

(3) Difference between languages are also (and mostly) due to the translation factor.

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ℬ

Explaining scale effects in differential argument case marking: Evidence from dialogue corpora

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Theoretical background

It has been repeatedly hypothesized that differential argument marking (DAM) of A and P corresponds to universal referential scales, as in (1):

(1) a. Human > Animal > Inanimate
  b. 1st and 2nd person > 3rd person
  c. Pronoun > Noun
  d. Definite > Specific Indefinite > Non-specific.

Although the existence of universal scale effects in DAM has been challenged (e.g. Filimonova 2005, Bickel et al. 2015, but see also Schmidtke-Bode & Levshina 2018), they remain a popular topic in linguistics. These effects have been explained in terms of iconicity of markedness (Aissen 2003), need for disambiguation (Comrie 1978: 384–388), and economy (Haspelmath 2008). In the latter case, zero or shorter marking of more frequent arguments (e.g. animate or pronominal A) and non-zero or longer marking of less frequent arguments (e.g. inanimate or nominal A) are claimed to result in efficient coding. Inspired by previous monolingual studies (e.g. Dahl & Fraurud 1996) and closely related cross-linguistic corpus research on preferred argument structure (e.g. Du Bois et al. 2003, Haig & Schnell 2016), our paper presents a first systematic test of this hypothesis on the basis of corpus data from a sample of genealogically diverse languages from different parts of the world. More exactly, we use data from spontaneous informal dialogues because they represent, in our view, the most influential genre of communication with regard to the development of grammar.

Research questions

We address the question whether A arguments at the upper end of the scales in (1) tend to be more frequent than A at the lower end, and whether P arguments display a reverse pattern (cf. Fauconnier & Verstraete 2014). We also investigate whether the observed cross-linguistic occurrences of attested DAM types (i.e. the part-of-speech scale in (1c) being the most common cross-linguistically in differential object marking, as shown by Bickel et al. 2015) can be explained by the frequency distributions of different referential properties of A and P in corpora.

Data and method

We use spoken dialogical corpora of well-described and less well documented languages: American English, Lao (Tai-Kadai), Ruuli (Bantu), N‖ng (Tuu) and Russian. We extract A and P from transitive clauses and code them for animacy, part of speech, person, definiteness/ specificity and discourse status (given or new) with the help of a specially developed user interface in R Shiny. These features are defined as comparative concepts (Haspelmath 2010). The data are then subjected to a series of statistical analyses, including generalized regression models and conditional inference trees.

Preliminary results

Our first results suggest that the properties of A and P in informal conversations are not symmetric, with the exception of the animacy/inanimacy distinction. Both A and P are likely to share the same features (pronominal, 3rd person, given and definite) if one considers the likelihood of specific features given a role (A or P). Yet, if one reverses the directionality and takes the likelihood of the roles given a specific feature, one finds the asymmetries which correspond to the economy-related predictions (e.g. pronominal, 1st and 2nd person, definite and given participants tend to be A, while nominal, 3rd person, indefinite and new ones serve more frequently as P).

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Is intransitive subject the preferred role for introducing new referents? Evidence from corpus-based typology

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Referential choice in natural discourse is driven by an interplay of contextual, situative, semantic, and cultural factors, and is constrained by language-specific morphosyntactic configurations. A long line of research in the tradition of Chafe's seminal work (Chafe 1976) has addressed these issues as an aspect of information packaging or information flow in discourse; see for instance Prince 1981, 1992, 1998; Gundel et al. 1993; Chafe 1994; Huang 2000; or Krifka & Musan 2012. In one line of thinking, different approaches espouse some variant of "accessibility" (Ariel 1990, 2000), or "activation" (Chafe 1976) as major driving forces underlying referential choice. The central idea underlying these approaches is that speakers fine-tune discourse production to monitor the addressees' awareness of discourse referents, and that referential choice reflects degrees of such awareness states. Thus, "lighter" forms of reference reflect high accessibility and least processing effort, and heavier expressions lower accessibility and more processing effort. On this approach, different kinds of referring expression are hierarchically ranked, and directly reflect levels of cognitive accessibility (cf. Ariel's "Accessibility Hierarchy"). Related to these claims is the view that heavier expressions, whose referents are assumed to be more processing costly, need to be distributed in specific ways in discourse in order to maximize ease of processing (Du Bois 1987; Prince 1998; Lambrecht 1994). The preferred locus for introducing new referents into discourse is apparently that of intransitive subject, because the cognitive costs involved are most easily accommodated in this syntactic position.

Despite the continuing influence of these approaches, much of the empirical evidence is based on very small data sets of spoken language, or from written corpora from a small number of well-researched languages. We have begun testing some of the predictions of accessibility-based approaches, drawing on the Multi-CAST database (Haig & Schnell 2016), a web-accessible archive of connected spoken language from a growing sample of typologically diverse languages. Schiborr (2017), based on spoken English narratives from Multi-CAST, already suggests that the original formulation of the Hierarchy is flawed. In this paper, we test a further prediction of accessibility-based theories, namely that heavy expressions with low accessibility (newly introduced referents) are allocated to the intransitive subject role. We analyse a range of different language corpora that have been annotated with GRAID, (Grammatical Relations and Animacy in Discourse, Haig & Schnell 2014) and with referent indexes (Schiborr et al. 2017), which enable referential expressions to be categorized according to referential status, and linked to syntactic functions and form types. We find little evidence in support of a special role of intransitive subjects as a locus for introducing new information; the proportions are actually quite variable across different corpora, and other syntactic functions generally outweigh the overall intransitive subjects in this function. Transitive objects, on the other hand, show a cross-linguistically robust propensity to serve as introduction points. We will

also consider some methodological issues in the quantitative analysis of cross-linguistically diverse spoken language corpora.

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WORKSHOP 5

Constructions and valency changing strategies in a diachronic perspective: Evidence from Indo-European and beyond

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The workshop aims at investigating valency changing strategies and encoding of transitivity oppositions over time. Despite the wealth of works on the synchronic syntax of verbal valency in the languages of the world, the diachronic aspects of these phenomena are most often neglected or underestimated in linguistic and typological research. We invite proposals addressing topics related to transitivity and language change from different methodological perspectives, in order to uncover and clarify the paths and mechanisms of morphological and syntactic changes in the domain of verbal valency and encoding transitivity oppositions in the languages of the world.

Description and aims

The recent decades are marked with a considerable progress in the study of the encoding of transitivity oppositions in a typological and theoretical perspective (see, among others, the seminal work by Hopper & Thompson's 1980; Siewierska 1985; Geniušiene 1987; Kemmer 1993 and Kittilä 2002; Luraghi 2010; Nedjalkov et al. 2007, Levin 1993; Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2005, van Gelderen, Cennamo & Barðdal 2013; Hellan, Malchukov & Cennamo 2017, among others). Impressive results are achieved in the synchronic study of the systems of voices and valency-changing derivations, such as passive, causative, reflexive, antipassive and anticausative (decausative). By now, we have at our disposal rich catalogues of the morphological, syntactic and semantic features of these categories in the languages of the world. Thanks to these studies, our understanding of transitivity phenomena has dramatically increased. (see for instance, Hartmann, Haspelmath & Taylor 2013 (*ValPal*); Malchukov & Comrie 2015a,b). Moreover, studies in basic valency orientation (cf. Nichols et al. 2004) have attempted a typological classification of languages based on their preferred patterns of encoding valency increase ad reduction.

By contrast, a systematic treatment of these categories in a diachronic perspective remains a desideratum (see, however, Barðdal, Cennamo & van Gelderen 2012). The rise, development and decline of these categories mostly remain on the periphery of the typological research.

It is only natural to start a diachronic typological research of the valency-changing categories and other transitivity phenomena with collecting evidence from languages (language groups) with a history well-documented in texts for a sufficiently long time. Furthermore, in the case of languages with lesser documented history, important generalizations can be obtained on the basis of comparison of genetically related languages, which can serve as a basis for reconstruction of possible scenarios of changes within the system of transitivity encoding categories.

Ideal candidates for a diachronic typological study of linguistic categories such as voice and valence-changing phenomena, include several groups of the Indo-European language family. Thus, the Indo-Aryan and Greek branches of Indo-European attest an uninterrupted documented history for a period of more than 3.000 years, starting with Old Indo-Aryan and Ancient Greek, respectively.

The aim of the workshop is to bring together scholars working on valency-changing categories and other transitivity phenomena in both (1) languages (language families) with well-documented history (such as, first of all, Indo-European as well as, for instance, Semitic) and (2) languages which furnish less historical evidence but, nevertheless, can provide us with some valuable data on the basis of comparison of daughter languages and linguistic reconstruction (as is the case with Uralic).

Possible **TOPICS** to be addressed at the workshop include (but are not limited to):
- diachronic changes within the systems of voice and voice-related categories (causative, reflexive etc.)
- encoding of transitivity oppositions and labile verbs over time;
- mechanisms of the emergence, decline and disappearance of labile verbs;
- changes in argument structure constructions over time;
- productivity, expansion and decline of syntactic patterns over time;
- paths of development of valency changing markers in individual languages;
- reconstructing basic valency orientation and valency changing markers in proto-languages;
- possible sources of valency changing markers and patterns of polysemy;
- changes in basic valency orientation over time;
- the role of language contacts in the development of valency-changing derivations;
- alignment change in the history of individual languages;
- markers of valency changing categories in a diachronic perspective;
- creation of digital resources for the diachronic study of argument structure construction and valency-changing categories.

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Lability and syntactic stability: Mechanisms of the emergence of labile verbs in early and late Old Indo-Aryan and Greek

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The present paper focuses on the origin and history of labile verbs (cf. RV 2.34.13 *rudrā́ r̥tásya sádaneṣu vāvr̥dhúḥ* 'Rudras **have grown [intransitive]** in the residences of the truth' ~ RV 8.6.35 *índram ukthā́ni vāvr̥dhúḥ* 'The hymns **have increased [transitive]** Indra') in Old Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit) and Greek. We offer a general survey and analysis of the Vedic and the Greek causative oppositions, focusing on labile verbs and elucidating the position of the Indo-Aryan and the Hellenic branch from the point of view of the history of lability in Indo-European.

We argue that, for most of labile forms, the secondary character of lability can be demonstrated. Thus, for many labile forms with middle inflection, such as Vedic class I presents of the type *námate* 'bends [tr.] / [intr.]', labile syntax results from the polyfunctionality of the middle diathesis (self-beneficent/anticausative). Within the Old Indo-Aryan period, we arguably observe the decline of labile syntax. Already in the second most ancient Vedic text, Atharvaveda, the number of labile forms considerably decreases. Yet at the end of the Old Indo-Aryan period we observe the emergence of some new labile verbs, such as *sūyate* 'is produced' / 'produces'. We argue that this phenomenon must be due to several dramatic changes in the verbal system observed between the (late) Old Indo-Aryan and early Middle Indo-Aryan periods, such as, first of all, the collapse of the Sanskrit morphological system. The rise of the new type of morphological oppositions/'new lability' could further be supported by the influence of the Middle Indo-Aryan vernaculars, where many of the Old Indo-Aryan morphological oppositions were lost entirely. Thus, the existence of the Middle Indic labile verbs of

the type *abhibhuyyati* 'overcomes, overpowers; is overpowered' (Pischel 1900) could trigger both (i) the rise of late Vedic labile verbs of the type *sūyate* 'produces, generates; is produced' and (ii) the emergence of several new morphological types of transitivity oppositions, based on analogical present formations and resulting in pairs of the type passive *abhibhūyate* 'is overpowered' ~ transitive *abhibhūyati* 'overpowers' (van Buitenen 1962: 129f.).

In the case of the Greek diachrony, based mainly on evidence from Greek dialects, we argue that: (a) With the loss of the middle morphology, post-Koine Greek has only one type of nonactive morphology: this nonactive morphology of post-Koine Greek, however, changed to be used only by a part of the anticausatives and to be linked to lexical features of verbs. (b) The anticausatives demonstrate a significant shift from marking with nonactive (middle-passive) voice morphology to marking with active voice morphology, regardless of semantic class, which results in the rise of new labile verbs. (c) The active voice morphology spread from one-place predicates (internally-caused change of state) toward two-place (externally-caused change of state) predicates.

An historical analysis of the evolution of the system of labile verbs in Indo-Aryan and Greek furnishes important evidence for a diachronic typology of syntactically unstable verbs and, particularly, for elucidation of semantic classes that are first and foremost subject to the emergence of syntactically polyfunctional (labile) forms.

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Verb lability in New Indo-Aryan (NIA)

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The recent research has shown that in Old and Middle IA there are clear mechanisms which contribute to the general decline of labile syntax such as: the rise of new valency changing categories (causatives, passives) and degrammaticallization of the middle and that several verbal categories can indicate secondary development of lability (Kulikov 2014).

In contemporary NIA languages there are almost no traces of verbal lability, the only exception being converbs (e.g. Montaut 2004). It seems that the postulated labile character of converbs can be correlated with the rise of the split ergative system in IA in which subjects can be coded by a nominative case in non-perfective tenses and by an ergative case in perfective tenses (e.g. Stroński 2016).

The aim of the present paper is to investigate main argument marking in converbal chain constructions. I will also attempt to show the syntactic orientation of converbs and finally the relations between converb lability and the development of the ergative construction in early NIA. The data used for the analysis includes four dialectal corpora, i.e. Rajasthani, Awadhi, Dakkhini and Braj (10000 words each) tagged by means of IATagger (Jaworski 2013) at morphological, syntactic and semantic levels. Texts are representative of their particular tongues from 15-17th centuries and they belong to various genres.

Preliminary research has shown that A marking in converbal chains has been dependent on the transitivity of the main verb and that the pattern in which it is dependent on the converb transitivity is an innovation attested only in NIA (cf. Wallace 1982) whereas O marking has always operated along the lines of animacy and definiteness but it has also had secondary structural motivation (cf. Aissen 2003; Khokhlova 2000; Verbeke 2013). Moreover, it is obvious that syntactic orientation of the converb in early NIA was much less constrained than it is now. In several IA languages, in Dravidian, some Tibeto-Burman and the Munda languages, Subject Identity Constraint (SIC) can be violated when the subject of the converb is inanimate and the converb denotes a non-volitional act (Subbarao 2012). This does not apply precisely to early NIA in which SIC violation could have semantic (the implicit subject of the converb is in an experiencer-like relation to the subject of the superordinate clause) as well as syntactic motivation (passive-like character of the converb).

As regards the labile character of converbs and their place in the split ergative system one can observe that at early NIA stage dialects belonging to both poles of ⬛IA east-west divide (for details see Peterson 2017) show similar degree of lability, whereas contemporary western NIA tongues, which preserved fully ergative patterns, may differ in this respect from those belonging to the eastern group.

Preliminary corpus based study shows that the syntactic lability of converbs is a secondary phenomenon which can also have its roots in the reorganization of early NIA syntax towards a new postpositional ergative-like system as one can chiefly observe labile converbal forms in the perfective domain.

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The diachrony of intransitive alternations and the semantics of predicates: A case-study from Latin

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In this paper I discuss the diachrony of two types of intransitive alternations in Latin, anticausativization and the personal ~ impersonal encoding of some (in)transitive predicates. More specifically, I explore the interplay of the aspectual template of verbs, the verb's inherent meaning (the 'root'), the inherent characteristics of the S/O/A argument (e.g., animacy) and the continuum of control (Lehmann 1988), depending on the alternation, in determining changes in the distribution of the different strategies available to mark these constructions within the voice domain, and interacting with it, respectively, the medio-passive *-r* form, the reflexive pattern (*se*+ active), the active intransitive (Feltenius 1977, among others) and the impersonal ~ personal active constructions (rarely, also the *–r* form for some verbs), the core argument(s) surfacing in an oblique case and varying in its/their syntactic status (e.g., *tui me miseret* 'I pity you', *me fallit* 'I happen to be wrong/it escapes me', *mihi apparet* 'it is clear') (Rosén 1992; Fedriani 2014, among others).

I show that the selection of the reflexive strategy to mark anticausatives is initially confined to inherently telic predicates (achievements and accomplishments) (e.g., *frangere* 'break' - *dum calor se frangat* 'till the heat goes down', *fervefacere* 'heat up' - *se patinae fervefaciunt* 'the pans heat up'), whilst the active intransitive mainly occurs with verbs of variable/reduced telicity (e.g., *lenire* 'soothe', *irae leniunt* 'anger soothes'), with activities (e.g., *volutare* 'roll', *saxa volutant* 'stones roll') and, marginally, with accomplishments lexicalizing a reversible state (e.g., *aperire* 'open' - *foris aperit* 'the door opens'). Gradually, in the course of time, the reflexive spreads to verbs of variable telicity (e.g., *minuere* 'decrease', *minuente se morbo* 'when the disease is on the decline') and atelic predicates (e.g., *servare* 'keep'- *mala se servant* 'apples keep'), and the active intransitive expands to achievements (e.g., *rumpere* 'break'), until in late texts the three anticausative forms become truly interchangeable (*rumpunt dentes/rumpuntur dentes/dentes se rumpunt* 'its teeth break' (sc. *equus* 'horse'), with aspectual differences no longer determining the distribution of the anticausative strategies (cf. also Cennamo, Eythórsson & Barðdal 2015).

Aspect also plays a role in the diachrony of the other type of intransitive alternation investigated, the personal vs 'impersonal' encoding of some (in)transitive predicates. This construction occurs, most typically, with states, that appear to instantiate its core (e.g., *decere* 'become', *pudere* 'ashame' (caus.)), although it is also attested with activities (*iuvare* 'delight', *fallere* 'deceive') and, marginally, accomplishments (e.g., *contingere* 'touch, reach', *accidere* 'fall upon, happen')

The main semantic parameter at work in this type of alternation, however, is control, as clearly perceivable in the alternation between *me fallit* 'I happen to be wrong', *me fallo* 'I am wrong'. Indeed, these 'impersonal' constructions could be better described as lack of control patterns, similar, in their semantics and formal marking, to analogous constructions in languages with semantic alignment (e.g., Australian languages) (Walsh 1989: 429, Verstraete 2011, and contributions in Donohue & Wichman 2008).

This pattern may be regarded, therefore, as the crystallization of a usage that must have been very common in the early stages of the language, denoting the lack of control of the A/S argument over the verbal process, and which was not confined to mental process-state/emotion verbs, as usually stated in the literature (Leumann, Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 165; and discussion in Fedriani 2014, among others).

Thus, the data investigated appear to offer an interesting contribution to the current debate on the role played by the verb's inherent meaning and its interaction and integration with the event structure template of predicates and the inherent properties of the verbs's core arguments in

determining argument realization, also throwing new light on the status of some so-called 'impersonal' verbs/patterns in the language

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Suppletion and the history of decausativization in Slavic

Johanna Nichols

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Historical Change in Causative Pairs in the Cariban Family

Spike Gildea & Natalia Caceres

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Oblique Subjects in Latin and Ancient Greek

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It is uncontroversial in modern syntactic research that natural languages can have syntactic subjects in different cases than the nominative (Andrews 1976, Masica 1976, Zaenen, Maling & Thráinsson 1985, Sigurðsson 1989, inter alia). This means that verbs and predicates selecting for subject-like arguments in, for instance, the accusative or the dative in languages like Icelandic and Hindi/Urdu indeed exhibit behavioral properties of subjects, despite the non-nominative case marking.

Verbs and predicates of this type, assigning oblique case marking to their subject-like arguments, are found in all the 11 branches of Indo-European, including the earliest languages. Two examples are given below, one from Latin and the other from Ancient Greek.

1) **Latin**

nunc	**mihi**	nihil	libri,	nihil	litterae,
now	**I.DAT**	nothing	books.NOM	nothing	literature.NOM

nihil	doctrina	prodest
nothing	learning.NOM	profit.3SG

‘Now I profit nothing from books, nothing from literature, nothing from learning.’

(Cic. Att. 9.10.2)

2) **Ancient Greek**

oú	**sphi**	hḗndane	tà
not	**them.DAT**	please.3SG	these.NOM.PL

‘They did not like these things’ (Hdt. 7.172)

The consensus that non-nominative subject-like arguments in, for instance, Icelandic and Hindi/Urdu, are syntactic subjects is based on a host of subject properties and behaviors. The relevant tests exclude case marking and agreement (since agreement correlates with nominative), but involve instead word order distribution, binding of reflexives, raising-to-subject, raising-to-object, conjunction reduction, control into infinitives, control into gerundives, etc.

For corpus languages, in contrast, opinions are more divided in the scholarship. For the early Indo-European languages, in particular, the evidence appears to be scattered unevenly across different subject tests in different languages (Hock 1991, Allen 1995). It has, nevertheless, been convincingly shown that oblique subject-like arguments behave syntactically as subjects in Early Germanic, based on a host of tests (Rögnvaldsson 1995, Allen 1995, Barðdal 2000, Barðdal & Eythórsson 2003, 2012, Eythórsson & Barðdal 2005). For Latin, Fedriani (2009, 2015) and Fabrizio (2016) have argued for a subject analysis of non-nominative subject-like arguments, also based on a host of different tests. Recently, Le Mair et al. (2017), focusing specifically on word order, have shown that corresponding non-nominative subject-like arguments in Old Irish behave syntactically as subjects. Conti (2008,

2009) argues for a subject analysis for partitive genitives in Ancient Greek, while Danesi (2015) and Benedetti & Gianollo (2017) discuss different subject tests for Ancient Greek.

In this presentation we examine different subject tests for Latin and Ancient Greek, introducing new evidence hitherto undocumented in the literature, involving control into infinitives, a behavior which is well known in the literature as being confined to subjects. Such evidence, moreover, is not only consistent with subject behavior, it also excludes an object analysis of oblique subject-like arguments in these two ancient Indo-European languages. These data contribute to the cumulative evidence for analyzing oblique subject-like arguments as syntactic subjects that has been gathered so far for several early Indo-European languages, like early Germanic, Old Irish, and Sanskrit, now adding Latin and Ancient Greek to this pool.

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Markedness reversal as a diachronic process of alignment change in Inuktitut

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It is well-known that the same event structure may be realized by more than one type of a construction. For instance, a bivalent event involving two core participants, agent and patient, can be expressed either by a transitive construction or by one of its intransitive variants: passive and/or antipassive. The coexistence of transitive, passive and antipassive constructions is reported for Inuktitut, example (1).

Given that the valency-changing constructions are prone to language change, various linguists suggest that the shift from morphologically accusative languages to morphologically ergative languages results from the reanalysis of a passive construction as the basic transitive one (Glidea 1997; Dahl 2016). But this scenario, though plausible, remains speculative. According to Creissels (to appear), once the distinction between passive and resultative constructions is recognized, there is relatively no convincing argument proving the passive origin of the transitive construction. On the other hand, antipassives of morphologically ergative languages share the coding pattern associated with transitive constructions of morphologically accusative languages i.e. both involve unflagged agent and flagged patient. Importantly, the research carried out within the areal typology spread from the North American Arctic to the subarctic in Labrador has revealed the effects of similar structural tendency. More specifically, it has been observed that unlike to Western dialects of Inuktitut (Eskimo-Aleut), in the Eastern ones the antipassive construction tends to be more frequent than the corresponding transitive one (cf. Johns 2006; Carrier 2012; Allen 2013). Therefore, it is not unreasonable to look at markedness reversal as a possible diachronic process that shifts the alignment of Inuktitut from ergative to accusative coding pattern.

The aims of this talk are:

(i)   to discuss a theoretical foundation of MARKEDNESS REVERSAL as a plausible diachronic operation leading to alignment change;
(ii)   to study the geographical distribution of the antipassive and its frequency in both Eastern and Western dialects of Inuktitut in order to provide new pieces of evidence in favour of the hypothesis invoked by Johns (2006) and others according to which Eastern dialects of Inuktitut are currently undergoing alignment change.

For this purpose, I will first define the semantic and discourse conditions that tend to constrain the use of the basic transitive construction in the Eastern dialects of Inuktitut. This will show conclusively that this construction is semantically and discursively more marked (hence less frequent) than the antipassive. Then, I will provide statistical data from texts to confirm this observation.

(1) Baffin Island Inuktitut (Eskimo-Aleut, Spreng, 2005: 2–3)

a. *Anguti-up   arnaq   kunik-taa.*   Transitive construction
   man-ERG   woman   kiss-3SG.3SG
   'The man kissed the woman.'

b. *Arnaq   kunik-tau-juq   anguti-mut.*   Passive construction
   woman   kiss-PASS-3SG   man-ABL.SG
   'The woman was kissed by the man.'

c. *Anguti   kunik-si-vuq   arna-mik.*   Antipassive construction
   man   kiss-AP-3SG   woman-MOD.SG
   'The man is kissing a woman.'

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✍

Khinalug: The developement from dynamic verbs to a transitivity / intransitivity distinction

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Khinalug is a Nakh-Dagestanian language spoken by app. 2.300 people in Khinalug village in Northern Azerbaijan. According to the latest classifications (first mentioned in Klimov 1986/1994 : 402), scholars tend to agree that Khinalug forms a separate branch within this language family. Due to the lack of direct comparison with any sister languages in its subbranch, only the investigation of petrified vs. productive forms can give hints on diachrony. On this basis, we can assume that Khinalug

started out with a dynamic verb system, and rather recently developed a morphologic distinction for transitivity. This systematic change may have been triggered, or at least favoured, by the surrounding accusative languages.

Verbs that behave according to the original dynamic system have a detransitivized reading when there is no ergative-marked subject, they can be interpreted as medium or passive:

hu   *k'i-šä-mä*
pron.DIST.CL2SG   die/kill-PST-DECL
He died. / He was killed.

yä   *hu*   *k'i-šä-mä*
I.ERG   pron.DIST.CL2SG   die/kill-PST-DECL
I killed him.

Only the imperative morphologically distinguishes transitive in *-a/-ä* from intransitive in *-l* in regular verbs:

züt'-ä!
give birth/be born.PFV-IMP.TR
give birth!

züt'-ül!
give birth/be born.PFV-IMP.ITR
be born!

muc'-a!
beat/be beaten.PFV-IMP.TR
beat!

muc'-ul!
beat/be beaten.PFV-IMP.ITR
be beaten!

Verbs that behave according to the new system mark transitivity (and also causative) with the light verb *kʰui, kʰiri* 'do'. The stem of regularly formed verbs takes the affix *-l* before combining with *kʰui, kʰiri*, i.e. it is first explicitly marked as intransitive and then transitivized:

kuza   *erpʰi-šä-mä*
snow   melt.PFV-PST-DECL
The snow melted

yä   *mik'*   *erpʰi-l-kʰui-šä-mä*
I.ERG   ice   melt.PFV-DTR-LV:do.PFV-PST-DECL
I melted the ice.

The transitive imperative is formed at the light verb *kʰui, kʰiri* 'do', there is no transitive imperative **erpä*:

erpʰi-l!
melt.PFV-IMP.ITR
melt.itr!

      erpʰi-l-kä!
      melt.PFV-ITR-LV:do:IMP.TR
      melt.tr!

Very few verbs are in a transitional stage between old and new system, e.g. *alašpʰi, alašpʰuri* 'shine, shed light on': The imperatives are formed at the same stem, whereas all other forms mark transitivity with *kʰui, kiri*:

      alašpʰ-ul!
      shine/shed.light.on-IMP.ITR
      shine!

      alašpʰ-a!
      shine/shed.light.on-IMP.TR
      shed light on!

      šoʁ   *alašpʰ-šä-mä*
      light   shine/shed.light.on.PFV-PST-DCL
      The light shone.

      yä   *k'oar*   *alašpʰ-ul-kʰui-šä-mä*
      I.ERG   road   shine/shed.light.on-ITR-LV:DO.PFV-PST-DCL
      I shed light onto the road.

Movement verbs have developed an elaborate system of different light verbs, marking not only explicitly intransitivity and transitivity, but also different kinds of movement. However, the categories expressed by intransitive and transitive light verbs differ, so that there are no exact counterparts. Intransitivity is marked by: *-ʁi, -kui* (neutral), by *-kʰui, -kʰuri* (semelfactive, or sudden and unexpected), and by double light verb constructions in *-a-χi,-a-kui* (continuative or iterative). The exact semantics of these light verbs cannot be clearly reconstructed. Transitivity is marked by *-kʰui, -kʰiri* < 'do' (causation of self-movement), *-q'ui, -q'iri* < 'put' (semelfactive, or sudden and unexpected), *-vui, -vuri* < 'draw' (transportation or positioning), and *k'ui, k'uri* < 'give' (transportation or positioning). The difference between the latter two is a matter of ongoing investigation.

      Differently from non-movement verbs, the stem of movement verbs does not take a detransitivizing affix before combining with transitivizing light verbs, but combines as a bare stem with any light verb.

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ℬ

Polysemy of causative and factitive suffixes in Hittite

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Hittite is an Indo-European language that was spoken in the Central Anatolia in the 2nd millennium BCE. The available texts date back from 17th to 13th/early 12th century BCE.

The paper discusses the polysemy and the development of the Hittite verbs with the suffixes -*nu*- and -*ahh*-. The semantics and derivation of these verbs were not sufficiently investigated, mostly because researchers' attention mainly focused on the suffixes' prehistory and cognates in other Indo-European languages (with a notable exception of Luraghi 1992). According to standard grammars, both suffixes were added to adjectives to make factitive verbs, and -*nu*- was also used to make causatives (e.g., Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 175, 178). However, their combinability changed over time, and the functions of these suffixes are not restricted to factitive and causative.

At the earliest stage of Hittite, the distribution of these suffixes was as follows: -*ahh*- formed factitives to adjectives in -*a*-, -*ant*-, and -*i*-, while -*nu*- derived factitives from adjectives in -*i*- and -*u*-. Both -*nu*- and -*ahh*- enjoyed high levels of productivity in Hittite and could be used to make factitives from all types of adjectival stems in New Hittite. Furthermore, some adjectives form factitives both in -*nu*- and -*ahh*-, e.g. *dankuwanu*- and *dankuwahh*- 'to make dark' from *dankui*- 'dark' or *tepnu*- and *tepawahh*- 'to belittle' from *tepu*- 'small'. In New Hittite -*ahh*- was also added to verbal stems, e.g. *taruppahh*- from *tarupp*- 'to collect'. Moreover, albeit generally functioning as a factitive/causative suffix, -*nu*- is also attested in intransitive verbs, e.g. *nuntarnu*- 'to hurry' or *wastanu*- 'to sin'. In some cases, as a thorough examination of available contexts shows, the function of -*nu*- seems to be rather terminative or perhaps intensive. A few verbs in -*ahh*- are also intransitive (*kururiyahh*- 'to become hostile (towards (dat.))', *liliwahh*- 'to make haste') and cannot be regarded as factitives.

Such a polysemy of the Hittite suffixes in question has not been properly recognized, but it is certainly not unique. There is a similar polysemy with other causative suffixes in Indo-European languages (see Kölligan 2004, 2007) and elsewhere (Aikhenvald 2011). A possible approach to treat this polysemy is to assume that the underlying meaning in Hittite and perhaps in Proto-Indo-European, at least for the suffix -*nu*-, is increasing the semantic transitivity. This is based on the assumption that transitivity is not a binary opposition, but rather represents a continuum (Hopper, Thompson 1980).

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✍

Valency-affecting constructions in the Koiné of the LXX

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This paper explores to what extent differences between the system of valency-affecting constructions in Septuagint Hellenistic Greek and that found in Classical authors reflect interference from the source languages, in particular Biblical Hebrew. Greek underwent a number of significant changes during the Hellenistic period, and it is likely that some such changes result from the extensive contact situation between Greek and other languages in the Eastern Mediterranean. There is some evidence that the relative frequency of middle forms belonging to the Greek future and aorist stems declines in Hellenistic Greek, while passive forms are gaining ground. Given that there are fundamental typological differences between Greek and the Semitic and Afro-Asiatic languages spoken in the region, it is tempting to hypothesize that substrate influence may have played a considerable role in this morphosyntactic change. The Septuagint is an intriguing source in this respect, reflecting an interface between the Semitic and the Greek linguistic traditions.

Biblical Hebrew has a system of seven verbal stems or *binyanim*, which tend to be ascribed more or less distinct and consistent valency-affecting functions, involving causativization (*piel*, *hiphil*), reflexivization-passivization (*niphal, pual, hophal*) and reciprocalization-reflexivization (*hithpael*), in addition to the basic verbal stem (*qal*) (cf. e.g. Arnold and Choi 2003 passim). Septuagint Greek has a verbal system containing three diatheses, active, middle and passive, the contrast between middle and passive surfacing in the future and aorist (cf. Muraoka 2016 passim). However, recent contributions like Cignelli and Pierri (2010) and Muraoka (2016: 231-250) distinguish several subtypes of valency-affecting constructions in Septuagint Greek, many of which are periphrastic.

This paper explores what strategies the translators employed to render the different Biblical Hebrew *binyanim* in Septuagint Greek, how these strategies interact in the LXX text and, in particular, to what extent certain constructions in the Source Language tend to be associated with certain constructions in the Target Language. Although many important pertinent observations may be gleaned from the research literature (cf. e.g. Evans 2001 passim, Cignelli and Pierri 2010 passim, Muraoka 2016 passim), no systematic study of the relationship between the Biblical Hebrew and Septuagint Greek systems of valency-affecting constructions exists (cf. also Cignelli and Pierri 2010: 20).

The Septuagint and Hebrew Genesis form the main empirical basis for the present investigation, based on the editions of the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft (Schenker 1997, Rahlfs and Hanhart 2006). Even though there are some non-trivial discrepancies between the Greek and Hebrew texts, there is general agreement that the two versions of Genesis show a higher degree of intertextual coherence than many other parts of the Old Testament, thus representing a good source for systematic comparison. The evidence collected from the Greek and Hebrew texts will be subjected to quantitative analysis in order to establish whether there are any significant correlations between the Greek and Hebrew valency-affecting constructions.

An investigation along the proposed lines will enable a more precise understanding of the processes contributing to the development of the Greek system of valency-affecting constructions during Hellenistic times.

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☌

Diachronic changes in voice patterns from Homeric to Hellenistic Greek

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This paper deals with the verbal category of voice and investigates how voice markers changed from Homeric to Hellenistic Greek in the systems of aorist and future. The aim of this research is to analyze the distribution of inflection opposition together with other valency changing markers, namely the affixes *-ē-/-thē-* in both aorist and future and the periphrasis with *méllō*, *thélō*, *ékhō*, and the infinitive in the future. Some attention will also be allocated to *media tantum* verbs.

It is well-known that the aorist and the future underwent several changes in voice from Ancient to Modern Greek (Horrocks 2010: 103, 256, Browning 1983: 29–31). Crucial changes occurred in Ancient Greek, for instance (a) the coexistence of the so-called passive aorists/futures in passive and anticausative clauses together with forms marked by middle inflection and (b) the arising of the periphrastic futures formed by the auxiliaries *méllō*, *thélō*, *ékhō* + infinitive besides synthetic futures. Many studies have been recently devoted to these issues (e.g. Allan 2003, Benedetti 2006, Lavidas 2009, Markopoulos 2009, Alexiadou & Doron 2012, Kulikov & Lavidas 2013), but most of them are not corpus-based and only take into account one of the two systems, either aorist or future.

The topic of voice markers is approached by investigating their distribution with respect to valency changing categories such as passive, anticausative, reflexive, benefactive, possessive and reciprocal (cf. Kulikov 2010 for a typological account). Special emphasis will be given to the passive and the anticausative, which are characterized in Classical Greek by the affixes *-ē-/-thē-*, e.g. *etimḗthē* 'he was honoured', *timēthḗsetai* 'he will be honoured'. In Hellenistic Greek, these forms spread into the categories of reflexive and deponent middles, see *apekríthē* 'he answered' instead of *apekrínato* in the New Testament. As far as the future is concerned, the research will investigate the distribution of periphrastic and synthetic forms, especially underlining their semantic differences.

The study is corpus-based and adopts a diachronic perspective, from Homeric to Hellenistic Greek. Data are taken from a selection of texts, namely Homeric poems, two books of both Herodotus' *Histories* and Xenophon's *Anabasis*, the speeches *Against Eratosthenes* by Lysias and the three *Olynthiacs* by Demosthenes, the dramas *Antigone* by Sophocles and *Medea* by Euripides, and the New Testament. The search for all relevant forms will result from the combination between manual search and electronic queries (e.g. TLG, Perseus 4.0 released on WWW), and will be further refined by using lexica, e.g. Gehring (1970) for the Homeric poems and Kittel & Friedrich (1932–1936) for the New Testament.

I will show that: (a) middle inflection progressively disappears as a marker of voice from Homeric to Hellenistic Greek, even though it continues to exist in deponent verbs; (b) the aorists with *-ē-/-thē-* spread from passive and anticausative into reflexive; however, they never replace all the syntactic-semantic domains of middle inflection; (c) periphrastic futures gain in popularity in Hellenistic Greek; however, their distribution is not comparable to that of synthetic futures.

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⌀

Different Ways from Middle to Passive in Korean: Insights into Directionality of Valence Change Phenomena

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In this paper, we investigate the relationships between causatives, middles and passives within the voice system of Korean, particularly in terms of valence change phenomena. We focus on the diachronic development of two suffixes, namely, *-eci* and *-i*, to determine the direction of valence change. Data for our analysis come from Old Korean texts written in Kukyel script (i.e. Korean texts written with Chinese characters) and Middle to Modern Korean texts written in Hangul script that are compiled in the *Sejong* historical corpus; this gives us a diachronic window of approximately 1200 years (8th to 20th century).

Our findings reveal that suffix *-eci* was first attested as a voice marker within the middle voice domain, initially in spontaneous middle constructions (Middle Korean, 15th century), then extended to inchoative middle constructions (Early Modern Korean, 17th century), and more recently in facilitative middle constructions (Contemporary Korean, 20th century). Passive uses of *-eci* emerged along a

secondary grammaticalization trajectory, initially with 'agentless' passive constructions in the 18th century (Modern Korean), and subsequently with overtly expressed agents attested at the turn of the 20th century (Contemporary Korean). As seen in Figure 1, extensions of *-eci* constructions within the middle voice domain involved 1-place (1P) predicate constructions, with no valence change, while the extensions from middle to passive domain involved a valence change in the direction of 1P > 2P predicates, i.e. a valence-increasing phenomenon. Suffix *-i*, on the other hand, was already attested in causative constructions (3P predicates) by the 10th century (Old Korean), then developed spontaneous middle and passive uses at around the same time (Middle Korean, 15th century), with facilitative middle uses emerging in Contemporary Korean (20th century). Extensions of suffix *-i* into both the middle and passive domains involved valence-reduction. The grammaticalization trajectory into the middle voice domain involved a 3P > 1P anticausativization process that gave rise to spontaneous *-i* constructions, followed by a subjectification process that yielded facilitative *-i* constructions with no valence change (1P > 1P). The trajectory into the passive voice domain involved a 3P > 2P valence-reduction process mediated by reflexive constructions. In this paper, we account for the difference in directionality of valence change between suffixes *-eci* and *-i* in terms of their source constructions. We trace the etymology of *-eci* to a serial verb (V_1V_2) construction involving an unaccusative V_2 (*ti-* 'fall'), and we posit a demonstrative origin for suffix *-i* to account for its initial transitivizing and causativizing reading, as well as the subsequent related but non-derivational link between its middle and passive uses. Our analysis contributes to typological efforts to compare the semantic networks of multiple voice constructions within the voice systems of various languages, with diachronic evidence to show how source constructions affect the directionality of valence change.

Figure 1. Directionality of valence changes within the Korean voice system

Voice marker *-eci*
        unaccusative verb *ti-* 'fall' (1P) > spontaneous (1P) > inchoative (1P) > facilitative (1P)
                                           > extension to passive (2P)
                                     via 'agentless' passive constructions
Voice marker *-i*
        causative (3P) > spontaneous (1P) > facilitative (1P)
        causative (3P) > causative reflexive (3P) > passive reflexive (2P) > passive (2P)

ℬ

The Passive in the Germanic and Finno-Ugric Languages:
A Typological and Historical Approach

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The talk discusses similarities and differences between the passive systems of Germanic and Finno-Ugric languages within a multi-dimensional, cross-linguistic model that treats passive as activity aspect.

       The proposed theoretical framework diverges from traditional approaches in that the passive is not treated purely as a valency-changing grammatical category. In research, the function of the passive is generally described as restructuring of the subject–predicate relation: the passive is treated either as a means to promote the object to subject position, or as a means to demote the agent from the subject status (Leiss 1992 vs. Shibatani 1988). However, the relevance of verbal aspect for the definition of

passive in English and in the Slavic languages has also been argued for (e.g. Beedham 1982, Dimitrova-Vulchanova 1999). In contrast to linguistic research, we claim that the main function of the passive lies in its contribution to event type differentiation and define the passive as one of the poles of the grammatical (verbal) category of *activity aspect*. Thus we do not limit the categorial content of the passive (as opposed to the active) to argument structure (diathesis) or to verbal aspect, but determine the function of the passive within the spectrum of event types: action (DO), process (GO) and state (BE). The passive is regarded as a morphological category ('shifter'), occupying an *intermediate position* between the two readings of the morphological active, ACTIVE and INACTIVE. It is also argued that the passive is closely related to the categories of aspect, diathesis and actionality creating an *intersection* of these verbal categories.

The theoretical analysis – based on typological considerations and historically documented data – offers an explanation for the relevant language-specific properties of passive. This category shows partly different patterns in the two genetically and typologically different language groups. Whereas Germanic languages have developed a wide range of passive constructions, the development of this category takes a totally different path than in the Germanic languages. The existence of the category passive in the Finno-Ugric languages is still a controversial issue (Andersen 1989, Berényi 2001, Dezső 1988, Manninen & Nelson 2004, Shore 1986 etc.).

The empirical analysis that follows the presentation and discussion of the theoretical model should demonstrate the relevant differences between the "prototypical" passive constructions in Germanic languages (with special attention to German and Swedish) within the "passive map" and the constructions of Finno-Ugric languages (with focus on Finnish and Hungarian) located "on the border", closely related to formal properties or interpretations typical for passives.

The discussion of the theoretical and empirical aspects of the "passive puzzle" is based on the critical evaluation of proposals made in different theoretical frameworks on passive in the Germanic and Finno-Ugric languages. Further, relevant works of linguistic typology and contrastive linguistics (e.g. Abraham & Leisiö 2006, Haspelmath 1990, Shibatani 1988, Siewierska 1984, etc.) have played a crucial role for the development of the suggested activity aspect approach.

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<div align="center">℘</div>

Passive *se* > impersonal active *se*: a finer grained path in Medieval Romance varieties and the importance of *se* + impersonal verbs

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Background: Romance *se* exhibits a variety of functions and is claimed to evolve along the following grammaticalization path: **(1)** reflexive > middle > anticausative > passive > impersonal (active) (i.a. Sansò 2011). From a synchronic point of view, it is highly debated what function *se* has in the respective constructions (Otero 1986, Cinque 1988, Dobrovie-Sorin 1998 among many others). Less emphasis has been put on the diachronic development of *se*.

Data and analysis: The present study sheds new light especially on the developmental step of passive *se*-constructions > impersonal active *se*-constructions by analyzing a huge data set of Medieval Romance varieties (using BFM, CORDE, CICA and COM1+2, a time span of 350 years and different text-types). With the help of these corpus studies, it is possible to single out several grammatical contexts that favor the evolution towards an active re-interpretation of passive *se*-constructions in these varieties and a more fine-grained trajectory can be assumed:

(2) passive *se* > ambiguous impersonal *se* contexts > *se* + verb + que > según + *se* + verb > *se* + impersonal verbs > AcI structures > missing agreement > *se* + unergative verbs > *se* + unaccusative verbs

The more *se* advances along the path exemplified in (2), the less likely an association with accusative Case and little *v* of some sort is (as implied in passive *se*-constructions in which we assume *se* to be unaccusative *v* and as such it absorbs accusative Case and the external theta-role (i.a. Mendikoetxea 1990, Torrego 2008)). In contrast, an association with higher functional categories is much more probable. We analyze *se* to be part of T (more concretely, we analyze *se* in impersonal active constructions to be a part of finite T and as such responsible for absorbing the +Def feature of the latter (Otero 1986, Bamba 2015 among others)).

While the most important gateway of this developmental step seems to be triggered by *se* entering the new contexts in (2), one step has to be singled out and deserves further attention: *se* + impersonal verbs. Studies by Cennamo (1998/1999 among others) have shown that *se* took over several domains that had been expressed by the ʀ-morpheme in (Late) Latin. Among these domains was the marking of impersonal constructions, like **(3)** lat. *dicitur* 'it is said'. In the course of the corpus studies, a layer of continuous use of *se* + impersonal verbs was uncovered. This layer brings about a fresh look at the role of *se* in marking impersonal domains at a time where the interpretation of impersonal active *se* equaling impersonal pronouns such as fr. *on* was probably not fully available. Further evidence is found in grammaticalized chunks like **(4)** msp. *qulaes se quier cosas* 'whatever'.

The findings suggest that while the main development from passive to impersonal active *se* took place in the 1300s (Giacalone Ramat/Sansò 2011), older layers of *se* co-occurring with impersonal verbs are very likely to have contributed steadily to the development in question.

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WORKSHOP 6

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Discourse particles and information structure

Pierre-Yves Modicom & Olivier Duplâtre

The relevance of information structure (IS) for the syntax and pragmatics of discourse particles has been demonstrated for many types of discourse particles in many different languages. The aim of this workshop proposal is to tackle this issue in the light of newer developments in the research on the interplay between IS and the use of discourse particles in a number of languages.

We use the concept of "discourse particles" as a theory-neutral cover term for all sorts of particles usually taking sentential scope (hence also the label sentence particle or sentential particle) and marking phenomena such as stance, speech act specification, Common Ground management or discourse structuration (see Fischer 2006).

Among discourse particles, Germanic "modal particles" have been very extensively studied. In German, modal particles such as *ja*, *doch* or *schon* are used to indicate whether the content of the utterance is part of the conversational Common Ground and in what way the utterance matches intersubjective expectations. It has been pointed out that their position in the clause is chiefly determined by the theme-rheme structure of the VP, modal particles being located between theme and rheme (Hentschel 1986, Abraham 1991). Furthermore, in recent years, there has also been some speculation on possible links between modal particles and other IS parameters such focus, especially Verum focus, and theticity (see Abraham 2017 for both, Müller 2014 for a general discussion about IS parameters in the syntax of German modal particles and Vallduví & Vilkuna 1998 resp. Krifka 2006 for an overview of the notions of information structure).

However, in a language like Japanese it is often assumed that the work done by modal particles in German is effected by sentence-final particles (Endo 2007, 2012). Nevertheless, the issue of theticity plays a major role in the licensing of non-final particles such as *wa* and *ga*, which are usually interpreted in terms of topicality (discussion in Kuroda 2005). The comparison between both languages could thus lead to a reassessment of the relationship between theticity, IS and modal particles.

In a contrastive study on the anticipation of hearer reactions (a phenomenon the author calls *Abtönung*, a term coined by Weydt 1969), Waltereit (2006) discusses the functional equivalence between German modal particles and some of the usual suspects in IS research, such as right dislocation in Italian and prosodic topicalisation in French.

In Ancient Greek, several discourse particles seem to have focus-sensitive usages as well: *δή* (« now, in truth, verily ») can be used both as a sentential particle, for instance to mark an unexpected entailment, and in association with a constituent under contrast; *μήν* (« verily, truly ») can be used at the sentence level and have a contrastive value (see Thijs 2017).

In Slavic, Bonnot & Bottineau (2012) have shown that the Russian conditional (Irrealis) particle *by* is sensitive to the focus/background distinction. On the other hand, the Russian particle *to*, even though it seems to be specialized for the marking of topicality, also exhibits modal values (Bonnot 1990, 2015). We welcome all proposals addressing the relevance of IS categories (such as theticity, focus, topicality or the theme-rheme distinction) for the analysis of the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of discourse particles.

Contributions may address single-language phenomena or favour a cross-linguistic perspective. All theoretical frameworks are admissible.

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Modal discourse particles and the thetic-categorical distinction

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A sentence in German and Dutch cannot be used as a stage direction for a drama script or introducing a text as long as a German modal particle marks its attitudinality status. Modal discourse particles in German entail a common discursive ground with a topic (in question) signaling that the communicators have had it about before. The two types of sentences, those with and without a precontext (and common ground), run under the terminology of *categorical sentence* (with a topic) as opposed to *thetic sentence* (no topic, true text starters). As to these, Kuroda (1972) has claimed that Japanese has morphological means to unambiguously distinguish thetic from categorical sentences: thetic are marked by the suffix *–ga* for case nominative, whereas the suffix for categorical status is *–wa,* which is also used to mark topicality (in the sense of the discourse opposition *thema-rhema*). German, in contrast to Japanese, has no unambiguous means to signal discourse have to be translated into Japanese with the non-discourse marker *-ga*). or text theticity (several discussions in E. Leiss; S. Tanaka, W. Abraham, Y. Fujinawa (eds.) 2017). The present claim is that thetic sentences implemented for text starts have the unambiguous structure of VP-integration, i.e. that any argument including the subject is VP-internal. I investigate theticity as opposed to categoriality in a number of languages on the critical basis of common ground (topicality), VP-internality, non-canonical subjecxts, and attitudinal effects such as mirativity evoked, in particular, by modal discourse particles as in German and Dutch.

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Discourse particles, information structure, and their interactions

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As pointed out by Modicom & Duplâtre in the workshop call, Hentschel (1986) and Abraham (1991) report that German discourse particles *ja*, *doch*, and *schon* signal that the content of the utterance is part of the Common Ground, and that they follow the theme within the sentence. Such positioning is apparently not universal, however. Endo (2007, 2012) shows, for example, that comparable particles in Japanese occur sentence-finally. Insight into some reasons behind such variation comes from conversation in Mohawk, a polysynthetic Iroquoian language indigenous to northeastern North America.

Mohawk contains two particles meaning 'this is pertinent to the preceding': *ki'* in statements and commands, and *kati'* in questions. Both follow the first word of the sentence. This initial word may be a verb like 'I put a sweater on', a noun like 'alphabet', an adverbial like 'quickly', a demonstrative like 'there', particles like 'always', the negative, and more.

The apparent randomness is explicable in terms of principles governing word order. While the

most common orders cross-linguistically are SOV and SVO (with subjects most often themes), Mohawk order is purely pragmatic: the most newsworthy information appears first. Modern clause structure reflects earlier information structure. Earlier SOV order has been grammaticalized within the verb morphology: *rakkáhthohs* ra-ak-kahtho-hs M.SG-1SG-see-HAB 'he sees me'; *aonsakonwaia'tisáhkha'* a-onsa-konwa-ia't-isak-ha-' IRR-REP-3PL>ZOIC-body-seek-PURP-PFV 'they would go back to look for her'. Earlier, nominals before the verb were focused or topicalized, while those after it were antitopics or supplementary information. Over time their pragmatic force faded, but new constructions developed to convey information structure. Focused elements now precede the nuclear clause but are spoken with distinctive extra-high pitch, and topic shifts are signaled by prosodically detached nominals before the nuclear clause. Antitopics follow the nuclear clause with flat, low pitch and often creaky voice.

The principles underlying modern word order explain why the elements preceding the discourse markers *ki'* and *kati'* serve a variety of information functions: focus of various types, topic shifts, or simply rhemes, since the most newsworthy information occurs first in the clause.

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Is the information-structural contribution of modal particles in the syntax or in discourse structure?

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Traditionally, information structure belongs to sentence structure, whereas discourse particles operate at the level of discourse structure (Hansen 1998). Modal particles, by contrast, belong to sentence structure, too. They are also widely recognized as making a significant contribution to information structure (Modicom 2015). At the same time, a distinction between modal particles and discourse particles on semantic or otherwise functional grounds is notoriously difficult and controversial (Hansen 1998, Waltereit & Detges 2007, Fischer 2006).

Recently, Ozerov (2015) has suggested that at least some of what is traditionally thought of as information structure need not, in fact, be encoded at the level of sentence grammar, but may be more appropriately regarded as reflecting discourse-structuring techniques. A re-examination of modal particles would seem to be well-suited to make a contribution to this debate, since it has long been

recognized that modal particles are sensitive to syntactic constraints (such as position and sentence type) while having a discourse-related function.

Waltereit & Detges (2007) argue, on the basis of a study of the French modal particle *bien*, that modal particles arise historically through argumentational routines that aim at negotiating common ground. Modern French *bien*'s grammatical restriction as well as speech-act and discourse functions arise as a side-effect of progressive routinization of these argumentational schemas. Obviously, common ground is directly relevant for information structure.

In this paper, I will look at the French modal particle *quand même* (Waltereit 2004). Based on a new corpus study using the diachronic corpus FRANTEXT, I will show how its modal particle use arose from the adverbial and conjunction use, with the syntactic and discourse-structural effects this process entails. I will argue that any contrast between the syntactic vs. the discourse structure nature of information structure depends greatly on independent assumptions about syntax and discourse structure.

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Informational structure (IS) and language complexity:
The Southeast Asian languages (SEA) case

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In this talk, we would like to relate two issues: information structure (IS) in Southeast Asian (SEA) languages and language complexity. We would like to show that the means used to indicate IS in SEA languages such as Burmese, Thai, Vietnamese or Stieng (among others) participate to an 'hidden complexity' as opposed to the 'overt complexity' (compulsory and explicit encoding) usually put forward by most of the authors addressing the issue of complexity evaluation (Mc Whorter 2001, Dalh 2004, Shosted 2006, Gil 2008, Miestamo 2008, Nichols 2009 inter alia).

Often described as radical 'prodrop' languages and analytic languages with invariable words (no inflection), SEA languages are also well known for their indeterminateness (Bisang 2009, Do-hurinville 2013). After a brief presentation of the main characteristics of these languages (Vittrant 2010), we will examine the means used in these languages to express IS such as the constituent

omission (cf. ex. 1), the polyfunctionnality of particles, and their preference for topic-comment structures.

For instance in (1a), the expression 'Burmese women' becomes part of the Common Ground (Krifka 2006) of the following discourse: expressed by a nominal phrase in the first sentence, it appears in the following sentences neither as a linguistic expression nor as agreement, leaving the only 'comment' expressed.

BURMESE (Tibeto-Burman)

a.   myaN^{2}ma^1 ʔəmyo^3 θəmi^3-Twe^2 =ha^2 ʔəloʔ   co^{3}Sa^3 =Tɛ^2

           Myanmar.GEN   women-plur. =TOP   work   aply to =REALIS

           Burmese women *apply themself to working.*

b.   θaʔti^1 ʃi^1 =Tɛ^2 chwe^{2}Ta^2=Tɛ^2

           be.brave =REALIS   save=REALIS.

           (They) are brave ;   *(they) are thrifty ;*

c.   mi^{1}θa^{3}zu^3=Pɔ^2 ʔəchɛiN^2 pe^3=Tɛ^2

           family=on   times   give=REALIS

           Lit. (They) take care of their families.

Thus, we will show that the lack of obligatory marking, the omission of constituents retrievable from context, and the polyfunctionality of particles are common strategies to express IS, while the surface simplicity triggered by these linguistic means partakes of the hidden complexity of SEA languages.

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Wa-marked DPs and their structural distributions in a Japanese sentence

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This paper argues that in a sentence, sentence initial multiple *wa*-marked DPs specify Thematic Topic (TT), while the ones elsewhere signify Contrastice Topic (CT). Moreover, we demonstrate that DPs marked with focally stressed *wa*, shown as WA, specify Contrastive Focus (CF). Let us begin with the following example.

(1) a. Tyuugoku- wa daitokai- wa Syanhai- wa koutuu- ga   midarete iru
       China   Top big city Top Shanghai Top traffic Nom   disordered is
     'As for China, as for big towns, as for Shanghai, the traffic is chaotic.'
   b. Japanese Left Periphery
      Comp Top Foc/Fin T   v V
         wa ga   ga

Paul and Whitman (2015) claim that multiple *wa*-marked DPs appear in the Topic field shown in (1b). However, they haven't investigated the kinds of sentences shown below.

(2) a.Tyuugoku- wa daitokai- wa   Syanhai- WA koutuu-ga   midarete   iru
     China   TT big city TT Shanghai CF traffic Nom disordered is
    'As for China, as for big cities, it is in Shanghai, (opposed to Beijing,) where the traffic
      is chaotic.'
   b. Tyuugoku- wa daitokai- wa Syanhai- wa koutuu- WA   midarete iru
     China   TT big city TT Shanghai -TT traffic CF   disordered is
    'As for China, as for big cities, and as for Shanghai, it is the traffic, (opposed to security,) that
      is chaotic.'
   c. ??Tyuugoku-WA daitokai- wa Syanhai-wa   koutuu-ga midarete   iru
      China   CF big city TT Shanghai CT traffic Nom disordered is

In (2a&b), WA-marked DPs signify CF, while (2c) is degraded because WA-marked phrase appears sentence initially, followed by *wa*-marked phrases.
   More examples are below.

(3)a.Ajia-wa Tyuugoku-wa daitokai-wa Syanhai-WA koutuu-wa midarete   iru
     Asia TT China TT   big city TT Shanghai-CF traffic CT   disordered is
    'As for Asia, as for China, and as for big cities, it is Shanghai, (opposed to Beijing,) where the
       traffic is chaotic.'
   b.??Ajia-WA Tyuugoku-wa daitokai-wa Syanhai-wa   koutuu-ga   midarete   iru
     Asia CT China TT   big city TT Shanghai TT traffic Nom disordered   is

In (3a), *Syanhai-WA* indicates CF, whereas *koutuu-wa* signals CT. Besides, (3b) is degraded because three *wa*-marked phrases follow WA-marked DP.

Based on the investigation here, the distribution of *wa*-marked DPs is shown below.

(4) [$_{TopP}$ DP-wa [$_{FocP*}$ DP-WA [$_{TopP}$ DP-wa [$_{FocP}$ DP-WA[$_{TopP}$ DP-wa [$_{FocP*}$ DP-WA[$_{TopP}$ DP-wa
  [$_{FocP*}$ DP-WA [$_{TopP}$ DP-wa [$_{TP}$ [$_{vP}$ [$_{VP}$]]]]]]]]]]]]

(5) [$_{TopP}$ Tyuugoku-wa[$_{TopP}$ -daitokai-wa[$_{TopP}$ Syanhai-wa [$_{FocP}$ koutuu-WA [$_{TP}$ midarete iu]]]]]

(6) [$_{TopP}$ Ajia-wa [$_{TopP}$ Tyuugok u-wa [$_{TopP}$ daitokai-wa [$_{FocP}$ Syanhai-WA [$_{TopP}$ koutuu-wa
  [$_{TP}$ midarete iru]]]]]]

(4) dictates that one sentence can have up to four *wa*-marked DPs, while allowing only one WA-marked DP phrase. Besides, it indicates that WA-marked phrase cannot occur below the lowest TopP. The structures in (5&6) are schematized for (2b&3a).

Summarizing, in this paper, we have claimed that in a sentence, multiple *wa*-marked DPs can occur, which act as TT or CT and sit in TopP. In contrast, we have also confirmed that only one WA-marked phrase appears in Focus Phrase (FocP) in a sentence. Finally, we have also shown the validity of Rizzi's (1997) claim that we can have multiple topics but one focus in a sentence.

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Final or medial: Morphosyntactic and functional divergences in discourse particles of the same historical sources

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Discourse particles including modal and final particles derive from other sources in many languages. Previous studies claim that such particles are influenced by the "strong persistence" (Koops and Lohmann 2015) or "legacy" (Abraham 2017) of the original sources. Some Japanese final particles (FP) are traced back to the same historical sources as interjectory (or medial) particles (IP). Contrary to the persistence/legacy hypothesis, this study argues that the two types of particles developed along respectively different pathways in terms of morphosyntactic distribution and discourse-pragmatic function.

One of the major differences between the two types of particles is that Japanese final particles can occur in combination (e.g., the underlined *-yo-ne* in (1) below), which has a rigid ordering, while no such combination is possible for interjectory particles in medial position:

(1) *Sorede*-yo-ne/*-ne-yo*   *sensei-ga*-yo-ne/*-ne-yo*   *totuzen*   *okot-ta-n-da-yo-ne/*ne-yo*.
   then-IP-IP   teacher-NOM-IP-IP   suddenly   angry-PAST-FN-COP-FP-FP
   'Then the teacher suddenly got angry.'

Furthermore, an identical form is less likely to be used as both final and interjectory particles in the same sentence. For example, the particle *-ne* can be used as either final (e.g., *Moo owari-da-ne*. 'It's already over, right?') or interjectory/medial particles (e.g., *Kinoo-ne, watasi-ne,...* 'Yesterday, I …'), but it can hardly serve both functions in the same sentence:

(2) *Kinoo-ne,   watasi-ne,   eigakan   it-te-ne,   Star Wars mi-ta-yo/*[?]*ne.*
     yesterday-IP   I-IP   theater   go-CP-IP   Star Wars watch-PAST-FP
     'Yesterday, I went to the theater and watched *Star Wars.*'

The interjectory/medial particle *-ne* is sensitive to information statuses in discourse but the final particle *-ne* to those of the hearer's knowledge. The distributional divergence in (2) rests upon the fact that interjectory/medial *-ne* serves as an anticipatory marker of "discourse-**new**" information while final *-ne* functions as an indicator of "hearer-**old**" information (Prince 1992) in the past-time reference. Interjectory/medial *-ne* primes the addressee for a newsworthy proposition to be introduced in the sentence. Final *-ne* indicates that the sentence it follows contains a proposition that the speaker believes to be already accessible to the hearer. An example like (2) shows that particles of the same form cannot mark different information statuses in an identical sentence. Another particle *-yo*, which is attached to hearer-**new** information, needs to be employed in final position. A preliminary analysis of a Japanese natural conversation corpus (Usami 2005) also supports this observation. It reveals that about 95 percent of the utterances containing the interjectory/medial particle *-ne* (n = 114) is not concluded by a final particle of the same form, with the remaining five percent being explained as justifiable exceptions, e.g., "insubordinate" utterances (Evans 2007).

This functional differentiation in information marking reflects a basic sentence-structuring tendency for speakers to avoid identical forms for coding opposite functions in the same sentence. Although original sources may often be influential on the emergence of new functions, the present research demonstrates that forms can undergo unique developments beyond the persistence/legacy of the sources, mediated by the traits of the positions they occupy in sentences. Our analysis also bears cross-linguistic significance; it is extended to a comparable phenomenon observed in other languages like Mongolian.

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☙

Discourse particles in assertions and denials

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Discourse particles indicate a wide range of responses to contextually salient propositions (often given by preceding utterances, as in our examples). The responses determine whether and how these propositions are integrated into the common ground, an aspect of Information Structure (Krifka 2008). We show for German *schon* how uniform particle meanings can yield this wide range in interaction with the meanings of the utterances linked by the particle, prosody, and general pragmatic principles.

In (1), *schon* expresses unexpectedness in that its host utterance denies an expected consequence of another claim (insufficient studying usually causes failing). In this way, one refuses accepting or denying a claim, which instantiates denegation (Krifka 2015). Accented *schon* (with host utterance *p*) can indicate denial of utterances ¬*p* and weak assertion of affirmative *p*, as in (2)–(3). In denials, sentence-final intonation is falling, in assertions, rising:

(1) A: *Ich habe nicht genug für die Prüfung gelernt*. B: *Du wirst es schon schaffen*.
    'A: I haven't studied hard enough for the exam. B: You will pass nevertheless.'

(2) A: *Max ist nicht klug*. B: *Max ist SCHON klug*.
    'A: Max is not clever. B: Yes, he is.'

(3) A: *Max ist klug*. B: *Max ist SCHON klug*.
    'A: Max is clever. B: He is, in a way.'

Modelling expectation uses defeasible implication: $q>p$ holds if $\forall w'. *(q,w)(w') \rightarrow p(w')$. In the *q*-normal worlds '*(q,w)*', the usual consequences of *q* (according to *w*) hold too (Reiter 1980). *Schon* introduces abnormality in that its host utterance, in the speaker's expectation, denies a usual consequence of a contextually salient *q* in the actual world *w*. This leaves open whether *q* but indicates that it could not be normal:

(4) [[*schon*(*p*)]] is defined if the speaker believes *(q,w)(w)* → ¬*p(w)*, with *q* being contextually salient. If defined, [[*schon*(*p*)]] = [[*p*]].

In (1.B), denegation emerges because *schon* indicates abnormality of (1.A): B's passing means that a usual consequence of (1.A) is unfulfilled in *w*. In (2), *q*=¬*p*, which denies (2.A) and trivialises the *schon*-implication to claiming that *p*-normality implies *p* (Egg and Zimmermann 2012). In (3), *q*=*p*; the implication emerges as the claim that if *w* is *p*-normal, ¬*p* holds, i.e., *p* cannot be normal, which means that some of its consequences do not hold. In this way, (3.B) confirms (3.A) weakly, presenting it as true but with unfulfilled usual consequences (often specified by *aber*-clauses).

(3) has the sentence-final fall-rise contour H*+LH%, the German counterpart of Hirschberg and Pierrehumbert's (1986) rise-fall-rise (Fery 1993). These contours are focus operators asserting that alternatives cannot be claimed safely (Constant 2012). Focus is on *schon*, thus, B refrains from alternative responses (with verum-operator λ*p.p*, or Repp's (2013) falsum-operator λ*p.*¬*p*, i.e., full assertion or denial).

Furthermore, elliptical *schon* weakly asserts claims irrespective of whether these are negated, in contrast to (2.B):

(5) A: *Max ist klug*. B: *SCHON*. ≡ (3.B)
    'A: Max is clever. B: He is, in a way.'

(6) A: *Max ist nicht klug*. B: *SCHON.*　　　≡　　*Max ist SCHON nicht klug.*　≢　(2.B)
　　　'A: Max is not clever. B: He is not, in a way.'

(6.B) is reconstructed including negation, because ellipsis reconstructions favour high attachment, consequently, usually choose the largest potential reconstruction (Frazier and Clifton 2005); for (6.B), the negated one. The preference is formalised using Hardt et al.'s (2013) 'maximal common theme'.

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☙

An analysis of the Basque Discourse Particle *ote*

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This abstract presents a novel analysis of the discourse particle *ote* in Basque which may shed light on the discussion about their interaction with the IS. Traditionally (Euskaltzaindia 1987), it has been grouped with other particles which convey evidentiality or epistemic attitude, since they all occur adjacent to the inflected verb. As far as for its syntactic position, following a previous work, I propose that the Discourse Particles traditionally named Modal Particles occupy the head of the Particle Phrase located between FinP and TP, since they are sensitive to the presence of inflected forms and the kind of complementizer and they always occur precedent to the inflected verb. Nevertheless, in eastern dialects *ote* may arise in different positions: 1) adjacent to the Wh-word (example 2) and 2) in a position following the inflected verb (example 3) (also the evidential particle *omen* see Etxepare & Uria 2016).

1) Non　utzi　ote dut　　　kazeta?
　where　leave P　AUX　　newspaper.ART
　'Where did I leave the newspaper? (I'm wondering)'

2) Non   ote utzi   dut   kazeta?
   where   P   leave AUX newspaper.ART

3) Non   utzi dut   ote   kazeta?
   where   leave AUX P   newspaper.ART

4) ?Non   utzi   dut   kazeta   ote?
    where   leave AUX   newspaper.ART   P

Evidence

        Ote is said to only be used in questions and to turn a standard information-seeking question into a conjectural one:

5) Etxera   heldu da?
   home.ADL arrive AUX
   'Did s/he get home?'

6) Etxera   heldu ote   da?
   home.ADL arrive P   AUX
   'Did s/he get home? (I'm wondering)'

However, there can be found other uses such as those from (7-8):

7) Samar   bat irintxi   ote dian   iruditu zatan
   trace   one swallow P   AUX.C seem   AUX
   'It seems to me that I just swallowed some (cider) dregs.'

8) Berandu helduko   (ote) diren   beldur   naiz
   Late   arrive.FUT P   AUX.C frightened   be
   'I'm afraid they're getting late.'

        As can be seen above, *ote* can occur in other contexts than questions; in fact, it can appear in embedded declarative clauses (7-8). The use of *ote* in the latters provides evidence that *ote* is not entirely responsible for the 'I wonder' effect.

        Following Rapp (forthcoming), I propose that *ote* conveys the attitude of the speaker to the proposition: in the case of (6) the speaker thinks that nobody can know the answer to the question, similar to Obenauer's (2004) "Can't find the value" questions; in the case of (7-8) the speaker think that *p* cannot be fully asserted.

        Therefore, by using ote, speakers express doubts about *p*, 1) doubts about getting an answer to *p*, 2) doubts about asserting *p*.

        Nevertheless, unlike Rapp (forthcoming), I propose that Basque discourse particles are sensitive to the CP since the use of *ote* would be grammatically wrong in embedded clauses introduced by the complementizer *-(e)la* with a declarative semantic clue (Artiagoitia & Elordieta 2016)

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Focus marking and illocutionary modification: Functional developments of Italian *solo* 'only'

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One of the distinctive features of focus particles is their interaction with the focus-background structure of the utterance, both syntactically and semantically (cf. König 1991). This paper addresses the behavior of the Italian focus particle *solo* ('only'). Beside its prototypical use as an exclusive focus particle, *solo* has developed some secondary uses: connective uses (conjunctional adverb and discourse marker with discourse-structuring functions) and illocutive uses (illocutionary operator tied up to fixed types of speech acts, with intensifying functions). Drawing on both corpus data and unpublished materials elicited by a questionnaire survey (the latter being focused on regional uses of *solo*), the research will show how the identification of the utterance level the particle operates on permits to separate the different uses and to describe patterns of semantic change (cf. Traugott and Dasher 2002: 187; Detges and Waltereit 2009). The new meanings will be argued to maintain features of the focus particle meaning, the most significative one being the connection with information structure: the expression of the sentence focus is transferred to other levels of the utterance, to signal the salience of discourse chunks (discourse marker) or to mark the foreground position of a speech act in the discourse sequence, anticipating the hearer's expectations (illocutionary operator). The following examples illustrate the use of *solo* as an illocutionary operator that intensifies the force of a directive and of an assertive speech act, respectively:

(1)   [Roberta asks to Anna her commitments for the day after]
        – *Hai   tanto   da fare   domani?*
           have.2SG   a lot   to do.INF   tomorrow
        'Are you busy tomorrow?'
        – *Lascia   **solo** stare,   sono   piena   tutto il   giorno.*
           let.IMP.2SG   *solo* stay.INF   be.1SG full   all   ART day
        'Just leave it, I'm busy all day.'

(2)   *In effetti,   prima   di parlare informati,   ha   **solo** ragione*
        actually   before   to talk.INF ask_about.IMP.2SG   have.3SG   *solo* reason
        'Actually, before you talk be certain, Ceci is absolutely right saying

> *Ceci a dire   che   ti   inventi   certe cose!*
> Ceci to say.INF   COMP   REFL   make_up   some things
> that you make up things! [I reaffirm my opinion and there is nothing more to add]'
>
> [questionnaire data]

These pragmatic expansions are compared with similar uses of exclusive focus particles in English and French (cf. Beeching 2017) and with the properties of German modal particles (König 1997; Diewald 2013). Especially for the analysis of *solo* as an illocutionary operator – which shows slightly different meanings in different speech acts – it is necessary to interpret its pragmatic functions not only in terms of illocutionary modification (expression of speaker's attitudes and interpretation of speech acts in an interpersonal perspective), but also in terms of information state (managing of the information flow with respect to what has been explicitly mentioned in the discourse but also considering what can be indirectly inferred from previous discourse elements), both domains being involved in the description of pragmatic markers (cf. Squartini 2013: 185–187).

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Common ground management with *so* in German spoken discourse

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Relevant research contributions agree on the manifold applicability of the genuine deictic German adverb *so* as well as the difficulty to clearly grammatically categorize it (Ehlich 1986, Auer 2006, and Stukenbrock 2010).

This grammatical study aims to provide a so far missing overall analysis of the current usage of *so* and its role in common ground management. As *so* is especially often used in spoken language (Stukenbrock 2010), spoken language data of German mother tongues as well as German as a second language speakers is analyzed.

The central research questions are: What is the communicatively added value of *so* in spoken conversation and which characteristics of the term allow its versatile applicability? Existing studies provide first analyses taking intonation into account. This study requires an analysis of the relation between form and function with specific consideration of intonation.
As existing corpora alone do not provide sufficient information in order to do that, additional experimental dialogs are led to elicit descriptions and justifications of one's own action.

The theoretical framework of this study bases on the pragmatic theory of information structure (Hoffmann 2003, 2014), the description of *so* as aspect deixis (Ehlich 1986) and its function as specifying adverb (Hoffmann 2016). As aspect deixis, *so* expresses proximity to the object that is described and points to its characteristics. In a shared conception space, maybe even supported by a gesture, these characteristics are unambiguous. If used as "deixis in phantasm" (Bühler 1934), the speaker works with the hearer's knowledge stock making assumptions to communicate on common ground leaving a margin for interpretation as the hearer's knowledge about an entity may differ from that of the speaker. As "So." always answers the question "How?", personal knowledge about how something is falls into notably account in common ground management with *so*.

First findings show how *so* may function as an anchor point opening new facets of the talked about entity as the speaker recalls features of the object or situation from the working memory:

(1) *Also, ne Freundin von uns, die macht so ganz tolle Torten und so,*
     So, a friend of ours, who makes like great gateaux and so forth,
     und die hat dann son Kuchen gemacht,
     and she had made then such /kind of a cake,
     der hatte auch so eh wie Argentinienflagge ähm und dann irgendwie so die Form von
     that had also such eh like Argentinian flag ehm and then somehow like the form of
     Argentinien so geschnitten."
     Argentinia like that cut.

Stressed and unstressed forms of *so* as sentence adverb express different attitudes of the speaker about an assertion and do not just function as (potential) discourse marker. Stressed intonation highlights the specification, unstressed intonation (2) states a subjective fact:

(2) *Wenn man so das ganze Leben hier liebt, muss man das auch bisschen ausnutzen so.*
     When one lives here all his/her one has to avail oneself of that a little bit.

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☙

Information-structural properties of IS-THAT-clauses

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The topic of this talk concerns examples like (1), called inferential constructions by Delahunty (1995), where the expressions *it's (just) that* or also *it's not that* have gained the function of discourse markers:

(1) *It's not that* I don't love you, *it's just that* I want to be free to live my own life.

Similar expressions are also found in Romance, which will be in the centre of this talk:

(2)　Sp.　*Perdona. **Es que** hay un pequeño jaleo estos días, ¿verdad?*
　　　　　'Sorry. There is a bit of fuss in these days, isn't it?'　(CREA)
(3)　Sp.　*Yo **es que** soy muy práctica, chica. No, **no es que** eso es lo mejor, no me apetece la cocina ...*
　　　　　'As for me, I am very practical, girl. No, it is not that this is the best, I'm not attracted to cooking …'　　　　　　　　　　　(CORDE)
(4)　It.　*Quest'estate non sono mai andata al mare. **Non è che** mi sia costato poi tanto ...*
　　　　　'This summer I haven't been to the sea. It's not that it was hard for me…'
　　　　　(La-Repubblica-Corpus)

The IS-THAT-construction and its negative counterpart have different information structural properties, which can only be explained by an analysis of their grammaticalisation pathways. Therefore, these expressions are good illustrations for the interplay of discourse and grammaticalisation, especially the interface between syntax and pragmatics, where information structural properties are located.

As for the IS-THAT-construction, I propose that its development can be explained with reference to inverted copular structures (cf. Moro 1997) involving subject clauses introduced by the complementiser; I argue that the information structure of the underlying construction is one of a pseudo-cleft, rather than of a cleft. One important observation here is that the clause introduced by *que* does not represent the predicate but the original subject of the construction (contrary to what is said in Romera 2009). The original predicates which appear with a high frequency in the intermediate stages of the development of the discourse marker at issue are DPs like *la razon* 'the reason'*, la verdad* 'the truth'*, el hecho* 'the fact', etc. A second observation concerns information structure: In the *es-que*-construction the clause content is always focal, i.e. new information focus, whereas in clefts the non-cleft part usually contains given material (for an analysis cf. also Cvijetinović 2016).

As for Italian *non è che* and Sicilian *neca* (cf. Garzonio & Poletto 2015, Cruschina 2010) the discourse function of *no es que* is not to negate a proposition but to negate an inference which can be derived from discourse. However, the status of grammaticalisation of the Italian, the Spanish and the Sicilian element is different, but as with its positive counterpart, the negated construction cannot be derived from a cleft structure, but only from a pseudo-cleft (and inverted copula clause), where the predicate is morphophonologically empty and must be inferred from the context.

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Kazakh Discourse Particle *ğoj*

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This presentation considers the Kazakh (Turkic) discourse particle *ǧoj*, which has not been thoroughly examined in the linguistic literature to date. First, I present two existing (brief) descriptions of *ǧoj*, and introduce new data that shows that these descriptions fail to fully capture the distribution patterns and functions of *ǧoj*. I propose that *ǧoj* is an information-structurally loaded particle, which plays a role in Common Ground (CG) management. I also present an informal description of the semantics of *ǧoj*, which elegantly captures this particle's contribution to the clauses in which it occurs, and paves a way for comprehensive description and analysis of the particle's distribution and functions.

The two mentions of *ǧoj* that can be found in the literature are by Straughn (2011) and Muhamedowa (2016). Straughn (2011) glosses *ǧoj* as 'Explicative', and states that "the addition of *ǧoy* merely indicates that the speaker is expressing an emotive attitude toward the content of an utterance" (2011:135). It is also claimed that *ǧoj* is "limitless in distribution" (2011:136). The example below disproves this and demonstrates that, *ǧoj* not only adds an emotive colouring to the utterance, but also indicates that the information carried by the utterance had previously been added to the CG and is now referred to again by the speaker. *Ǧoj* would be infelicitous in (1b) if the information carried by the utterance had not been previously shared between the interlocutors; the same sentence without *ǧoj* would simply be adding new information to the CG. Thus, *ǧoj* here adds the effect that the information carried by the proposition is 'old', and is being re-activated in the CG.

(1)   a) Mother: Why weren't you home yesterday afternoon?
        b) Son: Keše   sabaq   bol-dï   ǧoj!
                      yesterday   lesson be-PAST.3SG ǧoj
                      'There was a class yesterday, wasn't there/don't you remember?'

Muhamedowa (2016) states that *ǧoj* "appeals to shared information between the speaker and the hearer" (2016:163), however, also claims that the particle has a "fixed position in a sentence and must appear after the predicate" (2016:15). The example in (2b) disproves this.

(2)   a) Speaker 1:   Bolat wrote this book.
        b) Speaker 2:   Bul   kitap-tï   Marat   qoj   žaz-ǧan!
                        This   book-ACC   Marat   ǧoj   write-PERF
                        'It was Marat who wrote this book (not Bolat)!'

In (2b) *ǧoj* follows the contrastively focused subject of the sentence, and not the predicate. Regardless of the difference in the positioning, the presence of *ǧoj* in this sentence also adds the pragmatic effect of previously shared, 'old' information.

It is important to note that the types of *ǧoj* presented in (1b) and (2b) differ syntactically, and I posit that the former is a particle, while the latter performs a copulative function; this distinction has not been highlighted in any of the sources to date. However, despite their syntactic difference, both types of *ǧoj* contribute the pragmatic effect of 'givenness' or 'shared information' to the proposition in which they occur. I propose that this pragmatic effect is the result of the existential semantics *ǧoj* carries.

I follow Matić and Nikolaeva's (2014) analysis of the Tundra Yukaghir particle *mə(r)=* as an existential operator, and apply this approach to *ǧoj*. Analysing *ǧoj* as an existential operator unifies the meaning of both types of *ǧoj* and explains the numerous pragmatic effects *ǧoj* produces, especially that of givenness or shared information. Informally, it can be said that *ǧoj* explicitly marks that the

proposition exists in the Common Ground, or that it at least must be treated as such by the hearer. This new way of approaching *ǧoj* might have wider implications and be adopted in the analysis of comparable items in other languages, such as *že* in Russian, or *doch* and *ja* in German.

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ℒ

The discourse particle *hani* in Turkish

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The aim of this study is to investigate the Turkish discourse particle *hani* which is typically used in utterances with high-rising terminal intonation like a wh-question. *Hani* seems to be simultaneously multifunctional. At the interactional level, its primary function is to bring up a proposition from previous discourse and present it as common ground among the speaker and the hearer(s). Yet this proposition is not true contrary to the expectations at the moment of utterance according to the speaker. Thus, an account by the hearer becomes relevant in the next turn. Semantically speaking, by using *hani* the speaker negates the common ground available in previous discourse.

In its core meaning, *hani* is described only as a common ground marker (cf. Göksel and Kerslake 2005). However, Göksel, Kelepir and Üntak (2008) identifies this particular use of *hani* where they appear as parallel to wh-questions with similar prosody as illustrated in (1).

1. (Ali is supposed to buy a book for the speaker. The speaker assumes the hearer also knows this.)

Speaker: Hani Ali bana kitap al-acak-tı?
hani Ali me book buy-fut-past
Wasn't it the case that Ali would buy me a book? (Implied:Ali did not buy me a book)
Hearer: Ismarla-dı ama daha kitap gel-me-di.
Order – past but yet book come-neg-past
He ordered it but it hasn't come yet.

This use of *hani* always requires a bimorphemic complex tense, where the first suffix matches the tense used in the previous context and the second (outer) morpheme is the past tense marker. The lack of past tense results in ungrammaticality.

When used with scopally relevant elements, such as quantifiers and negation, *hani* has a direct impact on the interpretation.

Thus, we argue that *hani* constructions are biclausal in nature and introduce a covert negative operator at the level of the matrix clause (cf Zeijlstra 2008). The evidence for a covert negative

operator comes from the distribution of NPIs in Turkish which needs to be licensed by negation. The requirement to use complex tenses further implies that *hani* constructions are biclausal as complex tenses in Turkish involve a copular layer which heads a PredP (Kelepir 2001).

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WORKSHOP 7

Discovering (micro-)areal patterns in Eurasia

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The past 20-30 years have witnessed an enormous increase of interest in areal biases of grammatical patterns. For example, Europe has been identified as exceptional if we compare the features of 'Standard Average European' (SAE) with their world-wide distribution, e.g. relative pronouns, possessive verbs and the grammatical paradigms based on these (perfects, causatives); Haspelmath (2001), Heine/Kuteva (2006). At the same time, the "SAE-periphery" in Eastern Europe turns out to form merely part of larger clines which stretch over Eurasia; e.g. non-nominative experiencers, the preference for non-finite predicates in diverse clause types, locative comparatives, etc. On the other hand, areal clines and clusters within Europe (and adjacent parts of Asia) show that larger areas can be very heterogeneous internally; compare, e.g., external possessors (Van de Velde/Lamiroy 2017), reflexive-reciprocal polysemy (Wiemer, forthcoming: §5.3), future gram types (Wiemer/Hansen 2012: 104-112; Wiemer, forthcoming: §4). Therefore, regardless of how fine-grained criteria are and how the limits of a particular linguistic area are defined, any purported area can only sensibly be evaluated against the background of its neighboring/surrounding areas (Wiemer 2004). For this reason attempts to define linguistic areas usually end up with relatively arbitrary decisions concerning the defining criteria, the number of language varieties, and/or the size of the area itself (Bisang 2006; Stolz 2006; Wiemer/Wächli 2012: 14-18).

Analogical problems in determining areal relationships have also recently become apparent in dialect geography aided by dialectometrical methods (Heeringa/Nerbonne 2001; Szmrecsanyi 2013). The latter can in principle be compared with methods applied in macro-areal typology (Nichols 1992; Bickel 2015). However, the question arises as to whether methods of the latter domain can reasonably be applied to much smaller areas, and opinions differ considerably here: While some scholars are optimistic that the methods of macro-areal typology are equally apt for discovering micro-areal clines and clusters (Borin 2013: 5, among others), others are more skeptical (e.g., Dahl 2001; Wälchli 2012). This is primarily because macro-areal patterns usually result from cumulative effects occurring at different places and times within a larger area, whereas in micro-areas, in particular in dialect continua, the "constant spread of a feature across an originally homogeneous area from a single starting point", i.e. the wave model, seems to provide a more adequate explanation (Wälchli 2012: 264f.). This, however, is an empirical question which to our knowledge has rarely, if ever, been seriously tested.

Moreover, one should neither deal only with spectacular cases nor disregard the possibility that diffusion and genealogical affiliation need not contradict one another but may also reinforce one another (Dahl 2001: 1457). This applies not only for larger areas (Wälchli 2012) but also for variation within dialect continua. In addition, the latter may intersect with larger areas beyond a closely related group (e.g., Balkan and South Slavic features overlay, perfect > past in Central Europe), and areas may differ with respect to their diastratic (i.e. societal) diversification, a dimension that tends to be neglected both in macro- and micro-areal studies.

Against this background, we can state the following for three larger regions in Eurasia:

- Northern Eurasia has often been the focus of studies concerning Transeurasian areal studies. However, many of these studies have concentrated on procedures that help to prove (or reject) hypotheses concerning the genealogical relationship of Japonic to Altaic (Johanson/Robbeets (eds.) 2010; Robbeets 2015), and on studies showing the differentiation of Uralic, Turkic and Mongolic, particularly in terms of grammaticalization (Robbeets/Cuyckens (eds.) 2013; Robbeets/Bisang (eds.) 2014).
- The relation of Eastern Europe to the Caucasus on the one hand and to the western part of Europe on the other has recently been highlighted in Arkadiev's (2015) study on verbal preverbs and prefixes and their role in the rise of aspect systems. At the micro-areal level, Authier/Maisak (2011) have demonstrated convergence phenomena in the Caucasus in the TAM-domain, while Authier (2010) shows morphological 'matter' borrowing between genealogically unrelated languages.
- South Asia has long been viewed by many as a language area (Emeneau 1956), although when compared with neighboring regions, the case is much less clear than originally supposed (Masica 1976). Recent studies therefore tend to focus more on micro-areas of the region, focusing both on convergences (Peterson 2017a) but also highlighting major divisions within individual genealogical groups presumed to result from substrate effects (Peterson 2017b).

The workshop is intended to foster dialogue between specialists in language (sub-) families of Eurasia, areal linguistics/dialect geography, and quantitative linguistics. Participants should share an interest in diachronic developments and (diastratic and diatopic) variation and appreciate the role of language contact in structural change.

The workshop invites contributions addressing at least one area and/or language group in Eurasia which focus on one or more of the following topics:

- Which methods allow us to identify hidden or complex patterns in areas of different geographical scope, demographic/linguistic density and diastratic diversification? Both macro-areal and micro-areal studies are welcome.

- Can methods used in macro-areal research be applied to micro-areas and to areas with a high number of closely related varieties? This includes dialect continua, possibly intertwining with larger areal clines.

- How does free variation become meaningful (e.g., by being lexicalized from phonetic or morphological variants)?

- Can we determine in which situations some language A triggers or reinforces minor (phonological, morphological and/or syntactic) patterns in another language B? More specifically, does A influence the productivity of some pattern in B and/or its status in B's grammar? Have there been chain effects between adjacent languages yielding a family resemblance of linguistic structures over larger areas? How can we distinguish contact-induced features from inherited features and from the influence of general communicative and/or cognitive factors? What role does frequency play?

Contributions on phenomena from all areas of grammar are welcome, especially those dealing with verb morphology/categories, clausal complementation and/or analyses based on feature aggregates.

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⊄

Defining the area of sentence-final particles in Asia

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This paper considers the phenomenon of sentence-final particles (SFP) in Asia in the framework of areal typology (e.g., Dahl 2001). Clusters of final particles with a sentence, utterance, or clause scope like the ones in the following Buryat example are highly typical of the languages of Southeast, East and a part of Northeast Asia:

тиимэл байха	ёхотой	юм	гээшэ	ха	юм.
ti:məl	bɛ:χə jɔhətɛ:	jum	ge:ʃə	χa	jum
som-TOP	be-FT should	PRT	PRT	PRT	PRT

'(As we both know), this is (exactly) the way it should be'. (Panov, 2016: 112, from the Buryat language corpus)

In this paper, I will provide a typological definition of a phenomenon whose distribution is restricted to one macro-area in Asia. Building upon a short sketch presented in Hancil et al. (2015), I propose a set of both formal and functional properties that are highly typical of SFP systems in the majority, if not all, languages of the region. In contrast, such clusters of properties are found only marginally outside of the area.

Asian sentence-final particles are typically short, prosodically deficient bound morphs that cannot form an utterance on their own. They occur at the end of a clause, sentence or utterance, cluster with each other and, sometimes, with some other elements. Their typical functional domains are illocutionary force, epistemic modality, evidentiality, and interpersonal relations.

The areal nature of SFPs in Asia has been postulated in Goddard (2005) and Hancil et al. (2015). However, both works mention only several major Asian languages with SFPs: Japanese, Korean, Thai, and Chinese. My sample contains a few dozens of languages, which permits to define more precisely the area of diffusion of Asian-style SFPs, its geographical boundaries and internal structure. I argue that the diffusion of SFPs in the area has occured due to a long-term multilateral language contact. The center of the area are the languages of Southeast Asia, whose SFP systems are the most complex ones. Most Sino-Tibetan varieties as well as Japanese, Korean, Tungusic and Mongolic present somewhat simpler systems. The majority of Turkic languages and some Iranian varieties constitute the periphery of the area on the West, while Ainu and some other Far East languages are the eastern periphery.

Possible historical explanations for such a broad diffusion of the SFP will also be briefly discussed.

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✑

Language contact in prehistoric South Asia, with special reference to eastern South Asia

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South Asia is home to at least 600 languages belonging to no fewer than six stocks: Indo-European, Dravidian, Andamanese, Tibeto-Burman, Tai-Kadai, and Austro-Asiatic, as well as the isolates Burushaski, Kusunda, and Nihali. As early as Bloch (1934), typological similarities among South Asian languages belonging to different stocks were already noted, but modern linguistic research on language convergence in South Asia did not gain much momentum until Emeneau's (1956) seminal study. In the following years numerous additional traits were suggested in individual studies, many of which are summarized in Masica (1976), a book-length study of South Asia as a linguistic area. One of Masica's (1976: 185) suggestions for future work was to search for further criteria to define potential linguistic sub-regions in South Asia, and this has become the main emphasis of research in contact linguistics in the region since then.

In a recent study in this field, Peterson (2017) shows that there is a dramatic, systematic structural split within the Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-European, with a clearly definable (central and) eastern group and especially a very distinct western group (see next page, from Peterson, 2017: 235). What is especially notable about this split is that it is much deeper than any other comparable split

within the three main language (sub-)families of sub-Himalayan mainland South Asia, i.e., Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Munda (Austro-Asiatic) or even between these three groups (cf. UPGMA tree from Peterson, 2017: 237). While the western Indo-Aryan group shows no strong structural similarities with any other language family of the subcontinent, the eastern branch is structurally quite close to the members of the Munda group of Austro-Asiatic languages in the eastern half of the subcontinent. However, with 29 languages and 28 features, Peterson's database is quite small and can only be viewed as a pilot study into this topic.

In our talk, we will summarize and improve upon the data contained in Peterson's study, showing work in progress from an ongoing research project into the linguistic prehistory of the subcontinent. Preliminary trends currently involve a language sample of 50 languages (with the goal of +100). The parameters taken into account to test the Indo-Aryan split hypothesis and areal convergence are both typological (about 190 morphosyntactic traits in a binary/multistate fashion) and areal-specific. Specific properties, based on Peterson (2017), include syntactic as well as lexical structures, plus an exploratory overview on associated motion. Specific parameters are collected in both multistate and detailed fine-grained fashion, in order to capture linguistic diversity and variation.

The results of this first, exploratory overview will be plotted using the NeighbourNet tool for data visualization, for a better comparison with the previous findings in Peterson 2017 and other recent investigations in the area (Saxena, in preparation).

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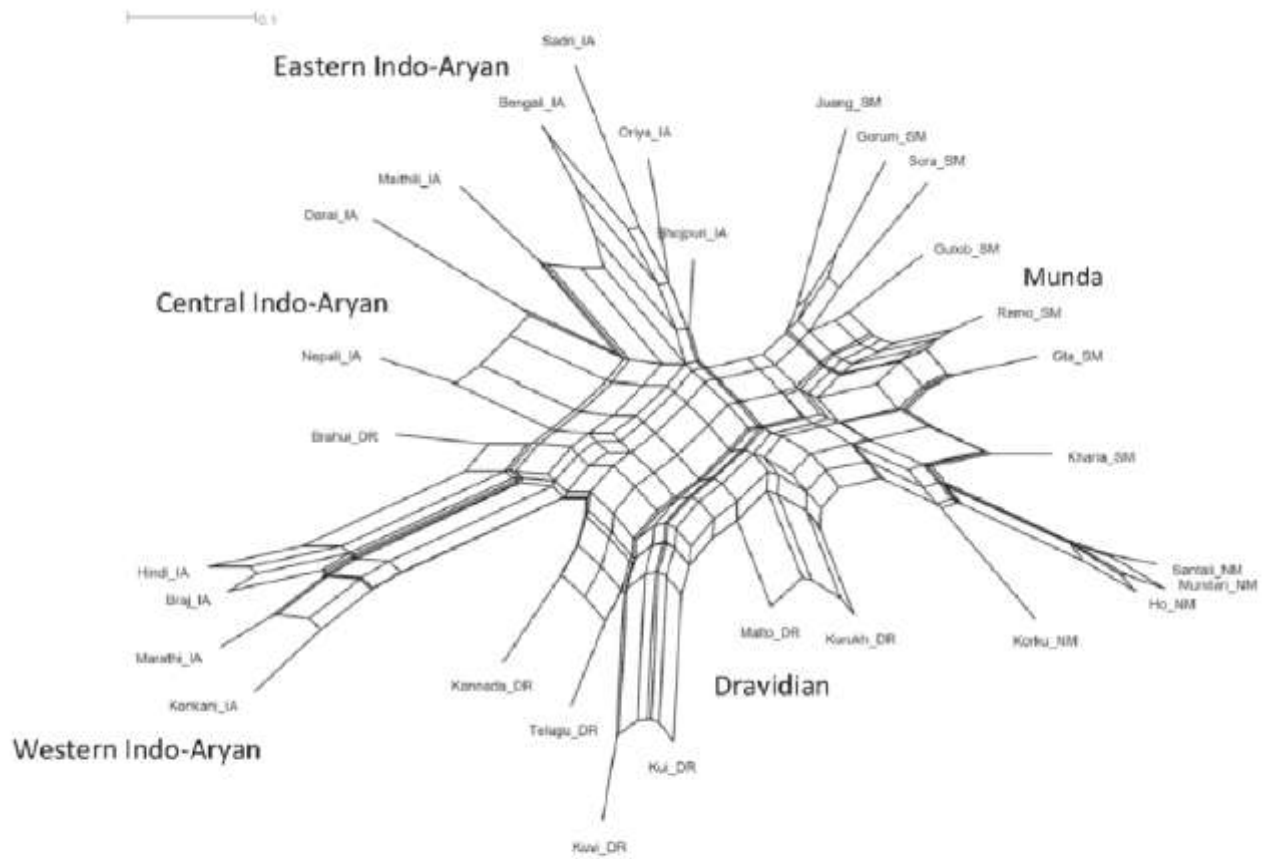
Figure 5: NeighborNet representation of the structural similaries of selected languages of South Asia (29 languages, 28 morphosyntactic features).
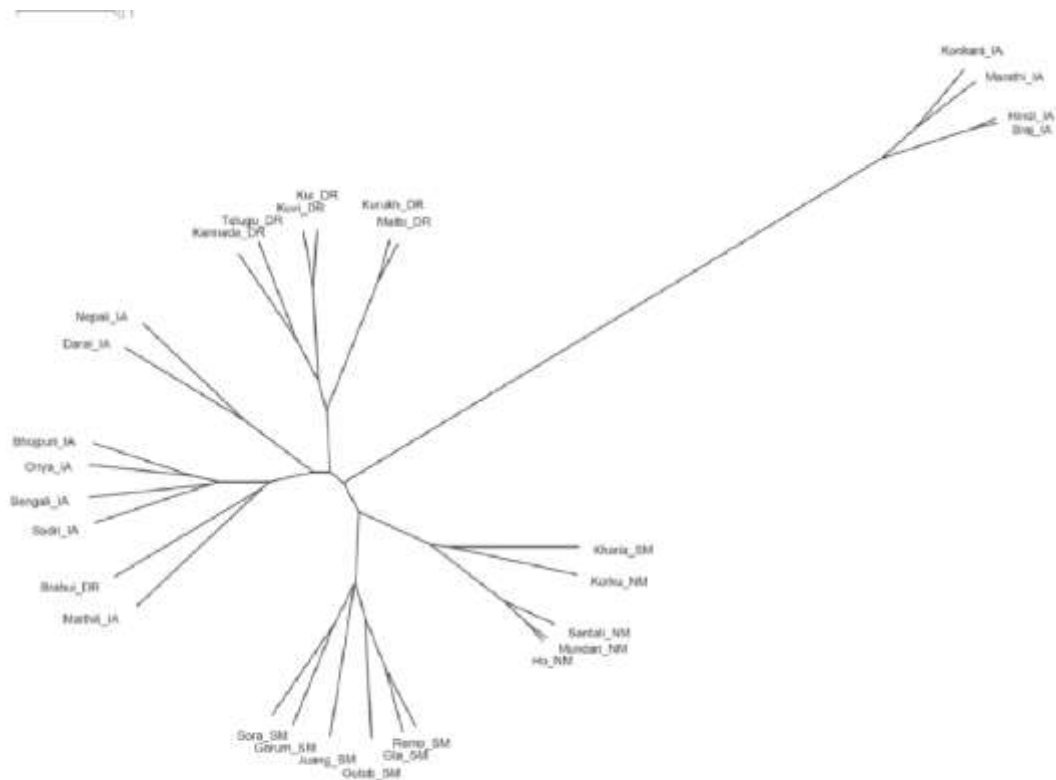
Figure 6: An unrooted UPGMA tree of the structural data for all 29 languages.

✂

The Dative-Subject Construction Type as an Areal Feature of South Asia

Daven Hobbs

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✂

Micro-areality meets macro-areality in the Hindu Kush-Karakoram

Henrik Liljegren
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The high-altitude Hindu Kush-Karakoram region covering north-eastern Afghanistan, northern-most Pakistan and Kashmir, is for the Eurasian context particularly diverse with its approximately 50 languages belonging to six genera (Indo-Aryan, Iranian, Nuristani, Turkic, Tibeto-Burman, Burushaski). While it has been claimed to constitute a significant linguistic convergence area (Toporov 1970; Èdel'man 1980; 1983:16; Bashir 1996; 2003:823; Tikkanen 1999; 2008; Baart 2014) largely overlapping with a distinct religious-cultural sphere (Jettmar 1975; Cacopardo & Cacopardo 2001), relatively little systematic research has been carried out, often based on small, non-

representative samples. Those studies were also largely limited to a few phonological and grammatical features.

The present project aims at revisiting those claims by: a) using very tight sampling, b) applying a high degree of feature aggregation, and c) striving for high granularity in determining the nature of areality and long-term contact patterns in the region. While utilizing available descriptions, priority was given to obtaining comparable sets of first-hand data, gathered in five "collaborative elicitation workshops" arranged in various locations in the region with invited native-speaker consultants. The elicitation package consists of: a) a 40-word list, based on the Automated Similarity Judgment Program (Wichmann, Holman & Brown 2016); b) a list of numerals; c) a 96-item kinship list; d) a sentence questionnaire, based on the Leipzig Valency Classes Project (Hartmann, Haspelmath & Taylor 2013); e) a translation of the 'Northwind and the Sun' fable; d) the Pear Story video (Chafe 1980) used as a stimulus for obtaining a natural narrative; and, e) an abbreviated and slightly adapted version of Wilkin's demonstrative questionnaire (1999). The resulting data sets (comprising 54 data points as of late 2017) were used as a source for exploring multiple features: lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactic. The analysis uses WALS-features, as well as a number of novel WALS-like features, as its starting point, but allows for discovering fine-grained distinctions made by individual languages, thereby allowing for higher resolution in typological classification.

The features subject to study so far are e.g., the inventory and size of retroflex and affricate subsets, kinship terminology, numeral bases/composition, alignment patterns (case marking and verbal agreement), the presence and nature of gender/animacy distinctions, the presence and nature of spatial and geomorphic coding, basic word order, and the order of adposition and noun phrase. The emerging distribution shows partly contradictory results, but at the same time gives evidence to historical contact patterns in the central parts of the region while reflecting ongoing encroachment of surrounding macro-areas (such as the South Asian linguistic area and a Persian-dominated area of West and Central Asia) on the present-day region. A possible interpretation of those patterns is that different features reflect separate stages of ongoing fragmentation of an old "refuge" zone (possibly a continuous one extending throughout the entire Himalayan region (Nichols 1992:21)), in which the language isolate Burushaski probably played a non-trivial role (Hock 2015; Tikkanen 1988) along with other languages or language families now only detectable as substrata.

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✄

Evaluating ergative case as an areal feature of Chukotka

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This paper investigates a potential micro-areal feature in Chukotka (northeastern Russia): ergative case marking, which is attested in the Chukotkan branch of the Chukotko-Kamchatkan languages as well as Siberian Yupik. The ergative alignment of these languages is exceptional within the larger Siberian linguistic area, in which every other language (except Yukaghir) is nominative-accusative.

The origin of ergative case in Siberian Yupik is straightforward. The feature exists in all of the Inuit-Yupik languages, including those in North America, and is therefore likely an inherited innovation (Fortescue 1995). Its presence in these languages can be explained through the possessive route to ergativity (Anderson 1977): possessive participials were reanalyzed as indicative verbal inflection, with a corresponding reinterpretation of possessor marking as an agentive case.

The source of ergative case in Chukotkan is less well-understood and cannot be explained through a single reanalysis pathway. Chukotkan alignment, frequently termed "typologically unusual" (Bobaljik 1998), is characterized by consistent ergative case marking on nouns but an ergative split in

the verb, with nominative agreement prefixes but absolutive suffixes. Fortescue's (1997, 2003) reconstructions, as well as the accusative patterning of Kamchatkan, suggest that ergative case is also an innovation in Chukotkan. Given its exceptional typological status, Fortescue argues that Chukotkan ergative case must have arisen from a Yupik substrate.

I evaluate what kind of evidence is necessary in order to claim deep, contact-driven structural effects at the level of proto-languages. Typological rarity alone is not evidence of contact: both languages must display the same unusual feature or pathway for a change. Additionally, we must examine the nature and intensity of the social relations between speakers, not merely whether populations overlapped geographically. In the case of Chukotkan-Yupik contact, the onset of intense contact of the kind likely to produce a linguistic substrate, such as shared settlements and intermarriage, did not occur until well after the split of Proto-Chukotkan. The other linguistic results of the contact scenario must also be considered. There are few proposals for other substrate effects from Yupik in Chukotkan. The other demonstrable contact-based effects are consistent with long-term maintenance of both Yupik and the Chukotkan languages until relatively recently, rather than extensive shift by Yupik speakers. For example, Siberian Yupik is distinct from Alaskan Yupik in its use of borrowed Chukchi adverbials in place of subordination (de Reuse 1994), suggestive of more recent contact with only one of the daughter languages. It is also unclear whether the ergative patterns in Yupik and Chukotkan are similar enough to motivate a contact-based explanation. This is representative of a broader tendency in contact proposals to treat ergativity itself as an areal feature, grouping together disparate linguistic phenomena (e.g., ergativity as evidence of a "Caucasian Sprachbund" (Tuite 1999)).

Overall, contact is an unlikely explanation for ergative case in Chukotkan. I propose that the complete syncretism between the ergative and instrumental cases for all noun classes in Chukotkan points to passives as the source of ergative case. Such a change was likely internally-motivated, stemming from the reanalysis of a passive participial.

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✆

Stable structures of Transeurasian

Martine Robbeets

♨

Shared structural features in Transeurasian languages: borrowed or inherited?

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The question of the relationships between Transeurasian (Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Japonic, Koreanic) languages is still under active discussion. In the current study the connections between these languages are analyzed on the level of language structure by using the Bayesian method.

Apart from the controversy about the relatedness of the Transeurasian languages, the performance of structural features in testing a genealogical relationship is subject to debate, with opinions ranging from fairly positive (e.g. stable structural features perform as well as basic vocabulary, Dediu et al. 2012) to overtly negative (e.g. they contain information on ancient contact events at most, Wichmann et al. 2009). The latest study by Greenhill et al. (2017) on the rate of change of structural features and basic vocabulary shows that despite the fact that, on average, structural features evolve at a faster rate than basic vocabulary does, there is nevertheless a core of universally highly stable structural features. Given this conclusion, I assume that it might be possible to detect a deep historical signal in structural language data.

In this study, I build a phylogeny of a sample of Transeurasian languages based on structural features. The maximum clade credibility tree is reached by the application of the Bayesian tree sampling technique, as implemented in BEAST2. This procedure allows estimating of the uncertainty around the nodes, which points at the conflicting signal in the tree.

The language sample includes 35 Transeurasian languages, with a proportional number of languages from each individual language family. For examining areal phenomena in the morphosyntax and phonology of the Northeast Asian languages, several neighboring languages, among them Ainu, Nivkh and Mari, were added to the sample. The Bayesian analysis is based on 225 binary structural features, which were coded for the target languages.

The resulting topology allows detecting horizontal and vertical transmission events in the history of the languages of Northeast Asia. From the resulting tree we infer the connections between some Transeurasian languages, like the position of Khalaj with its the disputed affiliation, the degree to which contact between Yakut and some varieties of Even (Pakendorf 2009), Yakut and Evenki (Johanson 2014) has influenced the structure of these languages, as well as the connections of Transeurasian languages to neighboring languages, e.g. Turkic influence on Mari (Savelyev 2018), substratum of Ainu and Nivkh in Japonic and Tungusic languages respectively (Robbeets et al. 2017).

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ℒ

Linguistic complexity and (micro-)areal history: The case of Albanian

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The Balkans as a linguistic area demonstrate the high level of unevenness in the distribution of the "common Balkan" features. To some extent, this distribution reflects the complex history of language contacts in the Balkan area, which accumulates the effects of many layers of influence (Drinka 2012) and includes a range of situations involving either high contact or geographic and/or social isolation of languages and dialects (Sobolev 2013). What is more, the situation in any micro-area may be unstable across time, varying from intensive contact in one period to monolingualism and isolation in another.

The goal of our study is to examine the Albanian dialect continuum from the point of view of the contact history of micro-areas where different varieties are spoken. Focusing on Albanian, we attempt to address in a more differentiated way some issues relevant for the Balkan area as a whole, i.e. different degree of balkanization of Albanian varieties.

Our main research parameter is linguistic complexity, a variable which has become a center of interest in recent macro-areal typological work (e.g. Sampson, Gil, and Trudgill 2009; Baechler and Seiler 2016). We follow the definition by Johanna Nichols (2009: 111–112) who describes grammatical complexity as "complexity of the strictly linguistic domains of phonology, morphosyntax, lexicon, etc. and their components".

The dialectological data was taken from the Dialectological Atlas of Albanian Language (DAAL 2007), with 131 villages that represent the varieties of Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, and Montenegro. In the first stage, each of these varieties was described in terms of binary features from DAAL (2007), which reflect either the number of phonological or morphological elements, or the number of paradigmatic variants (see Nichols 2009). Linguistic complexity of each variety was calculated as a simple sum of its features, and the results plotted on the map that showed, for example,

a strong decrease of complexity from north to south (Gheg and Tosk), and a less articulated decrease from west (Albania) to east (Kosovo and Macedonia).

In the second stage, the selected phonological and morphological features were used for a quantitative estimate of closeness of the Albanian varieties with R (multidimensional scaling software). This dialectometrical approach gave the results, strongly coinciding with the traditional classification (Desnitskaya 1968), and revealed a surprisingly big distance between Gheg and Tosk.

In the third stage, the features reflecting complexifying and simplifying innovations of Albanian were analyzed and plotted separately. The micro-areas of high complexity (mainly isolated regions in the north-central Albanian mountains) and high simplicity (mainly Kosovo and Macedonia) were defined. Interestingly, some varieties demonstrated both complexifying and simplifying innovations which probably belong to different chronological layers.

In the fourth stage, the results of the study were compared with the data on lexical borrowings and their distribution from DAAL (2008). In the further perspective, it may be interesting to study the other Balkan dialects with the same approach, in order to clarify the real processes that took place in the linguistic history of the Balkan area.

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☙

Areal developments in the history of Iranic: West vs. East

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The Iranic languages, covering a large area in Southwestern Asia, while still very similar when first attested in the first millennium BCE, show quite different developments in the further course of their

development, such as the early loss of final syllables, nominal inflection and gender in much of Western Iranic vs. their preservation in much of Eastern Iranic, where loss was first only partial and in any case much later, especially in the easternmost languages (Sogdian and Saka). We cannot observe such an East-West divide in Old Iranic, but only a difference between peripheral languages like Persian and (Eastern) Saka and the large central area (Sims-Williams 1996; Jügel 2014: 124-128). So, the distinction between Western and Eastern Iranic, linking peripheral Persian with central Northwest Iranic, and central languages with peripheral Saka languages, appears to have developed areally in the period of early Middle Iranic (cf. Sims-Williams 1996). The question arises whether external areal influences and language contact played a role in this development, and if they did, was this a more direct influence or rather a more general impact of different forms of contact, e.g. stronger contact with more diverse contact languages in the West vs. more Iranic-internal contacts in the East (as argued by Kümmel 2013). Was the Western Middle Iranic loss of final syllables triggered by phonological preferences of contact languages, e.g., Northwest Semitic speakers, or by morphosyntactic properties of contact languages, or just by the impact of increased communication with non-native speakers? Here it is interesting to note that final syllables were also lost in Armenian but nominal morphology was much more stable. And is the different development in the East really due to less contact, or to more internal contact, or to contact with very different languages? E.g., phonological parallels between the development of the neighbouring Tocharian languages and Eastern Middle Iranic appear probable (viz. centralization of high vowels: $u = i > \vartheta$), but can we also find similarities in grammatical changes? One case might be the apparent genitive-dative merger found in both, and the tendency towards a rectus-oblique distinction, or maybe the development of an imperfect from an optative typical for Iranic (in contrast to Indo-Aryan) and Tocharian. In the paper, the main developments within the Iranic West-East cline are reviewed from the perspective of areality.

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☙

Language contact and emergence of preverbs and bi-partite stems in the Eastern Caucasus

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Spatial preverbs and particles attached to verbs are cross-linguistically rather common, at least in Eurasia. In some families or branches they seem to be very stable, going back to proto-languages, in other cases they have emerged or vanished fast. Such a discrepancy might be linked to the fact that preverbs seem to be prone to structural copying, and to cluster areally. In the Caucasus, they are absent in Turkic languages, but very developed in all three indigenous families, except the east-central zone

(Avar-Andi-Tsezic languages). Other branches, including Nakh, have systems of preverb or spatial particles, more or less developed and productive, and although the details are not well studied, most of the morphology involved is probably cognate across branches. But preverbs can freeze and eventually get lost when a language detaches from its family or branch and has contact with dominant languages lacking preverbs: this was the story of Udi (Harris 2003) and Archi, to "outsiders" of the Lezgic, a branch of East Caucasian with very well developed preverbs - which became isolated in, respectively, Turkic and Avar speaking zones, where preverbs are absent. In these cases prolonged contact led to divergence from the inherited Lezgic type. The Eastern Caucasus shows also cases of convergence between preverb systemsin genetically unrelated languages. In Northern Azerbaijan, languages of the "core" Lezgic branch have acted as reshaping substrates on Tat (I-E). Tat has developed out of inherited Iranian nouns turned to deictic particles an admittedly modest set of spatial preverbs, and these do match a subpart of the more elaborate systems found in Lezgic languages. But since most Tat preverbs are also found as particles in Persian, the affinity with Lezgic preverbs is probably fortuitous. More surprisingly, a reversive preverb is found in Tat as in some Lezgic languages with which Tat dialects are not in contact nowadays. This reversive value must be interpreted as an areal feature providing insights into the prehistory of linguistic contact in this poorly documented region. Finally, bipartite stems can be the dominant derivational scheme in some languages (cf. for instance Van den Berg, 2002, for Dargi; Budugh has come to a point in which there is not a single monopartite verb left). Verbal loans from a language without preverbs, like Azeri (Turkic), may be reinterpreted and split into separate morphemes, allowing insertion of native infixal morphology. This rare phenomenon will be illustrated with a couple of examples from varieties of Rutul, a Lezgic language both archaic in its native derivational morphology and prone to lexical borrowings from culturally dominant Azeri.

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✍

Redistribution of Evidential Functions in Kartvelian as a Result of Megrelian Influence

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Introduction: Georgian is the major Kartvelian language, traditionally viewed as a source triggering linguistic change in its unwritten sister languages spoken in the western Kartvelian area, viz. Megrelian and Svan, whereby Standard Georgian has primarily developed following eastern Kartvelian trends of diachronic change. This talk aims to explain how tendencies characteristic of Megrelian manifest themselves in the neighbouring language varieties including Georgian, with an emphasis on the evidential domain of the Kartvelian verb.

Data: The Kartvelian verb features a specific perfect/resultative series of TAMEs (so-called Series III) that can, under specific circumstances, express evidentiality (for Kartvelian, see Harris 1985, Topadze Gäumann 2016; for Modern Georgian, see Boeder 1999, 2000, Giacalone Ramat & Topadze 2008)— as a side effect of the subsequent semantic development.

One of the verb classes, viz. Class II that primarily includes unaccusatives, morphologised a <past participle + copula> model to form Series III TAMEs, e.g. GEO *da-mal-ul-* 'hidden' > *da-mal-ul+a(rs)* 'X has (apparently) hidden', thus involving one of two major past participle types available in Kartvelian, viz. the past participle formed by means of a suffix (such as *-ul* in the above example). Participles of the second type, viz. those primarily formed by means of the prefix *na-* (e.g. GEO *na-mal-* 'hidden'), were not involved into the formation of Series III TAMEs. Their application went beyond the verbal domain and extended onto nominals as well, cf. GEO *k'aba* 'gown' > *na-k'ab-* 'worn-out gown', see Vašak'iʒe (1987).

Discussion: Due to specific restrictions in Megrelian morphosyntax, the newly-established Series III TAMEs could not be formed for all verb classes (in particular, Class IV affective verbs), which, along with the development of potentials that subsequently migrated from Class II to Class IV ('X can/could (not) be written by Y' > 'Y can/could (not) write X'), triggered the development of another TAME series (nowadays referred to as Series IV, cf. Rogava 1953) of dedicated evidentials that could bypass the existing morphosyntactic restrictions. These TAMEs were formed on the <past participle + copula> model, this time recruiting *na-* (MEGR *no-*) prefixed participles, and affected all verb classes, not only Class IV.

This factor has created a situation featuring two parallel TAMEs in each slot of either series capable of expressing evidential semantics, e.g. MEGR Series III *u-č'ar-u* vs. Series IV *no-č'ar-ue* 'X has apparently written Y'.

Results: The contact phenomena to be discussed include the development of analogous constructions in (Western) Georgian and Svan (cf. GEO *na-c'er-al-a*, SVAN *na-ljarw-li*), the languages that had not initially been *in need* of such new Series IV paradigms, thus triggering a significant semantic redistribution in the expression of evidential semantics in the Kartvelian verb.

Basing upon the diagnostic contexts detected over the course of this study, this talk provides a synchronic account of the semantic distribution of evidential functions in the modern Kartvelian verb and specifically discusses the relevant diachronic scenarios that have led to the situation currently observed.

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⍦

Areal patterns of topic marker in Northern Eurasia: Demonstrative, possessive suffix and topic particle

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Besides word order, languages in Northern Eurasia can also modify topic-comment structure morphologically by topic markers that have been grammaticalised from various lexico-grammatical sources. Their functions are, above all, to establish contrastiveness and bridging reference (cf. Bonnot 1990).This paper classifies three micro-areas within Northern Eurasia, which show common grammaticalisation paths of topic markers, and discusses methodological challenges concerning typology and contacts.

In Northeastern Europe, most Finnic languages and Russian mark topic with demonstrative, e.g.

1) North Russian dialect

vodá	***ta***	*idj-ĕd,*	*dak*	*vot*	*vodá*	***to***	*éto*	*koljësó*	*to*	*i*	*ver't-ít*
water	**DEM**	go-3SG	so	so	water	**DEM**	it	wheel	DEM	also	spin-3SG

'The water flows, so the water also spins that wheel.' (RNC)

This grammaticalisation path is also observed in Mordvin languages, while being sporadically present in other Slavic languages, e.g., in Polish and Balkan Slavic, but not extensively used in closely related Belarusian and Ukrainian. Therefore, some scholars consider this development as contact-induced change in this Finnic-Russian context (Stadnik-Holzer 2006, Kasatkina 2007). Although Finnic languages have long been in contact exclusively with North Russian dialect, such use of demonstrative is present in the entire Russian dialect continuum. Yet, Western Finnic languages without direct contact with Russian also follow this tendency, which rules out the potential of Russian being a donor language and speaks in favour of a wider areal pattern.

Across Eurasian belt, possessive suffixes are a common device for marking topic, which was already attested in Old Turkic and Mongol among the others, and is still common in modern Uralic, Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic languages (Tauli 1966), e.g.

2) Old Uyghur

*built-**ï***	*ür-är*	*qar-**ï***	*uč-ar*	*qïdïɣ-ï-n*	*bilgäli*	*bol-maz*
cloud-**3.P**$_X$	blow-AOR	snow-**3.P**$_X$	whirl-AOR	frontier-3SG-ACC	recognise	be-NEG

'The clouds blow, the snow whirls, (the mountain's) end and frontier are unrecognisable.' (Xuanzang's biography)

Most languages employ a 3rd person form, but some languages also useother person forms to control referential deixis, e.g., in Komi (Leinonen 2006), Nganasan (Zayzon 2015) and Dolgan (Stachowski 2010), e.g.

3) Nganasan

baarbə-ðuŋ	*hon-tɨ*	*kobtua.*	*kobtua-rə*	*četuamɨ*	*ńeəniaŋku*
master-3PL	have-AOR.3SG	girl.ACC	**girl-2SG.P_X**	very	beautiful

'Their master has a daughter. <u>The girl</u> is very beautiful.' (Tereščenko 1979: 95)

As for the choice of person for possessive suffixes, there is no clear geographical distribution, despite some attempt to propose contact-induced origin for the use of 2nd person form in Tundra belt (Stachowski 2010).

In the Far East, the use of topic particles was already attested in Classical Chinese, Manchu, Old Korean and Old Japanese (e.g. Pulleybank 2010), e.g.

4) Classical Chinese

<u>*fu*</u>	<u>*er*</u>	<u>*ren*</u>	***zhe***	*Luguo*	*sheji*	*zhi*	*chen*	*ye*
DEM	two	person	**TOPIC**	Lu	nation	GEN	minister	DECL

'<u>These two men</u> (will become) ministers of Lu at the national level.' (Zuozhuan, Cheng 16)

Sociolinguistically, Middle Chinese as a widely used written language in East Asia is a good candidate for the source of innovation although topic particles have later disappeared from modern Sinitic languages. However, the remaining task is to discover what etymological sources for each topic particle exactly are, which should clarify the question of source language.

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Dialectal divergence reinforced by areal convergence: a case study of grammatical and discourse functions of verbal forms in Selkup dialects

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Selkup (Samoyedic < Uralic) represents a nice example of a language with two clearly distinct dialectal clusters, northern (N) vs. Southern and Central (SC), each of them belonging to a different linguistic area. The SC Selkups preserved their traditional habitat, whereas the N Selkups moved some 500 km to the north about 300 years ago, being cut off from contact with the SC Selkups (Хелимский 1996/2000). Thus, the SC Selkups remain within an ethnocultural area, known in Siberian studies as "Ostjak area" embracing the Selkups, the Kets and the Khanty (this area is well described in the works on cultural anthropology, like (Алексеенко 2005), but is underdescribed from the linguistic point of view, cf. on lexical borrowing (Хелимский 1982)). The N Selkups moved towards the territories inhabited by the Northern Samoyeds. In both areas Selkup was influenced by genetically related languages (which makes it particularly prone to contact-induced changes): the N Selkup met quite closely related Northern Samoyedic languages, whereas the SC Selkup was influenced by more distantly related Eastern Khanty. The inventory of verbal forms is more or less identical in both Selkup dialect clusters; however, their grammatical semantics differs considerably. An interesting example which will be discussed is provided by diverse development of evidential system in two dialectal clusters: as Aikhenvald (2018) points out, evidential systems are easy subject to contact influence.

Thus, in N Selkup there are two markers of indirect evidentiality. The first one, *-mpy*, renders the meaning of Inferential, whereas the second one, *-nty*, has a broad evidential meaning, comprising Presumptive, Auditive, Endophoric, Reportative (evidential meanings are listed according to (Плунгян 2011). Both evidential markers have also discourse functions. It could be argued, that the preservation (and partially also the further development) of evidential system in N Selkup can be due to areal influence from the part of the Northern Samoyedic languages, which can be characterized as "evidentiality-prominent" languages. On the other side, in CS Selkup the evidential system is destroyed: the *-mpy*-form renders perfect meaning, whereas the *-nty*-form preserved only its discourse uses.

Even a more striking example of contact phenomena can be provided within the domain of discourse functions of verbal forms (cf. e.g. (Muysken 2010) on hierarchies of borrowability which demonstrate that elements and patterns of discourse level are highly like to be borrowed). Even the subdialects within the same dialect cluster demonstrate different narrative strategies, which resemble to a different degree (proportional to the intensity of contact) narrative strategies of neighboring languages. Contact-induced phenomena within this domain will be considered on an example of correlation of different verbal forms with different narrative genres in several Selkup dialects compared to Northern Samoyedic, on the one hand and to several subdialect of easternmost, Vakh dialect of Khanty, on the other.

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✍

WORKSHOP 8

Information structure at the interfaces

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The study of how information is organized and conveyed in linguistic utterances and texts has fascinated linguists at least since the time of the Prague Linguistic Circle in the 1920s (see Mathesius 1929). While much of the relevant research has strived to define constructs such as *theme* and *rheme*, or *topic* and *focus* (Mathesius 1929, Chafe 1987, Givón 1976, Frascarelli & Hinterhölz 2007, etc.), other scholarship has investigated how these constructs are encoded in grammar. To give but one example of the latter type of pursuit, Lambrecht's (1994: 222) influential notion of *focus structure* is defined as "the conventional association of a focus meaning with a sentence form". The important insight behind this notion is that, in a given language, sentences may be structured in different ways depending on whether they include presupposed information, alongside the assertion, and also in accordance with which syntactic components of the sentence are asserted.

The study of the relation between focus meanings and sentence forms raises a number of interesting challenges. It is by no means the case that all languages differentiate the assertion from the presupposition in syntax. As is well known, prosody also plays a relevant role, and the study of the respective roles of syntax and prosody in the encoding of information constitutes a thriving domain of investigation. Morphology can also signal the role of a constituent in information structure (Van Valin 2014). Even when information structure is encoded in syntax, it is not necessarily organized in terms of relations between syntactic arguments and predicates. Rather, there are focus structure types in which all the information overtly encoded in syntax is asserted: the syntactic constituent that spells out the only thematic argument of the verb fails to behave as a canonical subject and would instead appear to behave as part of the verb phrase - or the predicate - in syntax (Zeller 2013, Bentley 2016).

The above issues unequivocally suggest that information structure is an *interface* phenomenon, in that it has a bearing on every level of linguistic analysis (phonology, thematic structure, syntax, morphology, etc.) and the levels affected interact in non-trivial ways. In recent years, there has been increasing interest in grammatical interfaces (Ramchand/Reiss 2007, Jackendoff 2010, Sorace 2011, Fischer & Gabriel 2016, among others). Different frameworks have formalized interfaces in various ways, and there is no consensus on how many interfaces there are, or how they should be represented in the architecture of grammar.

The framework which one of the workshop organizers is the initiator and principal representative of, Role and Reference Grammar (Foley & Van Valin 1984, Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, Van Valin 2005), is a parallel architecture theory (Jackendoff 2002, 2010); it has a set of rules, called the *linking algorithm*, which relates semantics to syntax, in linguistic production, and syntax to semantics, in linguistic comprehension. Discourse is assumed to play a role at every stage in the linking: from the choice of predicators in the lexical inventory to the assignment of grammatical relations to predicate arguments, their morpho-syntactic realization in syntax, and so on, up to the realization of syntactic structure in prosody, which is the final stage in linguistic production. There is, thus, an inbuilt mechanism in this framework to deal with information structure at the interface with the other levels of analysis.

In this workshop we propose to investigate information structure as an interface phenomenon with a view to enhancing the current understanding of the relevant levels of linguistic analysis and how they interact with each other. Ultimately, we hope to make a contribution not only to the study of information structure *per se*, but also to the broader understanding of its role in the architecture of grammar.

The scope of the workshop will include, but not be limited to, the following key questions:

- Are there any general linguistic properties which favour or inhibit the encoding of information in prosody or syntax?

Crosslinguistic evidence suggests that some languages with relatively rigid word order, for example English, tend to rely on prosody for the encoding of focus. Languages which, in addition, have strict rules on the syntactic position of focus, for example French, resort to strategies such as clefting and passivization to avoid the violation of these rules (Vallduví 1991, 1992, Ladd 1996, Van Valin 1999, Bentley 2008). In some African tone languages, as well as the Amazonian language Karitiâna (Everett 2008), prosody plays little or no role in expressing information structure, a job mostly left to syntax and morphology. We welcome any contributions which concern the interaction of information structure with prosody and syntax, addressing the question spelled out above.

- What is the role of morphology in the encoding of information structure?

African languages can mark focus with loss of canonical verb agreement, loss of case and affixes on the verb to indicate focus on one of the arguments (Kalinowski 2015). The impoverishment of verb-argument agreement is also known to indicate focus in Arabic (Hoyt 2000) and Romance (Bentley 2016). We welcome contributions which shed light on the discourse-morphology interface and aim to ascertain if there are any general linguistic properties which favour the morphological expression of information structure.

- How does information structure interface with lexical-semantic structure?

There is a considerable body of evidence suggesting that copulas and informationally-light verbs are readily admitted in broad focus (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995, Marten & Van der Wal 2014, Bentley 2016). Among other predicates, telic ones (achievements and accomplishments) fair better than non-telic ones in this type of focus structure. Some scholars have tried to explain these findings in terms of the requirement of a silent or *stage* topic in broad focus (Erteschik–Shir 1997). However, there is no agreement on whether this silent topic is a thematic argument of the predicate, say the silent event argument of stage-level states or a locative argument of telic verbs of directed motion, or, alternatively, it is contextually added (Benincà 1988, Bianchi 1993, Pinto 1997, Tortora 1997, 2014 Corr 2016). As for other interactions between lexical semantics and information structure, it has been observed that relatively non-eventive readings of verbs with non-controlling actors allow information structure patterns that the same verbs with an eventive reading and a controlling actor do not allow. We welcome contributions on any aspect of the information structure – lexical semantic structure interplay.

- Are there any cross-linguistic regularities or constraints on the interface between focus types and argument realization?

It would be important to ascertain how widespread argument *integration* is in broad focus. This is the strategy of cognitive and communicative economy whereby "[…] the whole syntagm is introduced as

one unit of information, 'integrating' its parts into one 'globally new' unit" (Fuchs 1980: 449; see also Lambrecht 2000, Sasse 2006, Zeller 2013, Bentley 2016). The crosslinguistic analysis of constructions that only occur in broad focus (e.g., existentials) may help us to address this question.

- What interfaces are involved in the encoding of information structure in signed languages?

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On the use of predicate-less sentences in L1 and L2 Japanese

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In Japanese, the verb of a sentence may be grammatically absent in a particular numeral quantifier construction, which was previously analyzed based on syntactic movement (Koizumi 2000) and lexical semantics (Fukushima 2003). Shimojo (2008) argued that the absence of a verb is discourse motivated and proposed an account within the framework of Role and Reference Grammar [RRG] (Van Valin 2005), utilizing discourse representation structure [DRS] and a direct linking of DRS with a semantic representation (i.e. the logical structure of a sentence). Yet, omission of predicates is by no means construction-specific and is commonly observed in spoken Japanese, and these predicate-less sentences need to be properly represented in a syntactic theory. In this study, I will discuss how such sentences are represented in the monostratum framework of RRG with a single syntactic representation for a sentence and how the theory accounts for the L1-L2 asymmetry as well as the L2-specific characteristic described below.

In Japanese, the formal speech level is expressed by the honorific forms of predicates; therefore, omission of predicates is not expected in formal discourse. Nevertheless, in my analysis of two-party formal conversations between L1 and L2 speakers (a sample of four pairs taken from Japanese Learners Conversation Database https://nknet.ninjal.ac.jp/nknet/ndata/opi/), I found 30 predicate-less utterances in L1 and 51 in L2. Furthermore, the analysis also revealed that those L1 utterances are pragmatically distinct from those of L2. The L1 utterances are mostly repetitions of the speaker's own or the hearer's preceding utterance, and are best considered backchannels (Kurokawa 2007). These utterances are minimally informative for the purpose of developing the discourse. On the other hand, most of the L2 predicate-less utterances were not repetitions. In information-structural terms, they represent a narrow-focus, where the missing predicate is outside the actual focus domain.

I argue that the frequent use of predicate-less utterances in L2 formal speech, despite the expected formal speech level, is predicted by a reduced load in the linking from semantics to syntax, with the use of a simplified syntactic template without the PRED node. Furthermore, the RRG account enables us to describe cases in which a L2 speaker's predicate-less utterance is incomprehensible to the hearer. Incomprehensibility results when the hearer cannot recover the intended predicate (i.e. cannot identify a proper presupposition in DRS to link with). This means the speaker has failed to use an overt predicate (because a corresponding presupposition DRS is not available) or failed to construct a proper semantic representation in the first place.

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⌀

The silent topic of broad focus: Typology and predictions

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In this paper we discuss how broad focus subject inversion is licensed in constructions that lack an overt sentence-initial locative or temporal phrase. Building on previous literature, we claim that bare broad focus subject inversion is a thetic construction, where the whole event described by the verb and the post-verbal argument is predicated of an aboutness topic, normally called the Subject of Predication (SoP).

We identify two principal types of silent SoP: (i) a locative argument selected by a verb; for example, the locative goal of goal-entailing verbs of inherently directed motion (Tortora 1997, see Benincà 1988) (cf. 1a); (ii) a non-thematic event argument, which is only compatible with bounded eventualities and provides the spatio-temporal situation about which such eventualities are predicated (cf. 1b).

(1) a.   *Sono arrivati gli   studenti.*   (Italian)
          are arrived   the students
          'The students arrived (here).'
     b.   *Sono morti   tanti soldati.*
          are died   many   soldiers
          'Many soldiers have died.'

Since the locative goal SoP is part of the thematic grid of the verb, it has overt manifestations in other constructions (cf. 2a), unlike the event argument SoP (cf. 2b).

(2) a.   *Uno studente arriva   (fino   alla   classe).*   (Italian)
          a   student   arrives   as-far-as to-the classroom
          'A student goes as far as the classroom.'
     b.   *Un soldato muore (*fino   alla   morte).*
          a soldier dies   as-far-as to-the death
          'A soldier dies as far as death.'

For the same reason as above, the locative goal SoP is unaffected by sentential aspect (cf. 3a). Contrastingly, the event argument SoP provides the spatio-temporal situation of a specific eventuality (Bianchi 1993), and, therefore, it is fairly incompatible with the aspectually neutral simple present tense (cf. 3b).

(3) a.   *(Guarda!) Arriva   / sta arrivando un   ragazzo.*   (Italian)
          look   arrives   is arriving   a   boy
          'Look! There arrives a boy.'
     b.   *(Guarda!)   *?Muore / sta morendo un   soldato.*
          look   dies   is dying   a   soldier
          'Look! There dies a soldier.'

Adopting a scalar notion of telicity (Hay, Kennedy & Levin 1999, Beavers 2011, 2013), we predict that the event argument SoP is admitted with verbs of quantized change (cf. 1b) and verbs of non-quantized change, with which a bound can be inferred. In the latter group, those that are based on

open-range adjectives (e.g., *widen*) are not as readily compatible with the event-argument SoP as those that are based closed-range adjectives (e.g., *empty*).

While the bulk of our evidence is from Italian, we also adduce evidence from Gallo-Italian dialects, where the verb may agree with the SoP anaphorically (Bentley to appear, see Bresnan & Mchombo 1987).

(Milanese)

(4) a. *Gh' è vegnù do person.*
     CL be.3SG come.PTCP two.FPL people.FPL
     'There arrived two people.'

   b. *Gh' è mort tant suldà.*
     CL be.3SG die.PTCP many soldiers
     'There died many soldiers.'

Our claims are meant to be valid in SVO languages that pose information-structure restrictions to verb-initial sentences (Leonetti 2017).

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An RRG account of verb-less/argument-less sentences of ideophones

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It has been argued that ideophones (sound-symbolic words) pattern unlike standard grammar (cf. Dingemanse 2012) and display non-conventional syntactic behaviours. For instance, Japanese ideophones can appear in a discourse without accompanying a verb or an argument, as in (1).

(1)　　***Dosari****.*　　　　(2)　*Hon　ga　yuka　ni　ochita.*
　　　　IDEO [a thud]　　　　　　book　NOM　floor　DAT　fell
　　　　'(Something) fell.'　　　　'The books fell to the floor.'

In (1), the ideophone *dosari* represents a sound ('a thud') emitted when something heavy falls onto a hard surface; what fell is understood from the context, as in (2). For (1)-type sentences, it has been argued that the ideophone "is a zero-place predicate functioning as the nucleus of its utterance" (Toratani 2017: 51). However, it remains to be considered how linking works for these sentences.

This paper argues that the discourse representation structure adopted in RRG can clarify the procedures of linking. It points out that the standard mechanism given by Van Valin (2005: 171-174) does not fully account for (1)-type sentences. As represented in Figure 1, speakers first need to access information in the perceptual/experiential domain where the meanings of ideophones are represented in terms of categories (e.g. something heavy). This, in turn, is mapped onto information in the discourse domain where the actual referent (that fits into the category: e.g. books as 'something heavy') is picked up.

Perceptual/experiential domain		Discourse domain
a, b		c, d
[something heavy](a) ⇠ - - - ⇢		hon(c)
[something hard](b) ⇠ - - - ⇢		yuka(d)
a makes contact with b, emitting a sound ⇠ - - - ⇢		c falls onto d
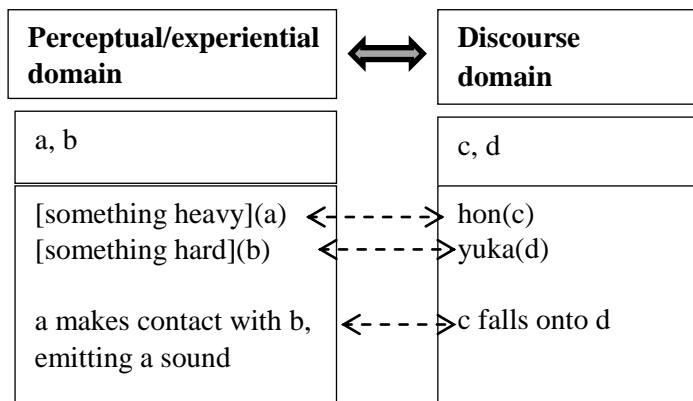
Figure 1: Picking up a referent from the discourse

```
SENTENCE
   |
 CLAUSE
   |
  CORE
   |
  NUC
   |
  PRED
   |
IDEOPHONE
   |
   ▽
SPEECH ACT
```
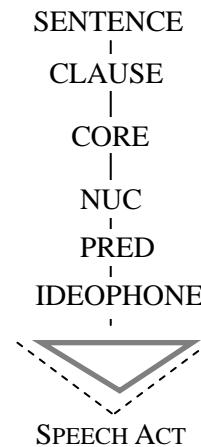
Figure 2: Syntactic template for an ideophone as predicate

The paper also argues that the ideophone in the (1)-type sentence is always in focus, and this comes from a syntactic template, where the focus structure is inherently associated with the layered structure of the clause, as represented in Figure 2.

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✄

Licensing SOV in Estonian: A naturalness rating study

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This study explores the syntax and information structure (IS) of Estonian declarative matrix clauses with multiple preverbal elements. While Estonian exhibits verb-second (V2) properties (Ehala, 2006), corpus research on spoken Estonian indicates that multiple elements may precede the verb if the immediately preverbal element is prototypically topical, such as a pronominal subject (Lindström, 2005). This has been taken as evidence for a left-peripheral Topic (Top) position in Estonian, which may be preceded by a contrastive element such as Contrastive Topic (CT), yielding verb-third (V3) order when both CT and Top positions are filled. Researchers have previously argued that a constraint for agents to occur in Top allows the V2 constraint to be violated (Tael, 1988; Henk, 2009). Their hypothesis predicts OSV word order when an object constituent acts as a CT but cannot account for corpus-attested examples of non-V2 order with clause-initial subjects (1).

(1)   *Mõni   uus   nüanss   ehk   asja   juures   on,*
       some.NOM new.NOM   nuance.NOM perhaps thing.GEN   at   is
       aga   midagi   põhjapanevat   küll   mitte
       but   something.PART   fundamental.PART   indeed NEG
       "There may be some new nuances about this thing, but definitely nothing fundamental"
                                                               [Postimees, 2000]

I propose that multiple preverbal elements are licensed when the following two conditions are met:
   i.   The initial constituent is a CT (i.e. it has a discourse-salient focus alternative, but does not function as the primary Focus of the clause)
   ii. Any elements intervening between the CT and the verb must be discourse-given (but need not be Topics)

These claims were tested in a novel naturalness rating experiment (N=29) using contrastive ellipsis (Repp, 2010) as a diagnostic for matrix clause IS. In Finnish, a generic Contrast position has been argued to precede Top (Vallduvi & Vilkuna, 1998). In Estonian, Contrastive Focus (CF) subjects are also permitted clause-initially, allowing us to test whether violation of V2 order is sensitive to the focus structure of the clause in addition to contrast. The experiment crossed matrix clause word order (SOV/SVO/OVS) with ellipsis type (CT-remnant, *NP mitte* "NP didn't" / CF-remnant, *mitte NP* "not NP"). Figure 1 shows that while SOV order is dispreferred compared to V2 orders, the naturalness of SOV is significantly improved with a CT subject compared to a CF subject.
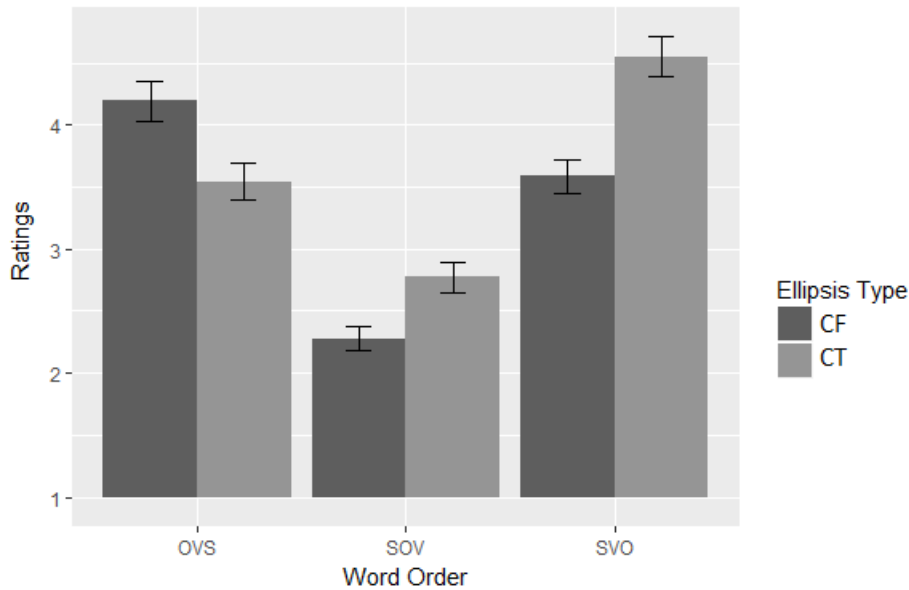
Figure 1. Means and standard errors of naturalness ratings to OVS, SOV and SVO matrix clauses followed by ellipsis with CT and CF subject remnants.

Additional native speaker judgements (2) indicate that multiple discourse-given constituents may intervene between a CT and the verb, while being unable to precede the verb in absence of contrast due to V2. This further speaks against the simple CT+Top analysis for Estonian left periphery.

(2)   *(Koolis_{CT})*   *ma*   *tast*   *ei*   *mõelnud*
       school.INE   1S   3S.ELA   NEG   think.PTC
       "(At school) I didn't think about him/her"

To conclude, evidence from a naturalness ratings study supports the claim that discourse-given material, including objects, may precede the verb in CT clauses. This may serve to avoid placing phonologically deaccented material after the Focus of the clause.

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Focus sensitivity in Hungarian

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It is a widely accepted view in semantic approaches that the interpretation of various particles are dependent on the focus structure of the utterance. The phenomenon is well-known as association with focus (Rooth 1985, König 2002, Krifka 2006) or focus sensitivity (Beaver & Clark 2008). Such particles are, for example, the exclusive marker *only* and the additives *also* and *even*. The placement of focus marking leads to different interpretations, the difference being truth-conditional (*only*) or presuppositional (*also*). These particles are often taken as operators on the focus-background structure of the utterance.

Following the above view, the expectation arises that in languages with an explicit syntactic focus marking, the overt focus structure marks the semantic associate of the particle. Hungarian is a well-known discourse configurational language (É. Kiss 1995) with structural focus marking in the immediate preverbal position (É. Kiss 2002), however, not all focus sensitive particles are associated with this overt focus position. The Hungarian *csak* 'only' and *is* 'also' differ in their syntactic and semantic behaviour. *Csak* attaches on the left and occupies the focus position (1a), while *is* is attached on the right and is excluded from the focus position (1b).

(1) a. Mia **csak** Vili-t   hívta fel.   b. Mia Vili-t   **is**   fel-hívta.
        Mia only Bill-ACC called PRT   Mia Bill-ACC also PRT-called
        'Mia only called BILL.'   'Mia also called BILL.'

As for the Hungarian additive particle, I show various corpus data and self elicited data that provides evidence for the same surface structure leading to different semantic associates: a single argument, a property given by verb and one of its arguments or the whole proposition. The latter cases suggest that the particle takes the pragmatic focus (Lambrecht 1994) of the utterance.

This talk addresses issues on the interrelation between the structural focus position, pragmatic focus and focus sensitive particles in Hungarian. I will propose an analysis capturing the syntax-semantics-pragmatics interface in the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 2005). RRG is a grammatical theory that is well-suited for the analysis of interface phenomena, given that the syntax-semantics-pragmatics interaction plays a primary role in its architecture and theoretical grounds. I propose an extension of the framework to analyze focus sensitivity. Focus sensitive particles operate on the actual focus domain, hence they must be represented in the focus projection of the utterance. Various linearization constraints can be explained on basis of the interaction of the semantic associate of the particle and the topic-comment distinction of the utterance, therefore I propose a more detailed *information structure projection* with reference to both focus-structure and topic-structure. The proposal captures the main insights of 'classical' analyses of focus sensitive particles, however, it has theoretical and representational advantages: (1) constituent structure and information structure are kept separate, albeit interrelated, (2) representing the particles and their scopal behaviour in the InfS-projection focus sensitivity is captured straightforwardly and (3) the analysis is applicable to cross-linguistic data, keeping the universal property uniform, while allowing to express language specific constraints on the structural variation.

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✍

Focus interpretation and the syntax-prosody filter in Spanish

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Research questions and main claims

This paper evaluates the relation between the form and the focus interpretation of sentences in Spanish. We address two research questions (RQ) linked to this topic:

- RQ1: To what extent does sentence form (here: word order + position of nuclear stress) unambiguously mark the focus-background partition (FBP) of a sentence?
- Claim 1: Sentence form does not mark the FBP in Spanish, since sentence forms are often ambiguous and bad predictors of FBP (empirical claim based on experimental data).
- RQ2: What is the contribution of syntax and prosody to focus interpretation, if they do not mark the FBP?
- Claim 2: Sentence form serves indeed as a filter reducing the number of possible FBPs, but contextual enrichment is often necessary for the definitive focus interpretation.

Background

In Spanish, the FBP influences both syntax and prosody: focused constituents can be fronted, cleft from the background, brought into final position, focused constituents carry the nuclear stress, and postfocal material is often prosodically compressed (cf. among others Zubizarreta (1998), (1999), and recent experimental studies by Gabriel (2010), Hoot (2016), Heidinger (2014), Muntendam (2013), Vanrell & Fernández Soriano (2013), Jiménez-Fernández (2015)). As concerns RQ1 (i.e., the predictive power of sentence forms w.r.t FBP), systematic studies are missing. We only find occasional hints that a certain structure unambiguously associates with a certain FBP; e.g. Zubizarreta (1999) notes that (1) is limited to narrow subject focus. Hence, it comes as no surprise that the follow-up question (RQ2) is not addressed in the relevant literature at all.

(1)   (Who ate the mouse?)
        Se comió   un ratón   [el **gato**]_F
        ate   a mouse   the cat
        'It was the cat who ate a mouse'

Details on claim 1

We conducted a production experiment (36 participants, peninsular Spanish), and analyzed the produced sentence forms w.r.t. their frequency and focus marking power. We considered sequences of two postverbal constituents, and measured the extent to which the sentence forms (verb-**A**-B, verb-B-**A**, verb-A-**B**, verb-**B**-A) are specified for only one FBP. The main results are: (i) Half of the produced

sentence forms are not only ambiguous, but even bad probabilistic predictors of the intended FBP. (ii) Even if an unambiguous sentence form exists for a given FBP, that sentence form is generally produced less frequently than the ambiguous sentence forms.

Details on claim 2

Since sentence forms are often ambiguous with respect to FBP, the interplay between syntax and prosody in Spanish is better described as a filter for FBPs than as a focus marking device. Depending on how many FBPs survive the syntax-prosody filter, various degrees of contextual enrichment are necessary for the definitive focus interpretation of a sentence. We argue that the lack of unambiguous focus marking is not surprising, but rather expected: Context is informative about FBP, and given the large number of possible FBPs the creation of unambiguous sentence forms would be both costly and partly redundant (Piantadosi et al. 2012, Levinson 2000).

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On the Interplay of Narrow Focus and Syntax in Two North-Eastern Italian Dialects

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In Van Valin's (1999) typological analysis of the interaction of focus structure and syntax, Lamonat and Sovramontino, the two North-Eastern Italian Dialects (NEIDs) under investigation, can be

described as a type (iii): languages that exhibit a rigid focus structure and a fairly flexible syntax. At the syntax-pragmatics interface, elements in narrow focus (in the sense of Lambrecht 1994) surface in two distinct syntactic positions depending on whether they pragmatically encode informational or contrastive focus (Kiss 1998) as shown by (1) and (2) below:

(1) CONTEXT: When did Mario kill the dog?   *(Sovramontino)*
     l   a   copà   SABO PASAA Mario el   can
     3SG.M.SCL   have.3SG   kill.PTCP   Saturday past Mario the   dog
      'Mario killed the dog last Saturday'

(2) CONTEXT: Did Mario kill the dog last Monday?
     SABO PASAA l   a   copà   Mario el can no   luni   pasaa
     Saturday past 3SG.M.SCL   have.3SG kill.PTCP Mario the dog NEG Monday   past
      'Mario killed the dog last Saturday, not last Monday '

Informational focus is banned in preverbal position; for instance, a subject in narrow focus needs to appear in a cleft structure in order to be realised as in (3). Nevertheless, if it bears a contrastive reading it can surface in preverbal position as in (4):

(3) CONTEXT: Who drank the wine?   *(Lamonat)*
    L   è   sta   MARIO ke   l   a   beù   l   vin
    SCL   be.3SG be.PTCP Mario   REL SCL   have-3SG drink-PTCP the   wine
    'It was Mario that drank the wine'

(4) CONTEXT: Did Mary drink the wine?
    No! *MARIO* l   a   beù   l   vin (no Maria)
    NEG Mario 3SG.M.SCL have.3SG drink.PTCP the   wine
    'MARIO drank the wine (not Mary)'

These languages syntactically treat narrow informational focus and narrow contrastive focus in a different fashion. Our preliminary conclusion is that informational narrow focus is banned in immediate preverbal nuclear position, whereas contrastive narrow focus is licensed in pre-core preverbal position. Interestingly, the same syntactic behaviour is found with respect to wh-items as shown in (5) and (6) below:

(5)   Laorei-tu   CO CHI l   an pasaa?   *(Sovramontino)*
       work.PST.2SG-2SG.SCL with who   the   year past
       'With whom did you work last year?'

(6)   *CO   CHI* laorei-tu   l   an   pasaa?
       with   who work.PST.2SG-2SG.SCL the   year past
       'With whom did you work last year?**'

Wh-items can appear in preverbal position only if they are discourse-linked (in the sense of Pesetsky 1987), hence encoding some degree of contrastiveness. In these languages, the ban on pre-verbal focal elements extents to wh-elements: if they bear informational focus they must be shielded by the verb. In Lamonat and Sovramontino, wh-items therefore exhibit the same syntactic behaviour as constituents in narrow focus (see Bianchi 1999 for the treatment of wh-items as focal elements).

The aim of this paper is two-fold: (i) formalise the distinction between contrastive and informational narrow focus, and (ii) in Van Valin's (1999) spirit, given the behaviour of wh-items, assess to what extent discourse-pragmatics is invasive into the syntax of these languages at the syntax-pragmatics interface.

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ℒ

Inferable indefinites and the discourse-information structure interface

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Indefinite noun phrases can appear in topic position only when they are strong, specific, or discourse related (Portner and Yabushita 2001). In this study we aim to investigate the granularity of this relation to discourse. Is it an all-or-none phenomenon? Or are there levels of linking with detectable effects on how well an indefinite topic is licensed. We focus on two types of discourse related indefinites: (i) partitive indefinites (Enç 1991, coded as PART) where the indefinite is linked to the previous discourse through a subset relation to an already established set; and (ii) inferable indefinites (Prince 1992, coded as INFR) where, besides partitivity, the indefinite is also lexically/conceptually linked to the previous discourse. Our aim is to investigate the effects of the two types of discourse-linking on the acceptability of indefinite topics.

We used Turkish as target language, due to its clear indication of topichood and indefiniteness. Turkish is a canonically SOV language with flexible word-order (Kornfilt 1997). Indefinite direct objects, headed by the indefinite article *bir* can be moved to clause initial position as long as they carry the accusative case suffix *-(y)I*, resulting in OSV order. The clause initial position is associated with the information structural notion of topichood (Erguvanlı 1979; İşsever 2007). Given that topichood is well correlated with givenness and accessibility in a general sense, we predicted that the stronger the link between the indefinite and the previous discourse is, the more acceptable will be the indefinite object presented in an OSV sentence.

In order to test our hypotheses, we conducted an acceptability judgment study with 96 participants. We had two linking conditions and 2 word order conditions. Our critical items consisted of one sentence followed by a target sentence that we asked our participants to rate on a scale of 1–7

with regards to how natural they found the target sentence as a continuation to the first sentence. Participants either saw the TOPICAL or NONTOPICAL and the PART or INFR version of an item.

The results show that both parameters are significant. Indefinites in nontopical position are clearly better than in topic position, and licensing indefinites in topic position by a partitive relation and an inferential relation is better than only by a partitive relation. Both parameters are independent and therefore "add" up.

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☙

Discourse Topic vs. Sentence Topic: Exploiting the Peripheries of German Verb-Second Sentences

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Exploring the interface between syntax and discourse structure, the present study addresses the relationship between discourse topicality and marked word order in German V2-utterances. It takes as its point of departure two manifestations of a marked syntactic structure at the right periphery of the German sentence: the 'extraposition' (*Ausklammerung*) and the 'right dislocation' (*Rechtsversetzung*). In both cases, verbless constituents like PPs and NPs appear beyond the right frontier of the sentence created by a closure-marking final element, in the 'extended postfield' ('*erweitertes Nachfeld*' (Zifonun 2015)). In example (1) the unbracketed PP *mit Christian Wulff* on the right periphery displays a high degree of integration into the rest of the sentence, both on the syntactic and on the prosodic level:

(1)   Man kann Mitleid   haben **mit** *Christian Wulff.*
       one can compassion have   with Christian Wulff
       'One can have compassion with Christian Wulff.'

In example (2) the right-dislocated NP *der Kanzlerkandidat der SPD* can be regarded as an 'apposition equivalent' in the sense of Zifonun (2015: 40), since it is both coreferent and case congruent with the pronoun *er* (*he*) in the middle field:

(2)   Was hat **er** eigentlich gesagt, *der Kanzlerkandidat   der SPD.*

What has he indeed   said   the   chancellor candidate GEN SPD
'What has he said, the chancellor candidate of SPD.'

On the basis of a corpus collected from German contemporary newspapers (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*), we will show that these two right peripheral syntactic strategies 'extraposition' and 'right dislocation' have the same discourse function, despite different syntactic and prosodic/typographic features. They indicate that the referent of the right-peripheral constituent (NP or PP) is salient and highly relevant for the discourse as a whole. It functions as the 'discourse topic referent', i.e. the discourse referent that is most stably activated in the mental representation of each discourse segment. We claim that both investigated strategies can be considered either as relevant 'forward-looking' or as 'backward-looking' devices (or a combination of the two strategies), imposing certain constraints on the subsequent or previous discourse segment(s).

We argue that the *Mental Salience Framework* of Chiarcos (2010) provides an appropriate textlinguistically based model for our study. The two-dimensional model of 'mental salience' and the development of salience metrics for the prediction of contextually adequate realization preferences within the NLG systems will be crucial for the functional analysis of unbracketed PPs and right-dislocated NPs in German. According to Chiarcos, the principles of markedness hierarchy have consequences for filling the left-periphery of German sentences. Chiarcos does not take, however, the postfield-placement into consideration. Our aim is to fill this gap of syntactic and information structural research.

The analysis of discourse topicality also requires the terminological and theoretical distinction between topics on the sentence level and on the level of the discourse, as well as the clarification of the relation between sentence topics and discourse topic, both from the perspective of grammar and from the perspective of pragmatics.

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ℬ

The interaction of Information structure, constituent order and case marking in an Australian language: A construction-based account

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This paper presents a construction-based account of the interaction of information structure with both constituent order and argument marking in Jaminjung/Ngaliwurru (J/Ng), an Australian language from the Mirndi family. Construction Grammar offers a monostratal, non-modular way of accounting for information structure, by directly mapping both prosodic and positional correlates of specific

information structure categories to their discourse function (e.g. Gregory & Michaelis 2001, Lambrecht 1994, 2001). Data come from annotated corpora of naturalistic speech and elicitation based on non-verbal stimuli resulting from first-hand fieldwork.

As a discourse-configurational language, in J/Ng constituent order is not determined by argument roles but by information structure in combination with considerations of rhythm and constituent weight. New/shifting topics, anti-topics and afterthoughts have (presumably universal) fixed positions in the (expanded) clause, whereas constituents within the rhematic part of an utterance have flexible ordering. Focus (both of the information focus and the corrective type) is marked prosodically rather than by position (Simard 2010, 2014, 2015), which can be accounted for by allowing for language-specific information structure constructions (cf. also Van Valin 1999).

Crucially, in J/Ng, information structure not only has an influence on constituent order but also on case-marking. As in other fluid A ("optional ergative") languages (e.g. McGregor 2006, Suter 2010, Gaby 2010, Fauconnier & Verstraete 2014, Malchukov 2015), the absence vs. presence of ergative case is associated with the status of the agentive argument as topic vs. rhematic element in a statistically significant way (Schultze-Berndt & Meakins 2017). This can be accounted for in terms of case-marking constructions with language-specific meanings, in the sense of Goldberg (1995, 2005): In J/Ng, the absolutive (unmarked) case merely signals core argument status irrespective of semantic role, while the ergative case has a constructional meaning of Effector (the entity causally involved in an event), a category which includes animate and inanimate agents as well as instruments (Van Valin & Wilkins 1996). Depending on the predictability of the agentive role of a participant (which is high for topical constituents but also for 1st and 2nd person pronouns), either the Core Argument construction is chosen, plausibly for reasons of Economy (Silverstein 1986, McGregor 1992, Aissen 1999, Malchukov 2008, 2015), or (for the sake of explicitness) the Effector construction which overtly indexes the macro-role of the argument. While this analysis is compatible with an Optimality Theory approach as long as this acknowledges the language-specific nature of argument marking, the construction-based approach offers a more explicit account than the generalised notion of "argument strength" which has been employed in some OT analyses of Differential Argument Marking (e.g. Legendre et al. 1993: 684-688, Aissen 1999, De Hoop 1999, De Hoop & Narasimhan, 2005, De Hoop and Malchukov 2007). Instead, the findings reported here support a multifactorial, "competing motivations" approach to Differential Argument Marking, and highlight the importance of information structure in this regard.

The paper will conclude with a more general discussion of how universal principles and language-specific constructions interact to result in patterns of information structure, clause-level constituent order and case marking.

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Information structure, word order and differential marking in Kelabit

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This paper explores the interaction between word-order, case-marking and information structure in the Kelabit language of Northern Sarawak. Like other Western Austronesian languages, Kelabit has a system of symmetrical voice alternations. These are sometimes thought to reflect differences in the informational status of arguments (e.g. topic, focus) rather than grammatical relations (Schachter 1976, 1996). However, this paper will argue that voice alternations alone do not suffice to indicate information status. Instead, they allow for different word orders and morphological encodings which together convey a particular reading.

In order to illustrate this, data is examined from grammaticality judgements and a corpus of naturalistic data collected during fieldwork. Voice alternations affect possible word order: whilst non-privileged actors/undergoers always occur post-verbally, the argument privileged by the voice morphology can occur either clause-finally or clause-initially. Clause-final position is associated with given topics (e.g. following overt hanging topics):

(1) a. **Actor Topic**
Paul kedieh, nekuman bua' ebpuk t=**ieh**
Paul EMPH.3SG AV.PFV.eat fruit passion PT=3SG.NOM
V$_{AV}$ U A
'As for paul, he ate passion fruit'

 b. **Undergoer Topic**
Bua' ebpuk suk na'ai, kinan Andy n=**idih**
fruit passion REL afore UV.PFV.eat Andy PT=DEM
V$_{UV}$ A U
'As for the passionfruit, Andy ate it.'

In contrast, clause-initial position is associated with focus/contrastive information – whether argument focus or broad focus (Lambrecht 1994):

(2) **Focused Actor**
Q. Iih nemupu' John?
who AV.PFV.hit John
'Who hit John?'

 A. **Andy** nemupu' John?
Andy AV.PFV.hit John
'Andy hit John'

 Focused Undergoer
Q. Iih pinupu' Andy?
who UV.PFV.hit Andy
'Who did Andy hit?'
 A. **John** pinupu' Andy
John UV.PFV.hit Andy
'Andy hit John'

(3)   Context: Did Andy hit John yesterday?
   a.   **Predicate Focus**
        Na'am Andy   nemupu'   John ngimalem,   **nemepag**   **Paul**   t=ieh
        NEG   Andy AV.PFV.hit John yesterday   AV.PFV.slap   Paul   PT=3SG
        'Andy didn't hit John yesterday, he slapped Paul.'

For focus information to follow the topic would be infelicitous in all examples above. Hence, privileged arguments can have different information statuses which correlate to some degree with word order.

However, information structure also has an effect on form. In UV, differential marking of pronominal actors reflects different information statuses. Typically, actor pronouns are GEN-marked and interpreted as topics. However, NOM is also possible and preferred when the UV actor is focus, contrastive or unexpected *and* the UV undergoer is topical:

(4) a. **Contrasted Actor**
        Pinupu'   **uih** (*/#kuh)   t=ieh   pu'un, am   dih   iko
        UV.PFV.hit   1SG.NOM   PT=3SG.NOM   first   NEG   DEM   3SG.NOM
        'I hit him first, not you' (i.e. you didn't hit him first))

    b. **Contrasted Undergoer**
        Ieh   teh suk   pinupu'**kuh** (*/#uih),   am   dih   iko
        3SG.NOM PT REL   UV.PFV.hit   1SG.GEN   NEG   DEM   3SG.NOM
        'He's the one I hit, not you' (i.e. I didn't hit you)

Consequently, morphosyntactic choices are affected by the information status of other elements in the clause and information status is neither uniquely determined by voice, nor by position or form, but via a combination of the three. Thus, though voice and information structure do interact, expression of information status in Kelabit involves a more complex interaction between syntax, semantics and morphology.

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Focal objects escape agreement in Moksha Mordvin

Alexey Kozlov

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Information structure at the interfaces in early written texts: Evidence from old Italo-Romance

Francesco Maria Ciconte

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Lacking prosody, early written texts are subject to interpretations that vary throughout manuscript transmission, displaying textual variants in which the same information is organized differently. Below, the *recensio codicum* shows two diverging word orders stemming from a common source.

Archetype
(Ms *X* : late Latin)

?

(1) a. Dissero   le lectere in questo modo   ?——   b. Li lictri   dichianu   in quistu modu
         say.PST.3PL the letters in this   way   the letters say.PST.3PL in this   way
         'The letters stated exactly this'   'The letters stated exactly this'
         (Ms *Legenda*: old Tuscan)   (Ms *Rebellamentu*: old Sicilian)
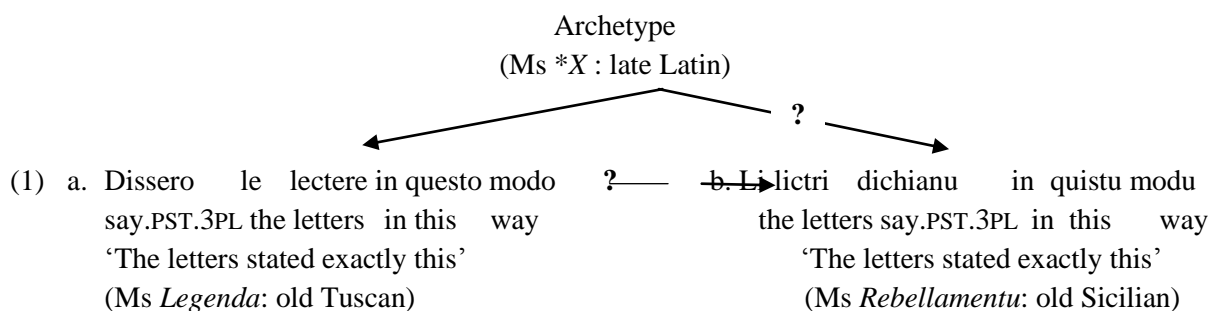
Continuing/Referential Topics are postverbal in the V2 syntax of medieval Romance, as witnessed by the Tuscan scribe (cf. 1a), whereas Shifting/Aboutness Topics are preverbal, and Foci can be both pre- and post-verbal (on the V2 syntax, see Benincà 1984, 2006, Vanelli 1986, 1999, Salvi 2000, 2016, Ledgeway 2008, 2012, Parry 2010, Poletto 2014, among others). Thus, the Sicilian variant (cf.1b) testifies to the 'thematization' of all types of topical subjects in preverbal position, anticipating the SV(O) of modern Romance. This change might have first originated in contexts where a non-presupposed subject is nonetheless definite (specific or identifiable). Incidentally, definiteness is overtly marked in early Romance (e.g. Lat. *LITTERAE* > Rom. *le*/*li lectere*/*lictri*). This tension frequently yields the free variation of the Referential Phrase (van Valin 2005) between pre- and post-verbal position, as shown below.

(2) a. Dixe   sancto Agostino che…   (old Lombard)
         say.3SG saint   Augustine that
         (*Elucidario*, II, 31, 149)
     b. Sancto Agostino dixe   ke…
         saint   Augustine say.3SG that
         (*Elucidario*, I, 64, 103)
         'Saint Augustine says that…'

By contrast, unaccusative predications in broad focus consistently display the subject in postverbal position.

(3) Venne   un matto   e   disse   loro…   (old Tuscan)
       come.PST.3SG a   crazy man and say.PST.3SG them

'There came a crazy man and said to them…'
(*Novellino*, XXVIII)

Note that sentence-focus structures exhibit the VS order also in Latin and in Modern Italian, suggesting that undergoer subjects are invariably postverbal over time.

(4) a. Venerunt   Macedones   a   Philippo mille   et   quingenti (Latin)

    come.PST.3PL Macedonians.NOM.PL from Philip   one thousand   and five hundreds
    (Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita*, 34, 26)

  b. Vennero   mille   e cinquecento Macedoni   da Filippo   (modern Italian)
    come.PST.3PL one thousand   and five hundred Macedonians from Philip
    'There came fifteen hundred Macedonians from (king) Philip'

The diachronic evidence suggests that information structure (topicality and (in)definiteness) interfaces with verb class and macrorole assignment resulting in word order contrasts.

In the presentation we will discuss these findings on the basis of the analysis of a substantial set of data (34 texts, over 2000 examples), taking into consideration factors such as context dependency, semantics of predicates and verb classes, (in)definiteness, as well as the stylistic aspects that constrain the written domain.

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WORKSHOP 10

New Directions in Language Evolution Research

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Research on language evolution is undoubtedly among the fastest-growing topics in linguistics. This is not a coincidence: While scholars have always been interested in the origin and evolution of language, it is only now that many questions can be addressed empirically drawing on a wealth of data and a multitude of methodological approaches developed in the different disciplines that try to find answers to what has been called "the hardest problem in science" (Christiansen & Kirby 2003). Importantly, any theory of how language may have emerged requires a solid understanding of how language and other communication systems work. As such, the questions in language evolution research are manifold and interface in multiple ways with key open questions in historical and theoretical linguistics: What exactly makes human language unique compared to animal communication systems? How do cognition, communication and transmission shape grammar? Which factors can explain linguistic diversity? How and why do languages change? To what extent is the structure of language(s) shaped by extra-linguistic, environmental factors?

Over the last 20 years or so, evolutionary linguistics has set out to find answers to these and many more questions. As, e.g., Dediu & De Boer (2016) have noted, the field of language evolution research is currently coming of age, and it has developed a rich toolkit of widely-adopted methods both for comparative research, which investigates the commonalities and differences between human language and animal communication systems, and for studying the cumulative cultural evolution of sign systems in experimental settings, including both computational and behavioral approaches (see e.g. Tallerman & Gibson 2012; Fitch 2017). In addition, large-scale typological studies have gained importance in recent research on language evolution (e.g. Evans 2010).

The goal of this workshop is to discuss innovative theoretical and methodological approaches that go beyond the current state of the art by proposing and empirically testing new hypotheses, by developing new or refining existing methods for the study of language evolution, and/or by reinterpreting the available evidence in the light of innovative theoretical frameworks. In this vein, our workshop aims at bringing together researchers from multiple disciplines and theoretical backgrounds to discuss the latest developments in language evolution research. Topics include

- experimental approaches investigating the emergence and/or development of sign systems in frameworks such as experimental semiotics (e.g. Galantucci & Garrod 2010) or artificial language learning (e.g. Kirby et al. 2014);
- empirical research on non-human communication systems as well as comparative research on animal cognition with respect to its relevance for the evolution of cognitive prerequisites for fully-fledged human language (Kirby 2017);
- approaches using computational modelling and robotics (Steels 2011) in order to investigate problems like the grounding of symbol systems in non-symbolic representations (Harnad 1990), the emergence of the particular features that make human language unique (Kirby 2017, Smith 2014), or the question to what extent these features are domain-specific, i.e. evolved by natural selection for a specifically linguistic function (Culbertson & Kirby 2016);

- research that explicitly combines expertise from multiple different disciplines, e.g. typology and neurolinguistics (Bickel et al. 2015); genomics, archaeology, and linguistics (Pakendorf 2014, Theofanopoulou et al. 2017); comparative biology and philosophy of language (Moore 2016); and many more.

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Noun phrase word order across languages reflects simplicity and naturalness

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Looking across the world's languages, we can often see that not all possible linguistic patterns are equally common. Explaining *why* this is the case is a topic of longstanding debate in cognitive science. In this talk, I will focus on one well-studied example, the order of nouns and nominal modifiers (e.g., demonstratives, adjectives, numerals). Starting with Greenberg's Universals 18 and 20, a number of theoretical and descriptive approaches to order in this domain have been formulated (Greenberg 1963, Hawkins 1983, Rijkhoff 1990, Cinque 2005, Abels & Neeleman 2012, Dryer 2009, Steedman 2011, Cysouw 2011). Here, I will argue that two very general forces–simplicity and naturalness–can largely explain why some noun phrase orders are much more common than others. I will then go beyond most prior work in this domain and provide direct behavioral evidence for these two forces at work, using artificial language learning methods.

The basic idea is that *simplicity* pushes languages to maintain a consistent order of the head noun with respect to different modifying elements. Consistent orders require simpler grammars, with fewer rules, while inconsistent ordering of different modifier types require more complex grammars (Culbertson & Kirby 2016). *Naturalness* favors a transparent mapping between linear order and underlying semantic or conceptual structure. Prior work in both formal and functional approaches to syntax and semantics (e.g., Partee 1987, Rijkhoff 2004, Alexiadou et al. 2007) suggests that in this domain the adjective is conceptually closest to the noun, then the numeral, then the demonstrative (as in Figure 1). Together, simplicity and naturalness therefore predict alignment of the noun at the edge of the phrase, and placement of adjectives closest to the noun and demonstratives farthest away from the noun.
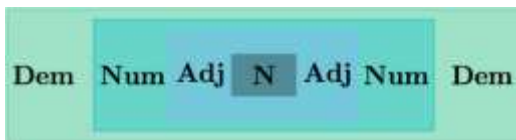
Figure 1. Schematic of conceptual structure in the noun phrase.

This hypothesis is consistent with the frequency distribution of pattern types across the world's languages, however a much stronger test of its predictions comes from new methodological approaches to the study of language evolution. In particular, I use artificial language experiments to confirming the behavioral effects of this hypothesis in the lab. Further, I report results across different language populations (English, French, Hebrew, and Thai), and across different linguistic modalities (vocal/auditory and manual/visual). Findings across all these studies suggest that both simplicity and naturalness are at play in the lab. First, learners taught variable systems of word order show a clear preference for consistent order of modifiers relative to the noun, even when their native language is inconsistent (e.g., French, Hebrew). Second, when asked to improvise word order using gesture, or using an already learned artificial lexicon, natural orders emerge, with adjectives closest to the noun, and demonstratives farthest away. These results illustrate how artificial language methods can be used to provide convincing evidence connecting properties of human cognition to typology.

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Why sociolinguistics and language evolution should talk more

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The last couple of decades have seen two strands of research coalesce into increasingly well-defined fields. One is the study of cultural evolution; the other is the study of the origins and evolution of language. One important development has been the recognition that the former may have a great deal of light to shed on the latter (Tamariz & Kirby, 2016), and this in turn has played a role in the development of an innovative experimental approach (sometimes called Experimental Semiotics) to test cultural-evolutionary hypotheses about language (Galantucci, Garrod, & Roberts, 2012). In this approach participants either learn or collaboratively construct a novel miniature language under laboratory conditions. An important feature that distinguishes Experimental Semiotics from traditional artificial-language-learning approaches is the inclusion of a social component – that is, participants in such experiments are exposed to the linguistic output of other participants, either in training (as in iterated learning experiments; Kirby, Griffiths, & Smith, 2014) or via direct communication.

What is sometimes forgotten is that a parallel field, sociolinguistics has (together with historical linguistics) been investigating the cultural evolution of language since the mid-twentieth century. Contact between the two disciplines has not been what it might be, however, and they have mostly developed in parallel, with rather different research focuses, and very different empirical approaches. This is not as unhealthy as one might imagine – in fact, from an evolutionary point of view, it has clear advantages, as the diversity of perspective it provides increases the likelihood of useful innovation (cf. Fay, Garrod, & Roberts, 2008). However, that only works if the two fields communicate with each other in more than a superficial way. Indeed, bringing experimental semiotic methods to bear on sociolinguistic hypotheses, while also taking advantage of the opportunity to

compare laboratory data with data from sociolinguistic corpora, promises to be both productive and enriching to both fields (Roberts, 2017). By deepening our understanding of cultural evolutionary processes in modern language, this should also improve models of longer term language evolution. A few researchers have already taken advantage of these opportunities (Smith, Feher, & Ritt, 2014). In this talk I will present several examples, including experiments modeling new-dialect formation (Roberts, 2010), the spread of linguistic variants between different social groups (Sneller & Roberts, 2018), and the role of social biases in modulating the loss of redundant forms (Roberts & Fedzechkina, 2018). In presenting this work, I will make the case for why sociolinguistics and language evolution should talk more, to the benefit of both.

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<div align="center">ജ</div>

Waves of history and layers of evidence: What can the combination of linguistics and genetics tell us about the nature, timing and impact of Papuan contact on the Austronesian languages of Vanuatu?

Russell Gray, Adam Powell, Cosimo Posth, Annemarie Verkerk & Mary Walworth
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The Austronesian languages of Vanuatu are notable for both their sheer number and their marked deviation from most other Oceanic languages. Their aberrant features include non-decimal numeral systems, rounded labial phonemes, dually articulated labial-velar phonemes, bilabial trills, dual exclusion of p and c phonemes, and serial verb constructions. Blust (2008) has argued that the presence of these linguistic features can only be explained by a wave of Papuan expansion into

Remote Oceania that quickly followed the initial Austronesian expansion (around 3200 BP). In this paper we will outline what a combination of genetic and linguistic analyses can tell us about early Papuan and Austronesian language contact in Vanuatu.

First, we will discuss the many aberrant features exhibited in various Vanuatu languages, highlighting their typological rarity while simultaneously demonstrating their shared presence among Papuan languages [Figure 1]. We will then consider the language mixing that must have historically occurred between the Oceanic languages of Vanuatu and Papuan languages to result in the shared evidence of such unusual features, and we will offer multiple scenarios for this mixing. Finally, we present analyses of 19 new ancient genomes. These genomes provide the first direct evidence of a so-far undescribed Papuan expansion into Remote Oceania. In support of Blust's hypothesis they show far earlier arrival than previously estimated (~2,500 years before present). Our genome-wide data from 27 contemporary ni-Vanuatu demonstrate a subsequent and almost complete replacement of Lapita-Austronesian by Papuan ancestry. Despite this massive demographic change, incoming Papuan languages did not replace Oceanic languages. Population replacement with language continuity is extremely rare – if not unprecedented – in human history. Our analyses show that rather than one large-scale event, the process was incremental and complex, comprising repeated migrations and sex-biased interactions with peoples from the Bismarck Archipelago.

Figure 1: Distribution of some linguistic features, from New Guinea to Vanuatu

- Rounded Fricatives
- Bilabial Trills
- Labialvelar Stops
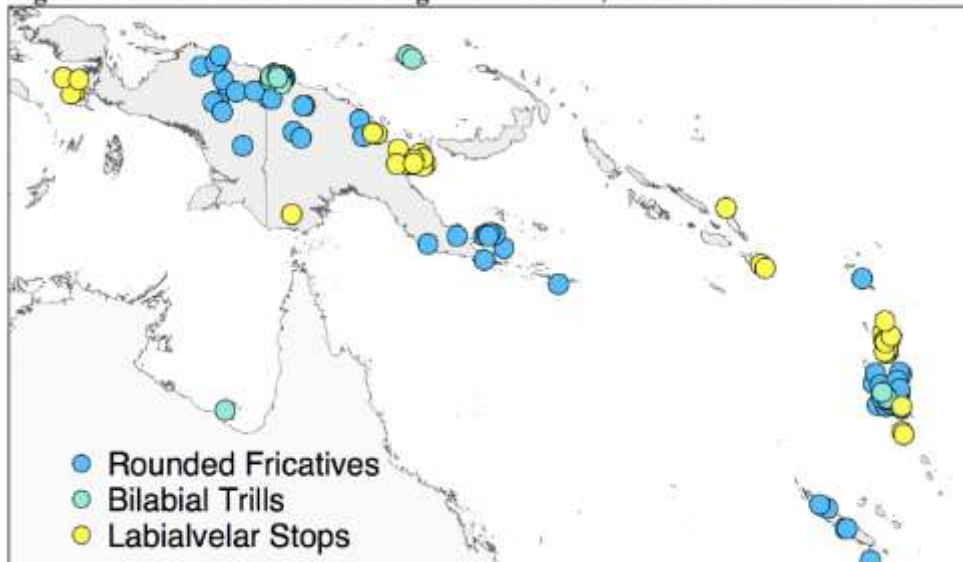
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⌾

Triangulating sound symbolism: Where to find it and how to create it

Niklas Johansson
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Sound symbolism is a universal component of language (Samarin 1978 and Blasi et al. 2016), but it can also adapt to language-specific constraints. However, most previous cross-linguistic studies have been small in scope, larger studies have lacked phonetic distinctions important for sound symbolism (Ohala 1994 and Johansson 2017), and experiments have focused on matching ready-made sound symbolic words to stimuli (Ramachandran and Hubbard 2001), rather than investigating how sound symbolic associations develop among language users. It is thus natural to investigate the phonetic and semantic features involved in sound symbolism from a bottom-up perspective without any initial assumptions other than that it is a universal, non-arbitrary and flexible association between sound and meaning, both cross-linguistically and experimentally.

First, 344 concepts with claimed universal tendencies (Swadesh 1971 and Goddard and Wierzbicka 2002) were investigated in 245 language families and the phonemes of the linguistic forms were systematically grouped according to phonetically salient parameters. 178 statistically significant sound-meaning associations were found based on the standard scores calculated for the occurrence of each sound group in each concept, and their occurrence in all of six geographical macro-areas. In addition, these associations could be correlated with 45 of the items of the Swadesh-100-list, which questions the list's ability to determine genetic relationships.

Secondly, 42 macro-concepts, e.g. basic descriptors (SMALLNESS, DARKNESS), deictic distinctions and kinship attributes, were identified based on cooccurring shared semantic and phonetic features between the significant concepts. Furthermore, all identified macro-concepts were found to be grounded in four types of sound symbolism (Dingemanse 2011 and Carling and Johansson 2015): (a) in unimodal imitation (*onomatopoeia*); (b) in cross-modal imitation (*vocal gestures*), in which the accompanying sounds are only secondarily associated (e.g. ROUND and labial sounds which have visually round shapes); (c) in resemblance based on relation (Ohala's 1994 *frequency code*); or (d) in circumstantial mappings, e.g. the associations between MOTHER, MILK and nasals (the only sounds infants can produce whilst breastfeeding).

Thirdly, four of the confirmed sound symbolic concepts were further investigated through iterated learning experiments (Kirby et al. 2015). Naïve participants were divided into five condition groups which contained ten chains of 15 participants each. They either received no information about the meaning of the word they were about to hear, or that it meant BIG, SMALL, ROUND or POINTY. The first participant in each chain was then audially presented with a phonetically diverse word and asked to repeat it. Thereafter, the recording of the repeated word was played for the next participant in the same chain. Significant increases of high-frequency and hard palate sounds in the SMALL- and POINTY-conditions, and labial and low-frequency in the ROUND-condition, were found after 15 generations.

These findings show considerable cross-linguistic sound symbolic effects on basic vocabulary, that sound symbolism is an active part of language, and that sound symbolism is based in the human perception of the body and its interaction with the surrounding world. Thus, it is likely that sound symbolism has originated as a bootstrapping mechanism for human language (Imai and Kita 2014).

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Testing the complex relationship between language diversity, biodiversity, and ecology

Simon Greenhill et al.

There are >7500 languages spoken on Earth. Rather than being spread evenly across the planet, their distribution is unusually uneven. Language diversity, like species diversity, broadly follows a latitudinal gradient with more languages near the equator and fewer in higher latitudes (Nichols 1992, Gavin and Stepp 2014). Not only are there more languages closer to the equator, these languages nearer the equator tend to be spoken across smaller areas than their counterparts further away. These patterns mean that New Guinea alone hosts more than 900 languages – ~12% of the total diversity in 0.5% of the world's area. The causes of this unusually uneven language distribution remains one of the biggest unsolved questions in linguistics (Gavin et al. 2013, Greenhill 2014). There have been many attempts to identify causal drivers (e.g. Nettle 1999), but these attempts often test factors in isolation, are unable to tease apart competing drivers and relative effect sizes, and can be compromised by failures to account for spatial or phylogenetic autocorrelation (Cardillo et al. 2015). Here we investigate the link between ecological risk, language diversity, climate, biodiversity and landscape using global, high-resolution grid cells. Our approach, first, circumvents the spatial autocorrelation problem by using a grid analysis and controlling for geographical distance between cells and, second, corrects for phylogenetic non-independence by incorporating information about the relatedness of the world's languages. We find that language diversity is linked to a range of climate (e.g. Mean Growing Season, Seasonality), biodiversity (e.g. Bird and Mammalian diversity), and human movement factors

(e.g. terrain roughness and latitudinal range). Our results can rule out some of the candidate drivers of linguistic diversity and reveal the complex interplay of factors driving these patterns.

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Syntactic theory and human diversity

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The combination of linguistics and genetics provides powerful tools to probe human history. Whether their results converge or diverge, strong conclusions can be reached in the reconstruction of our past.
We explore the possibility of broad-scale parallelism between language and gene transmission by performing a radical recalculation of linguistic distances in Eurasia for a selective dataset of 37 languages from 11 traditionally irreducible linguistic phyla and the corresponding populations. To calculate linguistic distances, we adopt the Parametric Comparison Method (PCM, Longobardi and Guardiano 2009), which uses as taxonomic characters a class of items which have never been exploited before to assess language relatedness: syntactic parameters of universal grammar. The syntactic database contains 91 binary parameters connected by a carefully worked out network of implicational relationships, suggested by original theoretical and typological research. In spite of claims to the contrary, in both traditional and formal grammar (Newmeyer 2005, Lightfoot 2006, Anderson 2017 to cite just few), we show that this dataset:

(1) a. retrieves a deep historical signal in reconstructing all the major known splits into families and subfamilies in Eurasia;
  b. suggests some statistically assessable hypotheses about deeper phyla which can hardly be achieved and evaluated with lexical methods.

Then, we present a rather significant overall cross-family gene-language correlation among Eurasian populations and demonstrate that:
(2) a. the evolution of syntax is completely vertical (i.e. tree-like: Schleicherian rather than Schmidtian), once genetic variation (hence demic movements) is subtracted (it is genetic diversity that introduces a strong, though controllable, horizontal component);
  b. when syntax-based taxonomies do not fully agree with independent (e.g. lexical) expectations, it is always the case that an explanation in terms of remarkable genetic contact is possible;
  c. language-gene mismatches point to movements of languages without remarkable demic displacement, never the opposite.

On these grounds, we argue for two conclusions:
(3) a. it is possible to capture phylogenetic signals with a model embodying a high degree of universal hypotheses about language;
  b. deeply deductive mental representations of linguistic diversity advocated by generative grammar and cognitive theories are fully appropriate for a scientific study of human history of unprecedented chronological depth.

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Typologies in equilibrium

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In a landmark paper, Maslova (2000) argued that the synchronous frequencies of a typological variable do not reveal distributional universals. As there is no guarantee that the underlying dynamic process has reached equilibrium, observed frequencies may reflect properties of ancestor languages rather than functional tendencies. As a remedy, Maslova proposes to estimate the transition rates between types from diachronic data and to compute the equilibrium distribution analytically instead.

Probably due to the sparsity of diachronic typological evidence, this program has not been realized so far. Techniques from the phylogenetic comparative method (cf. Nunn 2011) in computational biology, however, paired with the newly available electronic typological data sources, afford an alternative way to realized Maslova's goal.

Once a typological variable and a collection of languages has been fixed, the workflow is as follows:

1. Infer a (distribution of) phylogeny(ies) from lexical data.
2. Estimate the transition matrix between the values of the variable.
3. Calculate the equilibrium distribution of this Markov process.

We conducted two case studies: (A) The major word order types, using WALS, and (B) case marking alignment patterns, using the data from Bickel et al. (2015). In both studies, we used the ASJP database (Wichmann et al., 2016) for the first step.

In (A), we found substantial differences between equilibrium and observed values (the numbers in parentheses give the posterior 95% highest density interval):

	equilibrium	empirical
consistent object marking	0.40 (0.29,0.48)	0.15
differential object marking	0.27 (0.19,0.30)	0.17
no case marking	0.11 (0.07,0.13)	0.49
split ergative marking	0.05 (0.02,0.09)	0.05
consistent subject marking	0.03 (0.02,0.06)	0.11
⋮	⋮	⋮

The corresponding results for (B) suggests that equilibrium has been reached:

	equilibrium	empirical
SOV	0.499 (0.285,0.664)	0.470
SVO	0.455 (0.280,0.655)	0.423
VSO	0.038 (0.000 0.159)	0.076
VOS	0.004 (0.000,0.010)	0.018
OVS	0.003 (0.000,0.007)	0.011
OSV	0.002 (0.000,0.005)	0.003

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Two problems and solutions in evolutionary corpus-based language dynamics research

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Large diachronic text corpora enable a data-based approach to the evolution and dynamics of language. The development of unsupervised methods for the inference of semantic similarity, semantic change and polysemy from such large datasets mean that, in addition to measuring orthographic similarity or counting frequencies (e.g., Petersen et al. 2012, Bochkarev et al. 2015), it is also possible to measure meaning and therefore semantic evolution over time. This has given rise to a body of work – notably, scattered across multiple disciplines and thus at times being carried out in parallel – dealing with the postulation and evaluation of trends or laws in language dynamics relating to semantic change (e.g., Dubossarsky et al. 2016, Hamilton et al. 2016, Xu and Kemp 2015).

However, concerns have been raised regarding these corpus-based approaches, arising from the inherent sampling biases of corpora (Pechenick et al. 2015), the influence of world events on the composition of topics in corpora (Chelsey and Baayen 2010, Lijffijt et al. 2012, Szmrecsanyi 2016), and most recently, methodological problems arising from diachronic applications of distributed semantics methods, shown to be more closely tied to frequency (and frequency change) than previously assumed (Dubossarsky et al. 2017). Additionally, there is a lack of gold standard datasets to evaluate the performance of automatic semantic change measures (with the exception of some small test sets, e.g., Gulordava et al. 2011, Schlechtweg et al. 2017).

We review these developments and propose solutions to two of the aforementioned issues. We demonstrate a simple model capable of controlling for topical fluctuations in a corpus, and show that it describes a considerable amount of variance in diachronic word frequency changes. Furthermore, we discuss a tentative approach to control for potentially frequency-biased results of semantic change measures, demonstrating its utility using simulations of change on artificially composed corpora, providing a controlled test of our technique.

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Language evolution in the absence of functional pressures

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Iterated learning experiments (e.g. Kirby et al. 2008, Silvey et al. 2015) suggest that cultural transmission is responsible for some of the most characteristic properties of human language like selective underspecification and compositionality. These qualities optimize learnability and the transmission of meaning, both of which are necessary for the repeated acquisition of the system and for its continued usefulness in the community. These are important empirical discoveries. However, experimental conditions differ immensely from natural language acquisition (e.g. in the lack of context, sheer difference in exposure etc.). These limitations are likely to bias the effect of experimental iterated learning in substantial and not sufficiently understood ways. In addition, because of their self-contained nature, it is sometimes difficult to judge which is the exact module of language (i.e. the lexicon, morphology or other) that the experiments are supposed to mimic.

Fortunately, thanks to the increased availability of electronic diachronic corpora, we are in a position to explore natural language evolution in a most detailed way. My purpose will be to analyze

the ways in which underspecification evolves precisely there where conditions differ more from the ones in the typical experiment: in the stems of inflectional paradigms.

The stem of a lexical item could be expected to have a single consistent form in all grammatical environments. This, however, is not always the case and so-called 'stem alternants' are not rare. In languages like Spanish, stem alternants in the verb are functionally entirely redundant because grammatical meaning is expressed unambiguously elsewhere. Because of this, the functional pressure toward the distinctiveness of forms should be minimal. However, stem alternants are surprisingly frequent and resilient (see e.g. Maiden 2011). Drawing on a diachronic corpus of Spanish (CORDE of Real Academia Española), I explore the interaction and evolution of stem alternants in a chosen set of 20 frequent verbs (e.g. *llevar* 'take', *tener* 'have', *poner* 'put', *andar* 'walk', *conocer* 'know', *valer* 'be worth', *traer* 'carry', *recibir* 'receive', *morir* 'die', *cubrir* 'cover'...) that have undergone changes in the documented history of the language. Based on over 30000 sampled forms, the morphosyntactic distribution of the stem alternants and the frequency of different paradigm cells is monitored in different regions and historical periods.

The results suggest that, at least in this corner of the language, patterns of underpecification do not consistently correlate to salient meaning distinctions. Instead, the observed patterns and their diachronic tendencies are more readily explained as a quest for reliable formal cues and predictors to accommodate the inherited stem variants. These findings readily connect to information-theoretic (e.g. Ackerman & Malouf 2013) and abstractive approaches to morphology (e.g. Blevins et al. 2016), and to the literature on so-called 'stem spaces' (e.g. Montermini & Bonami 2013) and 'morphomes' (Aronoff 1994).

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Scalar language under communicative pressure: Road to "most"

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During the development across various timescales, languages tend to adopt variants exhibiting greater communicative fitness (Christiansen & Chater, 2016). This theoretical stance has already gained some suport in various linguistic domains (Kemp & Regier, 2012, Plewczyński et al., 2014, Christensen, Fusaroli, & Tylén, 2016). Quantifiers, despite their ubiquity in natural language, are less explored from this perspective. Notable exceptions are (Pauw & Hilferty, 2012, 2016) where the authors investigate potential advantages of fuzziness and context-dependence in the selection of quantifier meanings among communicating robotic agents.

In our current approach, we argue that the meaning of „most", perhaps the only proportional quantifier appearing so often (Szymanik & Thorne, 2017) across so many languages (Katsos et al., 2016), may be viewed as an adaptation of language to general communicative principles and distributional properties of the environment. By combining a few modeling techniques such as logic and evolutionary game theory, we show that a single first-order (i.e. referring to the properties of individual objects) scalar term is likely to develop, and sustain, thresholds close the median of the distribution associated with the underlying comparison class. Assuming the most likely thresholds of first-order scalar concepts, we investigate the probabilistic behaviour of higher-order scalar properties, such as $|A \cap B|/|A|$, which are crucial in comparisons with threshold proportions of proportional quantifiers. Crucially, the meaning of *Most As are B* is usually interpreted as $|A \cap B|/|A| > 1/2$ (Peters & Westerståhl, 2006). We show that when B corresponds to a first-order scalar concept, the probabilistic behaviour of $|A \cap B|/|A|$ is approximately normally distributed with a median of $1/2$. This yields precisely $1/2$ as the most favourable threshold for a proportional quantifier. We also discuss some ideas concerning a more comprehensive model which includes more than one scalar concept per comparison class.

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The evolution of scalar terms' semantic structure

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Universal properties can be identified on different levels of description of language, and evolutionary linguists have a solid tradition in explaining these universals in terms of evolutionary mechanisms. Syntactic and phonological universals have traditionally received the most attention, but in this paper we will show a striking semantic universal and provide an evolutionary account of it by combining Rational Speech Act modelling and Iterated Learning. We hope to show that creating evolutionary models for semantic universals is a fruitful new approach.

We focus on what we call the universal of *monotonicity* in the semantics of gradable adjectives. Gradable adjectives like "tall" in expressions like "John is tall" convey that the subject has a property to a degree that falls within a range on a scale, e.g. the scale of height. In natural language adjectives, the range allowed by gradable adjectives is monotonic, i.e. there is a degree d such that the range includes exactly the degrees greater than d. This amounts to saying that if Joe is tall (short) and Mark is taller (shorter) than Joe, than Mark must also be tall (short). We formulate the monotonicity universal precisely within a standard account of the semantics of gradable adjectives (Kennedy and McNally 2005). We then propose a novel evolutionary account of the ubiquity of monotonicity.

We present three computational models that built on top of each other to explain monotonicity. The first model uses the Iterated Learning paradigm (Kirby, Griffiths, and Smith 2014) to study how ranges evolve under a pressure for learnability alone in a population of literal Bayesian agents. We propose a way of calculating the prior that assumes a cognitive bias for simplicity. We show that under the proposed prior the ranges become monotonic but also degenerate, i.e. they cover either nothing or the whole degrees scale. This is unlike the behaviour of natural language adjectives. The second model studies the effects of adding a pressure for communicative accuracy. The communicatively best language for literal agents contains non-monotonic extensions. Therefore, in the second model adjectival ranges stop being degenerate and become non-monotonic, which is still different from natural language adjectives. In the third model, we implement more sophisticated agents using the Rational Speech Act modelling paradigm (Goodman and Frank 2016). This model allows agents to calculate scalar implicatures, making them pragmatically skilful. Pragmatic agents can accommodate their bias for simplicity by having completely monotonic languages without losing in terms of communicative accuracy. Therefore, agents in the third model evolve languages with non-degenerate monotonic meanings resembling real language's adjectives.

We conclude that the pervasiveness of monotonicity follows from a combination of human pragmatic skills and pressures coming from learnability and communication. The computational evolutionary model we present thus offers an explanation of a semantic universal.

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A Natural Prehistory of Negation

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Truth functional negation, despite being a universal category (Dahl 1979), is quite a difficult notion. No animal can master it (Corballis 2003, Heine and Kuteva 2007), and even five-year-old children have problems with it (Kim 1985). Perhaps the most difficult aspect of negation is its non-veridicality: talk about what is *not* the case.

The development of non-veridical concepts and their expression must have been an important milestone in the evolution of human cognition and language. Negation was plausibly absent from protolanguage, and only emerged in the transition to full language (Heine and Kuteva 2002, de Swart 2009). But given the difficulty of the concept, it is implausible to expect that negation emerged "from scratch"; I propose, therefore, that negation had a precursor in protolanguage.

Such an intermediate step would be close in meaning to negation, yet still veridical. There is, in fact, a class of linguistic elements that have exactly these properties: "quasi-negatives" (Klein 1997), like *barely* and *hardly*, and their counterparts cross-linguistically.

These are elements that have a negative "feel" (which develops at an early age—Champaud and Bassano, 1987) and share many characteristics with real negatives. For example, they allow NPIs:

(1)   He barely {budged/spoke to anyone} (Horn 1996)

Significantly, *barely* Φ allows continuations that are compatible with $\neg\Phi$ rather than Φ:

(2)   John can barely swim. #Therefore he'll enjoy a day at the pool with his
friends./Therefore he's afraid of drowning (Amaral 2007)

And yet, *barely* is veridical: *barely* Φ entails Φ.

Interestingly, some quasi-negatives, like *hardly* and Portuguese *mal*, developed an additional meaning that is *not* veridical (Amaral and Schwenter 2009):

(3)   A: Did you finish writing your paper?
B: Hardly. ($\rightarrow$*no*)

Quasi-negatives are therefore an attractive choice for precursors to negation. But could similar expressions have been present at the primitive protolanguage? A possible answer comes from a surprising source: the communication system of Campbell's monkeys.

These monkeys have distinct warning calls, which might be followed by *-oo*. Schlenker *et al*. (2013) analyze *-oo* as an attenuating suffix. For example, if *hok* is an eagle call, *hok-oo* is used when the situation is appropriate for a *hok* call, but not a very severe one, because it lacks some property that

is normally associated with such a situation: the caller doesn't actually see the eagle, or the eagle is not deemed to be dangerous, etc. This is reminiscent of the meaning of quasi-negatives, which "restrict the degree to which the predicate holds of its argument, on the basis of the scarcity or lack in the argument of a salient property which is normally associated with that predicate." (Amaral 2007). Crucially, *-oo* is veridical: the modified call *X-oo* signals a situation that is appropriate for the unmodified call *X*.

The suffix *-oo*, then, behaves like a quasi-negative. If monkey communication can contain such an element, it is not implausible that an early form of human protolanguage contained a quasi-negative, which, in the fullness of time, evolved into full negation.

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Rethinking Neoteny and Neuroplasticity in Language Evolution

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In recent years, much attention has been focused on neurodevelopmental changes that may have enabled the remarkable human capacity for culture and language in particular. Specifically, relative to other primates, the human brain has been claimed to show "neotenous" features: slow maturation, the retention of structurally immature neurons throughout life, and enhanced synaptic plasticity (see, e.g., Bufill et al. 2011). This suite of characteristics has been claimed to increase our cortical complexity, and thereby cognitive capacity, by allowing a prolonged period of postnatal learning, such as is required to learn language (e.g., Sherwood & Gómez-Robles 2017). However, recent studies have revealed that Neanderthals, too, were a slow-maturing species (Rosas et al. 2017), suggesting that any hypotheses regarding the role of neoteny/plasticity in human cognitive evolution need refinement, if it is to account for *sapiens*-specific capacities. Here we want to re-examine this issue by combining insights from numerous disciplines, from paleogenomics to developmental neuroscience. We argue that patterns of neuroprotective myelination are revealing in this respect. Building on paleogenomic comparisons of primate neurogenesis, we construct a molecular heat map of changes in myelination that occurred recently in the human lineage, distinct from Neanderthals but emerging before the out-of-Africa event. We focus on the longest, most metabolically expensive white matter tracts, which are those that require additional protection. These include the connection between the posterior superior temporal cortex and BA44, which is implicated in processing of syntactically complex sentences. We conclude that these human-specific, late-developing circuits have a common feature: they process complex computations related to language and theory of mind. Delayed maturation as such was not the distinguishing factor; rather, metabolic costs associated with novel circuits were.

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WORKSHOP 11

Preverbal indefinite subjects

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In languages with Subject Verb word order, preverbal subjects tend to be definite rather than indefinite (e.g. Givón 1976, 1978; Prince 1981, 1992; Leonetti 1998). However, the acceptability and frequency of preverbal indefinite subjects (henceforth PIS) varies cross-linguistically. For instance, it is reported that PIS are hardly acceptable in spoken French (1) (Lambrecht 1988, 1994; Van De Velde 2005; Cappeau & Deulofeu 2006; Cappeau 2008; Dobrovie-Sorin & Beyssade 2012), whereas they are much less problematic in English (see translation in (1)).

(1)   **?** *Un ami m'a apporté ce livre.*
        'A friend brought me that book.'
        (Cappeau & Deulofeu 2001:4, our translation)

The awkwardness of (1) may be related to the fact that in French (as in other discourse-configurational languages), preverbal subjects are usually discourse-given and topical in the sense of 'that which the sentence is about' (Givón 1976). Indefinite constituents, however, generally refer to discourse-new referents and are dispreferred as topics (Beaver et al. 2005). As a consequence, speakers of French make extensive use of 'presentational constructions' such as the *il y a* cleft in order to introduce discourse-new, indefinite constituents (Lambrecht 2002; Karssenberg 2016, 2017; Karssenberg & Lahousse 2017).

(2)   *Il y a une voiture qui se fait remorquer par une dépanneuse dans le parking...*
        'There's a car that's getting towed by a tow truck in the parking lot.'
        (Karssenberg 2017:183)

In a similar vein, although PIS are acceptable in Dutch when accompanied by prosodic stress (3a), other presentational constructions, such as "*er is* + NP + VP" can also be used in order to introduce discourse-new indefinite referents (3b).

(3)   a. *IEMAND heeft koffie over haar arm gemorst.*
        SOMEONE has coffee over her arm spilled.
        "Someone spilled coffee over her arm."
        b. *Er is een trein ontspoord.*
        There is a train derailed.
        "A train has derailed."
        (Belligh 2016)

Turning to English, Irwin (2014, to appear) argues that syntactic structure plays a role in the felicity of indefinite subjects that establish persistent discourse referents. The role of argument

structure in this phenomenon is illustrated with contrasts like those in (4), where (4a) is analysed as containing an existential proposition, informally paraphrased as "there was a lady who waltzed in."

(4)   a. A lady waltzed in. She was wearing pink.
        b. ??A lady laughed. She was wearing pink.

Other licensing conditions have also been reported. For instance, Cheng & Downing (2014) argue that PIS in Durban Zulu (5) can be accounted for in terms of the presence of a presupposition of existence rather than the opposition topical/non-topical.

(5)   *úúma ámá-nye ámá-phutha á-bálúlékiile, ngéké sí-khíphe lencwáadi*
        if 6-some 6-error 6SUBJ-be.major.TAM never we-publish this.book
        'If (some) mistakes are major, we will never publish this book.'
        (Cheng & Downing 2014:20)

The goal of this workshop is to bring together insights about PIS in different languages with SV word order, in order to come to a better understanding of the acceptability, frequency, and licensing conditions of PIS. Questions we intend to address in this workshop include, but are not limited to, the following:

- Which types of PIS are acceptable in languages with SV word order (e.g. indefinite pronouns, partitive or quantified NPs…)?
- What is the distribution of PIS across different genres/usage contexts (e.g. newspaper vs. online forum, spoken vs. written) of a given language?
- Which are the (morphosyntactic, semantic, pragmatic, information structural, discourse functional) licensing factors for PIS?
- To what extent do licensing conditions for PIS vary cross-linguistically?
- How can cross-linguistic differences in the acceptability and/or frequency of PIS be explained?
- How can different theoretical and methodological approaches (e.g. corpus linguistic methods, experimental methods) be combined to gain a deeper and more complete insight into PIS?

We welcome contributions from all theoretical frameworks on spoken and signed languages with SV word order; we are particularly interested in analyses that incorporate insights from corpus work and experimental studies.

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Testing differences in discourse referent establishment from indefinite subjects

Patricia Irwin

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Low referentiality in LIS and LSF

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Background. Cross-linguistically, a variety of constructions convey ignorance about a discourse referent; these include epistemic indefinites (e.g. German *ingendeinen*) and impersonals (e.g. French *on*), as well as syntactic strategies such as null subjects.

Goals. We explore the strategies for expressing 'low referentiality' in Italian Sign Language (LIS) and French Sign Language (LSF), two subject-initial languages, in a crosslinguistic and crossmodal perspective. We show that the patterns from LIS and LSF fit into known typologies as long as both manual signs and facial expressions are considered; micro-variation between LSF and LIS falls within the range of attested variation.

Methodology. Target sentences were recorded and repeatedly judged on a 7-point scale by native signers, using low-referentiality contexts from Barberà and Cabredo Hofherr (2016).

Results. We discuss two existential quantifiers (SOMEONE and PERSON), two non-manual signs (frown face and eye-gaze), and sentences with null subjects. Examples here come from LIS.   With neutral non-manuals, existential quantifiers yield fully referential readings, while low referential readings are highly marginal (LSF is more tolerant than LIS). The null pronoun is ambiguous between the two readings (c.f. 1).

(1) a. PERSON/SOMEONE   HOUSE   ENTER.
          'Someone entered my house and I have in mind who.' = *Fully referential*
          ??/# 'Someone entered my house and I have no idea who might be.' = *Low referential*

     b. *pro*   HOUSE   ENTER
          √ *Fully referential*   √ *Low referential*

When the frown facial expression co-occurs with the quantifiers, only low referential readings are accessible (cf. 2). When eye-gaze is directed to the location of the sign, this yields the inference that the speaker has a particular person in mind.

                              :-(
          _____
(2)   SOMEONE/PERSON   HOUSE   ENTER.
         # *Fully referential*   √ *Low referential*

A series of tests determines the impersonal vs. indefinite status of these strategies (Cabredo

Hoffer 2008). Results are summarized in Table 1. We also tested whether the existentials with frown-face are epistemic indefinites (Aloni & Port 2012). Results are summarized in Table 2. Finally we tested whether *high* loci convey non-specific readings as in Catalan SL (LSC). Results (not shown here) indicate that this is not the case for LSF nor LIS.

Test	SOMEONE PERSON	Null	subj.
Low scope with frequency adverbs	*	*	√
Joint reference in anaphoric chains	*	√LIS *LSF	√
Compatible with generic readings	*	*	√
Compatible with corporate readings	*	*	√

Table 1: Impersonal constructions have a positive values for all the tests.

Test	SOMEONE	/	PERSON
		:-(	
Ignorance about referent	√		
Free choice reading under deontic modals	√		
Sensitivity to identification methods	√		

Table 2: Epistemic indefinites have a positive values for all the tests.

Analysis. LIS and LSF mark low referentiality either by leaving the argument unexpressed or by pairing the signs SOMEONE and PERSON with adequate nonmanuals. These options are also available in LSC. Differently from LSC, space is not used to convey indefiniteness or specificity in LIS or LSF. With frown-face, SOMEONE and PERSON behave as epistemic indefinites (like German *ingendeinen*), while the null subject is the impersonal marker (as in spoken Italian).

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Indefinite subjects in Italian

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In Italian an indefinite NP can be introduced by indefinite or by 'partitive article'- *di+definite article* -, or can also be a bare noun. The indefinite article introduces singular indefinite NPs while the 'partitive' introduces plural indefinite NPs or mass and abstract singular nouns (Korzen 1996:II).

Indefinite subjects frequently appear in postverbal position within 'presentational construction', when a new referent is introduced. In Italian the verb *esserci* with existential meaning (1a), inaccusatives (1b) and passives typically build those structures (Salvi 1988).

(1) a. C'è una persona che potrebbe aiutarti.

"There is someone who can help you"

b. Oggi arriva un mio amico.
   "Today a friend of mine is coming."

The same kinds of verbs are found in -non-presentational- pragmatically marked structures with preverbal indefinite subjects (henceforth PIS) , e.g. *una persona che potrebbe aiutarti c'è* is acceptable but only in pragmatic contexts where the verb is in focus. PISs are instead normally used with transitive verbs (2) .

(2) a. "Un traditore mi passò il progetto Manhattan." (La Stampa, 12/03/92)
        "A traitor gave me the Manhattan-projekt".

In my work I'll study the correlation between kind of verb and position of the indefinite subject, to understand if PISs tend to appear in association with transitive and inergative verbs, rather than with those typically found in 'presentational construction'.

In comparison to indefinites 'partitive articles' are less widespread introducing a subject (cf. Carlier&Lamiroy 2014), with all kind of verbs; I want to show that they are almost never found in preverbal position, especially when they introduce a mass noun.

I'll furthermore study the semantic and pragmatic characteristic of indefinite subjects, and how referentiality and specificity of those NPs (cf. Lyons 1999) interact with the structure of the sentence, e.g. 'presentational construction' and generally VS structures request a specific subject.

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Preverbal subjects with a partitive article:
The case of Francoprovençal in the Aosta Valley

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This paper examines preverbal subjects containing a so-called partitive article (PA), that is, an element like *du, de la, des* 'of.the' in French (or *del, della, dei* 'of.the' in Italian), and concentrates on Francoprovençal, an endangered Gallo-Romance language.

PAs are usually interpreted as indefinite (Storto 2003, Ihsane 2008, Cardinaletti/Giusti 2016, a.o.), rather than truly partitive (i.e. involving a part-whole relation). Consequently, subjects with a PA

are unexpected in preverbal subject position, which is generally considered as weakly topical also in SVO languages (cf. Rizzi 2003, Cardinaletti 2004, Lobo/Martins 2017, Leonetti 2017), an interpretation hardly compatible with indefiniteness.

Some scholars show however that preverbal subjects with *du/de la/des* are grammatical in specific contexts: e.g., with a stage-level predicate (cf. (1), adapted from Kupferman 1979:8) or a generic emphatic subject (cf. (2), from Vogeleer/Tasmowski 2005:69, cf. also Wilmet 2003:165).

(1)   De l'eau   boueuse   recouvrait   la route.
        of the water   muddy   was.covering   the road
        'Muddy water was covering the road.'

(2)   Des   moutons   n'ont   *jamais*   cinq   pattes !
        PA.PL   sheep.PL   NEG have   never five   legs
        'Sheep *never* have five legs!'

In this paper, we examine preverbal subjects with a PA in the Francoprovençal varieties spoken in the Aosta Valley (Italy). The aim is to determine whether these varieties allow such indefinite subjects in the contexts illustrated in (1)-(2). The varieties of Francoprovençal examined, in contrast to the ones spoken in the Swiss Canton Valais, have been described as having an invariant PA (i.e. with no gender/number distinctions, cf. Kristol 2014, Stark 2016).

Our analysis is based on the data gathered in a fieldwork study on PAs carried out in May 2017. Following Giusti and Zegrean's idea of *linguistic protocols* (cf. Giusti/Zegrean 2015), a detailed questionnaire was elaborated and used in 30-45 minute interviews of about 20 informants. The test items included i) subjects of stage-level predicates as in (1) (e.g. *De la farine recouvrait toute la table*, 'Flour was covering the whole table'), and ii) generic emphatic subjects as in (2) (e.g. Fr. *De la biERE coûte moins cher que du vin*, 'BEER is cheaper than wine').

The preliminary results of this study show that Francoprovençal in the Aosta Valley and French differ. The examples corresponding to (1)-(2) above are excluded by a large majority of informants (around 82% for contexts with a stage-level predicate), who do not use a PA in these contexts. Interestingly, although the numbers are very low, the data suggest that the PA may have a singular and a plural form and that subjects containing the latter are more frequent than subjects containing the former. To account for these results, we will explore the observation that the noun phrases with a singular PA denote non-specific referents and can never have wide-scope, in contrast to their plural counterparts (Ihsane 2008).

Our results raise the question of the difference between French and the Francoprovençal varieties examined and of the role of the predicate and/or of the event/state described in the 'licensing' of preverbal indefinite subjects with a PA.

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✄

Preverbal indefinite subjects in Russian: An experimental investigation

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There is a common assumption in literature on Slavic languages that preverbal subjects are interpreted definitely, while postverbal subjects are interpreted indefinitely (Pospelov 1970, Krámský 1972). However, there have not been many experimental studies that would test the interpretation of preverbal and postverbal subjects in articleless languages.

We designed an experiment to test this claim in Russian. It was aimed at checking the correlation between word order (SV/VS) and interpretation (definite/indefinite) for Russian BPl nominals in subject position. Our primary goal was to establish whether the position of a nominal, in the absence of articles, (fully/partially) determines its (in)definiteness. We examined the interpretation of bare plural subject NPs using an Acceptability Judgement Test (AJT) with a scale from 1 (not acceptable) to 4 (fully acceptable). 120 participants were given short written instructions: to listen to the items and give their first judgement. The stimuli were presented acoustically in order to exclude the possible influence of prosody on the interpretation. In the following examples of experimental items, the judgment applied to the last sentence:

(1) Preverbal indefinite context:

U nas v dome nikogda ne bylo gryzunov. No včera ja uslyšala, kak **myši** *skrebutsja*.

We never had rodents at home. But yesterday I heard (lit.) how mice scratch.

(2) Postverbal indefinite context:

Nam nikogda ne prinosili počtu. No segodnja v jaščike *ležali* **pis'ma**.

We have never received any mail. But today in the mailbox (lit.) were lying letters.

(3) Preverbal definite context:

On vošёl v komnatu i uvidel mal'čika i devočku. **Deti** nepodvižno *sideli* za stolom.

He entered the room and saw a boy and a girl. The children were sitting motionlessly at the table.

(4) Postverbal definite context:

Xozjaika iskala famil'noe serebro po vsem škafam. No bylo ponytno, čto *propali* **stolovye pribory**.

The landlady was looking for family silverware in all cabinets. But it was clear that (lit.) was gone the cutlery.

The experiment showed that there is, indeed, a preference for definite interpretation of nominals in preverbal position and the indefinite in postverbal. Additionally, the results indicated that speakers would be overall more permissive for indefinite NPs, and NPs in preverbal position. These results are statistically significant and they undermine the strict version of the hypothesis that preverbal subjects can only be definite.

The *preference* for a definite interpretation of preverbal subjects can be explained by the assumption that preverbal subjects in Russian are aboutness topics; they tend to be definite, although a (specific) indefinite interpretation is not ruled out for sentential topics (cf. Reinhart 1981). Our data, however, included examples with non-specific indefinites, which were also sometimes judged fairly acceptable. We suggest that weak (i.e., non-specific) readings of indefinites survive in topics when they are already licensed in the sentential context with which the topic is linked (Leonetti 2010). The overall superior adequacy of indefinites may be explained by the hypothesis that bare NPs are inherently indefinite (Heim 2011) and definiteness is a pragmatic strengthening of indefinites, thus, indefinite NPs are felicitous in a wider range of positions.

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"Something old, something new": The discourse status of indefinite specificational subjects

Wout Van Praet

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✍

Numeral Indefinite Subjects in Mandarin Chinese

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The paper focuses on the licensing and the interpretations of numeral indefinite subjects (number+classifier+noun) in Mandarin Chinese at the syntax-semantics interface. It is widely noted that Chinese numeral indefinites (NumP) cannot appear in the position of sentence subject without the existential marker (or existential verb, cf. Huang 1987) *you* 'have, exist', cf. (1). (Li & Thompson 1981, Shyu 1995, Tsai 1994)

(1)   *(you) san-ge   xuesheng   zai xuexiao shoushang le.
        have   three-Cl student   at school   hurt PAR
        'there are three students hurt at school'   Li 1998: 694

However, numeral indefinites can appear as subjects without *you* (Li 1998, Tsai 2001, Tsai et al. 2017). Li (1998) observes that numeral indefinite subjects (NumPs) denote quantity whereas you+NumPs denote (indefinite) individuals due to *you* 'have, exist' being an existential operator ranging over individuals. Tsai et al. (2017) observes the licensing contexts of subject NumPs, namely, ought-to-be deontic and ability (or capacity) modals, cf. (2).

(2)   San-ge bubing keyi/neng/yinggai/bixu dai jiu-fen kouliang.
        Three-Cl foot solider   may/can/should/must   carry nine-Cl ration.
        'three foot soldiers may/can/should/must carry nine rations'   Tsai 2001: 146

We critically review the data and the analyses mostly presented in Li (1998) and Tsai et al. (2017). After the syntactic diagnoses such as constituency tests and modal auxiliary placements, we would like to show that sentences with *you* and those without *you* 'have, exist' do not share the same syntactic structures. For example, the existential deontic modal auxiliary *keyi* 'may' can precede *you* in (1) but not NumP in (2), showing that only NumP in (2) occupies a sentence subject position, given that modal auxiliaries do not precede sentence subjects in Chinese (cf. Li & Thompson 1981). We argue that in (1) *you* 'have, exist' is the main predicate V° which selects a small clause, the predicate of which is a CP complement with a *pro* co-indexed with the NumPs base-generated in the subject of the small clause (pace Huang 1987, Tsai 2001, Zhang 2008); whereas in (2) deontic and ability modals select a NP/DP complement, of which NumPs are in subject position and undergo movement to the subject position of the main clause, under the assumption that modal verbs are raising predicates (Wurmbrand 1999). The arguments for the NP/DP syntax for the complements to modal auxiliaries in (2) come from the facts that the complement with NumP subject has NP/DP distribution such as in the

sentential subject position (Davies & Dubinsky 2000), cf. (3) and complements to the preposition *dui* 'to, towards' (Li & Huang 2009).

(3)   [~NP/DP~ San-ge bubing dai   jiu fenkouliang]   bu heshi.
        Three-Cl foot solider   carry nine-Cl ration   Neg. appropriate
        (the fact of) three foot soldiers carrying nine rations is not appropriate.

At the end, we would like to show that NumPs are interpreted as definite individuals when being quantified over by the distributive operator *dou* 'all, each'.

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⌀

Pre- and post-verbal indefinite subjects in Dutch Presentational Constructions

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This paper addresses the question whether indefinite subjects that occur pre- and post-verbally in various Dutch Presentational Constructions (henceforth: PCs) possess different traits. PCs can be defined as linguistic structures with no topic constituent that can convey all-focus utterances that serve to introduce a referentially new entity or event into the discourse universe (Lambrecht 1987, 1994,

2000, Sasse 1987, 1995, 2006, Venier 2002). Dutch has a number of PCs, among which three constructions figure prominently: the Prosodic Inversion Construction (henceforth: PIC), the Syntactic Inversion with Filler Insertion Construction (henceforth: SIFIC) and the Non-Prototypical Cleft (henceforth: NPC) (cf. Barbier 1996, Elffers 1977, Grondelaers 2000, Kirsner 1979, Sasse 2006, Schermer-Vermeer 1985, Vandeweghe 2004, among others). Dutch indefinite subjects can occur in the PIC, in which they occur pre-verbally and carry the main prosodic peak (indicated by pitch prominence) of the sentence, e.g. (1), and in the SIFIC, e.g. (2) and NPC, e.g. (3), in which they occur post-verbally:

(1) *EEN ZWAAN dreef op de vijver* (Vandeweghe 2004).
     A   SWAN floated on the pond
(There was a swan floating on the pond)
(2) *Er zong een merel* (Schermer-Vermeer 1985).
     There sang a blackbird
(There was a blackbird singing)
(3) *Er is een hond die blaft* (Kirsner 1979).
     There is a dog that barks
(There is a dog barking)

Apart from the fact that indefinite subjects tend to occur more often in the SIFIC and NPC (post-verbal) than in the PIC (pre-verbal) (Belligh 2016), little is known about possible qualitative differences between the pre- and post-verbal indefinite subjects in these PCs. This paper reports on a corpus-based study that is conducted to cast light on the issue. PC tokens are extracted from the *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* (corpus of spoken Dutch) and supplemented by data collected from previous studies on PCs in spoken Dutch. The instantiations of the two types of indefinite subjects are annotated for various morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors, including:

i)   Nominal or pronominal form of the subject NP.
ii)   Activation state of the mental representation of the referent referred to by the subject NP, since activation state can differ not only among definite and "identifiable" NPs, but also among indefinite and "unidentifiable" NPs (cf. Chafe 1976, 1994, Grondelaers 2000, Grondelaers et al. 2002, 2009, *pace* Lambrecht 1994).
iii)   Partitive or quantified nature of the subject NP.
iv)   Animacy and agentivity of the subject NP, cf. Kirsner's (1979) hypothesis that SIFIC and NPC favor inanimate and non-agentive subjects.

The paper reports on the qualitative and quantitative findings regarding the characteristics of the two kinds of indefinite subjects (pre- and post-verbal) on the basis of the collected data. The attested differences will be linked to the meaning of the specific constructions the two kinds of subjects occur in and used to shed light on the nature of (accented) preverbal indefinite subjects in Dutch.

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✄

Subject position and null indefinites in Basque

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In Basque (an SOV language) definite and indefinite subjects are taken to occupy the same positions. This talk aims at reaching a better understanding of these elements from the perspective of pro-drop,

where we do see an asymmetry, since like in Romance-type pro-drop languages, only definite null subjects are allowed, even with indefinite antecedents (*cf.* Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003):

(1)   Peritu batek   eraikin-a   aztertu zuen.   Gero [e]   egonkortasuna frogatu zuen.
        expert one   building-D   studied aux   Then   stabilitytest   aux
        "An expert studied the building. Then she/the expert tested the stability."
        Unavailable reading: "An expert studied the building. Then an expert tested the stability."

We analyse the properties of (in)definite null and overt subjects in pre- and post-verbal position across Basque dialects, showing that the idea that only definite NSs are allowed has to be abandoned. As an illustration, in Southern Basque, in the context of (2), preverbal indefinite NSs are ungrammatical, unlike their overt counterparts (3a). However, certain VS constructions such as (3b) allow both NSs and overt DPs (cf. the ungrammaticality of (3c), with SV order):

(2)   Udaletxe-a-n   peritu pila   bat   daude.
        townhall-D-loc expert   lot   a   are
        "There are a lot of experts in townhall."
(3)   a.   Arkitekto-en   bulego-a-n   ere   peritu pila   bat /   *[e]   daude.
                architect-D.pl.gen   office-D-loc   also   expert lot   a   are
                "There are (a lot of experts) in the architects' office, too."
        b.   Arkitekto-en   bulego-a-n   ere   ba-daude   peritu pila   bat / [e].
                architect-D.pl.gen   office-D-loc   also   pos-are expert lot   a
                "There are (a lot of experts) in the architects' office, too."
        c.   * Arkitekto-en bulego-a-n   ere   peritu pila   bat / [e]   ba-daude.
                architect-D.pl.gen   office-D-loc   also   expert lot   a   pos-are
                "There are (a lot of experts) in the architects' office, too."

Our analysis is that sentences with NS indefinites must satisfy two conditions:
1. Be existential. Existential constructions in NS languages have been argued to involve a null expletive, which results in the subject DP not being in SpecTP and not being assigned subjective Case (*cf.* Belletti 1988, Lasnik 1995). Adopting this analysis for Basque implies that the overt and the null subjects in (3a) are not assigned absolute and remain internal to VP, and it suggests that indefinite NSs can only be obtained in non-Case positions. Furthermore, as predicted, DPs can also be null in certain predicative constructions:

(4)   Ez   naiz   peritua,   eta   ez   dut   [e]   izan   nahi.
        neg   am   expert-D   and   neg   aux.1sg   be   want
        "I'm not an expert, and I don't want to be (an expert)."

2. Have verum focus. NSs (a) require discourse antecedents and (b) cannot be (part of) the focal XP (*cf.* Cardinaletti and Starke 1999). Standard existentials don't satisfy these requirements, since they introduce DP referents which are 'hearer-new' (*cf.* Prince 1992, Lambrecht 1994), and they involve broad focus, i.e. the indefinite is part of the focus (*cf.* Leonetti 2008, Cruschina 2012), and this is why they do not allow NSs. However, we argue that constructions such as (3a), having focus on the polarity, have a given subject, which can therefore be null.

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WORKSHOP 12

The constellation of polarity sensitive items

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The constellation of polarity sensitive items has been an object of theoretical debates for the last fifty years (at least since Klima 1964). These debates have centered around the nature of the polarity sensitive items, their interpretations, their diachronic relations and their relation to other grammatical paradigms (cf., among book-length treatments, Ladusaw 1979, Giannakidou 1998, Zeijlstra 2004, Penka 2011, Chierchia 2013). Especially in the last decade, the discussion has been substantially enriched and deepened thanks to the contribution of cross-linguistic data (*i.a.* Progovac 1994, Vallduví 1994, Déprez 1997, 2000, Haspelmath 1997, Lahiri 1998, Herburger 2001, Kratzer & Shimoyama 2002, Pereltsvaig 2004, Fălăuş 2010, Szabolcsi 2013) and diachronic studies (*i.a.* Hoeksema 1994, 1998, 2010, Ramat 1998, Jäger 2010, Gianollo 2016 and various contributions in Larrivée & Ingham 2012, Willis et al. 2013, Hansen & Visconti 2014).

The aim of this workshop is to bring together experts from different areas of study (theoretical, typological and diachronic linguistics) in order to take stock of the progress made and to address unresolved foundational issues and new questions, against the background of novel empirical datasets.

One central debate is the extent to which, as opposed to Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) like *anyone*, n-words that can be glossed by English *no-one* have a negative meaning in and of themselves, or whether they inherit that value from a clausal operator. Subcategories have been introduced in the degree of strength for NPIs (weak, strong and superstrong), and for concording relations that characterize ordinary n-words in Italian and French as opposed to Negative Indefinites / Quantifiers in English and German. The underlying line of reasoning is generally that degrees of lexical or featural negativity should relate to the ability of an item to communicate negation on its own, and to be used with other overt clause-mate negatives. The assessment of this supposes the availability of reliable diagnostic to define membership of each category. While locality, modification by *almost* and fragment answer have all been alleged, counterexamples have been adduced.

Relation between n-words and NPIs, and their various sub-types, is also expressed in interpretative terms. Continuing a line of analysis going back to Fauconnier (1975), Kadmon & Landman (1993), Lee & Horn (1994) and Krifka (1995), the approach developed by Chierchia (2004, 2013 *i.a.*) accounts for the existence of polarity phenomena on the basis of their semantic and pragmatic contribution. It insists on the degree and type of exhaustification compatible with different classes of NPIs, that is, on the interpretive effects emerging through the interaction of NPIs with overt or covert clausal operators. The approach predicts syntactic reflexes such as locality constraints, unlike the productive line of research that separates pragmatic licensing of NPIs and syntactic licensing of n-words (Zeijlstra 2004, Penka 2011). An exhaustification-based approach has the potential to apply to Free-Choice items, but whether it equally does to n-words, and beyond to positive polarity items, remains to be articulated.

Several of these issues can be illuminated by diachronic research. A stable pathway of variation and change characterizes polarity sensitive items. How and why are negative polarity items and n-words synchronically and diachronically connected? Why do some polarity contexts subsist to the evolution of a NPI into a n-word? The critical role of strong polarity contexts and super-strong

negative polarity items has been recently emphasized as a transitional point between polarity and n-word.

Polarity sensitive items thus present a set of subcases and related categories that raise the question of whether grammatical paradigms relating to veridicality are similarly structured. Cases in point are *wh*-items and quantification. Questions concerning the extent to which these have referential force or are dependent on external operators arise, and whether these operators make syntactic, semantic and pragmatic predictions. An improved understanding of these aspects may elucidate parallels with distinctions among polarity sensitive items, as well as clarify the relation between negative and positive polarity items (Szabolcsi 2004, Larrivée 2012).

Novel contributions furthering the understanding of polarity sensitivity are invited, whether from a synchronic, diachronic or typological perspective. Analyses from all theoretical persuasion are welcome, and are expected to rely on a substantial base of empirical data. A comparative (cross-linguistic and / or diachronic) dimension is deemed essential to apportion the current debates on the issue raised by polarity sensitive items.

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Polarity items licensed in non-negative downward entailing contexts

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NPIs are typically licensed by negation, plus a set of additional contexts that varies greatly from one NPI to another, such as questions, conditionals, before-clauses, etc. Items that are licensed by some of these additional contexts, but not by negation, have received little or no attention in the literature. In this paper, we look at a case in point, Dutch *enigszins* 'somewhat, at all', in combination with weak modal expressions, such as *mogelijk* 'possible', *kunnen* 'can', and *doenlijk* 'feasible'. These combinations consist of two elements, neither of which is a polarity item by itself. On the basis of corpus data from *Delpher.nl*, we argue that *enigszins mogelijk* 'at all possible' appears in conditionals,

anankastic purpose clauses, as soon as clauses and comparatives of equality, but not in negative sentences:

(1) Als   het   enigszins   mogelijk   is,   komen we.
    If   it   at-all   possible   is,   come   we.
    'We will come, if it is at all possible.'

(2) *Het   is   niet   enigszins   mogelijk.
    it   is   not   at-all   possible
    'It is not possible at all.'

The distribution is not the familiar bagel-shape of negative concord languages, where some NPIs (such as the Russian indefinites of the *libo*-series) are blocked from appearing in the central contexts of direct negation by negative concord (Progovac 1994, Pereltsvaig 2006), but show up in the peripheral weakly negative contexts. Unlike the libo-series, *enigszins mogelijk* does not appear with superordinate negation (compare (3-4), (3) taken from Pereltsvaig 2006)). Dutch, moreover, is not a negative concord language, and blocking by concord is therefore ruled out.

(3) Ja   ne   dumaju,   čto   Adam čital   kakoj-libo   žurnal.
    I   not   think   that   Adam readPST   which-libo   journal
    'I don't think that Adam read any journal.'

(4) *Ik   denk niet   dat   het   enigszins   mogelijk   is.
    I   think not   that   it   at-all   possible   is
    'I do not think it is at all possible'.

I will argue that *enigszins mogelijk* is an instance of an NPI/PPI, something that is both a negative and a positive polarity item, an option first suggested in Van der Wouden (1997) for items with a complex pattern of licensing and anti-licensing. To do so, we will need a flexible account of PPIs, one which allows for a variety of PPIs, since *enigszins mogelijk* does not pattern exactly like better-known PPIs such as already or sometimes. In Hoeksema (2018), a number of lesser-known PPIs are discussed which allow for long-distance anti-licensing, and anti-licensing by weak triggers such as *only*. We will show that when we combine their distribution with that of an any-type PPI, we arrive at the pattern exhibited by *enigszins* + weak modal. We end our discussion by comparing the Dutch data to semantically similar expressions in English (*humanly possible*: likewise an NPI, but not a PPI) and German *überhaupt möglich* 'possible at all'.

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✍

Existential Positive Polarity Items

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Existential PPIs, such as *somewhat*/*some* in (1), have often been considered the mirror image of existential NPIs, but defer from existential NPIs in two ways.

(1)   a.   *Mary isn't somewhat ill
       b.   Mary didn't see some girl   ∃>¬;*¬>∃

First, existential PPIs are always anti-licensed by Anti-Additive contexts and never by Downward Entailing contexts (cf. Szabolcsi 2004). Second, the PPI-hood of existentials cannot be accounted for by scalarity approaches (Krifka 1995, Chierchia 2013). Such approaches account for universal PPIs only (cf. Zeijlstra 2017).

An alternative explanation for the source of NPI-hood is Lin's (1996, 1998) lexically encoded *Non-Entailment-of-Existence Condition*. For him, elements such as Chinese *shenme* ('what/any') may not appear in contexts that entail the existence of a referent satisfying its description. The sentence in (2) without the modal is bad as the sentence entails that there is a book bought yesterday by Mary; if the modal is present, the sentence is fine: the existence of a book bought yesterday by Mary is no longer entailed.

(2)   Mali zuotian *(haoxiang) mai-le senme shu
       Mary yesterday probably bought-PERF what/any book
       'Mary has (probably) bought a book yesterday'

For this reason, phrases like *shenme* may only appear in non-veridical contexts, cf. Giannakidou (2011) / Lin (2016). This alternative approach readily offers an opening to capture the PPI-hood of existentials like *some* or *somewhat*. If such existentials can always give rise to existential import, then they should be subject to the reverse of Lin's *Non-Entailment-of-Existence Condition*, (which could be dubbed the *Non-Entailment-of-Non-Existence Condition*). Such elements may not appear in a context that would entail their non-existence. Consequently, such elements are no longer fine in Anti-Veridical (AV) or Anti-Additive (AA) contexts (the two are formally identical), as these contexts entail non-existence.

This predicts the behaviour of existentials PPIs. It also captures the fact that existential modal PPIs only behave PPI-like under an epistemic interpretation:

(3)   a.   *Epistemic*:   She may not have been there   ∃>¬; *¬>∃
       b.   *Deontic*:   he may not leave now   ∃>¬; ¬>∃

I assume *may* and *might*, unlike other modals, may not appear in contexts where the existence of the worlds in their modal base that meet their description is denied, which is in essence the same type of restriction that *some(what)* imposes on its domain of quantification. For deontic *may* (3b), with the construal ¬>∃, the sentence asserts that there is no world where in line with the speaker's wishes she leaves, but the *Non-Entailment-of-Non-Existence Condition* is nevertheless met: there can still be worlds part of the circumstantial modal base where she leaves. By contrast, (3a), with the construal ¬>∃, would assert that there is no world according to the speaker's knowledge/belief where she would have been there. But this would violate the *Non-Entailment-of-Non-Existence Condition*: according to the assertion, there is no world that is part of the epistemic modal base, where she leaves, which

actually entails non-existence of such worlds. The *Non-Entailment-of-Non-Existence Condition* thus contradicts the assertion here. This anomaly disappears once the scopal relations are reversed.

ℬ

On Romanian *vre*-NPIs

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This paper re-evaluates the licensing conditions of the *vre*-indefinites, such as the determiners *vreun* (masc.)*/vreo* (fem.) 'any', in antimorphic (the negative marker (NM) *nu* 'not'), but also in simply anti-additive contexts (in Romanian, n-words and *fără (să)* 'without') and the hypothesis of their competition with n-words in strong environments, from a comparative perspective.

Are *vre*-indefinites really affected by the 'bagel problem', thus displaying a type of distribution that is cross-linguistically reported for weak NPIs in strict negative concord (NC) languages (see Fălăuş 2008 for Romanian, Błaszczak 2003 for Polish *kolwiek*-indefinites, Pereltsvaig 2006 for Russian *libo*-items, etc.)?

As currently defined in the literature, the 'bagel' distribution would make weak NPIs admissible in all negative polarity environments except for direct (clausemate sentential) negation, where n-words are licensed instead.

Based on a corpus investigation and on a small web-based rating experiment, we argue that the weak (*vre*-)NPIs are, in fact, licensed in all environments in which n-words occur, but that their felicity is reading-dependent: i.e., the *vre*-NPIs are felicitous in the scope of negation if they occur in marked, contrastive contexts. Contrastive negation contexts naturally require the presence of an antecedent discourse that contains the proposition that they challenge (Larrivée 2012) - example (2). As we will show, specifying a preceding discourse is also important for accommodating the presupposition triggered by the *vre*-NPIs under the scope of negation, which leads to an improved acceptability - compare (1) and (2) below, where *vreo* occurs with direct negation:

(1) **Nu** există #**vreo** explicaţie (***NPI** licensing)/**nicio** explicaţie (**NC**).
     NM is   *vre*-**NPI** explanation   /**n-word** explanation
     'There isn't any explanation.'
     (**descriptive negation, neutral intonation**)

(2) (Probabil, chiar credeai că vei putea găsi o explicaţie pentru faptele ei./You might have
     actually thought you could find an explanation for her actions.)
     NU există **vreo** explicaţie (**NPI** licensing)/#**nicio** explicaţie (***NC**).
     NM is *vre*-**NPI** explanation   /**n-word** explanation
     'There isn't any explanation.'
     (**denial, contrastive-focus intonation on the NM**)

In (2), the use of *vreo* introduces the presupposition that the attitude holder (or the speaker) assumes that there is somebody in the discourse domain who expects/believes the opposite of what is rejected in the sentence containing the *vre*-NPI.

Additionally, we will show that, in structures with a preverbal n-word licensor, the pattern in which *vre*-NPIs occur is similar to the one reported for clause-internal double negation (DN) readings

in Romanian: i.e., under a denial interpretation, which also triggers a marked intonation (for DN readings and denial, see Iordăchioaia & Richter 2015). This eliminates the hypothesis formulated in previous studies (Fălăuş 2014) that a *vre*-NPI is used instead of the (second)   n-word to avoid the ambiguity between NC and DN. NC is the most common reading in Romanian and typically unmarked; moreover, it is excluded from contexts such as (3b) with contrastive intonation on the initial n-word (Iordăchioaia & Richter 2015: 611):

(3)   a.   **NIMENI** nu a avut **vreo** explicaţie (**NPI** licensing).
              Nobody   NM has had ***vre*-NPI** explanation
              'Nobody had any explanation.'
      b.   **NIMENI** nu a avut **nicio** explicaţie (**DN**/***NC**).
              Nobody   NM has had **n-word** explanation
              'Nobody had no explanation.'
              (denial, contrastive-focus intonation on the preverbal n-word)

We will also provide evidence against previous studies that claim a difference in the licensing behaviour of the *vre*-NPIs that occur with a preverbal n-word as opposed to the *vre*-NPIs preceded by (only) clausemate negation.

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✍

Negative Concord and N-words in Ancient Greek

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This paper presents a typological study of negation in Ancient Greek focusing on the negative concord and the nature of n-words. Ancient Greek allows – unlike English – for two or more (apparently) negative items in one clause while the reading of the clause is negative. The function of the clausal negator (Neg 1) is usually provided by the particle *ou* (or its phonological variants *ouk* and *ouch* 'not'), which can (but need not) be accompanied by an n-word (e.g. *oudeís* 'nobody', *oudén*

'nothing'). Authoritative grammar books of Ancient Greek (Kühner & Gerth 1904, Schwyzer & Debrunner 1966) deal with this phenomenon in terms of simple and compound negatives and their mutual position in a clause.

Following the current approaches in general linguistics, I instead examine the position of the n-word(s) and the (final) verb, which seems to be typologically more satisfying. The most usual pattern is that of the n-word in a postverbal position:

ou + verb + n-word

οὐ δύναμαι ἐννοῆσαι ἀσφαλεστέραν οὐδεμίαν πορείαν ἡμῖν…

ou   *dúnamai*   *ennoêsai*   *asphalestéran*   **oudemían**   *poreían*   *he:mîn*

Neg1   can-1sg   conceive-INF   safer-ACC   no-one-ACC   procedure-ACC   for us-DAT

'I can**not** conceive of <u>any</u> safer procedure for us'... (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 5.2.31.)

In contrast to Slavic languages (which are strict NC languages), the clausal Neg 1 (*ou*) in Ancient Greek is facultative, and in its absence, it is an n-word that assumes the function of negation operator in the preverbal as well as in the postverbal position:

n-word + verb

κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐπειρᾶτο.

ko:lúein   *dè*   **oudeìs**   *éti*   *epeirâto*

prevent-INF   PTCL   no-one-NOM   ADV   undertook-INF

'and this time **no one** undertook to prevent him'. (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3.2.26)

verb + n-word

καὶ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν·

kai   *apéthane*   *mèn*   **oudeìs**   *autôn*

and   was killed-3SG   PTCL   no-one-NOM   of them GEN

'Now **not one** of them was killed'. (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 5.4.53)

Based on an analysis drawing from a large-scale corpus of Ancient Greek prose (Xenophon, 5th/4th century BC, ca 250 000 words), I show that the pattern n-word + verb (without Neg 1) is much more frequent than one would expect, and that Ancient Greek should be considered a non-strict negative concord language (unlike Modern Greek), exhibiting NC in certain contexts, but attesting the n-word functioning as a clausal negator in others. This account does not correspond to Giannakidou´s finding (2006) that Ancient Greek features the absence of NC as English does, nor to Denizot (2012) who considers it a strict NC language. I claim that Ancient Greek is a non-strict NC language (see also Horrocks 2014 and Willmott 2013) that exhibits certain similarities (but also differences) with Spanish and Italian (non-strict NC languages).

This assumption raises the question of the nature of n-words in Ancient Greek (Willis 2013). According to Penka (2015), n-words in non-strict NC languages are either NPIs, negative quantifiers, or both. Following Herburger (2001), I argue that the examples from Ancient Greek confirm the dual nature of n-words, oscillating between inherently negative quantifiers (in the absence of the overt Neg 1 *ou*) that function as negative operators, and NPIs (within the scope of the overt Neg 1 *ou*).

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⌀

Parasitic licensing in English and cross-linguistically

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In this study, we investigate the phenomenon known as 'parasitic licensing' (den Dikken 2002) or 'secondary triggering' (Horn 2001), illustrated in (1). In (1a) the strong NPI *in weeks* is illicit when embedded under *doubt.* However, in (1b) it becomes acceptable in the same configuration when another (weak) NPI *any* is added. In addition to English (Horn 2001, Postal 2005), this phenomenon has been attested in Dutch (den Dikken 2002, 2006, Hoeksema 2007, Zeijlstra 2017), German (Falkenberg 2001), and Greek (Hoeksema 2007).

(1)   a. ??I <u>doubt</u> he's been here **in weeks**.
        b.   I <u>doubt</u> *anybody*'s seen him **in weeks**.   (Horn 2001)

Although parasitic licensing has been known for some time and attempts have been made to account for it, the phenomenon has not received adequate treatment. Our contribution to the topic is two-fold:

(i) On the empirical side, we present a comprehensive study of parasitic licensing in English. In particular, we show that not all combinations of <u>licensors</u> (e.g. *doubt, surprise, only*), *weak NPIs* (e.g.

any, remotely, need), and **strong NPIs** (e.g. *in weeks, until, a red cent*) are possible. These combinatorial restrictions call for an explanation.

(ii) On the theoretical side, we show that the new data allow us to discard the two existing accounts on the market. The first account assimilates parasitic licensing to parasitic gaps, thus predicting an anti-c-command constraint on parasitic licensing (den Dikken 2002, 2006). We show that this prediction is not borne out for English, (2a). The second account explains parasitic licensing in terms of optional incorporation of a negative feature from the licensor into a weak NPI, thus predicting that non-indefinite NPIs cannot be part of the parasitic licensing mechanism (Hoeksema 2007). We show that this prediction is not borne out in English either, (2b).

(2) a. I did<u>n</u>'t say that John *need* contribute **a red cent** to this project.
     b. I am <u>surprised</u> he's come *remotely* close to this place **in weeks**.

Proposal. We propose an account of parasitic licensing within the alternative based framework for polarity sensitivity (Krifka 1995, Lahiri 1998, Chierchia 2013, a.o.). In this framework, each occurrence of an NPI is accompanied by a 'licensing' operator (for example, Exh, responsible for exhaustifying (domain) alternatives of an NPI in Chierchia 2013). The difference between weak and strong NPIs is captured by different requirements on Exh and various locality conditions. More specifically, we propose that the licit constructions in (1b)/(2) have the structure schematized in (3):

(3)   [Exh^{Strong} [Exh^{Weak} [... Non-anti-additive DE Op ... weak-NPI ... strong-NPI]]]

This configuration satisfies the requirement of NPIs and therefore, does not result in contradiction. In the absence of a weak NPI and, thus, Exh^{Weak}, Exh^{Strong} triggers a contradictory inference (as Exh^{Strong} only prevents NPIs from yielding a contradiction if they are embedded under an anti-additive operator). This explains the deviance of cases like (1a).

We show that our proposal explains combinatorial restrictions found in the data and overcomes shortcomings of the previous accounts. We conclude by exploring several predictions of our account, including predictions pertaining to cross-linguistic variation.

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✄

Plain disjunction markers in Russian and positive polarity

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Background and aims An influential line of research treats certain disjunction markers' failure to scope under a clausemate sentential negation as arising from the disjunction markers' status as positive polarity items (Szabolcsi 2002; Spector 2014; Nicolae 2017 *inter alia*). Szabolcsi (2002) argues by using locality of anti-licensing and rescuing that the Russian plain disjunction marker *ili* is a PPI. However, Russian has another plain disjunction marker *libo*, which is also unable to scope under negation (1).

(1) On   ne   est   jablok   ili/libo morkovi
    he   not   eats   apples.GEN   or   carrot.GEN
    'He doesn't eat apples or carrots.' [∨ > ¬]

Nicolae (2017) analyses the French plain PPI-disjunction *ou* by postulating an obligatory exhaustification requirement (cf. Spector 2014), whereby the relevant alternative propositions are domain alternatives. The absence of the narrow-scope reading in (1) follows from exhaustification being vacuous, since both domain alternatives (*He doesn't eat apples* and *He doesn't eat carrots*) are entailed by (1).

This paper seeks to situate the two disjunction markers on the crosslinguistic landscape of polarity-sensitive phenomena.

Problem Exhaustification-based approaches to plain PPI-disjunctions such as Nicolae 2017 also predict (2), where the disjunction is topicalised, to lack the narrow-scope reading, contrary to fact.

(2) Jablok   ili/*libo   morkovi   on ne est
    apples.GEN   or   carrot.GEN   he not eats
    'As for apples or carrots, he eats neither.'

The contrast in acceptability of *ili* and *libo* above is problematic for most analyses of positive polarity: whilst the unacceptability of *libo* is expected, the availability of the narrow-scope reading for *ili* under topicalisation remains unaccounted for.

Another contrast between the two disjunction markers involves the locality of anti-licensing: *ili* behaves like a local PPI and *libo* as a global PPI (Spector 2014), cf. (3), where the PPI-effect disappears in the case of *ili* since the negation is sufficiently far away from it.

(3) Ja   ne   dumaju čto   on est jabloki ili/*libo morkov'
     I not   think   that   he eats apples or   carrot
     'I think he eats neither apples nor carrots.'

Analysis This paper adopts the view whereby polarity effects are a variety of scalar inferences to be derived withing the grammatical approach to scalar inferences (Chierchia et al. 2012): in line with Spector 2014, the Exhaustification operator will obligatorily associate with the relevant alternatives, and yield unacceptability every time its application does not result in a strengthened meaning.

As for *ili*, since the disjunction in (4a) only takes narrow scope w.r.t. negation, which it could not do when being directly c-commanded by the negation marker *ne*, I follow Zeijlstra (2004) in claiming that the Russian marker of sentential negation *ne* is not clausal negation itself but is licensed by an abstract operator:

(4)   Op¬ he *ne* eats [apples or carrots]
(5)   Op¬ [apples or carrots] he *ne* eats

Given the availability of the narrow-scope reading in (2) and the relevance of negative concord, it seems that the anti-licensing conditions for *ili* are an instance of an intervention effect, with *ne* acting as intervener.

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✄

Two types of NPIs. The case of Basque and English

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Basque is known for being a Negative Concord (NC) language in which the presence of an overt negative sentential marker is deemed to be uniformly required for negative dependencies (Laka 1990;

Etxepare, 2003; de Rijk, 2008). In English, on the other hand, negative expressions can confer by themselves a negative meaning to a proposition.

(1)   *Inor*   iritsi   da
          anybody   arrive   aux.sg
(2)   *Nobody* arrived.

English is known for having two types of negative expressions: those that are morphologically and semantically negative, i.e. negative quantifiers like *nobody/nothing* (that can by themselves confer a negative meaning to propositions and convey a DN reading when they combine with a negative marker), and expressions like *anybody/anything* (that are negative dependent, but that cannot by themselves express negation).

In this talk we will focus on two minimal pairs that make explicit the different behavior of NPIs in these two languages. First, Basque NPIs obligatorily co-occur with the negative marker, both in pre/post-negative positions (3), a possibility that is excluded in English (4b).

(3)   a.   Ez   du   *inork*   hori   erosi.
                  neg   aux   anybody   that   buy
        b.   *Inork*   ez   du   hori   erosi.
                  anybody   neg   aux   that   buy
                  'Nobody bought that.'

(4)   a.   She didn't see anyone.
        b.   *Anybody didn't leave.

Second, Basque NPIs differ from English ones in that they are allowed in fragment answers only with the co-presence of the negative marker. Interestingly, they also differ from the NPIs of other Strict-NC languages (e.g., Greek, Romanian; see Giannakidou 2001, Falaus & Nicolae 2016), which can occur alone without the negative marker.

(5)   Zer   erosi   zenuen?   *Ezer*   *(*ez*)*.
        what   buy   aux   anything   not
        'What did you buy? Nothing'
(6)   What did you buy? *(Not) anything // Nothing.

Interestingly, note that a Basque sentence like (7) with two NPIs and the sentential negative marker renders a SN interpretation. In fact, it has been reported experimentally that no DN reading is available (Etxeberria et al. 2018).

(7)   *Inork*   ez   du   *ezer*   hautsi.
        anyone.erg   not   aux   anything   break
        'Nobody broke anything.'

The behaviour of Basque NPIs directs us towards the conclusion that in this language the negative reading cannot come from the polar items themselves but from the negative marker, and that they are pure polarity items (Etxepare, 2003). We will explore an analysis of the semantics of these items in the light of recent analysis of n-words in Romance languages (Espinal & Tubau 2016a,b). We will conclude that (i) Basque does not have n-words, but as we said, pure polarity items, and that (ii)

Basque is not a (Strict) NC language. We explore the following two hypotheses: (i) NPIs are not uniform in natural languages, not even in Strict NC languages, and (ii) Strict NC is not uniform across languages either. We will put forward a new formal characterization of NPIs in Basque based on Chierchia (2006).

☙

Polarity sensitive items in Southern German varieties: Microtypology, optionality, and negative concord

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Negative concord (NC), i.e. the co-occurrence of two (or more) negative markers in one sentence with a single semantic interpretation, can be divided into two types (cf. den Besten 1986:205): negative spread (n-indefinite + n-indefinite), and negative doubling (n-indefinite + negation particle). The term "n-indefinite" is used to refer to both negative quantifiers and n-words (cf. Penka 2011).

Previous studies on NC have either focused on negative doubling or did not differentiate between the two types: the *World Atlas of Language Structure* only refers to the co-occurrence of n-indefinites with predicate negation (cf. Haspelmath 2013); in the *electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English* the map showing the areal distribution does not distinguish between the two types (cf. Kortmann/Lunkenheimer 2013); Zeijlstra (2004:63) claims in his work on NC that all NC languages exhibit both negative spread and negative doubling, and similarly does Haspelmath (1997:219), too.

However, my broad data set (a total of 1.168 interviews from the second half of the 20th century) firstly shows that speakers of Alemannic and Bavarian differ in that they either use negative doubling, negative spread, or both (cf. table 1). This is surprising because approaches to NC have hitherto assumed that speakers always make use of both types. Secondly, the preferred type of Alemannic speakers is negative spread, not negative doubling; this is again striking because the preferred NC pattern in German varieties has always been negative doubling (e.g. Jäger 2008 for diachrony; Busch 1965, Mensing 1927–1935 for East and Low German). Thirdly, most of the Bavarian speakers choose the same pattern, that is *no (NP) not*, whereas negative spread in Alemannic is characterized by a greater number of combinations. Fourthly, NC is optional in Southern German varieties, but negative doubling to a greater extent (more possible contexts) than negative spread: while negative spread is even obligatory in Alemannic, negative doubling is optional in both varieties. So the following questions arise: (1) Do Alemannic and Bavarian (and Standard German) differ in regard to their lexical entries of n-indefinites and their [Neg]-feature's (non)interpretability (cf. Tubau 2016 for English varieties)? (2) To what extent can optionality deepen our understanding of polarity items, and does the variety's type of negation strategy ([+/- negative spread; +/-negative doubling]) play a decisive role in this?

Based on my data set I propose n-indefinites to be semantically non-negative in all languages because of their split-scope reading (cf. Penka 2011). Furthermore I assume (obligatory) negative spread to be a congruency phenomenon, realised by means of a feature-based approach with covert negation; (optional) negative doubling, however, cannot simply be explained in terms of syntactic agreement, but requires an additional pragmatic contribution (cf. Levinson 1983; Chierchia/McConnell-Ginet 1990:280–295).

Table 1: Alemannic and Bavarian speakers using different NC types ("both" stands for speakers making use of both types in different sentences)

	negative doubling	negative spread	both
Alemannic	25%	62%	14%
Bavarian	89%	2%	9%

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✍

How strict is strict negative concord? A microvariational analysis of preverbal n-words

Jacopo Garzonio and Cecilia Poletto

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Intentionality and Polarity Sensitivity

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It has been observed that intentionality plays a role in 'anti-licensing' Positive Polarity Items (PPIs). The observation is due to Szabolcsi (2004, 2010), who explains the effect in terms of 'shielding'. In this paper, I present the flip side of the puzzle: intentionality also 'anti-licenses' some Negative Polarity Items (NPIs). I argue that the new facts rule out Szabolcsi's 'shielding' analysis, as well as its rival in terms of domain extension (Zu 2017). I propose a new account of the intentionality effect that capitalizes on the analyses of some Polarity Sensitive Items (PSIs) as Epistemic Indefinites (Alonso-Ovalle and Menéndez-Benito 2015 for an overview). Additionally, I show how the proposed account explains the strategies that permit to bypass the intentionality of the verb.

1. Data Szabolcsi (2004:fn.10) observes that with verbs like *call* and *eat* (which are arguably strongly intentional), the PPI *some* cannot scope under negation, (1a), whereas with verbs like *offend* and *break*(less intentional), *some* can scope under negation, (1b). Szabolcsi (2010) shows that this intentionality effect can be replicated in Hungarian, Polish, Romanian, and Russian. I will add Czech, Hebrew, and German to this list.

(1)   a. ??I don't want to call someone/eat something. (neg > some)
b. I don't want to offend someone/break something. (neg > some)

Although English *any* and negative concord items (in relevant languages) do not show the effect in (1), I present novel data from Romanian which has an NPI that *is* sensitive to intentionality, (2).

(2)   a. ??Nu vreau să   sun   pe   careva.
    Not   want.I SBJ call   DOM anybody
    'I don't want to call anybody.'
b. Nu vreau să   supăr pe   careva.
    not   want.I SBJ   upset DOM anybody
    'I don't want to upset anybody.'

2. Previous analyses The flip side of the puzzle in (2) rules out two previous analyses of the intentionality effect with PPIs. (i) Szabolcsi's (2010) account in terms of 'shielding' by a non-INT(entional) operator in (1b) predicts that NPIs show the opposite pattern, contrary to fact. (ii) Zu's (2017) account in terms of domain extension (although more adequate for *any* and negative concord items) equally fails to predict the behaviour of *careva*.

3. Proposal My proposal capitalizes on the observation that PSIs that are sensitive to intentionality of the verb are Epistemic Indefinites, which require random choice (esp. Alonso-Ovalle and Menéndez-Benito 2013). More specifically, I propose that verbs like *offend*, unlike *call*, can be 'randomized' at the VP level. Intuitively, even when an offensive action is directed to a particular person, the result is not guaranteed (e.g. the person may not get offended). That is to say, for non-intentional verbs the alternatives 'V a particular person' and 'V a random person' are undistinguishable. This is not true for intentional verbs like *call*. Under negated desire attitudes (modelled as preferences of relevant world-alternatives, Stalnaker 1984, Heim 1992), this difference becomes crucial as it disallows ranking relevant world-alternatives with *call* yielding the deviance of (1a)/(2a). The proposal is fleshed out in the alternative based framework for polarity sensitivity (Krifka 1995, Lahiri 1998, Chierchia 2013, a.o.).

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☙

Complementary Distribution of Russian *ni-* and *libo*-words: The Dynamic Syntax Approach

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We propose an innovative analysis of the complementary distribution of Russian *ni-* and *libo*-words through the formalisms of Dynamic Syntax (DS).

Ni- and *libo*-words are Russian negative polarity items (NPIs) formed by adding *ni-* or *-libo* to interrogative pronouns. *Ni*-words are confined to strong negative contexts, i.e. to sentences with clausemate sentential negation; *libo*-words are restricted to weak negative contexts without overt sentential negation (e.g. superordinate negation, conditionals). Pereltsvaig (2006) describes this complementary distribution of NPIs as the 'bagel problem': the gap in the distribution of *libo*-words, which form the bagel, and *ni*-words, which make up the hole.

In Pereltsvaig's (2006) Distributed Morphology analysis of this phenomenon, *ni-* and *libo-*items compete for insertion in relevant contexts: the *ni*-words are inserted where all the requirements for their licensing, namely clausemate sentential negation, are satisfied; otherwise, their competitors – *libo*-words – are used.

This analysis can only capture all the data by postulating dubious silent element – a covert negator in C^0 at LF – to license the grammatical strings where *ni*-words precede the sentential negator; and a covert negator again in grammatical strings consisting of a standalone *ni*-word.

In line with Lucas's (2014) DS analysis of NPIs and negative concord in Maltese, we suggest that DS can provide a more elegant and psycholinguistically plausible account of the Russian data. DS

(Cann et al., 2005) is a formal syntactic framework that captures the dynamics of left-to-right, word-by-word parsing of language through incremental growth of semantic trees.

Words carry instruction packages for annotating these tress with logical formulae and requirements for further development of the parsing process. These packages are formally represented in DS as lexical entries and it is in these lexical entries that we find the difference in the behaviour of *ni-* and *libo-* words.

In our account, DS lexical entries for *ni-*words contain the instruction for the parser to check whether an appropriate lexical entry has made a negative polarity (NP) annotation at the root node of the evolving tree for the string under parsing. If this annotation is not present, the *ni-*word adds it; if it is present – it is not added again, and the parsing process continues.

The *libo-*items also check for the presence of an NP annotation at the root node, and abort the parsing process if it is found there, capturing the ungrammaticality of *libo-*words co-occurring with negation. If it is not found, a check for a 'non-veridical force' annotation is performed; if it is found at the root node, the parsing process continues, and if it is not present, a requirement for it to appear before the end of the parsing process is added.

This case-study of Russian NPIs allows for a deeper understanding of the nature of these items, and provides for an elegant account (no covert or phonologically null licensors, or movement) for the phenomenon of negative concord in Russian and other languages.

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✍

Niti – real negative coordination inside strict Negative Concord?

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Serbo-Croatian (S-C) is a strict Negative Concord (NC) language, its neg-words are marked by the morpheme *ni-*, of the same form as the marker of negative coordination, (*ni...*)*ni*. Arsenijević (2011) and Gajić (2016) discuss *ni-*coordination structures in S-C. Clausemate sentential negation, marked by the verbal marker of negation *ne/ni-*$_{AUX}$, is always required. But S-C has another negative coordination marker – *niti*, which has so far gone unnoticed in the literature. *Niti* seems to be sometimes interchangeable with *ni* (1), but it does not require a negated verb in the constituent that it introduces (2, 4).

(1)	Niko	*(ni)je	**ni(?ti)**	slušao	**ni(?ti)**	**pisao.**
	$_{NEG}$who	$_{NEG.AUX}$	*ni(ti)*	listen$_{PART}$	*ni(ti)*	write$_{PART}$
	'Nobody listened or wrote'					

(2)   (On)   **niti**   sluša   **niti**   piše.
        (he)   *niti*   listen~3Sg~   *niti*   write~3Sg~
        'He neither listens nor writes'

Niti is highly degraded when coordinating just nominal phrases (3), unlike *ni.*

(3)   ?***Niti**   Lea   **niti**   Iva   (ne)   pišu/e.
        niti   Lea   *niti*   Iva   ~NEG~   write/s
        'Neither Lea nor Iva write'

Furthermore, only weak NPIs (*i*+wh) are licensed inside a *niti*-coordinand (4).

(4)   **Niti**   (*ni)je   (*n)<u>iko</u>   slušao,   **niti**   (*ni)je   (*n)<u>išta</u>   dogovoreno.
        niti   ~(NEG)-AUX.3Sg~   (*n)*i*-who listen~PART~   *niti*   ~(NEG)-AUX.3Sg~   (*n)*i*-what agree~PART~
        '?Neither did anyone listen, nor was anything agreed on'

       Crucially, neg-words (*ni*+wh) are not grammatical here (4), although they require clausemate negation, which suggests that *niti* does not participate in the system of NC. In presence of the verbal marker (*ni-*), (4) would yield an interpretation of double negation (both coordinated clauses interpreted positively). This would make *niti* the only inherently negative element in a strict NC language, such as S-C is. We investigate an analysis along the lines of Zeijlstra's (2009) account for French negative adverbial *pas:* an overt realization of the semantic negative operator, which does not carry any formal features (interpretable [iNEG] or uninterpretable [uNEG]). This would prevent *niti* from participating in NC and explain the possibility of a double negation reading: under Zeijlstra's (2004, 2008) approach to strict NC, in each of the two clauses, one overt (*niti*) and one covert negative operator would be present, the latter being necessary to check the [uNEG] features on the verbal marker *ni-* and the neg-word *ni-ko/šta*. However, three arguments will be presented against an analysis of *niti* as an inherently negative element: behavior of Positive Polarity Items (like *some* in English) inside *niti*-constituents, embedded *niti*-coordination, and diagnostics which show that *niti* behaves rather as a disjunction than as a conjunction. I thus conclude that *niti*, in fact, participates in NC, but it agrees with a higher, c-commanding negative operator which can check its [uNEG]. This operator is situated too high to enter an agreement relation with NC elements inside the constituent introduced by *niti*. As a clausal coordinator, *niti* is banned from certain contexts (3) probably due to competition with its non-clausal cousin *ni*. Finally, it displays subject-auxiliary inversion (4), reminiscent of Negative Inversion, observed for fronted foci in English (Büring 2004, Collins & Postal 2014).

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A twofold classification of expletive negation

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Introduction: Expletive negation (EN) is commonly considered a unitary phenomenon cross-linguistically codified (cfr. Horn 1989, Van Der Wouden 1994; Makri 2013). I will provide empirical arguments to show that in fact EN consists of distinct subtypes and propose a twofold partition between *weak* and *strong* EN.

Relevant data: From a semantic point of view, EN truly realizes a unique phenomenon in which the negative operator fails to reverse the polarity of the sentence and rejects *strong-NPIs* (Zeijlstra 2004) and *not-also* conjunctions (Delfitto & Fiorin 2014) as it is shown by two Italian expletive negative structures: "*finché*" ("until") clauses (1a-2a) (Renzi & Salvi 1991) and negative exclamatives (1b-2b) (Zanuttini & Portner 2003; Delfitto & Fiorin 2014).

(1) a. *Rimarrai   qui finché non avrai   *affatto* capito   quello che ti   ho   detto
     (stay.2rdFut here until   neg have.2rdFut at all understood what that Cl.to you have said)
  b. *Che cosa non ha   *affatto* capito   Gianni!
     (what   neg has at all   understood John)
(2) a. *Rimarrai   qui finché non avrai   finito gli esercizi *e*   *neanche* il   grafico
     (stay.2rdFut here until   neg have. 2rdFut ended the exercises and not-also the chart)
  b. *Che cosa non ha fatto Gianni *e*   *neanche* Luca!
     (what   neg has done John   and not-also Luke)

      However, *until*-clauses license weak-NPIs like "*alzare un dito*" ("lift a finger") (3a) and n-words like "*nessuno*" ("nobody") (4a), whereas negative exclamatives do not (3b-4b):

(3) a. Rimarrai   qui finché non avrai   *alzato un dito*   per aiutarmi
     (stay.2rdsing.Fut here until   neg have.2rdsing.Fut left   a   finger for to help-cl.me)
     'You will stay here until you lift a finger to help me'
  b. *Chi non ha *alzato un dito*   per aiutarmi!   (Grammatical if Interrogative)
      (who neg has left   a   finger for to help-cl.me)
(4) a. Rimarrai   qui finché non arriverà   *nessuno* ad aiutarmi
     (stay.2rdsing.Fut here until   neg come.3rdsing.Fut nobody to to help-cl.me)
     'You stay here until someone comes to help me'
  b. *Che cosa non ha   fatto *nessuno*!
     (what   neg has done nobody)

Similarly, polarity-sensitive elements (weak-NPIs, strong-NPIs, not-also conjunction, and N-words) as tested in other kinds of Italian EN clauses (Greco 2017), yield the following interesting pattern:

	Weak-NPIs	Strong-NPIs	Not-also	N-words
Until-clauses	+	-	-	+
Unless-clauses	+	-	-	+
Indirect-Interrogatives	+	-	-	+
Comparative-clauses	+	-	-	+
Negative Exclamatives	-	-	-	-
Rhetorical Questions	-	-	-	-
Rather than-clauses	-	-	-	-
Before-clauses	-	-	-	-

Table A: This matrix combines 4 syntactic constructions with 8 types of EN clauses.

All EN clauses reject strong-NPIs and not-also conjunction. However, with regards to weak-NPIs and N-words, two groups can be discriminated: one in which they are legitimate (light grey area) and one in which they are not (dark grey area). I will label the first class *weak EN* and the second one *strong EN*, since the former maintains some features of standard negation (they allow weak-NPIs and N-words) whereas the latter does not. Crucially, strong EN instantiates a natural class within the EN one, in which all members have a negative value.

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✍

WORKSHOP 13

Theoretical linguistics in secondary education

Alice Corr & Anna Pineda

Research and understanding from the language sciences has traditionally found its way into the secondary education context as a means to promote literary, literacy and communicative skills in students. The natural 'home' of linguistics in the secondary context has therefore been within the study of the official language(s) of the country/region, and modern foreign language instruction. As such, the promotion of linguistics in schools tends to be associated with applied, rather than theoretical, approaches and their practitioners.

However, the recent push to introduce theoretical linguistics into the secondary curriculum rejects this instrumental deployment of linguistic understanding in the classroom, promoting instead a more reflexive treatment of how language, and the human mind, works, and how this is reflected in linguistic diversity. For example, the initiative Grammar Oriented toward Competences (GrOC, *www.groc.info*) has put forward a new typology of exercises to replace those typically found in the Catalonian secondary classroom; thus students analyse minimal pairs (e.g. Cat. *És professor* (*intransigent) '(lit.) He is (inflexible) teacher' vs. *És un professor* (*intransigent*) 'He is a(n) (inflexible) teacher'; *quasi infinit* 'almost infinite' vs. *molt infinit 'very infinite') with the aim of developing their ability to observe, argue, reflect on and understand grammatical structures (Bosque & Gallego 2016).

This workshop will discuss, and seek to clarify, the motivation and evidence for such initiatives aiming to incorporate theoretical linguistics into secondary-level teaching and learning (T&L), and the benefits for students and schools. Key questions that arise are the following:

- What is the purpose of incorporating theoretical linguistics into secondary-level T&L? To shift focus from a prescriptive approach to a descriptive, or even explanatory, approach, whilst nonetheless retaining an overall 'instrumental' pedagogy? Or to promote a more reflexive understanding of how language, the human mind, and science works, *instead of* communicative and literacy skills (cf. Chomsky 1984)?
- To what extent are all areas of theoretical linguistics suitable for incorporation into secondary-level T&L? Should some areas be targeted for (initial) roll-out above others? What evidence is there for this? How can these areas of study be adapted for promotion at the school level? Which curricular competences and learning outcomes will be targeted in each case?
- How can comparative linguistics at an introductory level help students understand language variation and reflect on how grammar works?

As is well known amongst language scientists, the study of linguistics could find a home beyond the languages curriculum in subjects (e.g. psychology) with an emphasis on empirical investigation and scientific theory formation. Moreover, given its affinity with disciplines across the humanities, and social and natural sciences, linguistics is ideally placed to develop transversal skills and cross-curricular learning, a priority in many education systems. Issues to be discussed therefore include:

- How might theoretical linguistics be *incorporated* into cross-curricular approaches, or in other disciplines altogether?

- How might its place in other educational contexts be *promoted* and *justified to a non-specialist audience* (including teachers, students, school management, and parents/guardians), given the resistance to recognising linguistics as a science and the absence, or inaccuracy, of linguistics in the media and public consciousness (as encountered by those involved in previous attempts to introduce linguistics into the curriculum, cf. Denham & Lobeck 2010)?
- How might (theoretical) linguistics link with the study of language at other educational levels (primary, tertiary etc.)?
- What have been the (unanticipated) benefits and challenges of existing initiatives? What has been the feedback? What recommendations and solutions, or areas of further investigation, might be proposed?

Another consideration is the form in which intervention by theoretical linguists should take place. For example, would its introduction be favoured by 'top down' or 'bottom up' approaches? On the one hand, linguistics education in schools has largely been implemented by 'grassroots' approaches by individuals in the classroom, or extra-curricular initiatives which provide a link between the classroom and drives on a regional, national or international level (notably, Linguistics Olympiads). On the other hand, it has been argued that policy change is still achieved on the level of the individual, requiring only a few individuals to effect policy change (Hudson 2007: 239). Indeed, the roll-out of GrOC across the Basque Country and other parts of Spain in addition to Catalonia is evidence of the efficacy of individual ventures to effect change beyond their original scope.
We therefore seek proposals which tackle the following questions:
- How might existing and/or future 'top down' and 'bottom up' approaches be built on and connected in order to effect systemic and policy change on a wider scale?
- What insight can be borrowed from other types of educational initiative undertaken by higher education institutions which offer tasters of the discipline, disseminate knowledge to wider audiences, or promote student intake? Do exams boards, where these play a role in the education system, have any power to promote a new way of teaching language?
- What will the interaction with educational practitioners be? Given many lack a background in linguistics, how might the issue of teacher training be tackled? How much input will researchers have into modifying/(re-)designing curricula and pedagogical materials?
- Would any major change to T&L have a relevant and proportional impact? Moreover, would these changes offer a more attractive view of language classes among young students, and eventually lead to an increase of interest in linguistics as a scientific discipline?

Crucially, the introduction of theoretical linguistics into the secondary environment will need to be *context-sensitive* (from one country, region or school to another), taking into account attitudes towards linguistics/language, and the T&L of language-related issues, in a given setting, and how linguistic understanding and reflection is already implemented in curricula. Differences in educational systems and assessment practices will also require consideration: for example, schools enjoy differing levels of autonomy, with varying degrees of adherence to national or regional curricula; methods of assessment may be internal, or conducted via formal qualification or university entrance exams at the regional or national level.
The workshop welcomes proposals for papers on any of the above areas. With a view to bridging theory and practice, case studies from existing initiatives are especially welcomed.

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Linguistics in Modern Foreign Language A-levels: Preliminary analysis of pilot study data

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Aims

UK Modern Foreign Language (MFL) study at A-Level has suffered from three significant problems since at least 2004. First, student numbers in MFL have continued to plummet, also in the face of recent geopolitical events and changes to education policy. Second, MFL syllabi have been described as 'rather dull and uninspiring' (ALCAB 2014:2), due in part to the traditional way in which languages continue to be taught in schools. Finally, long-held views persist that MFL study is inherently difficult and that the examination marking criteria for A-Level are tougher than in other subjects, leading to lower student uptake, especially in the state sector. The aim of our talk is to present preliminary results of the 'Linguistics in MFL A-levels' project, a joint venture between Anglia Ruskin University, Queen Mary University of London, University of Cambridge, University of Birmingham and fifteen UK secondary school teachers of French, Spanish, German and Mandarin Chinese, which aims to address these problems through the introduction of novel and stimulating topics in linguistics (e.g. language change, sociolinguistic variation) in A-levels to supplement existing literary and cultural foci. The major goal of this pilot phase is to collect evidence through clear metrics that our materials are appealing and accessible to students, and that students benefit from the addition of these topics. We are interested not only in how interesting/relevant the pupils find these topics, but also in what effect this exposure has on their language attitudes and their confidence levels with speaking/writing another language.

Methods and data

In the project's pilot stage (January-July 2018), materials designed by members of the project will be delivered by the teachers to their French, Spanish, German and Mandarin Chinese A-level students. In our talk, in addition to discussing the proposed syllabus and how schools were recruited, we will present data drawn from questionnaires administered to students at the beginning and the end of the project and telephone interviews with teachers in order to assess the initial successes and potential of the project as well as any areas for improvement.

Results and discussion

The data collected will be used to investigate whether the introduction of students to linguistics has led to changes in their perception of 'language' and confidence levels, as well behavioural changes (e.g. reading books / blogs or attending language-related events from and beyond our suggested material). We will also reflect on the practical challenges and successes, including benefits to schools, researchers and the field more generally, of our pilot work with secondary institutions, as well as the lessons learned going forward for the project's main phase, and other initiatives in progress/development in different educational contexts.

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From the bottom up: Seven lessons learned in two case studies of teaching linguistics in American secondary schools

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Through two case studies of teaching linguistics courses in American high schools, we discuss seven lessons we have learned over the past seven years as secondary school teachers with our 16-18 year old linguistics students. We also describe current and historical efforts in the United States to promote the teaching of theoretical linguistics in high schools and the place such courses might occupy in a standard high school curriculum.

Historical efforts refer to work such as O'Neil, 1969, Hudson, 2007, O'Neil, Honda, and Pippin, 2010, Denham and Lobeck, 2010, and Loosen, 2014. Currently there are at least six secondary teachers doing this work in the United States with dozens more who work to incorporate units on linguistics into their English language arts, science, math, and world language courses. As soon as the 2018-19 school year, experimental models will begin with linguists working directly in high school classrooms partnering with active teachers.

Our examples reflect our own work as high school teachers, with one of us teaching a semester-long elective on linguistics and the other teaching a year-long Honors Linguistics class structured like an introductory college-level course. Participants will learn the processes of having content approved within two different public school systems, benefits and challenges we have encountered as teachers, and feedback from students who have taken our classes, as well as lessons we have learned.

Our seven lessons cover 1) the logistics of creating a course 2) establishing a classroom culture in rooms where this work has not been done before 3) teaching about language through a descriptive lens in what have traditionally been prescriptive spaces 4) students actively participating in scientific inquiry through language analysis 5) recommended topics and projects for secondary students 6) the role of theoretical linguists in this work and 7) the ultimate value in doing this work.

We present our courses in the context of current efforts in the United States to create an Advanced Placement Linguistics course that has the potential to engage thousands of students in studying Linguistics in the next five years. It seems clear that this goal will best be reached via a bottom-up approach, targeting individual teachers and classrooms, thus allowing students, parents, and administrators to see the value of such a course and its connections across curricular disciplines on a

school-by-school basis. In discussion, we hope to generate some ideas on doing this which may have application in ongoing efforts to promote linguistics in the schools.

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⤣

Cognitive Construction Grammar for a Pedagogic Grammar: Empiric assessment of learning the Catalan construction EN-partitive

Sandra Montserrat, Carles Segura, Sergi Barceló, & Andreu Sentí
(University of Alacant, University of Alacant, Generalitat de Catalunya & University of València)

Recent research on language learning has proved that metalinguistic activities on grammar help L1 and L2 learners, both in writing and speaking skills (Casas-Deseures & Comajoan-Colomé 2017). Therefore, the important question to be answered is which the appropriate grammatical model is to best improve these skills.

Cognitive Construction Grammar (CCG) is a linguistic theory with some specific features different from other models that have been used in language learning. These features, i.e. construction, prototype and frequency of exposition, could reveal to be crucial to outline an efficient pedagogic grammar. As is well known in the CCG, acquisition consists of learning constructions, i.e. stored pairings of form and function (Goldberg 1995, 2003). In fact, in the field of L2 learning, it has been proved that grammatical theories focusing on the form and the meaning negotiation are more effective (Ellis 2013, Nassaji 2017). Moreover, acquisition works (Tomasello 2003) confirm that children acquire L1 and improve their language skills imitating usage of simple constructions and constructions based on a single and specific element. The more complex constructions are acquired from the simpler ones. Finally, the latest studies on cognitive psychology on learning languages (L1 or L2) have demonstrated that linguistic units are better retained when the speakers are more exposed to such units (Ellis & Cadierno 2009, Ellis 2012). Their competence is thus linked to linguistic frequency.

Our main goal is assessing the efficiency of the CCG as a theoretical method to improve speaking and writing skills of Catalan L1 and L2 speakers, compared to a method based on a Generative Grammar model. The experiment is about the Catalan EN-partitive construction: a construction with a transitive verb, a quantifier and an anaphoric pronoun:

(1) *En   tinc   dos*   [de llibres]
   PART have.PRS.1SG   two   [of books]
   'I have two (books)'

Crucially, most young bilingual Catalan-Spanish speakers tend to omit the partitive clitic *en* when using this construction, because of the interference of Spanish grammar. We aim to improve the learning of the EN-partitive construction with a CCG-based approach.

We present a comparative investigation carried out with undergraduate students at the University of València following a Catalan course (Translation Studies) and also with Secondary School students in Barcelona. In both cases, there is a wide range of L1 (Spanish, Catalan, Chinese, Amazigh, a.o.). In both levels, the intervention comprises two groups (G) of students: a) G1 learns the EN-partitive construction based on the CCG principles; b) G2 learns the use of the pronoun *en* following the traditional accepted model in school curricula, based on Generative Grammar. The results of both groups in both levels are assessed and compared.

In contrast with the poor results observed with the traditional approach (which we predict will be replicated in our G2 students), we expect for G1 students to use the EN-partitive construction in spontaneous (written and oral) language with the clitic *en* and to show a better competence in grammar-oriented exercises than G2 students. The meaning-form combination and the high frequency of exposition to the construction (specially to prototypes) are crucial factors to explain this successful approach to language learning.

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The power of Universal Grammar: Promoting diversity and inclusion in secondary education

Jelena Runić

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Understanding the notions of diversity and inclusion has become of paramount importance in today's increasingly diverse global world. Various organizations across the globe and especially in the West strive to maintain diversity and inclusion in their environment, and most institutions have clear position statements in relation to these human right terms and their importance for professional success. Furthermore, research on diversity and inclusion shows, among others, that fostering diversity has a positive impact on student motivation and success (Ginsberg and Wlodkowski 2009). Simultaneously, theoretical linguistics along with its postulate – Universal Grammar (UG) – has simple and practical tools to describe and explain diversity and inclusion at the level of language, with additional reflexes in racial, national, and socioeconomic aspects of diversity. Yet, despite the tools that UG possesses, theoretical linguistics has remained mainly absent from school curricula for a number of different reasons (Denham and Lobeck 2010).

The basis for the current study are the results of a questionnaire that students need to complete at the beginning of the course *Language and Mind* (LING 1010), offered by the Department of Linguistics at the University of Connecticut every semester. The results of the questionnaire shows that at the beginning of the course students hold widespread misbeliefs, key among which being that children acquire a language because their parents teach them or that a standard language is the only 'correct' one. For a number of years in elementary and high schools, as well as in their families and circles of friends, students have been given instruction on what is 'right' and 'wrong' in their native language. These misbeliefs are in line with formal and informal results about the status of metalinguistic knowledge (cf. Denham and Lobeck 2010). Yet, the results revealing language stereotypes also show that after a series of interactive student-centered practices, misconceptions about language can be corrected (Runić 2013).

The aim of this workshop is twofold: 1. to emphasize how knowledge of diversity and inclusion can be beneficial to high school students, given a constant increase of mobility in the 21st century; 2. to show how this knowledge can be obtained by applying the tools of UG and theoretical linguistics more generally in secondary education. Thus, the overarching goal is to advocate for linguistics as a curricular need, a separate subject in the secondary context by appealing to the concepts of diversity and inclusion. Given that educational administrators are quite familiar with the relevance of diversity and inclusion, the "top-down" implementation is prioritized, although a "bottom-up" initiative directly generated in the classroom could operate concomitantly. The above goals can be obtained through a series of steps: first, we need to examine what has prevented theoretical linguistics from being more present in the K-12 curriculum; second, specific objectives of theoretical linguistics promoting diversity and inclusion in the curriculum will be proposed, primarily aimed at educational administrators. Finally, samples of lesson plans from such a course in the interactive student-centered classroom will be revealed to the workshop participants.

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Outreaching linguistics

Txuss Martin, Rafael Marín & Antonio Fábregas
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In the last decades, the scientific study of language has bloomed in both the understanding of particular grammars, and of the language faculty and its interfaces with other sciences (neurology, psychology, computer science, psychiatry, etc.) more generally. In spite of these advances, however, the status of linguistics as a science, and its role in the education sector, continues being largely residual. This lack of visibility has had pernicious effects on linguistic degrees, which suffer from endemic low recruiting. We feel that in the pursuit of a more consolidated status within the sciences, as well as of a wider presence in the education curricula across different countries, it is to a large extent our own responsibility as linguists to make our field more visible. To accomplish that, we submit, we should take outreach initiatives more seriously, in particular those targeting the education sector. Possible ways to explore that path include updating teachers in the last advances and many interests of our discipline, but also the creation of materials for the classroom through which teachers can work out language-related topics more confidently, hence triggering the students' curiosity for our field, and fostering linguistic vocations from earlier ages.

In this talk, we present an initiative to create a reservoir of illustrated two-page leaflets aimed at providing brief overviews and classroom activities on engaging topics related to language in a very general way. Examples include grammar topics from phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics (e.g. structural dependencies, ambiguities, numeral systems, implicatures, ergativity, etc.), but also more general topics such as sign language, neurolinguistics, bilingualism, endangered languages, language acquisition, animal communication, language pathologies, or biolinguistics. These materials are innovative in that they are a presented in an engaging new format that uses illustrations and a lighter language that seeks to engage with younger audiences in primary and secondary education. Our project is born with an international vocation, as it is the result of a collaboration agreement between the University of Tromsø in Norway, and the Catalan Foundation for Research and Innovation, based in Barcelona. We however seek to expand the initiative, not only by reaching other countries and languages, but also by contemplating potential marketability outcomes for these materials in the form of for example an Handbook of Illustrated Linguistic Bites.

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Challenging the Unchallengeable: "Let's Play Linguist!"

Marija Runić
(University of Banja Luka)

The goal of this workshop is to present the project "Challenging the Unchallengeable: Let's Play Linguist!'" as a direct response to a huge success of the prescriptivist language campaign "Let's nurture Serbian language" (2015-16) organized by the Serbian leading institutions: Faculty of Philology of the University of Belgrade, The City Library of Belgrade and The Assembly of The City of Belgrade. The campaign has revealed the extent of prescriptivism and misconceptions about language fostered by the Serbian school and university system. The present project addresses three main issues that reveal themselves as particularly problematic: i) lack of critical thinking and scientific method, (ii) little (or no) understanding of language variation, and (iii) misinterpretation of what

linguistics is about and what a linguist does. Considering the institutional support to the prescriptivist approach to language, I opt for a bottom-up approach, targeting both high school students and language instructors.

The project is conceived as a series of interacting workshops divided into three main stages. Given the age of the beneficiaries, I propose the use of a ludic approach (Runić 2013) − in all the proposed activities students take an active, playful role, the role of a linguist. In the first stage, the existing notions about language and linguistics (cf. Bauer and Trudgill 1998) are elicited in the form of a quiz or a competitive debate, with no answers given, winners being the team with the highest number of arguments provided for their claims. In the second stage, the project addresses the notion of a language rule, as particularly controversial in the existing school curriculum and the campaign. A series of activities in which students are invited to reflect upon language facts and uncover regularities are proposed (along the lines of Benincà 2012). To that effect, I suggest the rule of the 2nd positioning of clitics in Slavic, since this rule is never taught in the school curriculum and students are completely unaware of it. In a series of steps, students are guided in the process of formulating and checking hypotheses: 1. Formulate the rule (students are expected to make wrong predictions); 2. Test the rule (counterexamples are found with the help of a workshop leader); 3. Reformulate the rule; 4. Test the rule 5. Compare with other languages (for instance V2 in Germanic). Alternatively, samples of child language in the process of L1 acquisition or adult L2 Serbian are analyzed in order to predict possible "errors", i.e. discover a rule of making errors. The issue of language variation is tackled through music, i.e. that of rap genre. Students are invited to convert into a standard variety rap songs written in non-standard (either dialectal varieties of urban slangs) and vice versa and to analyze effects or lack thereof of different registers by singing different versions of the same song. The final part of the project is dedicated to the explicit revision of the previously held beliefs about language, linguistics and linguists based on their own experience in the project.

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Bildungsplan Baden-Württemberg 2016:
Promoting 'Grammar as Science' from 'the bottom up' – a case study

Verena Hehl
(MIT)

This talk will discuss work in progress on promoting linguistics in German EFL classrooms from 'the bottom up'. It will argue that while the curricula in Baden-Württemberg, Germany which focuses on the acquisition of competence regarding processes (Sprachbewusstheit 'language consciousness' and Sprachlernkompetenz 'competence for learning languages') in conjunction with content specifications offer an ideal stage for linguistics to "gain entry" into the secondary school EFL classroom, the linguist's work is far from being done. The talk hopes to show how, given favorable curricula, grammar as science could be promoted to students and teachers alike in a two-step fashion: first,

developing theoretically informed teaching material that anchors in existing curricula, second, promoting grammar as a model case with easily accessible data to introduce the scientific method. To illustrate how the first step could proceed, we will present a variety of linguistically informed teaching material on topics relevant for EFL classrooms and covered under the current curriculum, such as semantic approaches to NPIs (use of *ever, any*) (cf. Hohaus 2015), the syntactic understanding of DO-support (cf. Beck & Gergel 2014), and the morphophonological understanding of pluralization in English (cf. Honda, O'Neil, & Pippin). We will then discuss case studies, in which the teaching material devised was used to promote the assets of a linguistically informed classroom to EFL teachers by means of engaging their students in activities that anchor in their conscious knowledge (e.g. for NPIs knowledge of mathematical set theory, for DO-support knowledge of English prescriptive grammar), as well as in their unconscious knowledge (e.g. for English plural noun formation realization of a missing voicing distinction in Southern German/ Swabian sibilants.) The talk hopes to show that while Baden Württemberg's Bildungspläne readily allow for the introduction of linguistics in the classroom, the linguist's task is to actively build bridges between scientific theory building at research institutions and EFL learning in secondary schools. Only if the first step of building a fruitful relationship between teachers and linguists is achieved by means of developing material for teachers that are connected to the existing content curriculum can then language be successfully introduced as an object of scientific study.

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WORKSHOP 14

The semantics and pragmatics of apprehensive markers in a cross-linguistic perspective

Martina Faller and Eva Schultze-Berndt
(University of Manchester)

Presumably speakers of all languages have strategies at their disposal to communicate warnings, as in (1) – i.e. to alert the addressee to a potential, but undesirable event which can be avoided by appropriate action, amounting to a directive illocutionary act with the aim to bring about this action (Carstens 2002; Dominicy and Franken 2002; Searle 1969: 67).

> (1)   (Get down from up there!) *You **might** fall*!

However, languages differ in whether or not they possess grammatical markers which are specialised for just this communicative task. For example, the English modal auxiliary *might* with a non-past main verb has a general meaning of future possibility; the undesirability of the consequence (e.g. that falling can lead to injury) is merely implied.

In contrast, many languages possess dedicated grammatical morphemes to encode a future possibility that is undesirable, such as the particle *ngaja* in Ngarinyman (Ngumpin-Yapa, Australia) in (2). As one would expect, warnings are a typical pragmatic context for markers of this type.

> (2)   ***ngaja**=nggu*   *bayalany*   *dawujbany-du=ma!*
>   APPR=2SG.OBJ   bite:PRS   perch-ERG=TOP
>   (A: 'I will bathe here') – B: '(watch out), a perch (fish sp.) might bite you!'
> (fieldwork Schultze-Berndt)

Grammatical elements of this kind have been labelled "apprehensive", "admonitive", "evitative" or "timitive", among other terms. The syntactic status of apprehensive clauses is an interesting issue: the apprehensive marker can either function as a subordinator comparable to (archaic) English *lest*, or have the status of a main clause modal or particles, e.g. in (2). Even in the latter case, clauses with apprehensive markers are generally pragmatically dependent in that they are employed as justifications for a directive or an expression of (non-)intention on the part of the speaker, as pointed out in many language-specific descriptions, e.g. François (2003: 304–310). For example, the implicit directive associated with the utterance in (2) is 'Don't bathe there' or 'Be careful when bathing'. Main clause apprehensive markers are therefore semantically and functionally – and sometimes possibly diachronically, e.g. by way of insubordination – related to subordinate clause markers.

     Although apprehensive markers figure in numerous language-specific descriptions – for example of languages from the Australian, Papuan, South Pacific, and Amazonian areas – there exist very few works that address the phenomenon from a cross-linguistic perspective (Dobrushina 2006; Lichtenberk 1995; Pakendorf and Schalley 2007; Vuillermet to appear). Apprehensive markers only receive passing mention – if at all – in works on modality or speech acts from a typological-functional

perspective (Bybee et al. 1994: 211; König and Siemund 2007; Palmer 2001 [1994]: 22) and have been largely ignored in the formal semantic literature on modality.

Multifunctional apprehensives have often escaped the attention of researchers; an example are markers originating from deictic or anaphoric temporal connectives ('afterwards', 'soon') which have taken on an apprehensive function in a number of languages including German (3), Dutch (Boogaart 2009), and the English-based Kriol of Northern Australia (Angelo and Schultze-Berndt 2016).

(3)   ***Nachher***   *gewinne*   *ich*   *noch*
      Later/APPR   win:PRS   I   PARTICLE
      und kann das   *CL Finale*   *nicht*   *zu*   *Hause schauen.*
      and can   DEF CL final   NEG   at   home   watch
      '(I think I'd rather not participate in this lottery). I might win [a trip] and would not be able to watch the Champions League final at home.' (www)

The connective *nachher* in German (when unstressed) is unambiguously apprehensive, i.e. it cannot be employed to describe a potential outcome that is judged as positive or desirable by the speaker. For example, a corpus search together with the lexical item for 'win' exclusively returned examples like (3), where the possibility of winning is presented as undesirable. Judging from a survey of reference and teaching grammars of German, this secondary function of the temporal connective has gone largely unnoticed, possibly due to the lack of awareness of the cross-linguistic category.

The aim of this workshop is to bring together scholars from different subfields of linguistics and working within a variety of theoretical frameworks, to shed light on the elusive category of apprehensives and apprehensive strategies. We invite contributions that address one or more of the following questions:

a)   What is the semantic characterisation and pragmatic function of grammaticalised apprehensive markers in the individual language(s) considered? Are there several markers in a single language, e.g. in precautionary and preventive function (Lichtenberk 1995; Vuillermet to appear)? If yes, what are the semantic contrasts involved? Does the apprehensive marker contribute to the at-issue meaning?

b)   What is the paradigmatic status of the apprehensive markers/strategies? E.g. are they part of the TAM system, or the complementiser system? Are there constraints in the co-occurrence with temporal or modal markers, with voice, or with person?

c)   What is the syntactic status of the apprehensive clause?
     What is the status of apprehensive utterances in speech act theories and in discussions of the relationship between modality/mood and speech acts? What are the pragmatic conditions that give rise to apprehensive constructions; in particular, what is their relation to directives (cf. Pakendorf & Schalley 2007), and to complements of 'fear' (and similar) predicates (cf. Lichtenberk 1995)?

d)   What are the diachronic origins of grammaticalised apprehensive markers? What light do apprehensive strategies (weakly grammaticalised or multifunctional markers) shed on the semantics of the apprehensive category? What is the role of negation in the rise of apprehensive constructions?

e)   Are there areal patterns of particular strategies of apprehensive marking?

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Apprehensives & grammatical persons across languages

Marine Vuillermet
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Apprehensives encode the speaker's evaluation of an event as being both probable and undesirable. Their prototypical function is to give a warning, like in example (1) from Ese Ejja (Takanan; Bolivia, Peru).

(1)   *Kekwa-ka-**chana**   miya!*
        pierce-3A-**APPREHENSIVE**   2SG.ABS
        '**Watch out** it **might** sting you!'

Apprehensives and grammatical persons interact in at least two ways. First, the full person paradigm is not always available. The Russian apprehensive (aka. 'preventive', or 'negative imperative perfective') is only available with second person. Matsés (Panoan; Peru) has four distinct markers, which vary according to two parameters: the person at the origin of the undesirable event,

and the identity of the potential victim (Fleck 2003, 443). In (2), *-nunda* is available for third person agent and patient (Fleck 2003, 440; originally glossed as a future potential).

(2)   *nisi-n*   *pe-**nunda***
        snake-ERG   bite-**APPR:3**
        '(Be careful), a snake might bite (e.g., our son).'   * ' ... bite you/me.'

Second, grammatical persons may trigger different functions. In Ese Ejja, the interpretation of a first-person apprehensive depends on the verb semantics: *-chana* expresses a threat reading with a [+control] verb (3a), and a warning with a [-control] verb (3b) (Vuillermet 2018; see Epps 2008, 231 for a similar contrast in Hup (Nadahup; Brazil, Colombia)).

(3)   a.   *Miya*   *kwia-**chana**!*
                2SG.ABS   hit-**APPR**
                'Watch out I might beat you!'
        b. '   *oke-**chana***   *mi=neki=yasijje!*
                fall-**APPR**   2SG.ABS=stand=ALL
                'Watch out I might fall on you!'

By contrast, the Matsés apprehensive has no threat function. A Matsés equivalent of (3a) translates as 'I might **accidentally** hit you' (Fleck 2003, 439; my emphasis).

The sample considered includes languages from all 6 macro-areas (Hammarström and Donohue 2014). I will examine the crosslinguistic distribution of apprehensive markers and their (attested) person possibilities, and explore the associated semantic variations.

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ℬ

Major and minor apprehensional strategies in Slavic:
A diachronic and areal assessment

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In the absence of dedicated morphological markers of apprehensive meanings, contemporary Slavic languages show different apprehensional strategies; the two main types correspond to the global split

of apprehensionals distinguished in Dobrušina (2006): one is derived from negative optatives (via extensions into epistemic modality) (1-2), the other from preventive constructions (for which cf. Xrakovskij 2001, Jary & Kissine 2014) (3-4):

(1)   *Kak /Liš'   by   ego   ne oštrafova-l-i.*   Russian
         how / only   IRR   he.ACC   NEG fine[PFV]-PST-PL

(2)   *Da ne bi   da   go   globja-t.*   Bulgarian
         lest   IRR   he.ACC fine[PFV]-PRS.3PL

(1=2)   '[I'm afraid] they might fine him.'

(3)   *Smotr-i,   ne   poskol'zn-i-s'!*   Russian
         look[IPFV]-IMP.SG NEG   slip[PFV]-IMP.SG-RFL
         'Be careful, don't slip!'

(4)   *Pazi   se   da   ne   padne-š!* Bulgarian
         look[IPFV]-IMP.SG RFL   IRR   NEG   fall[PFV]-PRS.2SG
         'Look that you don't fall!'

Based on extant literature and a questionnaire survey, I provide a fine-grained classification of major and minor apprehensional strategies in Slavic, including an examination of their diachronic sources and paths. Already a preliminary overview reveals that ‚negative optative'-strategies are more diversified than ‚preventive' strategies. The relative homogeneity of preventives lies in the interaction of aspect with mood (negated perfective imperatives, see (3), or their *da*-headed perfective present substitutes in South Slavic, see (4)), i.e. of two categories that are highly grammaticalized across Slavic. An apprehensional interpretation arises from the strengthening of implicatures derived from negated perfective stems with directive illocutions for time-located events.

By contrast, ‚negative optative'-strategies have been fed by various, only partially cognate source expressions, many of which participate in weakly grammaticalized ‚analytical moods' or clause connectives. As concerns the latter, we observe a split between North (= East+West) and South Slavic, resulting from the basic irrealis morphemes (*by* in the north, *da* in the south) showing different degrees of coalescence with morphological hosts, and a scattered distribution of comparison markers (Russ. *kak by*), focus particles (Russ. *liš' by*, see (1)), and subordinators used as complementizers or in final clauses (e.g., Czech *aby* (Lichtenberk 1995: 310), Pol. *żeby*, Bulg. *da ne bi* IRR+NEG+SUBJ ≈ 'if/that only not = lest', see (2)).

My analysis substantiates the following interrelated claims:

(a)   Both strategies are united by the contribution of perfective aspect: perfective stems are used to downplay controllability, as in environments in which perfective stems correlate with dynamic and epistemic modality for time-located bounded situations (Wiemer 2008: 403-406, Divjak 2009).

(b)   Future-time reference arises from a combination perfective+present, undesirability from negation.

(c)   Thus, both apprehensional extensions are part of a network of aspect choice, and they result from a rather transparent interaction between the named components within constructions. They can be captured by templates applying to either independent or subordinate clauses.

(d)   However, while preventives have rather unanimously been analyzed as simple sentences (main clauses), negated optative clauses have been claimed to derive from dependent clauses via insubordination (Dobrušina 2006, Evans 2007). This analysis is inadequate, at least from a diachronic perspective (Wiemer 2017: 297-300, 313-315). I provide an alternative, main-clause analysis based on diachronic data and on a reassessment of „dependency beyond the sentence" (Mithun 2008).

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✄

The Apprehensive Paradigm of Kambaata

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My paper presents the first detailed analysis of the formal and functional (semantic) characteristics of the fully grammaticalized apprehensive paradigm in Kambaata, a Cushitic language of Ethiopia. The discussion is embedded in the typological discussion on apprehensives (e.g. Lichtenberk 1995, Vuillermet to appear).

Morphology: The Kambaata apprehensive forms constitute a complete paradigm and are marked for 7 persons (1s, 2s, 3m [= see ex. (2)], 3f=3p, 3hon, 1p [= see ex. (1)], 2p=2hon). The apprehensive morpheme *-ókkoo* is found in the slot of verbal inflection, "wedged" between the two parts of a discontinuous subject marker: {VERBAL STEM}-{SUBJECT.**APP**.SUBJECT}_{INFLECTION}-{OBJECT}. It occupies the same position as aspect morphemes (imperfective, perfective etc.) and can thus not be combined with them. The apprehensive forms are exclusively used as sentence-final main verb forms (Kambaata is a strict head-final language). Unlike other main verb paradigms, the apprehensive does not come in an affirmative-negative paradigm pair.

Function: In the 1st and 3rd persons, the Kambaata apprehensive is used to utter warnings and call the addressee's attention to a threat; utterances with apprehensives imply that the speaker believes the addressee to be able to avoid these dangers. In contrast, the apprehensive of the 2nd person is, in most cases, a strong prohibition (ex. (3)) and perceived as having a stronger directive force as the

negative imperative – note, however, that the apprehensive does contain any overt negative morpheme.

Origin: The apprehensive must have been grammaticalised fairly recently, because no similar paradigm is found in the closely related Cushitic languages. Formal and semantic parallels in non-Cushitic languages of the area could not be detected either. I am going to argue that the Kambaata apprehensive forms have a phrasal origin and are the result of merger of a verbal complex consisting of a (positive) purpose converb form plus the existential copula *yoo-* 'exist, be located'.

The analysis is based on a corpus of field data (recordings, elicitation) and local Kambaata publications.

Examples

(1) (…) *mát-oa=rr-áan*   *aphph-ít-iyan*   *bumbókkoomm!*
       one-mOBL=NMZp-mLOC   seize.MID-3fPCO-DS burn<1p**APP**>
       '(…) otherwise something might catch fire (lit. it may catch something) and we might burn.' /
       '(…) otherwise there is the danger that something catches fire and we burn.'

(2) *Wó'-u*   *ag-ókkoo-kke!*
       water-mNOM   drink-3m**APP**-2sO
       '(Caution!) The water might drink you.' (i.e. You are in danger of drowning.)

(3) *Lank-íi*   *harabas-á*   *hitt-íta*   *torr-itókkoont*
       second-mDAT rubbish-mACC SIM1_P_DEM-fACC   throw-2s**APP**
       'You better don't throw the rubbish away like this again!'

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Abbreviations

ACC = accusative, APP = apprehensive, DAT = dative, DEM = demonstrative, DS = different subject, f = feminine, hon = honorific, LOC = locative, m = masculine, MID = middle, NMZ = nominalizer, NOM = nominative, O = object, OBL = oblique case, p = plural, P = pronoun, PCO = perfective converb, s = singular, SIM = similative

✄

The apprehensive construction in Gban

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Gban, a South Mande language of Côte d'Ivoire, has a dedicated grammatical construction that expresses meanings belonging to the apprehensive semantic domain (Lichtenberk 1995, Dobrushina 2006).

In this paper I am going to present a description of this construction and of connected phenomena. It is based on my own field data collected in 2011–2015.

1. Form

The apprehensive construction in Gban contains a special predicative marker *-ǎ̰/-ă* in the beginning of the clause plus a special invariable auxiliary verb *nṵ̀* and the infinitive (zero-marked form) of the main verb:

(1) *N-ǎ̰*   ***nṵ̀***   [*ɛ̀ɛ̀*   *blɛ̰̋*   *ɛ̀ɛ̀*   *kwà*   *ylɛ̀*].
   2SG-**APPR**   **APPR**   thou   self   thou   arm   break[**INF**]
   '**It would be bad if** you (sg.) broke your arms this way'; 'You **might** break your arms this way' (to a child playing in the street).

2. Paradigmatic status

The construction makes part of the TAM system in Gban, and can be shown to be one of its core verbal constructions.

In fact, Gban core grammar is formally based on a number of suffix-like predicative markers (PMs) that are located in the beginning of the clause, between the subject NP and the direct object NP, separately from the main verb. (The constituent order in Gban is "S PM O V".)

The PMs are grouped into five consecutive slots, which (roughly) correspond to seven sentence-level grammatical categories: Tense, Temporal distance, Aspect, Mood, Polarity, Person-number, and Focus.

The PM used in the apprehensive construction occupies the third slot, where it contrasts with several other markers cumulatively expressing different Mood and Polarity meanings. Thus the construction is to be included into one of the core grammatical categories — the category of Mood, as a special "apprehensive mood".

3. Semantics and syntactic status

The apprehensive construction expresses the semantics of fear, apprehension in:
   a) autonomous main clauses, cf. (1) above,
   and in dependent clauses: b) with an the interpretation close to '…or else P' (2),
   or c) with fear predicates such as *gbɛ̰̀* 'be afraid' (where it simply introduces the mental content associated with the predicate) (3):

(2) *N-ă*   *yɛ̰̋kɛ̰̋*   *ké,*   *ù*   *mɔ̰́*   *bàà*   *y-ǎ*   ***nṵ̀***   *kɛ̈.*
   2SG-SBJV.NEG   IPFV\do   EMPH   we   for   village   3SG-**APPR**   **APPR**   burn[INF]
   'Don't to so [play with matches], **or else** our village is going to burn down!'

(3) *Ḭ̀*   ***gbɛ̰̀***   *níḭ́*   *y-ă*   ***nṵ̀***   *yà*   *bàà.*
   1SG   IPFV\be_afraid   that   3SG-**APPR**   **APPR**   go[INF]   village
   'I'm **afraid** that he **might** leave for the village'.

Finally, the same construction is used in Gban as the principal means of expressing (clear) **negative purpose**:

(4) *Mǎ̰-à*   ***nṵ̀***   *ä*   *zè*   *ɛ̀ɛ̀*   *nɛ̀,*   *n-ǎ̰*   ***nṵ̀***   *nṵ̀.*
   1SG-IND.NEG   IPFV\come   he   say[INF]   thou   on   2SG-**APPR**   **APPR**   come[INF]
   'I'm not going to tell you that, **so that** you **don't** come'.

4. Diachrony?

The invariable auxiliary verb *nṵ̀* used in this construction is most likely connected with the lexical verb of motion *nṵ̀* '**come**'. An almost-identical, but variable auxiliary verb *nṵ̀* is used in Gban in

another construction which expresses **prospective~future** semantics (cf. the first *nù* in (4)). The PM *-ǎ́/-ǎ* is evidently connected with an archaic **negative** marker **-a*.

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☙

Apprehensive Markers in Korean

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This paper addresses the diachronic development and synchronic distribution of the apprehensive markers in Korean. The data are largely taken from a historical corpus of 15 million words, a compilation of documents dating from the 15th to the early 20th century, and a contemporary drama-cinema corpus of 24 million words, a compilation of 7,454 scenarios of dramas and cinemas dating from 1992 through 2015.

Korean has a number of grammatical forms that encode the speaker's apprehension, thus aptly termed 'apprehensive' (or 'preventive'; Ramstedt 1939, Kim 1960, Ko 1989, Son 1994). Their primary function is to warn the addressee of potentially harmful consequences of an action, as in (1a), or to present reasons of the speaker's action or mental state, as in (1b) (APPR: apprehensive; DEC: declarative; IMP: imperative; NOM: nominative; PRES: present):

(1) a. Connective *-lla* 'lest'

pelley	*tuleo-lla*		*changmwun*	*tat-ala*
insect	come.in-APPR	window		close-IMP

'Close the window lest insects come inside.'

b. Connective *-lkkapwa* 'for fear of'

cencayng-i	*na-lkkapwa*	*cam-i*	*an*	*o-n-ta*
war-NOM	come.out-APPR	sleep-NOM	not	come-PRES-DEC

'I cannot sleep for fear of a war.'

Apprehensives have been grammaticalized at varying degrees from diverse constructions thus forming multiple layers in contemporary Korean, as shown in part with the semantics of their sources in (2) (ADV: adverbializer; CONN: connective; FUT: future; NOMZ: nominalizer; Q: question):

(2) a. *-lla*   'lest'   < *-l-a* [$^?$ FUT-CONN]   'as X will'
b. *-lkkapwa*   'for fear of' < *-l-kka-po-a* [FUT-Q-see-CONN]   'as (I) see if X will'
c. *-lkka*   'lest'   < *-l-kka* [FUT-Q]   'will (it)?'
d. *-cimoshakey* 'lest'   < *-ci-mos-ha-key* [NOMZ-not-do-ADV]   'so that X cannot do Y-ing'

e. *-lkkamolla* 'for fear of' < *-l-kka-molu-a* [FUT-Q-not.know-CONN]'as (I) don't know if X will'

f. *–lkkamwusewe* 'for fear of' < *-l-kka-mwusep-e* [FUT-Q-fear-CONN] 'as (I) fear X will'

g. *–lkkamwusewuni* 'for fear of'< *-l-kka-mwusep-uni* [FUT-Q-fear-CONN] 'as (I) fear X will'

g. *-lseyla* 'for fear of' < *-l-sa-i-la* [ʔFUT-NOMZ-be-CONN] 'as X will be of Y-ing'

As is evident, Korean apprehensives mostly developed from uncertainty of the future, i.e., all of them involve one or more future-markers, a question marker, and cognitive verbs 'fear' and 'do not know'. In most cases the notion of apprehension is fully semanticized, thus cannot be canceled.

However, some of these apprehensive markers have extended their functions to mark tentative intention, doubt, etc. Thus, the apprehensives in this category do not robustly encode apprehension but lend themselves to the interpretation of other cognitively-related functions. The notion of apprehension for undesirable events or states is available from contextual cues, i.e., pragmatically inferred.

Drawing upon historical data, this paper traces the developmental paths and analyzes the morphosyntactic and semantic mechanisms that enabled the processes. It further addresses how these multiple forms layered in the single domain of apprehensives coexist with differential specializations with respect to speech levels (modulated along the formality and politeness dimensions), genre, and register.

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ℬ

From change of state to reminder:
An apprehensive marker in Baoding (Sinitic)

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Apprehensive, as a grammatical category, has not received much attention cross-linguistically up to now, yet several studies investigated apprehensive marking in Amazonian languages and Australian languages (Vuillermet 2018; Angelo&Schultze-Berndt 2016; Verstraete 2015). This paper aims to examine the apprehensive function of a sentence-final enlitic particle *lɛ.ia* in Baoding dialect, a Mandarin dialect spoken in Northern China (Sinitic). This particle, which originally has a temporal function, encodes an undesirable situation that may happen in an imminent future. The event 'give birth to a child' is normally not undesirable. However in example (1), with *lɛ.ia,* it does become undesirable to the addressee, for the reason that if no measures will be taken, it would probably too late.

(1)　　ʂɤ̃⁴⁵　　　　 *lɛ.ia!*
　　　　give.birth　　　APPR

　　　　ni²¹³　xɛ²²　lɤ̃⁵¹-tʂo　　　　 ʂɤ̃²¹³mɛ=niɛ
　　　　2SG　 still　 be.in.a.daze-STA　　what=CONT.INT_{WH}
　　　　'(She) is giving birth to a child! How come are you still in a daze?!'

A contrast is observed with another sentence-final enclitic particle *ia*. Sentence (2a) implies a kind reminder: the speaker's leaving may be undesirable to the addressee in case that addressee still needs the speaker. While (2b) is uttered in order to inform the addressee about the intention of the speaker, without expecting any reaction from the speaker.

(2)　　a.　*uɤ²¹³　ʂã̃⁵¹　 pæ̃⁵¹kõ̃⁴⁵ʂʅ²¹³⁻²¹=tɛʰi=**lɛ.ia**.*
　　　　　　1SG　 go.to　 office=GO&DO=APPR
　　　　　　'I am going to the office (if you don't need me).'

　　　　b.　*uɤ²¹³　ʂã̃⁵¹　 pæ̃⁵¹kõ̃⁴⁵ʂʅ²¹³⁻²¹=tɛʰ**ia**.*
　　　　　　1SG　 go.to　 office=GO&DO.EGO
　　　　　　'(I am telling you that) I am going to the office.)'

In this paper, we examine the semantic and syntactic constraints weighing on *lɛ.ia* and discuss how its temporal and apprehensive functions may be related. We also investigate the possible source of the particle based on some historical evidence as well as on a comparison with the neighbouring dialects. The overview we provide of the semantic features of *lɛ.ia* confirms previous opinions which consider apprehensive as a special form of a command (Aikhenvald 2010: 225-226). In the case of Baoding, apprehensive sentences may also be declaratives with a first person subject. The analysis is based on personal fieldwork data (recording of daily conversations as well as sentence elicitation). These data from the Baoding dialect have a typological significance, and help us understand how Sinitic languages encode apprehensive.

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ʑ

Apprehensive markers in Austro-Bavarian German: *gach*, *oft,* etc.

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Apprehensive markers whose primary function is to signal "that a potential (undesirable) situation may turn out to be so" (Lichtenberk 1995:295), are an interesting and widespread grammatical phenomenon. Up to no, apprehensives have been described predominantly in Austronesian, Amazon or Australian languages; descriptions of apprehensive markers in e.g. Indo-European languages are rather rare (but see Dobrushina 2006, Nilsson 2012, Ivanova 2014 for Russian and Bulgarian, Angelo and Schultze-Berndt 2016 for colloquial German).

In this paper, I will present apprehensive markers in Austro-Bavarian German, which has – unlike Standard German – a quite productive apprehensive marking system. The markers that shall be discussed, illustrated in (1) (non-apprehensive use) and (2) (apprehensive use) are:

gach 'quick(ly), sudden(ly), steep'; from OHG *gāhi* 'hasty, sudden'
oft [ɔft] (*åft* in Bavarian orthography) 'afterwards, then'; from OHG *after* 'after, behind'
am End (amend), zum Schluß 'perhaps, possibly, finally, at the end'

(1) a) Kimm **gach** amoi her
comeIMP quickly PART here
"Come here quickly**"**
b) Wenn'st heiratst, **oft** heiratst hoit mi
when-2SG marry2SG.PRS then marry2SG.PRS PART 1SG.ACC
"If you marry, then marry me"
c) **Am End (zum Schluß)** woar's do a Fehla
perhaps was=it PART a mistake
"Perhaps it was a mistake"
(2) a) **Gach (oft, am End, zum Schluß)** beisst di a Schlong
APPR bite3SG.PRS 2SG.ACC a snake
(watch out!) "A snake might bite you"
b) **Gach (oft, am End, zum Schluß)** brichst da no an Hax
APPR break2SG.PRS 2SG.DAT PART a leg
(don't ski too fast!) "You might break your leg"

As the examples in (2) show, the markers *gach, oft, am End, zum Schluss* clearly meet the definition of apprehensive-epistemic markers, i.e., they have the status of a main clause modal signaling the possibility of an undesirable event and are associated with the pragmatics of warning or thread (Angelo and Schultze-Berndt 2016). Further examples of the markers *gach,* etc. in apprehensional-epistemic function will be presented, as well as examples of their use in precautioning and fear functions, which are, according to Lichtenberk (1995), crucial for the general historical development of apprehensive markers. Concerning the grammaticalization of apprehensives, our Austro-Bavarian data indicate that besides adverbs of time, adverbs of manner ('quickly') or adverbs of probability ('perhaps') might function as grammaticalization sources.

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⌀

Apprehensionality emerging: The case of Kriol *bambai*

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In this work, I propose a unified and diachronically-informed semantic treatment of the recruitment of temporal frame adverbial *bambai* in Australian Kriol to encode apprehensional meanings with implications for our understanding of this meaning change 'pathway' and the role of speaker meaning in adjudicating between possible readings of this singe lexical item.

Australian Kriol is a contact language spoken across multiple communities in Northern Australia, a result of radical language contact between English-based pidgins and a number of Arnhem Land substrata in the early twentieth century. Recent work has shown the availability of *bambai* '< by-and-by' (a lexical item present in many Pacific contact languages) as a marker of so-called APPREHENSIONAL modality (*e.g.* Angelo & Schultze-Berndt 2016.) In some of the only published work dedicated to a treatment of these markers, Lichtenberk (1995) describes these markers as dually encoding (a) an assertion of the possibility of their prejacent obtaining (his "**epistemic downtoning**") and (b) information about **negative speaker affect** vis-à-vis their prejacent. The sentence pair in (1) shows ambiguity between the possible temporal or modal contribution of *bambai*.

(1)   **Context:** I've invited a friend around to join us for dinner. They reply:

   a.   yuwai! **bambai** ai gaman jeya!

           yes! *bambai* 1s come there

           'Yeah! I'll be right there!'

   b.   najing, im rait! **bambai** ai gaan binijim main wek!

           no 3s okay *bambai* 1s NEG.MOD finish 1s work

           'No, that's okay! (If I did,) I mightn't (be able to) finish my work!'

In (a), *bambai* displaces the reference time of the prejacent slightly forward; the speaker has undertaken to join for dinner in the near-immediate future of speech time. In (b), however, the speaker asserts that, in the event that they join for dinner, they may fail to complete their work (a negative outcome).

A unified formal treatment. In order to capture and unify these two readings of *bambai (*in terms of a `subsequentiality' relation SUBSEQ, I appeal to a Kratzerian modal semantics (e.g. Kratzer 2015), where a conversational background $\langle f, g \rangle$ against which q (the prejacent of *bambai*) is interpreted is contextually provided. The lexical entry is provided in 2.

(2) a. $\text{SUBSEQ}(p, t, w) \leftrightarrow \exists t': t' > t \wedge p(t')(w) \wedge \mu(t, t') \leq s_c$

b. $[\![bambai]\!] = \lambda f \lambda g \lambda q. \exists w' \in \boldsymbol{Best}(f, g, t_0, w_0) \wedge \text{SUBSEQ}(q, t, w')$

Whereas the temporal frame use is taken simply to encode a relation between an established reference time and the instantiation of some predicate, the apprehensional use is understood as an assertion of perceived possibility of a predicate obtaining in the future of a reference time under certain conditions that are provided by an antecedent retrieved from the discourse. Importantly, the availability of apprehensional readings appears to be restricted to sentences uttered in nonfactual moods; by deploying insights from the dynamic semantics and information structural literatures (e.g. Roberts 1989, 1998 *i.a.*), we can better understand how it is that Kriol speakers retrieve antecedents from foregoing context (linguistic or nonlinguistic) and consequently, how they adjudicate between these two salient readings of *bambai*, modelled here as conversational backgrounds.

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Three apprehensive strategies in Hebrew

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This paper discusses three apprehensive strategies in Hebrew: the connective *pen* (roughly: 'lest'), the apprehensive use of the additive particle *od* 'too', and the apprehensive use of negation, reminiscent of a similar use in Russian Baydina (2016).

• *pen*: The subordinator *pen* is found in Classical Hebrew and persisted to early modern as well as contemporary written variants of Hebrew, but is not used in spoken language. Attested examples from Modern and Classical Hebrew are in (1) (where APP stands for 'apprehensive'). *pen* can also mark the nominal compliment of a noun, as in (2). The complement of pen is restricted to future tense (imperfective in Classical Hebrew). Apprehension is part of the conventional meaning of this connective.

(1)   a. *hi   lo   heeza livroax   **pen**   tipol   me-ha-cuk*
            she negdared escape.inf APP   fall.fut.3fsg   from-the-cliff
            'She did not dare escape, lest she fall off the cliff.'
       b. *yare   anoxi oto **pen** yavo   ve-hikani   em   al   banim*
            fear   I   him APP come.impf.3msg and-strike.perf.3msg.1sg mother   onson.pl
          'I fear him lest he come and strike me and my family down.'
(2)   *anu axuzey metax **pen**   tipol   be-xol   rega*
      we   held.pl suspense APP   fall.fut.2msgin-any   moment
      'We are in great suspense that you might fall at any moment'

• *od*: The additive marker *od*, which has the expected senses 'still', 'more' and 'another' (Thomas 2012; Greenberg 2012), has an apprehensive use in modern Hebrew, shown in (3). This use is abundant in speech. A clause marked by apprehensive *od* can be in the future or the periphrastic past otherwise used to express counterfactuality (3-b). (3-c) shows that *od* cannot mark a clause understood to express a desirable consequence (the sentence is fine in a context in which the addressee is assumed to not want help and to be willing to pay for not getting it).

(3)   a. *al tedabri   ito,   hu **od**   yaxSov   Se-at   meunyenet*
           neg speak.fut.2fsg with.3msg he APP   think.fut.3msg that-you.f interested
          'Don't talk to him, lest he think you're interested'
       b. *amarti lo   liyot be-Seket, hu **od**   haya   meir   et   ha-banot.*
           told.1sg him be.inf in-quiet he APP be.pst.3msg wake.msg acc. the-girls
          'I told him to be quiet, he could have woken up the girls.'
       c. # *teSalem   la hi **od** taazor   lexa*
            pay.fut.2msg   her she APP   help.fut.3fsg   you
         # Pay her lest she help you.

• Negation: The complement of certain verbs (including some of what Jespersen called *verbs of negative import*), features a negation. In the complement of the verb meaning 'be careful', negation is obligatory (4-a), whereas in the complement of 'fear' it is not (4-b). Interestingly, even though Hebrew is a strict negative concord language, (4-a) shows that apprehensive negation does not require concord items, indicating that negation might not be part of the subordinate clause.

(3)   a. *tizaher   Se miSehu *(lo) yarbic   lexa*
           careful.fut.2msg that someone not hit.fut.3msg   you
          'Be careful, someone might beat you up'
       b. *paxadti Se-lo yaxSevu Se-ani tipSa*
           feared.1sgthat-notthink.fut.3plthat-I stupid.f
         'I was scared they might think I'm stupid.'

The talk describes these facts in more detail, and proposes a preliminary analysis of how the three different strategies achieve apprehensive interpretation, analyzed, very roughly, as involving (a) an issue presupposed to be metaphysically unsettled, (b) the literal content of a possible resolution of the issue, and (c) a conventional, non-truth conditional content of speaker dispreference for the possible resolution.

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# On the pragmatic content of the so-called expletive negation

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Question and overview : Among the wide variety of expletive negation (EN) triggers identified across languages, verbs of fear are a core trigger (eg. Muller, 1978; Espinal, 2007; Chatzopoulou, 2012). Some studies have focused on EN's licensing conditions (ie. its sensitivity to the semantic property contained by the whole set of triggers), and proposed that EN is meaningless (Van der Wouden, 1999; Espinal, 2007). According to one view, EN is a Negative Polarity Item licensed by downward-entailing predicates (predicates that share with negation the property of allowing inferences from sets to subsets). French challenges this proposal, insofar as the EN is triggered with the upward-entailing predicate *ne pas douter*. Other studies proposed that EN is licensed by nonveridicality (Yoon, 2011), defined as the property of propositional predicates which do not entail that their complement is actually true (Giannakidou, 1998). However, *craindre* can receive a veridical interpretation. Imagine a situation where someone is late, and everybody knows it :

(1) Je crains que tu ne sois en retard.
    'I'm afraid you are late.'

We will give a contentful analysis of the EN embedded under *craindre,* arguing that *ne* is a (non truth-functional) illocutionary negative marker, that triggers the pragmatic inference that the embedded proposition is contrary to the speaker's expectation.

II. Data and Method : To identify the semantic component involved in the presence/absence of EN embedded under *craindre* (fear), we study the diachronic stages of semantic change of *craindre* from Old to Contemporary French, along with the frequency of use of embedded *ne*. We distinguish three readings of *craindre,* based on epistemic (un)settledness (Giannakidou, 1998; Giannakidou and Mari, 2017). The epistemic state of the speaker is epistemically settled if she considers that both p and $\neg p$ are possible, unsettled if she only considers p as possible (subjective veridicality).
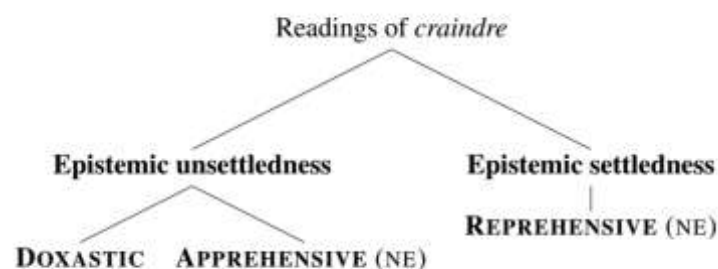
The doxastic (1-a) expresses the speaker's private beliefs. The apprehensive (1-b) can only be found with future orientation, it expresses a prediction about a future situation and gives rise to the inference that *p* is contradictory to the speaker's expectation. The reprehensive (1-c) can only be found with past orientation and presupposes that *p* is true given what the speaker knows. It encodes that *p* is contradictory to the speaker's previous expectation (flavour of reproach).

1. (a) Je crains que vous me méprisiez.
     'I fear that you despise me.'
   (b) Je crains que notre projet n'échoue.
     'I fear that our plan might fail.'
   (c) Je crains que vous ne vous trompiez, Madame.
     'I'm afraid you are wrong, Madam.'

II. Results : Our results indicate that the meaning of 'craindre' changes from belief (epistemic unsettledness) to knowledge (epistemic settledness). The temporal orientation of 'craindre' reflects this path of change, since it changes from future (metaphysical unsettledness) to past orientation (metaphysical settledness). We conclude that the acquisition of a subjectively veridical meaning is at the core of EN's peak frequency, observed by 1700.

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How to alert the addressee: The speech event conception underlying apprehensive markers and expressions

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This study analyzes the speech event conception that underlies the meaning and function of grammatical devices adopted for apprehensive expressions in main clauses. Faller & Schultze-Berndt (2017) illustrate the relevant marker with a Ngarinyman sentence: *ngaja=nggu bayalany dawujbany-du=ma!* '(watch out), a perch might bite you!' In English, clausal expressions like *I'm afraid* can be adopted for a comparable purpose (Leech 1983; Palmer 2001; Jing-Schmidt & Kapatsinski 2012). In Japanese and Korean translations of the sentence, *-tyau* and *-beorida* can be readily used in a similar function, as in (1a-b); they "convey the possibility of a state of affairs that is possible, but undesirable and best avoided" (Angelo & Schultze-Berndt 2016: 258). They are frequently accompanied by passive, modal, and a final particle, although felicitous voice can differ in each language.

(1) a.   *sakana-ni*   *kama-re-**tyau**-kamo-yo.*   JAPANESE
    $^?$ *mulgogi-hante*   *mul-lyeo-**beori**-ljidomolla-yo.*   KOREAN
         fish-by   bite-PASS-APPR-may-FP
         '(You) may end up being bitten by a fish.'

    b. $^?$ *sakana-ga*   *kan-**zyau**-kamo-yo.*   JAPANESE
         mulgogi-ga   *muleo-**beori**-ljidomolla-yo.*   KOREAN
         fish-NOM   bite-APPR-may-FP
         'A fish may end up biting (you).'

    c.   *sakana-ni*   *kama-**reru-kamo**-yo.*   JAPANESE
         mulgogi-hante   *mul-**li-ljidomolla**-yo.*   KOREAN
         fish-by   bite-PASS-may-FP
         '(You) may be bitten by a fish'

    d.   *sakana-ga*   *kamu-**kamo**-yo.*   JAPANESE
         mulgogi-ga   *mu-**ljidomolla**-yo.*   KOREAN
         fish-NOM   bite-may-FP
         'A fish may bite (you)'

While likely seen as apprehensive markers, *-tyau* and *-beorida* are not indispensable, as shown in comparable sentences like (1c-d); passive and/or modal can serve a similar function. The final particle is essential in Japanese but not necessarily in Korean. The two languages could either be viewed as being endowed with apprehensive markers or as not necessarily so. Based on these borderline cases, our analysis provides an account of how grammatical elements can work together, and often shape "prepatterned" or "prefabricated" (Hopper 1998; Barlow & Kemmer 2000) units, to achieve the relevant sense and function in languages with underdeveloped apprehensive markers like Japanese and Korean.

Behind the apprehensive expressions lies a speech event conception in which the speaker alerts the addressee to some information or knowledge that is expected to dispose the addressee to avoid or otherwise deal with an imminent event. The utterances in (1) imply 'Don't swim here' or 'Be careful when you swim here.' The information/knowledge referred to can concern either the future, as in (1), or past, as in (2).

(2) a.   *maeni hait-ta-toki*   *sakana-ni*   *kama-**re**-ta-yo.*   JAPANESE
    b.   *jeone deureoga-ss-eulddae* *mulgogi-hante*   *mul-**lyeo**-sseo-yo.*   KOREAN
         before enter-PST-when   fish-by   bite-PASS-PST-FP

'Last time I went in (the water here), I was bitten by a fish.'

The addressee's involvement in the imminent event is the essential component of the apprehensive conception. The utterances in (2) do not necessarily refer to any event in which the addressee is involved; they can be used not only for apprehensives but also for simply reporting one's experience. No parts of (2) exhibit a characteristic of apprehensive set phrase. In contrast, the utterances in (1) refer to the addressee's involvement in the imminent event: 'bite you' or 'you be bitten.' The underlined parts of (1) can serve more or less as "prepatterned/prefabricated" phrases very apt to evoke apprehensive meanings.

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-te shima(u) as apprehensiveness marker

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In this paper we claim that Japanese periphrastic construction *–te shima(u)* has an apprehensive use. We will argue in terms of formal semantics that:

It is a post-verbal auxiliary which is positioned between voice markers and sentential aspect markers.

It is basically used as a marker of the perfect aspect, sometimes conveying negative connotations along with it (Kindaichi 1955, Teramura 1984, Kinsui 2000, and Abe 2007; see also Yanai 2009 for a diachronic perspective).

Some instances of *-te shima(u)* are able to be counted as one of the apprehensive triggers in Japanese, attached to a (non-stative) verb, indicating that the event that the verb in question describes is an aftermath undesirable to someone (that needs not be identical to the hearer) which results from a

hazardous action having been (or to be) done, which is contextually given. An example is given below:

(1) (The ladder example: To someone on an unstable ladder)
     (If you don't pay attention,)
     Ochi-*te*   *shimau*-yo! (colloq.: Ochi-chau yo!)
     fall-APPR-SFP
     (where APPR stands for the apprehensive marker and SFP for the sentence final particle.)

     This apprehensive meaning is a pragmatic implicature in the sense that the apprehensive *-te shima(u)* is a polysemic variant which can be specified by the context.
     The evidence is that the apprehensive implicature in Japanese needs at least one linguistic expression to trigger (though it might be others than *-te shima(u)*). A lexical specification which links apprehensiveness and *-te shima(u)* (and others) is hence necessary anyway, a fact which is in favor of the polysemy hypothesis.
     The triggers are: *-te shima(u)* and *-yo / -zo* (sentence final particles)
     An example corroborating this point is given below: (2) does not work as a warning to the hearer.

(2) (The cake example: To someone who does not hide his cake)
     (If you don't hide the cake,)# Tama ga   taberu!
                                    NOM eat
     'Tama (a cat) will eat (it)!'

     Based on these observations, a formal analysis of the apprehensive *-te shima(u)* with the possible world semantics for the malfactivity modal base is presented. This study will also cast light on a way of comprehending the notion of apprehensiveness via semantic decomposition. Apprehensiveness is a semantic complex made of the following ingredients:
     A. The non-past tense
     B. Hypothetical implicature between two events (a cause and an unwanted result)
     C. Critical attitude toward the cause
     D. Malfactivity of the result
     E. Unexpectedness of the hearer (which is probably the contribution of the sentence final particles *-yo / -zo*)

-te shima(u) apparently takes charge of B and D, and probably C and E. The (optional) sentence final particles *-yo / -zo* takes charge of E. Our suggestion is that these components are all able to be overtly kept track in the Japanese case.

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Apprehensives: Illocutives or/and expressives?

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Archi and Mehweb, two languages from different branches of East Caucasian, feature dedicated morphological apprehensives. The languages have non-cognate inflectional affixes (-lk:ut in Archi and -la in Mehweb) specialized for the expression of warning. The core uses are similar in both languages: To indicate a possibility of an event in the future which is negatively evaluated by the speaker. In both languages, apprehensive can be combined with the subject of all persons (cf. ex. 1, 2).

Apprehensives are usually described as morphological expression of fear (Lichtenberk 1995). In this paper, we argue that apprehensives show properties of performatives. There are two possible ways to account for their performative nature. First, following Lichtenberk, one can additionally argue that apprehensives express fear (as interjections do) rather than describe fear (as verbs of fear do). Second, one can argue that apprehensives are in fact commands to the addressee to act so as to avoid possible negative results.

One test to support the claim that apprehensives are performative is the (in)appropriateness of "yes" reaction (cf. Ponsonnet 2014). Neither an interjection nor an imperative have a truth value and cannot be directly confirmed or disproved. Our Archi consultant confirms that an apprehensive cannot be answered to with a 'yes'. Mehweb evidence is not clear: an utterance containing an apprehensive can be followed by an objection from the interlocutor, but it is the epistemic component that is in the scope of negation (3). When an apprehensive itself contains a negative polarity marker, it is the event and not the fear (or command) which is negated.

Apprehensives are indexical. They are linked to the moment of speech and may only describe a possibility of a negative event in the future, never in the past. They also only express negative evaluation on behalf of the speaker. Even with 2nd person subjects, it is the speaker who evaluates the event (ex. (1)). This, again, groups them both with commands and expressives (speaker as the subject of volition or emotion, non-past reference); cf. (Potts 2007) on the perspective of the speaker.

There is one type of context, in both Archi and Mehweb, where the apprehensive form however seems to completely loose its performative properties. In subordinate clauses, apprehensives are used in negative purpose clauses and under 'be afraid', 'be sorry'. In these cases, the apprehensive form may refer to an event probable in the past and may express the wish of a third person; cf. (4). Speaking more generally, a possibility to be subordinate is typologically not highly typical of both expressives and imperatives.

In both languages, however, a special kind of subordination is used in such cases. Apprehensives are introduced by converbs of verbs of speech, one of the direct strategy of speecn reporting. We explain the deviations from the usual properties of apprehensives as deictic shift typical of reporting. The subordinate clause is coded as reported mental acts (a common functional extension of verbs of speech in these and many other languages). The time reference of the embedded

apprehensive is defined relatively to that introduced by the main clause, and the subject of negative evaluation is the subject of the main clause (cf. Verstraete 2008).

Examples:
(1) Mehweb, 2rd person
q'eju,   w-igʷ-a-la
slow   M-burn:PFV-IRR-APPR
'Be careful, beware not to get burnt'. (= I am afraid that you get burnt)
(2) Archi, 3nd person
bo:,   w-it   lo   i<w>ku-lk:ut
mama.VOC   1-you.GEN   child   <M>burn-APPR
'Mom, your son can burn himself'
(3)
b-uš-a-la!   ħu   ʁaˤm-le   le-w,   ħa-b-uš-es
N-die.PFV-IRR-APPR   you.sg   wrong-ADVZ   be-M   NEG-3-die.PFV-INF
'- I am afraid (the fire) is going to die! - You're wrong, it won't die.' (Not 'You're wrong, you're not afraid.)
(4)
Musa-ni   mura   d-arʔ-ib   [dunijal   ur-a-la   ile]
Musa-ERG   hay   NPL-gather:PFV-AOR   world   rain-IRR-APPR   say:PFV.CVB
'Musa collected the hay out of fear that rain starts'.

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WORKSHOP 15

Thetic- vs. Categorical: Distinctions and commonalities

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**'Thetic- vs. Categorical:
How are such sentential types to be distinguished, what is common about them?'**

WS-introductory paper

The contribution aims at investigating sentence types like *Es sind KÜHE im Garten „There are cows in the garden" – KÜHE sind im Garten – AUFTRITT MACBETH „Enters Macbeth".* What they have in common is that they are used as text starters. Such (presentative) sentences figure prominently in discussions about theticity vs. categoricality conducted by language philosophers and linguists. The distinction goes back to Brentano and Marty, who spoke about 'simple judgments' as opposed to 'double judgments'. As to these, Kuroda (1972) has claimed that Japanese has morphological means to unambiguously distinguish thetic from categorical sentences: thetics are marked by the suffix –*ga* for case nominative, whereas the suffix for categorical status is –*wa*. This paper discusses which properties of *ga-* vs. *wa*-sentences carry over to other languages beyond Japanese.

Other issues deserve special attention:

1. It seems that Kuroda's generalization has to be modified on grounds of evidence from Japanese. On the basis of Onoe's (1973) work on Japanese, sentences such as *God is* and *Snow is white*, which have been ranked as thetical (since analytic, generic) sentences, carry categorical morphology with *-wa* instead of what would be expected for the categorization as analytical truths.

2. It will be discussed to what extent part-whole relations (*He broke his leg – Er brach *(sich) ein Bein; Her head hurt – Ihr Kopf tat *(ihr) weh*) are thetic. Despite being transitive, such part-whole construals cannot be passivized. Is there a link to passives-only such as *Hier wird getanzt* 'Here is dancing'? Are sentences with non-canonical subjects like *Mir ist übel* (to) me-is-sick, *Mich schwindelt* me-(is) dizzy/dizzies thetic thanks to subjectlessness and despite seeming SpecCP occupation?

3. It is expected that what iconically relates to simple judgment and syntactic presentativity is a structure with subject-incorporation into VP (leaving unoccupied SpecCP, and more generally, topicality).

4. More generally, the discussion aims at adding new entries to the catalogue of theticity and categoriality both in empirical (sentence types, speech act types, discourse connectors, certain types of prosody) and theoretical explanatory terms (felicity conditions, VP-integration of subjects, and generally markedness). It will be demonstrated that the material from languages discussed adds relevant and novel issues about the categorical nature of Common Ground in terms of back tracing and looking forward. With this, novel views on theticity as opposed to categoricality will be provided.

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ℬ

"B-grade subjects" and theticity

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The paper will deal with an affinity between the so-called "b-grade subjects" and theticity.

According to Onoe (2017), there are a series of predicates which, counter to expectation, take subjects marked with "-*ga*". He names these subjects "b-grade subjects", which supposedly show non-prototypical characteristics as subjects. These subjects appear as a predicative argument in the following predicate types.

1. as an entity in the existential sentence
  (1) *neko-**ga** iru*.   (There is a cat.)
      cat-NOM be
2. as an object of the feeling
  (2) *kokyo-**ga** koishii*.   'I miss my home town.' ("*home town*" is marked with "–*ga*")
    home town-NOM miss
3. as an object of the capability
  (3) *doitsugo-**ga** dekiru*.   'I can speak German.' ("*German*" is marked with "–*ga*")
    German-NOM capable
4. as an entity of a spontaneous event
  (4) *kokyo-**ga** omoi-dasareu*.   'I remember my home town.'
    home-town-NOM remember (spontaneous)
5. as the point of a physical sensation
  (5) *atama-**ga** itai*.   'My head aches.'
    head-NOM ache

Syntactically, these are VP-internal subjects and can be best marked with "*-ga*", which, according to Kuroda (1972), marks prototypically thetic judgements. In contrast, marking these subjects with "*-wa*", the marker of the categorical judgement results either in odd sentences or, if acceptable in the first place, in a discourse contrastive reading. In my paper, I will investigate this observed affinity between the "b-grade subject" and theticity, and I will show how this affinity is motivated.

Starting from the observation in Japanese, we will further turn to corresponding data in German. As is the case in Japanese, corresponding sentence types in German show some interesting behaviors:

1. existential sentence
  (6) *Es gibt eine Katze*. (accusative object in an *es*-construction)
2. object of feeling
  (7) *Ich sehne mich nach meiner Heimat*. (prepositional object)
3. object of capability
  (8) *Ich bin des Deutschen kundig*./ *Ich kann Deutsch*. (genitive or accusative object)
4. spontaneous event
  (9) *Ich entsinne mich meiner Heimat*. (genitive object)
5. physical sensation
  (10) *Der Kopf tut mir weh*. (similar usage) / *Ich habe Kopfschmerzen*. (accusative Object)

The most of the corresponding subjects of "B-grade subject" in German are not realized as a subject, but as objects with exceptional case marking. They may sometimes show an affinity with *es*-construction, as (6) suggests. We could see here some evidence for theticity.

After observing the thetic expressions in Japanese and German, we would further compare the thetic expressions regarding their prominence in each system.

This would be a contribution for comparing the thetic-categorical distinction with criterial concepts unobserved so far.

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✄

Do "pseudothetic" sentences exist? A German-Japanese contrastive approach to an unknown syntax-semantics-asymmetry

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Kuroda (1972) was the first to indicate that the distinction between categorical and thetic judgment proposed by the Swiss German philosopher Marty (1918) has linguistic reflex on two different particles for syntactic subjects in Japanese – *wa* and *ga*. In languages such as English or German, this

difference is expressed through "subject accentuation" (*my car broke DOWN* vs. *my CAR broke down*; see Sasse 2006). However, Kuroda's (1972) straightforward equation "*wa* = categorical, *ga* = thetic" raises complications that merit critical examination.

On the one hand, concerning generic and existential sentences such as in (1) that Marty (1918) declared to be motivated by thetic judgments, Kuroda (1972) claims they still belong to categorical judgments without providing any other linguistic evidence than the fact that their syntactic subjects in Japanese are marked by *wa* as in (2). This argument is circular:

(1)a.   All triangles have 180 degrees of interior angles.
   b.   God is / exists.
(2)a.   Subeteno sankakukei **wa**   180 do no   naikaku no   wa o   yuusuru.
        all triangles *wa*   180 degree of   interior angles of   sum ACC have
   b.   Kami **wa**   sonzai-suru.
        God *wa*   exists

On the other hand, with his above-mentioned equation, Kuroda (1972) is also unable to consider a possible discrepancy between logical or semantic structure and syntactic structure although Marty (1918) repeatedly emphasized existing "pseudocategorical" sentences, that is, mismatches between form and meaning, especially regarding this type of generic sentences (1a).

Thus, I would first like to examine how categoricity and theticity are characterized in a logico-semantic and syntactic sense respectively, and how both aspects match or mismatch each other. In agreement with Marty (1918), though in a more modern fashion, categoricity in a logico-semantic sense would be defined as the predication of a subject whose referent is "presupposed" as Strawson (1950) indicates, whereas theticity holds if no such predication exists. Consequently, categorical and thetic syntax are distinguished from each other according to whether the subject appears outside or inside a (potential) negative domain.

Based on these definitions, I will subsequently indicate that, contrary to Kuroda (1972), Japanese *wa*-sentences can also represent thetic judgments although no *ga*-sentences with their distinct internal syntactic subject stand for categorical judgments, as against Deguchi's (2013) extended view of Kuroda (1972). Further, my own previous observations regarding imperatives and optatives in German (Fujinawa 2017) should be revised in so far as the former with their almost deictic, and thus referring subject expression, are only primarily related to categorical judgments, that is, they can also serve pseudocategorically. However, it still holds that the latter (optatives) with their never deictic and thus never presupposed subject expression are exclusively related to thetic ones. In sum, the result allows us to identify a similar asymmetry between syntax and semantics in both German and Japanese. Whereas categorical syntax possibly corresponds to logico-semantic theticity, there seem to be no "pseudothetic" sentences wherein logico-semantic categoricity would be represented by a thetic syntax.

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✍

Perception report and thetic/categorical judgment: Roles of sentence-final particles in Japanese and modal particles in German

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It is well-known that two types of judgment, originally proposed by Franz Brentano and further developed by Anton Marty, were adopted by S.-Y. Kuroda. One of the famous examples in Kuroda (1972) is concerned with the ***wa/ga*** distinction in Japanese. Following Kuroda's (1972:161-162) argumentation, suppose that someone sees a dog running and says something like *A dog is running*, which can be translated into Japanese as (1) *Inu **ga** hasitte iru*, but not (2) *Inu **wa** hasitte iru*. The sentence with ***ga*** is, following Kuroda (1972: 162), roughly separated into two parts, (i) the running of X and (ii) X is a dog. With this schema, Kuroda explains: "The event of running … is taking place, involving necessarily one … participant(s) in the event", which leads to his assessment of a thetic judgment. As for the use of the ***ga***-marked subject, it has been pointed out that the bare N indicates a specific entity which is present (i.e. existentially bound) at a speech time in front of the speaker in question. By contrast, the bare N subject marked with ***wa*** in (2) picks up some entities in the complementary set; there might be other contrastive subsets like that of cats, sheep, bears, etc. It is clear that there is a certain correlation between thetic judgment and stage-level predication here (cf. Carlson 1980, Ladusaw 1994). Another characteristic of thetic judgment is its descriptive nature. As Ladusaw (1994:224) points out, "A thetic judgment is an affirmation or denial of the description in the basis." This basis of the thetic judgment blocks, in my view, the use of some sentence-final particles (SFPs) as well as modal particles (MPs) in German in various ways.

Data to be examined will be mainly limited to perception report sentences in Japanese and in German. Perception report, like a drama script, consists primarily of a situational description, and it is assumed to permit no overt involvement of the speaker's attitude. Since MPs as well as SFPs are typically recognized as main clause phenomena, the use of those particles seems to break the basis of thetic judgments and open a way to categorical judgment. The comparison between MPs and SFPs reveals that SFPs within C, i.e. headed by the complementizers ***koto*** and ***no,*** are strictly excluded, while MPs are known to be permitted in some cases in the *dass*-Complement (Thurmair 1989:75). SFPs are, in contrast, widely used even in descriptive sentences, which suggests that there may be another licensing mechanism hidden behind it.

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☝

Infinitive constructions and theticity in German

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The differences between coherent and incoherent infinitive constructions in German (1)-(2) have been syntactically examined since Bech (1983 [= 1955/1957]) carried out the first detailed research into this area.

(1) coherent construction:

Sie	hat	ihn	zu	trösten	versucht.
she	has	him	to	console	tried.

"She tried to console him."

(2) incoherent construction:

Sie	hat	versucht,	ihn	zu	trösten.
she	has	tried,	him	to	console.

"She tried to console him."

One of the important studies on this topic is Wöllstein-Leisten (2001) on the "third construction".

(3) third construction:

Sie	hat	ihm	versucht	ein	Mädchen	vorzustellen.
she	has	him	tried	a	girl	to-introduce.

"She tried to introduce a girl to him."

This construction seems to be based on an incoherent structure because of its topology, but it is actually related to a coherent construction from a syntactic point of view. Based on its mono-sentential middle field, it is reasonable to suppose that the infinitive in (3) is coherently structured ([$_{CP}$ Sie hat [$_{IP}$ ihm$_i$ [$_{VP}$ versucht [$_{VP}$ t_i ein Mädchen vorzustellen]]]].), unlike the incoherent structure as a complex sentence ([$_{CP}$ Sie hat versucht, [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ PRO ihn$_i$ [$_{VP}$ t_i zu trösten]]]].). From this perspective, many other infinitive constructions which were previously considered as incoherent could also be analyzed as coherent (4).

(4)

Sie	hat	versucht	einen	Jungen	zu	trösten.
she	has	tried	a	boy	to	console

"She tried to console a boy."

[$_{CP}$ Sie hat [$_{IP}$ [$_{VP}$ versucht [$_{VP}$ einen Jungen zu trösten]]]].

In order to show that this view is plausible, sentences with the verb *wagen* (English: *dare*) are examined. An online corpus research reveals that most of the complement infinitives of *wagen* are formed coherently in the above modified sense while incoherence is basically realized by adding *es* (English: *it*) to the middle field of the matrix clause as a correlate (5).

(5) Sie   hat   **es**   gewagt,einen Lehrer zu   kritisieren.
     she   has   it   dared, a   teacher to   criticize
     "She dared to criticize a teacher."

Moreover, the behavior of the correlate *es* in relation to coherence/incoherence seems to have an additional semantic and functional effect. The correlate appears in the matrix clause when the structure is incoherent (complex sentence) though the content is thetic ("simple judgment" Marty 1918). It can thus contribute to the identification of theticity. In this respect, the correlate *es* can be compared with the placeholder *es*, which occupies the prefield of a sentence to evoke a thetic interpretation (Sasse 1987). The corpus research shows that this type of expletive never co-occurs with the correlate *es*. Furthermore, there are no instances which can be regarded as incoherently structured (6).

(6) Es   wagt   niemand   zu   behaupten,   dass …
     it   dares   nobody   to   argue,   that …
     "Nobody dares to argue that …"

In summary, both usages of *es* indicate theticity, but differently. While the placeholder does not fit into an incoherent structure in favor of theticity, the correlate marks an existing gap between incoherence and theticity.

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☞

Presentationals as *thetic* constructions in Norwegian and German

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While the thetic expression mode is in principle restricted to just expressing a situation, the categorical mode in addition highlights a 'bearer' of the situation, as reflected in the term 'subject' (from 'subiacere'). Presentational constructions are an interesting ground for investigating possible grammatical correlates to the distinction. German and Norwegian presentationals are among those which put a semantically empty element in the position where subjects occur in non-presentationals, signaling the absence of a 'situation-bearer' (not ruling out the presence of a grammatical subject). Our paper will identify further characteristics of presentationals in the two languages, showing that a parameter of (discourse) 'new'-ness is independent of the theticity factor, and that the degree of syntactic'categoricity'is weaker in presentationals in both languages, but in different ways. In both respects we go beyond current comparative descriptions (such as contributions in Faarlund (2001), and Gast and Haas 2011), hoping to get a better picture of the manifestation and scope of theticity in the two languages.

It can be argued that the German presentational expletive *es* (cf. (1a) as opposed to 'extraposition' *es* (1b)) is not a subject, while the Norwegian expletive *det* is a subject (cf. (2)), based on persistence of the expletive in subject-verb inversion (cf. Pütz (1974)). The German 'presented' NP, henceforth *presNP*, is arguably a subject (by subject-verb agreement, as in (1a)) while the status of the Norwegian counterpart is unclear: Norwegian *presNP* occurs after the main verb and must be indefinite, as opposed to German (cf. (1 and 2)), and in examples like (3), an NP can precede it, inviting an analysis where the first NP is indirect object and *presNP* a direct object (DO). However, in (4), pronouns with assumed DO status can precede *presNP*, and even sequences pronoun plus object predicative (predicated of the pronoun) can precede *presNP* (cf. (4d)), suggesting that *presNP* is rather some kind of 'chômeur'.

(1) a. Es   sitzen   (die letzte)   drei   Personen   hier
         EXPL   sit-PRES.PL   (the last)   three person-PL   here
     b. Hier   sitzen (*es)   drei   Personen
     c. Warum ist *(es)   wichtig   dass   ich   komme?
         Why   is   it important   that   I   come
(2) a. Det   vil komme   en inspektør/*inspektøren   imorgen
         there   will come   an inspector/inspector-DEF   tomorrow
     b. Imorgen vil *(det) komme en inspektør.
(3)   Det   venter ham   ikke   en ulykke /*ulykken
         EXPL   awaits him   not   an accident / accident-DEF
(4) a. Det   støttet   ham   ikke   mange mennesker
         There   supported   him   not   many people
     b. Det   kjørte   seg   ihjel   en formel 1-kjører
         there   drove   REFL to-death   a formel-1-driver

As for 'new'-ness of the construction, the circumstance that the Norwegian *PresNP* must be 'new on the scene' (being indefinite) and the German not, shows this factor to be in principle independent of theticity. This is supported by the circumstance that a pronoun can precede the adverb *ikke* as in (4a), a general criterion that the expression including the pronoun is *presupposed* (cf. Hellan 2012), showing that also a Norwegian presentational can involve 'old' information.

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✄

Theticity in Dutch: Encoded or inferred?

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A wide variety of linguistic structures in various languages has been analyzed as thetic sentences (Kuroda 1972, Rosengren 1997, Sasse 1987, 1995, 2006, Ulrich 1985), as instances of the – closely related – sentence-focus construction (Lambrecht 1987, 1994, 2000) or as presentational sentences (Venier 2002). Also in Dutch a number of sentential constructions have been analyzed as thetic, among which two constructions figure prominently: the Syntactic Inversion with Filler Insertion Construction (henceforth: SIFIC), and the Non-Prototypical Cleft (henceforth: NPC) (cf. Barbier 1996, Elffers 1977, Grondelaers 2000, Kirsner 1979, Sasse 2006, Schermer-Vermeer 1985, Vandeweghe 2004, among others). In the SIFIC the inverted subject follows the verb, which in turn is preceded by the adverbial pronoun *er*, e.g. (1). In the NPC a clefted syntactic structure is introduced by the same adverbial pronoun *er*, e.g. (2), rather than by the pronoun *het*, used in prototypical Dutch clefts:

(1) *Er   valt   sneeuw* (Barbier 1996).
    there   falls   snow
    'It is snowing.'

(2) *Er   is   een hond   die   blaft* (Kirsner 1979).
    there   is   a dog   that   barks
    'There is a dog barking.'

However, it has been questioned whether various language-specific constructions really encode a universal notion of theticity (whether defined in logical terms or in information-structural terms) as their conventional meaning or semantics (cf. Matić 2003, Matić & Wedgwood 2013, Sasse 1995, 2006). The status of the NPC as a dedicated thetic construction is furthermore challenged by recent analyses of the NPC in French and Italian demonstrating its broader usage potential (cf. Karssenberg 2016, Karssenberg et al. 2018). Building on an approach that differentiates between the encoded meaning (semantics) of constructions (both lexical and sentential) and discourse-generated senses or conversational implicatures (pragmatics) (cf. Atlas 2005, Carston 2008, Coseriu 1985, 2000, Grice 1989, Levinson 2000), this paper investigates the SIFIC and the NPC in Dutch and examines whether theticity (in one of its possible definitions) can be considered to be the encoded and non-defeasible semantics of the two constructions.

On the basis of a corpus-research of both spoken and written Dutch the various possible uses of the two constructions were analyzed. Construction tokens and their contexts were randomly extracted from the *SoNaR Corpus* and annotated via a qualitative analysis for various factors related to the various possible definitions of the notion theticity. The factors used include the kind of logical judgment involved (thetic or categorical), topic-comment structure (sentence with or without topic expression) and presupposition-assertion articulation (predicate, argument or sentence focus). By reporting on the various thetic *and* non-thetic uses of the SIFIC and NPC, this paper aims not only to shed light on the semantics and pragmatics of the two constructions, but also to contribute to the ongoing discussion regarding the linguistic or conceptual nature of theticity. On the basis of the corpus data it will be argued that theticity should not be seen as an encoded linguistic meaning in Dutch, but rather as a logical and/or discourse oriented phenomenon that can be communicated by means of non-dedicated linguistic structures via a process of implicature and inference.

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⌫

Predication in thetic constructions: A case study in Ancient Hebrew

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Debate about what constitutes predication has occurred since the time of Aristotle. The notion of *saturation* of an open predicate by its argument (Subject) has been a predominant description in the literature (Rothstein 2001). Certain sentence types, however, have defied a clear Subject-Predicate structure, leading to the need for further studies of predication. Sentences such as *It's raining* or *There is hot coffee in the kitchen* have led to a research tradition devoted to discerning their fundamental predication.

Francez (2009) has presented an argument for the primary predication in existentials. He claims that the predicate is the pivot (post-verbal NP) and the (implicit) argument is the contextual domain of the sentence. Like existentials, thetic constructions disrupt the categorical interpretation of sentences utilizing syntactic or prosodic means (Sasse 1987). Existentials have even been referred to as entity-thetics (Gast and Haas 2011). In this paper, I apply the description of existential predication presented by Francez (2009) to that of thetic constructions. This predicate structure is evident in one construction used in Ancient Hebrew (AH) for thetic assertions.

In AH the copula *hyh* may be used as a genuine copula to license TAM features in certain contexts, but may also be used in clause-initial position with defective agreement. Example (1) demonstrates that this construction lacks φ-agreement (defaults to $_{3MS}$) but mirrors the TAM agreement of the matrix clause it precedes.

(1) Genesis 39.7

wayhi *ʾaḥar had- dəḇārim hā -ʾellê wattiśśāʾ ʾešeṯ ʾăḏōnāyw*
COP.PRET.3MS after ART -things ART- these lifted.3FS.PRET wife.GEN master.3MS

ʾeṯ -ʿenehā ʾel-yôsep
OBJ- eyes.3FS to-Joseph

It happened, after these things, the wife of his master lifted her eyes to Joseph.

This construction iconically supports the view that the primary assertion is the event and not the categorical relationship between Subject and Predicate. This construction has been identified as a dislocation construction which serves to indicate that the primary assertion is not the Topic-Comment structure of the matrix sentence but the entire sentence itself (Wilson 2016, 2017).

Several other languages have displayed similarities with the AH construction under consideration, i.e. not functioning as a complete clause but anticipating another clause to complete it. (Deguchi 2012; Shkapa 2012; Rigau 2001; Shwartz 2010; Zólyomi 2014). The English pseudo-clefts *What happened was…* and *It turned out that…* are related to this phenomenon. The anticipatory nature of these constructions give further evidence that the matrix sentence is an open function which needs saturation. The open function, or *common ground*, of these thetic constructions is that *something happened*. Just as existential constructions use the contextual domain as their implicit argument, thetic

constructions function as open predicates whose sole argument is the contextual domain. This is similar to the notion of *stage topic* presented by Ertischik-Shir (1997) or *sentence focus* by Lambrecht (1994). The notion of Perspective Structure (Partee and Borchev 2002) which has been applied to existentials may also inform a better understanding of thetic constructions.

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Strong and weak nominal reference in thetic and categorical sentences: Sampling German and Chinese

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Definite DP as well as indefinite DP can refer to object reference. The objects occur usually in conjunction with a determiner or a pronoun. Consequently, they are clearly identifiable.

Terminologically, they run under 'Strongly referential DPs'. In addition, one distinguishes DPs, which do not refer to a specific object. They are called 'weak referential' (Aguilar Guevara et al. 2014). Correspondingly, in thetic sentences, the typical indefinite subject (singular or plural) in the presentational or existential interpretation is called 'weak subject'. In German, the weak subject is located in the right middle field ('topic-about') or in VP ('non-topic'; cf. Abraham 2013:606; Abraham 2014). This prompts the question of how thetic sentences or corresponding weak subjects are expressed in Chinese. In Chinese, a topic prominent language, DPs, in the topic-about position, receive typical interpretations either as strongly referential in the categorical sentence or as weakly referential in its generic usage. It will be discussed how, in both German and Chinese, strong and weak reference in thetic and categorical sentences are expressed if held against Carlson's (1977) semantic event types of stage-level and individual-level predicates. It will be seen that, given the lack of direct formal reference to strong and weak nominal reference, Chinese requires forms of expression that are massively different from German. In Chinese, weak nominal reference as subject in thetic sentence is usually implemented with the existence marker *yǒu*, which is located in front of nominal reference. Weak nominal reference can appear either in the form of *yī*+CL+NP (1), a bare CL-NP construction (without numeral), or a bare noun (2), whereas, depending on the context, the form *yǒu+yī*+CL+NP and *yǒu*+bare CL-NP construction can also be interpreted as a strong nominal reference (1). We also discusse the thetic sentences with weather verb, which appear at the beginning of the sentence (3).

(1) *Yǒu   (yí)   ge   xiāofángyúan   zài   huāyúan   lǐ.*   (thetic/w noun)
    Existm Num   CL$_{piece}$ N.Subj   P   N   Postp   (categoric/s noun)
    have   one   CL$_{piece}$ fireman in   garden   inside
    ‚There is a/one fireman in the garden.'
    ‚There is a fireman, who is in the garden.'

(2) *Yǒu   xiāofángyúan zài   huāyúan   lǐ.*   (thetic/w noun)
    Existm N.Subj   P   N   Postp
    have   fireman in   garden   inside
    ‚There are firemen in the garden.'
    ‚Es sind (die) Feuerwehrleute im Garten.'

(3) *Xià   yǔ   le.*   (thetic/w noun)
    V   N   change of state particle
    fall   rain   change of state particle
    ‚It rains.'

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WORKSHOP 16

The timing of ellipsis

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Ellipsis is a frequently used sentence-shortening device. It allows us to leave out material that is evident from the (linguistic) context. Even though the elliptical material is not pronounced, elliptical sentences are not perceived as incomplete. The following sentence, with ellipsis represented with strikethrough, can only be interpreted as containing the predicate *understand ellipsis*.

(1) John has understood ellipsis. Others have ~~understood ellipsis~~, too.

Ellipsis is an interface phenomenon par excellence, exerting an influence on all kinds of linguistic representations, pragmatic/semantic, morpho-syntactic and prosodic/phonological at the same.

Research on ellipsis has greatly expanded in recent years, covering more empirical areas and languages than ever before. While there is more data available, and there are more refined proposals on the market concerning syntactic and pragmatic/semantic licensing ellipsis, structural accounts of ellipsis (subscribing to the view that ellipsis sites have structural representation) often have conflicting views on *when* ellipsis happens and whether it is a uniform phenomenon to begin with.

Regarding 'timing' as a relevant notion in understanding elliptical constructions, may help us to open our horizon in understanding certain unexpected behaviour. For instance, in (2a), when 'to' is followed by predicate ellipsis, it is contained in the same phonological phrase as the lexical verb (the relevant phonological boundaries are marked with brackets). However, when it is part of an adjunct phrase as in (2b), then such phonological phrasing is disallowed.

(2) a. Mary wants to hear Fred's story and I also (want to ~~hear Fred's story~~.
     b. * Mary wants to hear Fred's story and I also (came) (to ~~hear Fred's stroy~~.

Could we then hypothesize that elliptical gaps are silenced syntactic constituents (e.g. phases), which are sieved through phonological and morphological filters for well-formedness (e.g. 2b is syntactically well-formed but violates some phonological well-formedness condition on the phonological phrasing of function words)?

There are several other proposals concerning the 'timing' of ellipsis:

What we can call the syntactic approach holds that deletion is 'induced' in the syntactic computation, either via elimination of some features/portions of syntactic structures (Baltin 2012), or via the presence of an ellipsis feature such as [E], which triggers PF non-realization (Merchant 2001, Müller 2011). Since these features participate in syntactic operations, accounts of this sort predict that one can find syntactic constraints on ellipsis and ellipsis feeds/bleeds other syntactic processes, such as movement (van Craenenbroeck and Lipták 2008, Aelbrecht 2010, Merchant 2010, Bošković 2014, Lipták and Saab 2014, Bennett et al. 2017, Sailor to appear).

On the other hand ellipsis is also considered as an operation that takes place in the postsyntactic component only. Accordingly, ellipsis (also referred to as PF-deletion) is interpreted as the non-

insertion of Vocabulary Items defined as in Distributed Morphology (cf. Wilder 1997, Bartos 2001, Kornfeld & Saab 2004, Saab 2009, Aelbrecht 2009, van Craenenbroeck 2010, Schoorlemmer & Temmerman 2012, Merchant 2016, Murphy 2017, Ionova 2017).

It is also argued that there are ellipsis operations that are prosodically driven, as such operations arguably take place at the post-syntactic component and are constrained by prosodic/phonological structural well-formedness and not necessarily e.g. syntactic constituency (Napoli 1982, Weir 2012, Murphy 2016, Thoms and Sailor 2017).

As Bennet et al. (2017) concludes, it may also be the case that "ellipsis is a very complex phenomenon whose effects are distributed over all aspects of linguistic representation (pragmatics, semantics, syntax, morphology, phonology, the lexicon)" (ibid. 29), such that ellipsis may interact not only with syntactic dependencies, but also with morphological and phonological well-formedness requirements.

The aim of this workshop is to bring together scholars from different subfields of linguistics and working within a variety of theoretical frameworks, to shed light on the timing of ellipsis in various constructions in English and other languages. By doing this, we aim to expand the commonly held syntax-only accounts of the silent structure approach of ellipsis, to the areas of morphology, and phonology, which allows us to explicate different types of ellipses in terms of its timing (late (morphologically/phonologically derived/licensed) ellipsis, early (syntactically derived/licensed) ellipsis).

We invite abstracts that bear on the *timing of ellipsis* from theoretical and experimental angles, addressing the issue in any language and in any elliptical phenomena. In particular, questions that the workshop seeks to address include – but are not limited to – the following:

- Is ellipsis induced in the syntax or only in the postsyntactic component?
- If ellipsis is induced in the syntax, is it phase-based?
- Is ellipsis a uniform phenomenon, or are there different types of ellipsis? If there are distinct types, what are their properties and how can they be identified?
- Are there cross-linguistic differences in the timing of ellipsis?
- What can ellipsis tell us about the ordering of operations in the (post)syntactic component?
- What do prosodic/morphological constraints reveal about the timing of ellipsis?
- To what extent are ellipsis remnants constrained by prosodic phrasing/ cliticisation/ incorporation?
- In what way does the timing of ellipsis interacts with the timing of (head) movement? What are the consequences of movement (out of the ellipsis site) before ellipsis and after ellipsis?

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✍

Apparent rule orderings involving ellipsis

Craig Sailor

✄

Head movement does not feed ellipsis

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I argue that evidence from ellipsis licensing supports the view that head movement (HM) is not a narrow syntactic operation (Boeckx & Stjepanović 2001, Chomsky 2001, Schoorlemmer & Temmerman 2012, LaCara 2016). Assuming certain heads license ellipsis, ellipsis behaves like those heads do not move when they undergo HM. That is, ellipsis licensing is not fed by head movement. This follows if they remain *in situ* at LF and PF, which falls out straightforwardly if HM is not narrow syntactic movement.

The standard view of verb phrase ellipsis (VPE) is that it is triggered by a licensing head (LH) bearing the [E] feature (in English, an auxiliary). [E] imposes an identity requirement over its complement at LF and deletes its complement at PF (Merchant 2001). Critically, auxiliaries undergo HM to T^0 and C^0, but they only delete their complements in the position from which they move, not the position to which they move (1, 2). The identity requirement holds over only this deleted material. Thus, ellipsis behaves as though the LH does not move from its base position.

(1)   *Subject–auxiliary inversion:*

(2)

Auxiliary movement over negation:

If LHs delete their complements at PF, it is unclear why they cannot do this in their landing positions or how they delete phrases they are no longer adjacent to. Lobeck (1995) accounts for the latter issue by assuming heads can govern ellipsis sites through their traces; Merchant (2001) and subsequent approaches provide no account of these observations.

These facts fall out if HM is not narrow-syntactic movement but the result of sharing phonological matrices between adjacent heads. LHs will be adjacent to deleted verb phrases at both PF and LF, ensuring that the right constituents are deleted at PF and that the identity condition is construed over the correct material at LF.

I show the observations above hold even when we rule out potential confounds from MaxElide and the Verbal Identity Constraint. If we adopt the view that HM is the result of sharing phonological matrices between heads (Harley 2004, Platzack 2013), LHs will remain in situ at PF and LF, accounting for the observations above. I discuss several alternatives that assume HM is syntactic movement, showing why they are inadequate; *e.g.*, I argue that reconstruction of the LH derives mismatches between the identity requirement and the material that is deleted and cannot explain how the LH can delete *v*Ps at a distance from the positions to which they move.

The main empirical takeaway is that ellipsis is not sensitive to head movement and, therefore, head movement does not feed ellipsis. I argue this can be understood in a traditional post-syntactic theory of ellipsis if head movement is not movement at all. This conflicts with recent discussions on ellipsis parallelism arguing heads leave traces (Hartman 2011, Messick & Thoms 2016, Gribanova 2017) however, I show there are clear cases where head movement does not count for parallelism. I also argue the data here remains a problem for phase-based approaches to ellipsis.

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☙

A typology of interactions between head movement and ellipsis

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Head movement out of an ellipsis site may yield verb-stranding ellipsis configurations in languages like Irish (McCloskey 1996), Russian (Gribanova 2013, 2017), Hindi-Urdu (Manetta to appear), Hungarian (Lipták 2013), Greek (Merchant 2016), and others. But it appears that head movement is also sometimes blocked out of ellipsis sites (Merchant 2001, 2006, 2008, van Creanenbroeck and Lipták 2008), for reasons that are challenging to characterize systematically. Explaining this range of seemingly inconsistent interactions between head movement and ellipsis across languages has proved to be a persistent challenge; no such complexity is observed with phrasal movement out of ellipsis

sites, which is systematically permitted crosslinguistically.

In this talk, I explore a set of predictions for the interaction between ellipsis and head movement that is made by an independently motivated bifurcation of head movement processes into genuine syntactic movement and postsyntactic amalgamation (Harizanov and Gribanova to appear, H&G). Postsyntactic amalgamation results in word formation (i.e. roll-up head movement), obeys the head movement constraint, and does not give rise to semantic effects. Genuinely syntactic head movement results in word order permutations but not word formation, has the same locality constraints as phrasal movement, and may give rise to semantic effects. H&G and Harizanov (2017) make a further distinction among syntactic head movement types. If the target of the movement projects, the result is movement to a specifier position (Matushansky 2006). If the head undergoing movement projects, the result is reprojection (Koeneman 2000, Fanselow 2003, Surányi 2005, among others).

The diversity of effects we find in the interactions between head movement and ellipsis can, on the H&G proposal, be understood as the result of the diverse properties of these three operations. I take ellipsis licensing to be a syntactic operation, triggered by a head bearing an E-feature (Merchant 2001). Postsyntactic amalgamation does not interact with ellipsis licensing in the syntax, predicting the existence of e.g. Irish verb-stranding ellipsis constructions, which have independently been argued to involve only postsyntactic amalgamation of the verbal complex (Gribanova, in preparation). Syntactic movement to specifier should be systematically permitted, just like phrasal movement to a specifier. I argue that this is the case of Russian verb-stranding, in which the verbal complex moves to a high Pol projection, in conjunction with TP ellipsis (Gribanova, 2017). Finally, in reprojective head movement, the head that moves projects its label in its higher position; if this head hosts the E-feature, then following Minimalist derivational principles — satisfy featural requirements as soon as they are introduced — we expect ellipsis to only ever be licensed in the lower position, not the higher one. This yields the prediction that reprojective head movement to a position should be in complementary distribution with ellipsis of the complement of that position. I argue that this explains the impossibility of the co-occurrence of English subject-auxiliary inversion (T-to-C) with ellipsis of the complement of the landing site (e.g. *He couldn't attend the meeting. Could *(he)?* (noted by LaCara, 2018)).

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✂

Constraining head-stranding ellipsis

Idan Landau

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In V-stranding VP-ellipsis (VSVPE), V-raises to T before the VP is elided. This analysis has been initially proposed for East Asian languages but later discarded in favor of an Argument Ellipsis (AE) analysis, for compelling empirical reasons (Oku 1998, Kim 1999, Saito 2007, Aoun & Li 2008, Cheng 2013, Takahashi 2014, Sakamoto 2017). However, it still dominates the view of Object Gap (OG) sentences in Hebrew, Russian, Portuguese and many other languages (Goldberg 2005, Cyrino and Matos 2005, Gribanova 2013).

I argue that even for the latter group of languages, AE should be favored over VSVPE. A major observation for all these languages is that VP-adjuncts are never included in the ellipsis site. Thus, the second sentence in (1) cannot mean "I'm sure that Sergei writes poems not out of despair" (crucially, a possible reading in English VP-ellipsis: *I'm sure that Sergei doesn't* ___), and only means that Segei writes no poems.

(1) Ivan pišit   pesni ot   otčainja.   Ja uverinčto   Sergej *Russian*
     Ivan writes.3SG poems from despair.   I   sure   that   Sergei
     ne pišit ___.   # Oni vsegda   radosnije.
     not writes.3SG they always   cheerful.
     'Ivan writes poems out of despair. I am sure that Sergei does not write (poems).   # They are always cheerful.'

In addition, AE covers a much wider range of data in these languages, for which VSVPE is unavailable (e.g., OGs co-occuring with another argument of a ditransitive VP, and still displaying some elliptical property). For both under- and overgeneration reasons, then, VSVPE should be discarded.

Why is VSVPE not attested, even in languages with V-to-T raising and Aux-stranding VP-ellipsis? I hypothesize that VSPE is universally unavailable, grouping it together with a more familiar universal ban – against T-to-C movement under sluicing (Lasnik 1999). These two *impossible* instances of X^0-stranding XP-ellipsis contrast with two *possible* ones – Aux-to-T movement out of an AuxP targeted for ellipsis (Aelbrecht & Harwood 2015), and Aux/V-to-Pol movement (in bare verbal responses to polarity questions) out of a TP targeted for ellipsis (McCloskey 2017).

The crucial distinction is whether or not the raising head crosses a phasal spellout domain. The theoretical claim is that it is X^0-movement out of a spellout domain that bleeds XP-ellipsis (and not the other way round, as is commonly assumed). The reason is that the PF-instruction ("Don't Pronounce!") encoded in the [E] feature is hosted on the *head* of the elided constituent. Once this head is separated from its trace by a spellout domain boundary, the information is not available anymore to PF, and spellout proceeds unhindered (i.e., no ellipsis). A VP complement of *v* and a TP complement of C are spellout domains, but an AuxP complement of T and a TP complement of Pol are not. This explains the contrast between the two pairs of cases.

Finally, I show how the condition that heads be visible at PF for PF-related operations receives independent support from "Takano's generalization" (Takano 2000): Headless XPs cannot undergo remnant movement.

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✄

Licensing Ellipsis in a Non-Agreement Language

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Under the methods of analysis taken by Chomsky's generative grammar, this paper aims to address the question of how ellipsis is licensed in a language that does not show agreement. Lobeck (1990) and Saito and Murasugi (1990) argue that a certain type of ellipsis constructions must be licensed by a functional head that agrees with its specifier. Among these constructions are sluicing (1a), VP-ellipsis (1b), and N'-deletion (1c):

(1) a. I know that Mary bought something, but I don't know [$_{CP}$ what C [$_{TP}$ *e*]].
     b. John likes Mary, and [$_{TP}$ Bill does [$_{VP}$ *e*]] too.
     c. Lincoln's portrait didn't please me as much as [$_{DP}$ Wilson's D [$_{NP}$ *e*]].

In this paper, I argue that such a licensing condition on ellipsis is not at work in a language such as Japanese that lacks agreement. Instead, the apparent counterparts of such ellipsis constructions are licensed in terms of what I call selectional licensing. Selectional licensing takes place in predicate-argument relationships in lexical domains and head-complement relationships in functional domains. Typical instances of selectional licensing in lexical domains are null arguments, for which it has been widely argued since Oku (1998) that ellipsis may be involved, as shown below:

(2) John-wa   [zibun-no booru]-o   ketta. Mary-mo [*e*] ketta.
     John-TOP   self-GEN ball-ACC   kicked Mary-also   kicked
     'Lit. John kicked his ball. Mary also kicked [*e*].'

In (2), the second sentence involves a null object, which is interpreted not only strictly as John's ball, but also sloppily as Mary's ball, a fact that indicates that argument ellipsis is involved. Selectional licensing in functional domains is instantiated by Japanese counterparts of sluicing (and probably VP-ellipsis). I demonstrate that the TP ellipsis sites of sluicing can be licensed by way of being selected by not only interrogative Cs marked with *ka* but also declarative Cs marked with *to* as long as the *wh*-remnants are c-commanded by higher interrogative Cs:

(3) Taro-wa   [Hanako-ni   nanika-o   ageta to]   itteita ga, boku-wa
     Taro-TOP Hanako-DAT something-ACC gave Comp said   but I-TOP
     [Taro-ga   [nani-o [$_{TP}$ *e*]   to]   itteita ka]   oboetei-nai.
     Taro-NOM what-ACC Comp   said   Q   remember-not
     'Lit. Taro said that he gave something to Hanako, but I don't remember Q Taro said that [~~he gave~~ what ~~to Hanako~~].'

In this case, the TP ellipsis site is simply licensed by the declarative complementizer *to* without Spec/head agreement. Furthermore, I argue that there are cases of what I call Predicate Ellipsis in Japanese such as the following:

(4) Taro-wa   Hanako-o   sikatta. Sosite Ziro-mo [*e*].
     Taro-TOP Hanako-ACC   scolded and   Ziro-also
     'Lit. Taro scolded Hanako. And Ziroo [*e*] too.'

I argue that in this case, the Predicate Ellipsis site is licensed by an argument that enters into a predicate-argument relationship with it. Furthermore, I extend the analysis of Predicate Ellipsis, so that the apparent cases of the N'-deletion construction in Japanese can be regarded as a special case of Predicate Ellipsis, thus opposing Saito and Murasugi (1990) in their claim that the ellipsis sites of this construction are licensed by D heads with their agreeing specifiers.

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⚹

How can head movement interact with ellipsis?

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In this talk, I present a novel asymmetry in extraction between matrix and embedded copular phrase ellipsis (CoPE), as illustrated in (1). (There is speaker variation – I will explain why in the presentation.)

(1)   a. ?*I wonder what Tom mightn't be fond of, and I also wonder what he might ~~be fond of~~.
       b. What mightn't Tom be fond of, and what might he ~~be fond of~~?

This contrast cannot be explained through existing analyses of ellipsis (cf. Baltin 2012; Aelbrecht 2010). In order to account for this asymmetry, I propose the following constraint:

(2)   The timing of ellipsis
       XP ellipsis occurs as soon as all the featural requirements of the licensor of XP ellipsis are satisfied.

One important consequence of this proposal is that the timing of XP ellipsis can vary depending on the *derivational* point where all the featural requirements of the XP ellipsis licensor are satisfied. Based on this, I argue that head movement occurs not in post-syntactic components, but in the narrow syntax.

This proposal is supported by Indian Vernacular English (IVE). IVE is a mirror image of American English with respect to T-to-C movement in questions – Subject-Auxiliary Inversion (SAI) occurs only in embedded questions, but not in matrix questions (Bhatt 2010). Hartman (2011) argues that SAI occurs in the narrow syntax in IVE. The constraint in (2) predicts that IVE should exhibit the opposite asymmetry: it should allow object *wh*-phrase extraction out of the ellipsis site in embedded CoPE site, but not out of the ellipsis site in matrix ones. This prediction is borne out, as shown in (3).

(3)   a. Who Mary will be proud of, and who John will *(be proud of)?
       b. Although I wonder what will Mary be proud of, I don't wonder what will John $^?$(be proud of).

The constraint in (2) can also explain why such an extraction asymmetry does not occur when the subject *wh*-phrase is extracted, as illustrated in (4). (I assume here that the subject is base-generated in the specifier position of PredP lower than the copula.)

(4)   a. I don't know who won't be fond of this book, but I know who will ~~be fond of~~.

      b. Who won't be fond of this book, and who will ~~be fond of~~?

Additionally, I suggest ellipsis is a narrow syntactic operation that eliminates phonological feature matrices (PFMs) of lexical items inside the ellipsis site. This means that ellipsis preserves their formal feature matrices (FFMs). To support this, I will show that elements whose PMFs have been eliminated as a result of ellipsis can participate in further formal operations that occur after ellipsis. This proposal can account for the following novel asymmetry:

(5)   a. Tom will be fond of all the books next year which Mary will *(be fond of).

      b. Tom will be fond of all the books next year that Mary will $^{?}$(be fond of).

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☒

VP-Ellipsis strategies in Javanese

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Goldberg (2005) identifies different syntactic environments for VP-Ellipis (VPE): (i) syntactic islands, (ii) coordinated CPs, (iii) non-coordinated CPs (same speaker), (iv) question-answer pairs (different speaker), and (v) embedded clauses. While for most languages in which VPE is attested, the same analysis for VPE serves to capture all environments, Javanese (Austronesian) presents a split in which environments (i)-(iii) require a non-movement account while (iv) and (v) require a movement account, where VP-Topicalization (VPT) feeds VPE.

For a movement account or 'VP topic drop' (cf. Johnson 2001; Szczegielniak 2006): If VPT feeds VPE (movement of the 'VP' to Spec, TopicP; followed by PF-deletion), VPE should have the same restrictions as VPT. First, VPT is restricted by event-type in Javanese: VPT is possible with events, but not states (Vander Klok & Déchaine 2014). Second, VPT is restricted by auxiliary-type: VPT is possible with a syntactic class of low auxiliaries (*tau* 'EXP.PERF', *oleh* 'DEON.POS', *iso* 'CIRC.POS', *gelem* 'willing'), but not with a class of high ones (*wis* 'already', *ape* 'FUT', *lagek* 'PROG, just', *kudu* 'CIRC.NEC') (Vander Klok 2015; see (1)).

(1)   * tuku beras,   pak Suwanan   **lagek**   **VPT:***HIGH AUX

            buy uncooked.rice   Mr. Suwanan   PROG

I show that these restrictions are borne out for VPE in question-answer pairs (see e.g. (2)) and embedded clauses in Javanese.

(2)   Q: Sopo sing lagek n-jahit rok iku?   A: *Aku   **lagek**.   **VPE in Q-**

A:*HIGH AUX

    who REL PROG AV-sew skirt DEM   1SG PROG

    'Who is sewing that skirt?'

Following the proposals for Javanese VPT, these restrictions are due to independent movement constraints; the interaction of anti-locality and phases. An alternative account where Javanese has a null predicate operator (or a 'deep anaphor'; Hankamer & Sag 1976; cf. Bentzen et al. 2013 on overt VPE anaphors) is suggested to be incorrect based on the 'Missing Antecedent Anaphora' test: follow-up with an anaphoric pronoun is possible in Javanese VPE.

    For a non-movement (Agree) account (cf. Aelbrecht 2010): Conversely, if VPT does not feed VPE, than VPE will not share the same restrictions as VPT. I show that VPE in islands, coordinated CPs (see (3)), and non-coordinated CPs do not have event-type or auxiliary-type restrictions.

(3)   Mas Adi lagek lulus   SMA.   Mbak Dayu yo **lagek** [lulus SMA].

    Mr. Adi PROG succeed high.school Miss Dayu PRT PROG

    'Adi is graduating high school. Dayu also is.'   VPE in coord CPS: ✓HIGH

AUX

The derivational split in Javanese VPE can be identified as a syntactic/pragmatic split: in question-answer pairs and embedded clauses, the 'VP' can be marked as a topic; elsewhere, the VP is not a topic. I suggest that a general requirement in Javanese is that a topic cannot be deleted in situ. This blocks the Agree account from occuring in embedded clauses and Q-A pairs such as (2). Overall, the Javanese data show that theoretical diversity is necessary to capture VPE.

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ℬ

Left-edge ellipsis and clausal ellipsis: The division of labor between syntax, semantics, and prosody

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I discuss two elliptical phenomena in English – *fragments* ((1), Merchant 2004 a.m.o.), and *left-edge ellipsis* (LEE, (2); Napoli 1982, Zwicky & Pullum 1983, Weir 2012 a.o.). Descriptively, fragment answers seem to result from the deletion of all material in a clause except for a single, focused constituent; while LEE deletes initial deaccented material.

(1) What did John give to Mary? – Flowers. (i.e. ~~John gave~~ flowers ~~to Mary~~)

(2) a. ~~Have you~~ seen the film?
     b. ~~I~~ won't bother, I don't think.

Interestingly, LEE is ungrammatical in a case where a fragment is possible, that is, in narrow-focus contexts:

(3) A: When are you going?
     B: At four.
     B': ??Going at four.   (from Zwicky & Pullum 1983:159, my judgment; Z&P mark as '*')

(4) Q: Who is it that I should see?
     A: *~~It's~~ JOHN that you should see. (cf. ~~It's~~ *lovely weather outside.*)

I argue that this pattern can be understood if both LEE and fragments result from deletion at the syntax-prosody interface, a variant of the 'radical deaccenting' view of ellipsis (Tancredi 1992 a.o.). I assume that (a) Given material is obligatorily deaccented (Schwarzschild 1999), (b) deaccented material is material which is not parsed into intermediate prosodic phrases, and (c) 'weak' utterance-initial constituents are also not parsed into intermediate prosodic phrases (Weir 2012; the talk spells out the prosodic assumptions required for this result in terms of Selkirk (2011)'s Match constraints).

The above pattern then follows from a Max constraint penalizing deletion, and an Exhaustivity constraint, which penalizes the realization of 'extrametrical' material not parsed into intermediate prosodic phrases. The interaction of these constraints gives rise to a configuration resembling Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2012)'s '3/4 signature'. In (5), pronouncing the initial deaccented material (i) violates Exhaustivity but not Max; deleting it (ii) violates Max but satisfies Exhaustivity. Neither constraint is fully satisfiable, so optionality results.

input: [$_{CP}$ have you seen the film]	Max	Exhaustivity
(i) have you ($_\phi$ seen) ($_\phi$ the film)		*
(ii) ~~have you~~ ($_\phi$ seen) ($_\phi$ the film)	*	

(5)

In narrow-focus contexts (6), a sentence with no ellipsis (i) violates Exhaustivity but satisfies Max; a fragment (ii) violates Max but satisfies Exhaustivity (by deleting all deaccented material). However, left-edge deletion (iii) would satisfy *neither* constraint – the ellipsis is penalized by Max while the deaccented 'tail' still violates Exhaustivity. Sentences like (4) are therefore categorically ruled out.

input:	[CP it's John that you should see]	Max	Exhaustivity
(i)	it's (φ John) that you should see		*
(ii)	~~it's~~ (φ John) ~~that you should see~~	*	
💣 (iii)	~~it's~~ (φ John) that you should see	*	*

(6)

Fragment formation cannot, however, be reduced to 'radical deaccenting' alone; deaccenting is often possible where fragments are not (Merchant 2004, Weir 2014). Additional syntactic and semantic constraints on fragments are argued to result from (a) a semantic Recoverability condition on CP deletion and (b) the proposal that focus *phrases* (not just individual Foc-marked constituents) play a crucial role in the formulation of that condition (Krifka 2006, Weir 2017).

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⌀

Nominal ellipsis in Buryat

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Nouns in Buryat (<Mongolic) are inflected for number, case and possessivity. Nominal modifiers regularly do not agree with the head noun (1)0, elided number, case and possessive markers are attached to nominal modifier under ellipsis (2). (3) demonstrates that only linearly last modifier gets morphologically marked.

(1) jəxə noxoi-nu:d-to-mni   /*jəxə-nu:d-tə-mni   noxoi-nu:d-to-mni

   big   dog-PL-DAT-POSS.1SG   bid-PL-DAT-POSS.1SG   dog-PL-DAT-POSS.1SG

‘to my big dogs’

(2) Tərə   *jəxə   /   ^{OK}jəxə-nʉːd-tə-mni   ʉg-ө:.
     he   big   big-PL-DAT-POSS.1SG   give-PRT1
     {Left context: ‘Which dogs Badma gave food to?’} ‘He gave to my big ones.’

(3) Badma   ədjə   biʃiːxan   so:xor   ʉnjən-də
     ʉg-ө:,
     Badma   food   small   brindled   cow-DAT
     give-PRT1
     jəxəxʉrin-də   ʉʃө: ʉg-ө:-gʉi.
     big   brown-DAT   yet   give-PRT1-NEG
     /*jəxə-də   xʉrin-də   /*jəxə-də   xʉrin
     big-DAT   brown-DAT   bid-DAT   brow

‘Badma gave food to the small brindled cow, but I did not give food to the big brown one yet.’

Traditional proposals on nominal ellipsis (Lobeck 1995; Kester 1996) explain differences in marking by pro that occupies the position of the elided element and needs to be licensed by features of a nominal modifier. More recent proposals (Saab to appear; Saab, Lipták 2016) suggests that nominal ellipsis (as well as other types of ellipsis) is a PF-deletion / non-insertion of Vocabulary Item. Under this account number, case and possessive markers attached to adjective in (2) are stranded and cliticized affixes of the elided head.

Stranded affixes in Buryat cannot be attached to nominal modifier marked for genitive (4a). This, however, does not mean that genitive remnants are excluded: case marker occurs on linearly last adjectival remnant and genitive modifier precedes it (4b).

(4) a.   *Dorʒo Badm-i:-n   əgəʃi:-də
     səsəg-u:d-i:-jə   bələgl-ə:,
     Dorzho Badma-OBL2-GEN   sister-DAT   flower-PL-OBL2-ACC   gift-
     PRT1
     Dugar-ai-n-da   bələgl-ə:-gʉi.
     Dugar-OBL1-GEN-DAT   gift-PRT1-NEG
     ‘Dorzho gave flowers to Barma’s sister, but he didn’t give to Dagar’s.’

     b.   Dorʒo   Badm-i:-n   tənəg
     əgəʃi:-də   səsəg-u:d-i:-jə
     Dorzho Badma-OBL2-GEN   foolish   sister-DAT   flower-PL-OBL2-ACC
     bələgl-ə:,   Dugar-ai-n   səsən-də   bələgl-ə:-gʉi.
     gift-PRT1   Dugar-OBL1-GEN   clever-DAT   gift-PRT1-NEG
     ‘Dorzho gave flowers to Barma’s foolish sister, but he didn’t give to Dagar’s clever one.’

Obvious difference between genitive remnants and other nominal modifiers is the presence of the case marker. When affixes of an elided head attach to a genitive modifier, two case markers occur within a single phonological word. The common pattern, however, is ‘one stem – one case’, that is more formally implemented in the One-Suffix Rule suggested by Pesetsky (2013). (5) demonstrates that there are no limitations on case stacking in Buryat.

(5) boro:-toi-do   xʉʃalta   duha:l-na
     rain-COM-DAT   roof   leak-PRS
     ‘The roof has a leak by the rain. ‘

Interestingly enough, the reverse pattern is attested in English. A noun may be omitted, if its only remnant is a possessor, while one is required, if possessor is followed by an adjective. Saab (to appear) takes these facts as evidence in favor of NumP ellipsis: in case of NumP ellipsis adjectives in English become part of the ellipsis site. Since in Buryat number marker of an elided head appears on its remnant, the size of nominal ellipsis must be smaller than NumP and must not include genitive

modifiers. I suggest that Buryat data argue against universality of analysis of nominal ellipsis described above, because it predicts the same behavior for all modifiers outside the ellipsis site, and maybe more generally against post-syntactic treatment of nominal ellipsis, because it doesn't involve mechanisms to distinguish between different remnants.

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☙

Spec-head agreement, EPP, and ellipsis: against a phase-based analysis of English stripping

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Background. Wurmbrand (2017) claims that ellipsis sites in English *stripping* (Hankamer & Sag 1976:409) are unpronounced *Spell-Out Domains* (*SODs*), which are complements of phase heads (Chomsky 2001). Wurmbrand argues that complementizers cannot be retained in embedded stripping because C is a phase head whose FocP complement, which includes the remnant of ellipsis, must undergo ellipsis (1a), whereas embedded stripping without complementizers is licit because Foc is a phase head whenever C is absent (1b).

(1)   Abby claimed that Ben would ask her out, but she didn't think (*that) BILL, too.
   a. * … think [$_{CP=phase}$ that [$_{FocP=SOD}$ Bill$_1$ [$_{TP}$ ~~t_1 would ask her out~~]]]
   b.   … think [$_{FocP=phase}$ Bill$_1$ [$_{TP=SOD}$ ~~t_1 would ask her out~~]]]

Research puzzle. According to Wurmbrand's analysis, the unembedded '*not*-stripping' example in (2a) is derived in an analogous way to (1b): FocP is the phase head and TP is the SOD that remains unpronounced (2b).

(2a)   Ben would ask Abby out, not SUSIE.
(2b)   … [$_{FocP=phase}$ [not Susie]$_1$ [$_{TP=SOD}$ ~~Ben would ask t_1 out~~]]]

Because this analysis naturally extends to embedded *not*-stripping, it makes the prediction that embedded *not*-stripping is licit in English whenever a complementizer is absent. Problematically, this prediction is incorrect: embedded *not*-stripping is illicit regardless of whether a complementizer is present or not (3).

(3) * Abby claimed that Ben would ask her out, but she thought (that) not BILL.

Method. Eschewing Wurmbrand's phase-based approach to licensing ellipsis, we adopt an approach that states that, for ellipsis to be licensed by a syntactic head H, a feature-checking relationship must obtain between H and the phrase in H's Specifier (Saito & Murasugi 1990, Lobeck 1995). This relationship must minimally involve the Specifier checking the licensing-head's EPP feature. We provide new and independent justification for adopting this approach by demonstrating how it straightforwardly explains why VP ellipsis is impossible in locative inversion (4) and copular inversion contexts.

(4) * On this building used to fly a flag; on that building did, too.

Analysis. We argue that embedded stripping is actually embedded non-*wh* sluicing (Ross 1969), in which the remnant of ellipsis occupies SpecCP. Sluicing is licensed by C, but only when C is phonologically empty (see Merchant's 2001 *Sluicing-COMP generalization*), which explains why the complementizer must be absent in (1). Adopting the framework outlined in the "method" section above, we demonstrate that, because because negative phrases such as *not Bill* have null heads and therefore cannot check EPP features (Landau 2007), they cannot be used to establish the 'Spec-Head' feature-checking relationship with C that is required to license sluicing in (3). This accounts for (3)'s unacceptability.

Implications. Because our analysis provides greater empirical coverage than Wurmbrand's and makes no recourse to phasehood, we therefore conclude that, even if ellipsis sites may correspond to phases, English stripping does not provide evidence for this. Our analysis suggests that the timing of ellipsis licensing is more closely related to when certain feature-checking relationships are established via Internal Merge than to when phase heads are added via External Merge.

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Ellipsis in the syntax: Arguments for a Structure Removal approach

Andrew Murphy and Gereon Müller

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Sluicing as pre-syntactic ellipsis

Andreas Pankau

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WORKSHOP 17

The Tungusic language family through the ages: Interdisciplinary perspectives

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Tungusic (or Manchu-Tungusic) is an endangered language family that encompasses about twenty languages located in Siberia and northern China. They are distributed over an enormous area that ranges from the Yenissei River in the west to the Kamchatka Peninsula in the east (Janhunen 2012). Recent years have seen a considerable interest in this language family (e.g., Malchukov & Whaley 2012). The proposed workshop has the overarching goal of bringing together researchers from different countries and disciplines to create opportunities for mutual exchange. The workshop emphasizes the diachronic dimension, tracing the development of Tungusic from prehistory and the earliest attestations to the present day. In recent decades it has become clear, however, that historical linguistics alone cannot answer all questions concerning the development of a language family, especially as concerns the time and *urheimat* of the speech community of the proto-language. While the focus will lie on the interpretation of the history of the Tungusic language family, we welcome classical comparative studies, as well as original synchronic studies of individual languages, and encourage participants to engage in an inter-disciplinary dialogue with disciplines such as archaeology, ethnology, genetics, or history.

For example, a recent study that combined archaeology, genetics, and linguistics came to the conclusion that the direct ancestors of the Tungusic speaking Ulchi have been living in Manchuria for at least 7700 years, which suggests a remarkable genetic continuity (Siska et al. 2017). It goes without saying that genetic continuity does not necessarily imply linguistic continuity, which at any time could have been disrupted by language shift. In order to solve such problematic issues, we welcome innovative thinking from as many different perspectives as possible. The time-frame for possible contributions can range from prehistory to the 21st century. Possible topics for presentations include, but are not restricted to the following:

➢ Fieldwork reports and the investigation of endangered Tungusic languages (Li Linjing 2016), focussing on changes in the structure of moribund languages, and language shift to Chinese or Russian (Janhunen 2005). Because many Tungusic languages are not historically attested, modern synchronic data are of high value for a better understanding of the diachronic development of Tungusic.

➢ The reevaluation of previously published materials on Tungusic languages such as word lists from the 19th century and their importance for our understanding of the historical development of individual languages (Alonso de la Fuente 2017).

➢ Progress in the decipherment of the two Jurchen scripts (ca. 12th to 15th century) that represent the oldest attestation of Tungusic languages (Golovachev et al. 2011).

➢ Comparative investigations and reconstructions of Proto-Tungusic, conclusions regarding the internal structure of the Tungusic language family (Pevnov 2016), and an evaluation of previous work in the area (Doerfer 1978).

➤ Questions regarding the time, place, and speech community of proto-Tungusic and the modelling of the subsequent spread of the individual languages. Here and in the following point we especially welcome data and results from archaeology (Kim 2013), ethnology (Sasaki 2011), genetics (Duggan et al. 2013), and history (Zgusta 2015).

➤ The critical evaluation of wider connections of Tungusic such as to the Khitano-Mongolic language family. With the recent progress in the decipherment of the extinct neighbouring language Khitan (Apatóczky & Kempf 2017), new possibilities for research in this area are opening up. These include the investigation of loanwords in Tungusic languages or the potential genetic relationship between Tungusic and Khitano-Mongolic in what has been called the *Khinganic* hypothesis (Janhunen 2012).

The workshop will be **introduced** by the organizers Andreas Hölzl and Tom Payne. Apart from the above mentioned points, the introduction will focus on recent advances in the study of Tungusic languages and problematic issues that are relevant for a better understanding of the historical development of Tungusic. These include the following points:

➤ Recent descriptive work on moribund Tungusic languages such as the less well-known northern dialect of Uilta (e.g., Morikai Satoe 2016, Yamada Yoshiko 2016), studies of individual features such as vowel harmony (e.g., Aralova 2015), and the publication of new important grammar books of Tungusic languages (e.g., Zikmundová 2013, Dong Xingye 2016).

➤ Areal connections of Tungusic (e.g., Baek 2016) and the problem of mixed Tungusic languages that include Alchuka, Bala, Kilen, Kili, and Ussuri Nanai (Hölzl 2017). These languages with somewhat unclear affiliation represent an obstacle for traditional phylogenetic approaches of Tungusic languages and deserve further attention. Furthermore, the first two of these languages were only described in Chinese publications of the 1980s (e.g., Mu Yejun 1987) and were previously unknown outside of China and Japan.

➤ Most approaches agree on the following lower-level groupings, i.e. most scholars agree that the languages within one of these groups are more closely related to one another than any of them is to languages from the other groups (e.g., Janhunen 2012, Hölzl 2017).
  1. Ewenic (Arman, Even, Evenki, Khamnigan Evenki, Negidal, Oroqen, Solon)
  2. Udegheic (Oroch, Udihe)
  3. Nanaic (Hezhen, Kilen, Kili, Nanai, Uilta, Ulcha, Ussuri Nanai)
  4. Jurchenic (Alchuka, Bala, Jurchen A, Jurchen B, Manchu, Sibe)

Most classifications furthermore agree that Ewenic and Nanaic have to be kept apart. They only differ with respect to the position of Udegheic that is either grouped with Ewenic or with Nanaic, and whether Jurchenic is the first branch to diverge from all other branches or should be seen as more closely related to Nanaic.

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A Bayesian approach to the classification of the Tungusic languages

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In Tungusic linguistic literature, the internal taxonomy of the family has been subject to different interpretations. Although all previous approaches are based on the application of classical historical-comparative linguistic methods, they reach different results, among others with respect to the early segregation of the Manchuric (Jurchen, Manchu, Sibe) branch. Cincius (1949: 35), Benzing (1955) and Kormušin (1998: 11) proposed a bipartite north-south classification, in which the separation of Manchuric from the other Tungusic languages does not constitute the earliest split in the family. Sunik (1959: 333-335), Vasilevič (1960: 44), Doerfer (1978: 5), Vovin (1993: 102) and Whaley et al. (1999: 291) proposed an early breakup between Manchuric and the rest of Tungusic, be it under different configurations. And, Ikegami (1974) proposed a four-partite classification, distinguishing between as much as four branches, i.e. Manchuric, Evenic, Nanaic and Udeheic.

In this presentation, we will combine the power of linguistic scholarship and computational Bayesian phylogenetic methods to construct a phylogeny of the Tungusic languages. To this end, we use lexical data based on the Leipzig-Jakarta-Jena 254 basic vocabulary list. The basic words are collected for 19 Tungusic languages, transitional "doculects" such as Kili and some dialects such as those of Evenki. The Bayesian phylogenetic approach will allow us to double check the previous classifications arrived at on the basis of the classical comparative method, select which hypothesis is best supported by the data, estimate the time depth of the root and the nodes in the family and give an idea of the robustness of the branches. The preliminary result based on the analysis of our data in the software Beast 2.4.7 shows a bipartite structure of the tree with the earliest split between Manchuric and other Tungusic languages which are further divided into Northern and Southern languages.

Our knowledge of the history of written Jurchen and Manchu will allow us to include the prior parameter of the dates of the Manchuric group to the Bayesian analysis. This information will be used for calculating approximate dates of splitting of other Tungusic branches. The following dates were used as prior parameters in the preliminary analysis: 1) approximate period of extinction of Jurchen, or of its final transition to Manchu (about 450 years before present); 2) the year when the Xibe people were moved to Xinjiang and thus were separated from other Manchus (1764); 3) approximate time when Northern Tungusic people were first mentioned (the end of 14th century). The analysis of our data with the use of this prior information allows to assume that first split between Manchuric and other Tungusic languages could take place 1500–1100 years before present.

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⤐

From consonants to pitch-accents: vowel aspiration and glottalization in Udihe dialects

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The phonological status of vowel aspiration and glottalization in Udihe (a moribund Tungusic language in the Far East of Russia) has long sparked controversy among researchers. These phenomena have been considered as consonants, vocalic features, accents, or tones (Šneider 1936, Zinder 1948, Sunik 1968, Simonov 1988, Radčenko 1988, Kormušin 1998, Janhunen 1998, Nikolaeva and Tolskaya 2001). One of the reasons for this disagreement has been a dialectal heterogeneity of the data used by researchers.

In 2007 and 2010, we undertook a comparative field research of Udihe dialectal phonetics and phonology with the very last speakers (about 45 hours of recordings collected). The questionnaire included about 1000 phrases for elicitation which contained data on syntagmatic and paradigmatic features of all Udihe phonemes and lexical suprasegmental features, as well as on known dialectal phonological isoglosses. The study showed that Udihe dialects form a continuum with no clear border with an adjacent Oroch language (Perehval'skaja 2010). The evolution of aspiration and glottalization across the Udihe-Oroch dialectal continuum is attested from the north to the south of the area (Oroch language — Koppi dialect, a transitory Oroch/Udihe variety — Khor Udihe dialect — Bikin/Samarga Udihe dialect — Iman Udihe dialect) as follows:

Aspiration: $V\text{-}s\text{-}V$ > $V\text{-}h\text{-}V$ > $V^h V$ > $^h\bar{V}$ > $\bar{V}$

Glottalization: $V\text{-}q\text{-}V$ > $V\text{-}ʔ\text{-}V$ > $V^ʔ V$ > $^ʔ\bar{V}$ > $^F\bar{V}$

Starting as consonants in the north, aspiration and glottalization turn first into vocalic and then syllabic prosodic features. Eventually, in the southernmost dialects at the border with Chinese, aspiration disappears and glottalization becomes a falling melody (cf. Janhunen 1998 on a possible Chinese influence on tonogenesis in Udihe). This process follows a cross-linguistically frequent evolutionary path of the transformation of consonants into glottal stop into a laryngealized prosodic feature into tone (for example, rising or falling, viz. Ivanov 1975).

The synchronic phonological status of these features presents an intriguing case especially at the last two aforementioned stages. The saliency of the theoretical notion of pitch-accent is in itself a topic of

debates within functional phonology (Hyman 2009, van der Hulst 2011). However, pitch-accent is not the only type of uncanonical word-prosodic units found in the world languages, cf. e.g. a prosodic glottalization in Danish (*stød*) or a prosodic quantity in Estonian (Grønnum et al. 2013, Eek 1986). Such uncanonical cases challenge a traditional word-prosodic typology, which operates with only two main units, tone and stress (Kuznetsova, in press).

We will address various phonetic and functional parameters of Udihe glottalization and pharyngealization and discuss to which extent they behave as (1) consonantal segments, (2) vocalic features and (3) word-prosodic units in each of the dialects studied. Their relation to the metrical stress in Udihe (and, in general, the relevance of the metrical stress notion to the Udihe phonology) will be also covered. We will show that at the last two stages of the aforementioned process pharyngealization and laryngealization are rather word-prosodic than segmental features, and at the same time they cannot be defined either as tone or as stress within a mainstream word-prosodic classification (e.g. Hyman 2006).

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An acoustic study of Negidal vowels

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In this presentation I will focus on the vocalic system of Negidal, including the phonetic properties of its vowels, its vowel inventory and the issues of vowel harmony in this language. Negidal is an underdescribed Northern Tungusic language spoken in the Lower Amur region in Russia. Until recently it had two dialects: Upper Negidal and Lower Negidal, but the latter is extinct by now. The Upper dialect is critically endangered, being spoken by only seven speakers of varying proficiency, the youngest of whom is 62 years old according to recent field observations (Pakendorf & Aralova 2018).

The vocalic system poses one of the main problems in describing this language (cf. Khasanova & Pevnov 2003: 41). The fundamental question is the number and quality of vowel phonemes as well as the distribution of their phonetic realizations. Previous descriptions of the vowel phonemes in Upper Negidal (Cincius 1982, Kalinina 2008) differ with respect to these aspects (see Table 1).

Table 1. Vowel system of Negidal as described by previous scholars

	Cincius (1982: 17)			Kalinina (2008: 282)		
	front	central	back	front	central	back
high	i iː		u uː	i iː (ɪ ɪː)		u uː (ʊ ʊː)
mid	e (ɪ) eː	ə (əʷ, e)	o oː (ɔ ɔː ɵ)	eː	ə əʷ əʷː	o oː
low		a aː	a̱ː (o̱ː)		a aː	ɑː

Only sparse acoustic data are provided by Kalinina (2008), and many things remain unclear concerning the methodology of this author. I will present the results of my own acoustic analysis based on data recorded from four speakers during fieldwork in the summer of 2017. I will describe the overall acoustic space of Negidal and focus on /ə - əʷ - o - ɑː/, which show the most variation.

Preliminary research shows a distinction between /aː/ and /ɑː/ in the acoustic space, with F1 having very similar values for both vowels and lower F2 values for the back /ɑː/. Although this is actually the expected distribution for these vowels, it contradicts the previous findings of Kalinina (2008: 282), who reported lower values of F1 for /ɑː/ than for /aː/, whereby /ɑː/ erratically comes to occupy the acoustic space between /ə/ and /u/.

The distributions of /ə/ and /ɔ/ do not show a clear separation, reflecting extensive intra- and inter-speaker variation: the same lexeme with an /ə/ shows stronger labialization in certain instances than in the others both within and across speakers. This leads to difficulties of postulating the underlying vowels in some roots. Interestingly, a high degree of variation can also be found in the description of Cincius, who collected her data at the end of the 1920s, almost a hundred years ago.

The system of vowel harmony is obviously directly connected to the definition of the vowel inventory. I will describe the main patterns of vowel harmony and the frequent deviations, which might be a sign of system disruption.

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Observations on selected verbal categories in Uilta (Orok) from a diachronic and areal-typological perspective

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Spoken exclusively on the island of Sakhalin and separated from the rest of the Tungusic language family, Uilta (also known as Orok, Southeastern Tungusic/Nanai group) developed a set of features distinguishing it from its closest linguistic relatives on the mainland (cf. Pevnov 2016).

Based on the author's own fieldwork, as well as existing Japanese and Russian archive materials tracing the development of the language over more than one hundred years (cf. Magata 1981, Petrova 1967, Ikegami 2001), the presentation will focus on the unique and innovating features of Uilta verbal morphology, and analyse the future forms in *-li-* and *+rila-*, as well as different subject conditional converb forms in *+rai-* and *+kuta-* from a diachronic and areal-typological perspective.

First, the future forms in *-li-* (participial) and *+rila-* (finite), common and productive in Uilta but not attested or only marginally attested in other Tungusic languages and of unknown origin, will be analysed from a functional perspective in the broader context of the Uilta tense and evidentiality categories, based on the findings from two recent field trips to Sakhalin.

Competition of finite forms and participial forms in finite use, with gradual and cyclical replacement of finite forms by participles (verbalisation), is a well known phenomenon in Tungusic, with the finite forms typically gradually limited to modal, evidential and emphatic uses (modalisation; Malchukov 2013). This is exemplified in the Uilta future forms, where dialectal variation and historic evolution show different stages of the process of verbalisation and modalisation.

Secondly, different subject conditional converb forms in *+rai-* and *+kuta-* will similarly be analysed. The form in *+rai-* is attested in other Tungusic languages in both temporal anterior and conditional use. The form in *+kuta-* is only attested in Uilta. The functional differences and competition between those forms, with *+rai-* limited to conditional use, will be analysed in the context of the general adverbial clause combining systems of Uilta and related languages.

Finally, the presentation will look into possible origin, and the role of language contact in the

development of those forms. Uilta is known to have been in a prolonged and complex contact situation with Nivkh, as well as more recent contact with Evenki, and shares significant traits with both (Yamada 2013). Dialectal differences offer clues into the historic development of the language, including the role of contact, and contribute to our understanding of the history of its speakers.

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☙

The grammaticalization of 'finish' in Ulch: Beyond the limits of phasal semantics

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The paper deals with a construction with the verb 'finish' attested in Ulch (Tungusic, Khabarovsk Krai). The verb *xod-* 'to finish' can be used in Ulch a) with "simultaneous" converb (*-mi~-məri*), b) with "non-simultaneous" converb (*-rə*). The first construction has the regular phasal meaning 'to finish V'; the second one, which will be discussed here, refers to the end of the event-sequence, not to the end of the event itself ('to conclude by V').

(1)   a. *jaja-m xodxan* 'finished singing (lit. *singing finished*)'
         b. *jaja-ra xodxan* 'ended up singing' (lit. *having sung finished*)'

        It is structurally and semantically similar to English *to end up V-ing* or Spanish *acabar*-construction (cf. Olbertz 1998). The *hod*-construction is not unique for Ulch: it is used e.g. in Dzhuen Nanai. In Ulch the construction reveals a high degree of grammaticalization and it can be considered as a full member of the grammatical system.

        The semantics of the construction includes a clear nuance of counter-expectation. It signals that the event V a) is the last event in the sequence and b) it breaks somehow the expected event-sequence.

(2)   ama   xalačṷ-m=də   ŋənu-rə   xod-xa-n
        father   wait-CVB.SIM.SG=EMPH   leave-CVB.NSIM   finish-PST-3SG
        '(He) waited and waited for his father and <u>then finally left</u>'. {Expectations: He waited for his hather and his father came.}

(3)   tara   mən   ase-la-ra   xod-xa-n
        then   self   wife-VBLZ-CVB.NSIM   finish-PST-3SG
        '{He took the girl away to sell her. But she was so nice.} And he <u>married</u> her himself'. {Expectations: He took the girl away and then he sold her.}

(4)   pāńiņi   tį   bulči-rə   xod-i̯-tį
       some.people so   stroke-CVB.NSIM   finish-PRS-3PL

       '{People compete in lifting the stone up. Some people lift it high, others lift it up to breast.}
Some people <u>simply stroke</u> <u>it and nothing more</u>' (Sunik 1985) {Expectations: They come to the stone and try to lift it up.}

A more general question will be discussed on the data of Ulch. How do such markers and meanings covered by them fit into the pool of existing crosslinguistic notions ("comparative concepts", Haspelmath 2010)? 1) They can be treated as an extension of the phasal semantic domain ('to begin, to continue, to finish V', cf. e.g. Engerer 2014), cf. the label "outer phase" proposed in (Plungian 1999). 2) They are close to "phasal polarity" items (such as *already*, *still*, *yet*), which are also described in terms of (counter)-expectation, cf. (van Baar 1997, Auwera 1998). 3) They form a semantic pair to markers referred as inconsequentials (Haiman 1988); frustratives (e.g. Sparing-Chávez 2003), avertives (Kuteva 1998): 'V in vain', 'V (and then anti-V)', 'almost V (but however did not V)', cf. the overview of the whole semantic cluster under the label "counter-to-fact TAM categories" in Kuteva et al. (2015). 4) They are in some respect close to adversative connectives (such as English *but*), cf. very similar cases in the study on adversatives (Malchukov 2004).

The data on the Ulch 'finish'-construction involved in the study are of three types: elicited data, text data from our own field records collection, text data from published texts (Sunik 1985).

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⌀

Verbalisation of non-finite forms and modalisation of finites in Tungusic in a comparative perspective

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It is well known that in Tungusic, as well as Transeurasian ('Macro-Altaic') languages in general, participles are not clearly distinguished from verbal finite forms. From a diachronic perspective, this under-differentiation of participles and finite forms is due to the processes of insubordination (Evans 2007; Robbeets 2009; 2017) or verbalisation (Malchukov 2013), which result in the replacement of finite forms through participles. In our talk we will discuss in some detail the verbalisation of participles in Tungusic. Eastern Tungusic in particular shows variation in the degree to which this process has progressed in individual languages (cf. Malchukov 2000).

While verbalisation of participles is well documented in the literature on grammaticalisation (cf. e.g. Bybee et al. 1994 on the development of 'anteriors'/perfects), less attention has been paid to the functional evolution of the receding finite forms ousted by participles. Meanwhile, it can be shown that these forms undergo 'modalisation', a process which finds some typological parallels (cf. e.g. Haspelmath 1998 on the evolution of subjunctives from old presents). In particular, the old indicative forms develop direct evidential (as in Udihe), or confirmative/emphatic meanings (cf. Avrorin's (1961) *utverditeljnoe naklonenie* in Nanai).

Finally, we will address similar processes of verbalisation of participles and modalisation of finite forms in other families within Transeurasian. While the process of verbalisation is pervasive in Transeurasian, one also finds evidence for modalisation of finite verbs in different families, even if more sporadically (cf. e.g. Brosig 2015 on Mongolian).

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The fate of clusivity in the Evenki dialects

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Evenki is the language with the grammarticalized category of clusivity: the inclusive (with the hearer(s)) and exclusive (without the hearer(s)) forms are distinguished in the first person plural of personal, possessive and reflexive pronouns, verbs and possessive forms of nouns. The majority of the languages contacting with Evenki lack this distinction, Russian among them. All the Evenkis in Russia able to speak Evenki are bilingual with Russian as their second or as their first language.

The paper is supposed to present some results of the study of the inclusive – exclusive distinctions in Evenki dialects. The use and interpretation of the plural forms of the first person pronouns (inclusive and exclusive) will be in the focus, but we'll also touch upon the verb and noun paradigms. The data is 1) extracted from the Evenki text corpus (ab. 80000 running words), which contains texts recorded during the two last decades in 30 settlements with Evenki population dispersed over the vast territory (from Tomsk region in the West to the Sakhalin Island in the East and from Irkutsk region in the South to the Taimyr peninsula in the North), and 2) collected through elicitation in the field in the same settlements. The materials from the same places dating back to the 1930s–1960s and reflected in the publications (Vasilevich 1936, 1948, 1966 and Konstantinova 1964) are also taken into account.

Two processes concerning the distinction of inclusive – exclusive forms in Evenki can be traced. The first one goes on in all the Evenki dilects, this is a gradual destruction of the distinction, primarily in the pronominal and possessive nominal forms. It is very likely to be the result of the contacts with the languages without such a distinction, first of all with Russian.

The second process is found in some dialects, primarily of the Northern dialect group, but also in the Sakhalin dialect belonging to the Eastern group. The inclusive form of the first person plural pronoun splits into two forms, one of which with the meaning 'I and you' ('I and you two' is also possible) and the other with the meaning 'I/we and you many'. So it's possible to state the appearance of a new distinction within the category of clusivity: minimal inclusive *vs* extended inclusive forms (compare the interpretation of the imperative forms 1PL in some South Siberian Turkic languages by Nevskaya (2007)). Here are just two examples from the Evenki corpus (Chirinda local dialect) showing the opposition:

(1) *Mit məː-riktə-l-ti   huru-d'əŋə-t*
1PL.INCL.MIN1RFL-LIM-PL-POSS.1PL.INCL   go-FUT-1PL.INCL
'We (=I and you) just ourselves will go'

(2) *Mut həwəkiː-duː   həhən-ŋət   bolgisa-d'a-riː-wa-n*
1PL.INCL.EXTgod-DAT   tell-IMP.1PL.INCL   hurt-IPFV-PSIM-ACC-POSS.3SG
'We (=I and you many) let us tell the god how he hurts us'.

Whether the the appearance of this opposition is also contact induced will be discussed.

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Revisiting the Bureau of Interpreters' Jurchen Vocabulary: A modest proposal

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The Jurchen Vocabulary produced by the Ming Bureau of Interpreters was extensively investigated by Kane (1989). The original text has often been maligned for the poor quality of its Early Mandarin Chinese-character transcription, among other issues. Under this view, the value of the Vocabulary for comparison with Manchu, other Tungusic languages, and beyond has been assessed rather negatively, particularly in regard to phonology. Several authors have suggested minor corrections to Kane's treatment (e.g., Di Cosmo 1990, Norman 1991). In this paper, I build on some of these proposals to offer a modest but more thoroughgoing revision to the reconstructions of Kane.

Some of the changes involve new identifications of scribal errors. Others involve selection of an alternate reading of a polyphonous character. For example, item 18 in the Vocabulary, glossed '虹 [rainbow]', is transcribed <拙勒莫>, for which Kane gives the transcriptional value *ǰue-le-mo* and the corresponding Jurchen reconstruction *ǰuelemo. This reconstruction leads Kane to classify the word as having "no cognate" in Written Manchu or Sibe. Under the proposed revision, the first character is understood as a scribal error for <扭> (cf. Pulleyblank's [1991] Early Mandarin reconstruction niwˇ), to which Kane's normalization would apply the transcriptional value *niu* for Jurchen *niu. In the same item—and elsewhere in the Vocabulary—Kane treats the transcription character <莫> as *mo* *mo. However, <莫> is also used as a variant of <暮> 'evening', which has the Early Mandarin reading muˋ, hence *mu* *mu. Thus, 'rainbow' can be revised to <扭勒莫> *niu-le-mu* *niul(e)mu. In this form, the Written Manchu cognate *niolmon ~ niolmun* /niɔlmɔn ~ niulmun/ 'rainbow' becomes readily apparent. Norman (1991: 153) had already identified the correct Manchu cognate, but he took the transcription at face value.

These and similar revisions proposed in this paper have at least three desirable effects: (1) a more systematic and parsimonious treatment of the normalization from reconstructed Early Mandarin values to Jurchen phonemic values; (2) more transparent correspondences both to Written Manchu and to other documented varieties such as Sibe, as well as to cognates in other Tungusic languages, allowing the identification of additional cognates not recognized by Kane, as in the example of 'rainbow'; (3) greater overall clarity concerning the phonological relationship between this variety of Jurchen and varieties of Manchu.

With these advantages, the revised reconstruction reveals that (1) the transcription is not quite as bad as widely assumed; (2) this variety of Jurchen is not quite as deviant as assumed; (3) Jurchen is not quite as phonologically "archaic" as has been assumed. Ultimately the hope is that this revision will encourage others to take a new look at the Vocabulary and discover even more value in it.

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ℬ

Successor to the Manchu Language: Adaptation of Sibe in contemporary China

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This study attempts to contribute an understanding of the discursive construction of Sibe's linguistic identity, as well as the discursive representations that the actors deployed in existing institutional environment. The Sibe are a small Tungusic-speaking community in China, which were split into two clusters for historical reasons. Surprisingly, their language has only been maintained in the diasporic group in Xinjiang. While many argue that Sibe is no more than a dialect of the Manchu language (cf. Zikmundová, 2013), it has received official status as a language in its own right in 1947. In essence, Sibe and Manchu are so highly identical languages that the outside observer may wonder why some Sibe want to emphasise the differences between the two rather than playing them down.

As a descendant variety of Manchu, people's perception of Sibe also shifts according to ad hoc institutional context. Among them, policy orientation plays a leading role. With the guiding question of how is Sibe adapted into the given social niche, this paper discusses: 1) whether Sibe and Manchu are distinct is more a question of attitude than of linguistic features. 2) What is the agency of Sibe elites to emphasise Sibe as a language in its own right, yet sharing great similarities with Manchu?

The study is executed by combining ethnographic interviews and mesoscale questionnaire survey, designed to find out descriptive statistics with regard to the shifts of language attitudes. Data

were collected from a synchronic study using multiple generations of subjects. The ongoing analysis and initial results indicate that the older generation of the Sibe generally acknowledge that Sibe and Manchu are identical; whilst the younger generation, inter alia, people below 35 years old, strongly against the conflation of Sibe and Manchu. Yet other factors including occupation, education, and social status could also be influential on people's perception of Sibe. These preliminary findings reveal that the ideological boundaries between Sibe and Manchu are constructed through central-local interactions. The distinction of language and dialect per se is more of a socio-political issue rather than of a linguistic matter.

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Some linguistic consequences of the Sibe - Khorchin historical contacts

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The paper examines features of Sibe which are likely to be due to Mongolian influence. I focus on what may have originated during the period of the Sibe vassalage to the Khorchins (15–17th centuries). Manchu and Mongolian historical sources mention that during early modern times two Manchurian ethnic groups – Sibe and Guwalca – became vassals of an immigrant Mongol group, the Khorchins, who settled in the area during the 15th century. The beginning of this period is not documented, but its end was marked by the re-location of the two groups and their partial incorporation into the Manchu military system during the Kangxi reign. Part of the Sibes was moved to Xinjiang in the 18th century, and their language, known as Sibe, is currently the best preserved oral variety of Manchu.

During my work on the description of Sibe, I came over a number of specific features which may have relationship to a Mongolic language. I compare these cases with fieldwork material of Khorchin and the living Manchu dialects of Sanjiazi and Aihui in order to find out which of these features are restricted to Sibe and Khorchin. In the case of religious terminology the available written sources are used in addition to fieldwork. The results, besides forming part of description of Sibe and Khorchin, may possibly also contribute to the ongoing discussion about the linguistic continuity between the 16th century Sibes and the modern Sibe ethnic group, and even suggest some new questions concerning the little documented history of 15th century Manchuria.

For the purpose of this paper I roughly distinguish three types of similarities between Sibe and Khorchin:

Idiomatic and structural parallels. These cases are numerous but difficult to analyse. Usually they can be attributed to areal developments including contacts among Jurchenic, Mongolic, Manchurian Mandarin, and other languages. In this group I also include Chinese loanwords which were adapted in a similar way in both languages, e.g. Sibe *gia* 'street' Khorchin *gie* 'street' < Chin. *jie* . Most of these parallels are, however, instances of Chinese and Manchu influence on Khorchin, and they will be mentioned only briefly.

Grammar parallels: Here I will list those specific features of Sibe grammar which might be ascribed to the influence of a Mongolic language, e.g. existence of an instrumental suffix.

Lexical borrowings: While most Mongolian loanwords in Sibe are identical with those of literary Manchu, there are certain of Mongolian loanwords which are not attested in the literary language, such as the pronoun *meter* 'exactly this' A special, particularly compact group of lexical borrowings is related to religious vocabulary. This group, preserved thanks to written documents, contains Buddhist and shamanistic/animistic terminology whose source is easily identified as Khorchin Mongolian. This group of expressions, which apparently testifies to an intense linguistic exchange, will be examined in more detail.

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Language contact and shift: Even & Evenki in contact with Russian

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The structures of multiple indigenous languages in Eurasia are changing due to contact with Russian (Anderson 2017), and the Tungusic languages are no exception (Grenoble 2000; Janhunen 2005; Malchukov 2003). The current situation provides a testing ground to understand the processes of contact-induced change while they are ongoing, rather than completed.

  In investigating the outcome of language contact, one contested claim is the roles of linguistic and cognitive constraints versus social factors: Thomason & Kaufman (1988:35) argue that "it is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers, and not the structure of their language, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language contact," while Matras (2007: 34) argues that "borrowing is motivated by cognitive pressure on the speaker to reduce the mental processing load […]." In this talk I provide a road map for investigating these claims, with an analysis of two interconnected parameters, word order and case usage, and syntactic changes in clause combining.

  In the contact ecologies in the Sakha Republic today, speakers of Even and Evenki exhibit changes from inherited Tungusic patterns to more Russian-like morphosyntax, including a shift from SOV word order to SVO and word order driven by information structure, reduction in the case system (in particular spatial cases), finite subordination using interrogative words as subordinators, and the use of prepositions. Historically, in Even (1) and Evenki (2), combined clauses using either parataxis or nonfinite clause chains:

(1)   ètikən   **mutʃu-mi**,   asi-tki-j   gön-ni
    old.man   **return-CONV**   wife-DIR-REFL   say-AOR.3SG
    'The old man, having returned, said to his wife…' (Mal'chukov 2009: 238)

(2)   oron-mo   **βa:-tʃa**,   bəjə   suru-rə-n
    reindeer-acc   kill-part   man   leave-NFUT-3SG
    'Having killed the reindeer, the man left.'   (Nedjalkov 2009: 807)

But through contact with Russian, Even (3) and Evenki (4) now also use finite subordination, with temporal adverbials as subordinators:

(3)   ètikən   **ok-ka**   mutʃu-n,   asi-tki-j   gön-ni
    old.man   when-PTL   return-AOR.3SG   wife-DIR-REFL   say-AOR.3SG
    'The old man, when he returned, said to his wife…' (Mal'chukov 2009: 238)

(4)   Hunaːtkaːn-miː   *ele*   *dozda-l-as'*   **oː**:**kin**   hurum-ru
       girl-refl   hardly   wait-PST.3FEM.SG-REFL   when   go.quickly-FUT (?)
       'His girlfriend could hardly wait for them to leave.'   (fieldnotes, Iengra 05.1998)

Changes in word order are widespread, and it is known to interact with other morphosyntactic features, including the case marking system; existing psycholinguistic research indicates this is due to a complexity tradeoff (Sinnemäki 2014) along with a balance between production and processing costs on the one hand, and communicative success on the other (Fedzechkina et al. 2016). The available data suggest that these changes take place sporadically in the speech of individual speakers, and that language shift probably impedes them from spreading. Although clear patterns emerge, innovations do not diffuse across the speech population. These changes are indicative of language shift rather than contact-induced convergence and are representative of larger patterns of language shift of minority language speakers to Russian throughout Eurasia.

A combination of experimental field data and sociolinguistic research demonstrate that these changes are indicative of imperfect learning and language shift rather than contact-induced convergence.

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WORKSHOP 18

Valence Orientation in Contact: a Cross-Linguistic Perspective

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Nichols, Peterson & Barnes (2004) have proposed that a general typological parameter of languages is their VALENCE ORIENTATION – that is, the overall tendency of a language to treat members of causal-noncausal verb alternations in a particular way. In some languages, verbs with meanings like seat and scare tend to be formally derived from verbs meaning sit and fear (e.g., Nanai, Lakhota), while in other languages, the direction of derivation is the converse (e.g., Russian, Maasai). Yet other languages tend to treat both members as derived (e.g., Ingush, Hausa), or neither member as derived (e.g., Ewe, Ossetic). This work intersects with Haspelmath (1993, 2017) and Haspelmath et al. (2014), which show that lexical meaning influences propensity to causativize or decausativize. All of the above studies are interested in form-meaning and/or form-frequency correspondences, as are studies conducted in generative frameworks (e.g., Levin & Rappoport Hovav 1995 and subsequent literature).

However, meaning- or usage-based explanations (called 'functional theories' in Bickel 2015), which appeal to cognitive or communicative biases, may be only one part of an account of cross-linguistic diversity in basic valence orientation or, more broadly, in the coding of causal:noncausal verb pairs. Another possible set of factors is 'event-based' (Bickel 2015), i.e., historical contingencies that have brought speakers of different languages into contact, potentially leading to convergence, on the one hand, or divergence, on the other. Therefore it is important to directly target the possibility that the distribution of valence orientation across languages is influenced by language contact. Preliminary support for this possibility is found in Haspelmath (1993), which points to a European preference for anticausatives, or Nichols et al.'s (2004) finding that basic valence orientation tends to pattern areally. For example, transitivizing languages, which prefer the formal derivation of a causal verb from a noncausal verb, are especially prominent in Northern Asia and in North America, while they are strongly dispreferred in Africa, Australia, and Europe.

Such broad areal distributions are the point of departure for the proposed workshop on Valence Orientation as a Contact-Influenced Parameter: A Crosslinguistic Perspective. The hypothesis to be investigated in this workshop is that valence orientation, while generally genealogically conservative, is prone to contact-induced change. This hypothesis still remains to be evaluated on the basis of detailed case studies that specifically target valence orientation in actual contact situations. Indeed, several studies point to the possibility of convergence in valence orientation in certain contact situations. Kulikov & Lavidas (2015) point to an areal split within Indo-European, such that verb lability increased in the western languages (e.g., Romance and Germanic) and decreased in the eastern languages (e.g., Indo-Aryan and Armenian). Coptic and Koine Greek, which were in intensive contact in Late Antique Egypt, both developed an increased tendency to labile verbs (Grossman 2017, Lavidas 2009). Russian Yiddish has moved away from the Germanic profile towards a strong detransitivizing preference as in Russian, while United States Yiddish has shifted towards a preference for labile verbs as in English (Luchina-Sadan, in prep.), as has Pennsylvania German (Goldblatt, in prep.).

We invite abstracts for 20-minute talks that focus on one of the following (or similar) topics:

1. Case studies of individual contact situations that provide a detailed discussion of the valence orientation of the languages in contact, in order to evaluate the extent to which language contact played a role in shaping valence orientation
   2. Areal studies of valence orientation
   3. Global cross-linguistic studies of valence orientation
   4. Valence orientation in pidgins, creoles, or mixed languages
   5. Other aspects of valence orientation in the context of language contact
   6. Family biases (Bickel 2011 and subsequent literature)
   7. Relevant methodological issues and questions.

Wordlist approaches have been shown to give sensitive and rigorous measures of cross-linguistic similarity and distance, and we especially welcome abstracts that base the study of languages in contact on existing standard wordlists, such as the list of 18 verb-pair meanings provided by Nichols et al. (2004) (revised in Nichols (2017)), for which roughly 200 languages have already been coded; the 31 verb-pair meanings in Haspelmath (1993) or the 20 verb-pair meanings in Haspelmath et al. (2014); or the 20-gloss list in Nau & Pakerys (2017/in press); or the 31-pair WATP list. We also welcome contributions that criticize existing wordlists or propose new ones.

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Variation in the coding of the causal-noncausal alternation in the languages of Subsaharan Africa

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The presentation I propose for the workshop 'Valence orientation in contact' deals with the following three questions:
(1) the overall variation across Subsaharan languages in the choice between the five types of possible strategies in the coding of noncausal-causal pairs, schematizable as follows (where 'nC' and C' are abbreviations for 'noncausal' and 'causal', respectively): nC ≠ C (suppletivism), nC = C (ambitransitivity), nC ~ C (equipollent derivation), nC > C (transitivization), and nC < C (detransitivization);
(2) the relationship between the genetic affiliation of Subsaharan languages and the variation in the coding of the causal-noncausal alternation;
(3) the ranking of causal-noncausal pairs according to their propensity to be coded by means of the transitivization or detransitivization strategy in the languages of Subsaharan Africa.
   Among the possible semantic types of causal-noncausal pairs, this study deals specifically with pairs whose noncausal member is a monovalent verb referring to a process (not a state) typically undergone by concrete inanimate entities, and easily conceived as occurring without the involvement of a clearly identified external instigator. The motivation for this choice is that the variation between the possible strategies seems to be particularly important for such verb pairs (Haspelmath 2017). Taking into account this delimitation, the wordlists already used for similar studies (Haspelmath 1993, Nichols & al. 2004), and my own experience of working on the lexicon of Subsaharan languages, I have selected the following list of 20 pairs of verb meanings: bend (intr./tr.), boil (intr./tr.), break (intr./tr.), burn (intr./tr.), close (intr./tr.), decrease (intr./tr.), dry (intr./tr.), fall / drop, get wet / wet, go

out / put out, increase (intr./tr.), melt (intr./tr.), move (intr./tr.), open (intr./tr.), rise / raise, split (intr./tr.), spoil (intr./tr.), spread (intr./tr.), stop (intr./tr.), turn over (intr./tr.). The relevance of this list follows from the fact that it makes apparent, for example, the strong preference for ambitransitivity found in English (16 pairs out of 20), the strong preference for detransitivization found in Russian (14 pairs out of 20), or the strong preference for transitivization found in Akhvakh (Nakh- Daghestanian: 18 pairs out of 20).

As regards question (1), the data collected so far suggest that preference for transitivization is relatively common among Subsaharan languages, but extreme cases such as that of Akhvakh (see above) have not been found, and the preference for transitivization is not general, even among the languages that have a productive device of morphological causativization for other semantic types of noncausal-causal pairs. For the type of noncausal-causal pairs dealt with in this study, transitivization is for example very marginal in Ganja (Atlantic), where the preferred strategies are equipollent derivation and detransitivization. Matengo (Bantu) shows a marked preference for equipollent derivation, detransitivization is the preferred strategy in Ibibio (Benue-Congo), and an extreme degree of preference for ambitransitivity can be observed for example in Baule (Kwa) or Bambara (Mande).

As regards question (2), an important observation is that marked contrasts are not uncommon between languages belonging to the same language family, even between very closely related languages. The most extreme case in the data collected so far is that of Bambara and Mandinka (considered by some authors as two dialectal varieties of a single macro-language), with 20 ambitransitive pairs out of 20 in Bambara, as opposed to 10.5 ambitransitive pairs vs. 9.5 nC > C pairs in Mandinka.

As regards question (3), the data collected so far do not suggest marked discrepancies with the tendencies observed by Haspelmath (1993) in his language sample.

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Psych epiphenomena: A typology of the interplay of valence orientation and syntactic canonicity

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We report the methodology and results of ongoing typological research on the causative alternation within the experiential domain and its correlation with non-canonical syntactic phenomena (NCSP) (Aikhenvald et al. 2001). The psych verb inventory of many languages displays a strong valence orientation preference (Nichols et al. 2004). One type (e.g. Spanish, Icelandic, Greek) derives intransitive experiencer-subject (ES) verbs from transitive experiencer-object (EO) base verbs. This

contrasts with another type (e.g. Turkish, Yucatec, Korean, Chinese) which creates EO verbs by transitivizing intransitive bases. Yet other languages make use of double derivation (e.g. Finnish, Hungarian):

(1) *Morphological structure in experiencer verbs*
  a. Transitive EO → Intransitive ES
      gleðja 'please'   *gleðja-st* 'please-MID'   (Ice.)
  b. Intransitive ES → Transitive EO
      pwukkulepta 'be.ashamed'   *pwukkulep-key hata* 'be.ashamed-ADVR do' (Kor.)
  c. Intransitive ES ↔ Transitive EO
      huolest-ua 'worry-INCH'   *huole-ttaa* 'worry-CAUS'
  c'. Intransitive ES → Transitive EO
      huolest-ua 'worry-INCH'   *huolest-u-ttaa* 'worry-INCH-CAUS'   (Fin.)

Nichols et al. (2004) observed that transitivization relies on functionally bounded operations, whereas intransitivizing predicates tend to expand their domains over time, incurring irregularities. Crucially, the intransitivizing type has been claimed to correlate with NCSP (Landau 2010, Verhoeven 2010, 2014). To investigate this correlation from a typological and empirically adequate perspective, we selected a sample of 30 languages from 5 macro-areas. Expanding upon current methodology (Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009, Sauter 2009) we developed a questionnaire for native speaker elicitation of lexicalizations across five basic emotion domains (HAPPINESS, SADNESS, ANGER, FEAR, DISGUST; Johnson-Laird & Oatley 1989), eschewing the problem of translation equivalence (Catford 1965, Wierzbicka 1992). The resulting database of parallelized psych alternants allows us to test the prediction that NCSP are an epiphenomenon of valence orientation, which in turn may cluster areally, bridging pertinent questions of typology (cf. Cysouw 2011) and syntactic theory. This prediction is borne out for our sample. Base orientation and NCSP in the first subsample pattern as follows:

(2) *Structural patterns in sample* (n=401)

LANGUAGE	BASES TOTAL	%ES	%EO	%DOUBLE	NCSP
Icelandic	30	6.67	90	3.34	yes
Spanish	119	0	100	0	yes
Korean	116	91.38	0	8.62	no
Chinese	75	92	2.67	5.34	no
Finnish	61	47.54	32.79	19.67	?

Icelandic is arguably infamous for its oblique subjects (Zaenen et al. 1985). Spanish displays clitic alternations and non-canonical word order effects in non-agentive EO predicates (Franco 1990, Landau 2010). In contrast, transitivized EO predicates of Chinese and Korean behave like canonical transitives, lacking peculiar syntax. This seems to be functionally motivated: The basic ES verb encodes a syntactically prominent experiencer, while in the causativized alternant the stimulus is a causing actor and the experiencer an undergoer of a caused change (Pesetsky 1995). Finnish exhibits both directions. Interestingly, this coincides with divided opinions on its status: Landau (2010) claims that Finnish passives exhibit non-canonical behavior like Icelandic and Spanish. However others have argued that Finnish passivization is uninformative in this regard (e.g. Sakuma 2013). Clearly, the placement of Finnish is a touchstone for the interrelation of valence orientation and NCSP, a question which can only be resolved through further investigation.

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Transitivity alternations with productive and non-productive morphology in the languages around Hokkaido

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Word list approaches are useful for establishing a typological characterization of a given language concerning transitivity alternations. The causative-inchoative alternations listed in this type of research are realized not only by non-productive morphology but also by productive morphology. For example, Haspelmath (1993) listed as Japanese causative pairs both *ak-u/ak-e-ru* 'open' with lexical transitivity alternation suffix *-e* and *koor-u/koor-ase-ru* 'freeze' with productive causative suffix *-(s)ase*.

 This presentation examines the picture that arises when the analysis is done separating the transitivity alternations with non-productive morphology from those with productive morphology, using the data from the genetically unrelated languages, Ainu, Nivkh and the northern dialects of Japanese spoken around Hokkaido, a northern island belonging to the Japanese Archipelago.

The latest word list approach database, National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (2014), includes two of the three languages examined in this presentation: Ainu is characterized as a strongly causative dominant language; the Hokkaido dialect of Japanese as a strongly anticausative dominant language. Although mentioned in the earlier, seminal work on causative typology (Nedjalkov and Silnitsky 1973), Nivkh is not included in this database.

When Nivkh data are included and the comparison is done based on the existence/non-existence of the alternation, rather than its relative dominance, an interesting picture emerges with respect to the genetic relationship and the areal influence. Comparison of transitivity alternations with non-productive morphology is illustrated in Table 1 and that with productive morphology in Table 2.

The Hokkaido dialect of Japanese is chimeratic concerning transitivity alternations, showing the same pattern as Standard Japanese in non-productive morphology and the same pattern with Ainu and Nivkh in productive morphology. The morphological device for anticausativization differs among Ainu, Nivkh and Hokkaido Japanese. Ainu and Nivkh mainly employ reflexive prefixes for anticausativization. Hokkaido Japanese employs the spontaneous suffix *-(r)asar*.

Table 1. Transitivity alternations with non-productive morphology

	Nivkh	Ainu	Hokkaido J.	Standard J.
Anticausative	no	no	yes	yes
Causative	yes	yes	yes	yes
Equipollent	yes	yes	yes	yes
Labile	no	yes	(yes)	yes
Suppletive	yes	yes	yes	yes

Table 2. Transitivity alternations with productive morphology

	Nivkh	Ainu	Hokkaido J.	Standard J.
Anticausative	yes	yes	yes	no
Causative	yes	yes	yes	yes

The similarity in non-productive transitivity alternations between Hokkaido Japanese and Standard Japanese is due to their genetic relationship. On the other hand, the similarity among Ainu, Nivkh and Hokkaido Japanese can be analyzed as an areal feature emerged through contact.

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A distributional typology of valence orientation in Eurasia

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Haspelmath (1993) and Nichols et al. (2004) indicate that valence orientation shows areal patterning. However, since areality often correlates with phylogenetic affiliation, it is crucial to test claims of areality. Using a sample of 80 Eurasian languages, based on a corrected version of the World Atlas of Transitivity Pairs (2014), we test the extent to which family and/or areality predict the distribution of coding types in a sample of languages in and near Eurasia.

The basic data item is a set of codings for a particular pair of verbal meanings for a particular language, e.g. Even, 'learn/teach', {L(abile), A(nticausative)}. We compute differences between pairs in different languages ('learn/teach' in Even vs. 'learn/teach' in English) and between different pairs in the same language ('learn/teach' vs. 'boil(in.)/boil(tr.)' in English). As a metric for (dis)similarity, Jaccard distances for given verb pairs were summed for all languages to measure distances between verb pairs, and distances for all same-verb pairs for given languages were summed to measure distances between these languages. We then use geographical areas determined on the basis of non-linguistic criteria (geography, settlement history, etc.) and phylogenetic groupings as predictors of linguistic properties.

A first glance at the results reveal areal clustering. For example, (1) most areas disprefer verb lability, but Europe and Southeast Asia show some diversity; (2) most areas show a preference for lexical relatedness, but North Asia is relatively tolerant of suppletive pairs; (3) most areas prefer derivation, but Southeast Asia and Europe are more diverse in this respect; (4) A/C, the ratio of Anticausative to Causative, is low everywhere but Europe.
Significance testing (likelihood-ratio tests of mixed models with and without region as a fixed effect with random intercepts for phylum) shows that only A/C ratio and lexical relatedness show a significant dependence on the region when the phylum is controlled for. Inverse tests show that phylum has a significant effect over and above that of region in the case of A/C ratio and a borderline significant effect in the case of lexical relatedness, i.e., phylum and region interact. Other properties are poorly explained by either predictor, and we conclude that data for most Eurasian regions outside Europe are clearly insufficient. Nonetheless, these non-significant areal preferences might provide hypotheses worth pursuing.

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Voice and valence orientation in Indo-European: A diachronic typological perspective

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This paper presents a reconstruction of voice and valence orientation in Proto-Indo-European (PIE). We argue that: (a) the encoding of transitivity oppositions in PIE is related to tense/aspect; (b) the development of the valence orientation and voice is differentiated into two types, the syncretic type of Western IE languages and the anti-syncretic type of Eastern IE languages.

We assume that the PIE 'middle voice' and 'perfect' originate in one single proto-category (Kuryłowicz 1932, Stang 1932). This assumption is corroborated, in particular, by the fact that in early PIE (stage I), the active/middle opposition is irrelevant for perfect forms. Traces of this system can be found in early Vedic, for instance, where the active perfect of some verbs syntactically corresponds to middle presents; cf. the active perfect *papā́da* 'has fallen' corresponding to the middle present *pádyate* 'falls' (Hoffmann 1976, Jasanoff 1978, Kümmel 2000). In Stage II ([standard] PIE), some elements of the 'perfect-stative' inflection are introduced into the present paradigm (Kortlandt 1979). In Stage III, in some IE dialects, under the influence of the present, the active/middle distinction is introduced into the perfect paradigm, which results in the spread of the active/middle opposition across the verbal paradigm (Renou 1925, Jasanoff 1978, Kümmel 2000).

We argue that two basic types of the evolution of encoding transitivity oppositions can be observed: the syncretic type attested in many Western branches and the anti-syncretic type attested foremost in Eastern branches (in particular in Indo-Aryan). Several Western groups of IE either preserve the old syncretic marker of valency-reducing categories (the middle morphology that we described above), or replace the old middle with a new middle morphology, which in most cases is traced back to the PIE reflexive pronoun **s(u)e-* (see, for instance, Cennamo 1993). The development of voice in Greek, however, results in the innovative marking of the passive and the reflexive with a syncretic (mediopassive) morphology in contrast to the anticausative, which becomes obligatorily marked with active morphology (see Lavidas 2009). Furthermore, the PIE causative morpheme **-eie-*, reflected, for instance, in Gothic (*jan*-verbs) and Old Church Slavonic (*i*-causatives), virtually disappears in this area and leaves only few traces in the modern Germanic and Slavonic languages.

By contrast, one of the main tendencies in several Eastern IE languages (foremost in Indo-Iranian; see Kulikov 2017) is the rise of specialized voice (cf. the Indo-Iranian and Armenian passive morphology going back to PIE suffix **-i̯e/o-*) and of valency-changing morphemes (causatives), parallel with the degrammaticalization of the middle and the decay of lability. The origins of the anti-syncretic evolutionary type may be due to the influence of the substrate languages of the Altaic or Dravidian type. These languages could also be responsible for some other features of several Eastern IE branches (Indo-Iranian, Tocharian), such as the restructuring of the case system, the loss of many Proto-Indo-European cases and the emergence of the new, agglutinating, case systems.

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Finnic influence on the productivity of causatives in Baltic

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With respect to transitivity marking, the Baltic languages occupy an intermediate position between the neighboring Finnic and Slavic languages (Nau & Pakerys 2016). They have productive morphological reflexives to mark anticausatives just like the East Slavic languages do, but compared to other Indo-European languages of Europe, they possess a relatively high number of formally marked causatives. Intensive contacts between Baltic and Finnic are well-known and it seems likely that the productivity of Baltic causatives is due to the influence of Finnic where morphological causatives are a notably productive category (Holvoet & Nau 2015: 29; Nau & Pakerys 2016: 116). This would be another instance of 'event-based' (Bickel 2015) explanation of valence orientation patterns.

The Baltic and Slavic languages inherited a common Indo-European (IE) causative-iterative suffix *-e*i̯e/o- which gave rise to the Slavic verbs of the type *-i-ti, -i-* and the Baltic ones of the type *-ī-ti, -i̯a-/-ā-* (Stang 1966: 329–330; Vaillant 1966: 436–437). Similarly to other Indo-European languages of Europe, this inherited causative marker lost productivity in Baltic and Slavic and both branches developed anticausative markers on the basis of the reflexive pronouns, a trend observable in many Western (i.e. European) IE languages (cf. Kulikov & Lavidas 2015: 118–119).

The Baltic languages, however, diverged from other IE languages of Europe by employing a new causative suffix, namely *-in-*, which gained considerable productivity as a marker of derived deverbal causatives and deadjectival factitives. The suffix is securely attested in Old Prussian (*-in-*), Lithuanian (*-in-*) and Latvian (in an extended form *-in-ā-*) and has to be of common-Baltic provenance with possible correspondences in Armenian and Greek (see Stang 1966: 372 with further references). The rise of productivity of the Baltic causative suffix *-in-* could be projected to the times of intensive contacts between proto-Baltic and Finnic. High productivity of morphological causatives in Finnic supported the preservation of the morphological expression of causativity in the language of bilingual Baltic speakers and, as one maker was in decline, another one was introduced and gained productivity.

A partly similar case of Finnic influence on the Baltic morphology might be suspected in the formation of locatives (illative, adessive and allative) which possibly were formed following the Finnic system of corresponding cases (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 242–243; Balode & Holvoet 2001: 44; cf. some critical remarks in Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001: 672). Compared to the causatives, the difference is that the Baltic languages already had the category of morphological causatives prior to the contacts with Finnic, whereas the majority of morphological locatives (illative, adessive and allative) were previously unknown in Baltic.

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Intransitive and Causative Verb Pairs in Unangam Tunuu

Anna Berge

Superficially, causative constructions in Eskimo-Aleut languages appear similar: languages in both branches of the family typically involve a morphologically simple non-causative verb and a corresponding derived causative verb (1):

(1) Central Alaska Yup'ik   Unangam Tunuu (Aleut)

    tuqu- *tuqu-te-*   *asx̂a-*   *asx̂a-t-*

    'to die' 'to die-CAUS-' (= 'to kill')   'to die'   'to die-CAUS-' (= 'to kill')

Both branches of Eskimo-Aleut have numerous derivational affixes with causative semantics, lexicalized causatives, and in Eskimo languages, ambivalent verb stems that can signal causation with transitive inflection alone. This last technique is not available in Unangam Tunuu because of changes in the latter's inflectional system, with one exception (*yu-* intransitive 'to run out, pour out, spill,' transitive 'to pour out, spill,' cf. Bergsland 1997:346). Unangam Tunuu, however, has a number of construction types that do not appear in the Eskimo branch, including two with corresponding intransitive and causative pairs, specifically with some (but not all) intransitive verbs ending in /a/ (2), or derived with the suffix –*t-* (3), one with a simple lexical causative and an (indirectly) derived non-causative (4), and one in which the causative is frequentative (Bergsland 1994) or distributive (Golovko 1992) (5). Finally, although multiple causation is possible in both branches of the family (e.g. 'to make someone break something,' cf. Mithun 2000:100 in reference to Yupik), combinations of causatives (-*t-a-*, -*chx̂i-t-*, -*i-t-*, etc.), as in (6), do not necessarily indicate multiple layers of causation (Bergsland 1997:347).

	Intransitive	Causative
(2)	*isa-*	*is-i-*
	'to break (as of rope)'	'to.cut'
		(-*i-* = 'change of state,' Bergsland 1997:116)
(3)	*six̂-t-*	*six̂-i-*
	'to break, go to pieces'	'to break, smash to pieces'

(with intransitive bound stem, -*t-* = 'to V once, to become V, to start V-ing' Bergsland 1994:554; inchoative according to Golovko 1992)

(4)	*ahma-la-*	*ahma-*
	'to be frightened, to startle'	'to frighten'

(-*la-* = 'to have a lot of N,' *ahma-x̂* verbal noun 'to frighten,' Bergsland 1994:61)

(5)	*asx̂a-*	*asx̂a-dgu-*
	'to die'	'to kill (several)'

(-*dgu-* = 'frequentative of [causative] –*t-*,' Bergsland 1997:501)

(6)		*six̂-i-t-*
		'to break, smash to pieces'

The source(s) of these constructions is unclear. Bergsland (1997:347) favors language-internal explanations; however, language internal processes are only partially supported by the data. There is

also strong lexical and grammatical evidence of prehistoric language contact between Unangam Tunuu and neighboring Eskimo and non-Eskimo languages (cf. Leer 1991 and Fortescue 1998 and 2002 for suggestions of grammatical contact effects, and Berge 2016 and 2017 for both lexical and grammatical contact effects); in this case, however, neighboring non-Eskimo languages very clearly derive causatives differently, e.g. with classifier prefixes on the verb in Athabaskan and Eyak.

In this paper, I present the data on the valence orientation of Unangan and Eskimo verb pairs based on those provided by Nichols et al. 2017 and Haspelmath 2008 and the problems the Unangan data pose for usage-based and event-based explanations of causatives.

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☙

Comparing causal-noncausal valence orientation in Atlantic and Mande languages

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In order to account for crosslinguistic diversity in the coding of causal:noncausal verb pairs (e.g. *seat/sit*, *scare/fear*), various factors can be called into play, such as genetic affiliation, typology (Nichols et al. 2004), frequency (Haspelmath et al. 2014) or contact (Bickel 2015). As a contribution of African linguistics, this paper investigates the coding of causal:noncausal alternation in two groups

of languages spoken in West Africa. Atlantic and Mande languages belong to the same Niger-Congo phylum but display quite different typological profiles and have long lasting historical contacts in Senegal.

Considering their respective typological profiles, two distinct strategies are expected to be favored for the coding of the causal:noncausal alternation: *lability* for Mande languages which are rather isolating languages with a limited set of derivational suffixes and regularly labile verbs (1); vs. *voice* opposition by means of nonderived vs. derived verbs (causative, middle or passive) for Atlantic languages which commonly display a large inventory of verbal extensions (2).

Mandinka (Mande, Creissels & Bassène 2013)
(1) *dádaa* 'to repair' / 'be repaired'

Wolof (Atlantic)
(2) noncausal > causal   causal > noncausal

  réer   'to be lost'   *sakk*   'seal'
  réer-al   be_lost-CAUS   'to lose'   *sakk-u*   seal-MID   'to be sealed'

However, a first survey suggests the possibility of relatively important contrasts between languages belonging to the same family (Creissels et al. 2016), and shows that all possible strategies are actually attested in both families: lability, verbal derivation with all kind of pairing patterns (causal verb derived from noncausal, or conversely, or both verbs are derived) and also lexical alternation.

Soninke (Mande, Creissels & Diagne 2013)
(3) noncausal > causal
  bàamì   'gallop'
  bàamì-ndì   'gallop-CAUS'

Joola-Keeraak (Atlantic)
(4) Lability   Lexical alternation
  ja-lʊkɛn-aj 'learn'/'teach'   *ja-hɛj-aj* 'see' / *jə-əs-əj* 'show'

In order to refine the picture and motivate the observed diversity, we decided to conduct fine grained analyses of the same 18 verb-pair meanings (Nichols 2017) across the two groups. First results show that diversity is greater among Atlantic languages than inside the Mande group. Thus, focusing on Atlantic group, we have first retrieved, from the *RefLex* lexical database (Segerer & Flavier 2011-2018), these same verb-pairs for 65 Atlantic languages, then for the 3 Mande languages in close contact with Atlantic languages. These data will be substantiated with available grammars and dictionaries, and analyzed for (i) quantifying the various strategies inside the two language groups in order to measure the gap between the actual strategies and the canonical patterns for each group, (ii) trying to sort out whether the languages deviating from the Atlantic pattern follow areal distribution and can be accounted for by contact induced changes, or are better explained by internal factors. Our preliminary hypothesis is that:
  (a) suppletive lexicalization should be rare in both Atlantic and Mande languages but for opposite reasons: in Atlantic because of the numerous derivational suffixes, in Mande because of the overall lability;
  (b) part of the heterogeneity observed in Atlantic might be mainly due to the renewal of verbal extensions, as visible for instance in noncanonical pairings involving two derived verbs.

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Verbs of speech and noise-making in Australian languages

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The Pama-Nyungan (PN) language family extends across much of Australia. Most PN languages mark the subject of a transitive verb as Ergative, but vary as to whether Ergative marking is categorical, or whether its presence signals a discourse function as well (McGregor 2002, McGregor and Verstraete 2010). Many PN languages have derivational morphemes (or bound verbs) for creating transitive and intransitive verbs (including borrowed verbs). Most verbs in these languages are either rigidly transitive (having Ergative marked subjects and morphologically unmarked objects), or intransitive (morphologically unmarked subjects). Exceptions include verbs (free or bound) of speaking, noise-making and doing/causation which in some languages are collapsed. For example, in Warlpiri, the bound verb *-ma-ni* used as a causative (2) and its free counterpart 'get' (1) both have Ergative subjects, while the bound verb *-ma-ni* used as a noise production verb has an Absolutive subject (3).

1. Jungarrayi-rli   ka   **ma-ni** Nangala.
    Jungarrayi-ERG   PRES get-NPST   Nangala
    Jungarrayi marries (gets) Nangala. [Warlpiri Dictionary]

2. Ngapa-ngku=ju   nyurnu-**ma-nu**.
    water-ERG=1sgO sick-CAUS-PAST
    T*he water made me sick*. [Warlpiri Dictionary H59:7]

3. Wati   ka   nguurn-**ma-ni**   wangka-nja-wangu.
    man.ABS   PRES hum-SOUND-NPST   talk-NOM-WITHOUT

> *The man is humming and not talking.* [Warlpiri Dictionary ljg]

While generally the verbs of doing have Ergative subjects and are rigidly transitive, the speech and noise production verbs vary across languages. They may be intransitive with Ergative subjects or with unmarked subjects, transitive with Ergative subjects and unmarked cognate objects, or bivalent with unmarked subjects and Dative recipients (Kofod 1995, Rumsey 1994). Most PN languages also have an open class of verbs. But in Central Australia closed classes of verb roots are found in some Pama-Nyungan languages (e.g. Warumungu and the Ngumbin Yapa family which includes Warlpiri and Walmatjarri) adjacent to northern non-Pama-Nyungan languages (e.g. the Mirndi languages which includes Jaminjung and Jingulu). Neighbouring languages to the south and west have open classes of verb roots (e.g. Western Desert languages and Arandic languages). This paper surveys verbs of speaking and noise production across these languages with closed classes of verb roots, with respect to forms reconstructible to proto-PN and to non-PN languages (Merlan 1979). The aims are to work out which patterns of valence and case-marking are shared in PN languages and potentially reconstructible, which patterns may be due to areal contact with non-PN languages, and whether borrowing has contributed to the widespread use of rigidly transitive or intransitive bound morphemes for borrowing verbs from English and Kriol (Mansfield 2016, Simpson 2016).

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Valence-changing operations in Mari: Some open questions

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Mari – a Uralic language spoken in the Volga and Ural regions of the Russian Federation – makes extensive use of a number of productive deverbal verbal derivational suffixes that change the valence of a verb:

* *-t/-d*, transitivizing element (valence +1): *puraš* 'to go in' > *purtaš* 'to bring in' (*-aš* is the ending of the infinitive) (Riese et al. 2017: 427),

* *-kt* as a causative element (valence +1): *ystaš* 'to do' > *yštyktaš* 'to make (somebody) do (something)' (ibid.: 272),
* *-alt [1]* (sometimes *-ylt*) as an intransitive/reflexive/passive/impersonal marker (valence -1): *yštaš* 'to do' > *yštaltaš* 'to be done' (ibid.: 287),
* *-alt* [2] as a causative element (valence +1): *jülaš* 'to burn (intr.)' > *jülaltaš* 'to burn (something)' (Kalinina et al. 2006: 444).

While *-t/-d* and *-alt* [2] are somewhat restricted in usage, *-kt* and *-alt* [1] are widely used, and even described as markers of a causative and reflexive mood respectively in many Russian-language sources (e.g. Pengitov et al. 1961: 161–164). The paper at hand aims to address some questions pertaining to the usage of these suffixes, the role they play in Mari syntax. These questions will be addressed both using a corpus-based approach and using one of our author's native-speaker intuition. As part of our analysis, valence-changing operations in historic and contemporary contact languages of Mari (Russian, Tatar, Chuvash, Udmurt) will be compared with mechanisms in Mari.

First, we will investigate the frequency and range of functions of the affix *–alt*. These include applications to mark intransitivity (e.g. *počaš* 'to close (tr.)' > *počaltaš* 'to close (intr.)'), reflexivity (e.g. *muškaš* 'to wash' > *muškaltaš* 'to wash oneself'), passiveness (e.g. *puštaš* 'to kill' > *puštaltaš* 'to be killed'), or impersonal clauses (e.g. *nely-n il-alt-yn* 'Life was hard'). More specifically, we will address the following questions, focusing on contact with Russian and Chuvash (cf. Salo 2013):

* When used as a passive marker, only inanimates can be marked as agents in by-phrases according to didactic materials (e.g. Yakimova et al. 1990: II: 15). This is in contrast to Russian, where by-phrases (using the instrumental case) can mark agents in passive clauses in general. In contemporary language, the marking of animate subjects in this manner can be observed as well. How frequently does this occur and what is the interpretation of implicit arguments in this function?
* What relationship do impersonal clauses with *-alt* have with impersonal clauses that calque the Russian strategy of using 3PL verbal forms with no overt subject (e.g. "(They) call me Svetlana" > "I am called Svetlana")?

Next, the two valence-increasing suffixes *-t/-d* and *-kt* will be examined, also in the context of the contact environment. Where both can combine with one verbal stem, what is the relationship between the two derived forms? When *-kt* is used as a causative marker, the causee may remain implicit. Does it have to be interpreted as a human, or can examples be found where this is not the case?

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Transitivity-based suppletion in diachronic perspective

Roberto Zariquiey

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Not so stable: valency-changing strategies in East-Caucasian over time

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The typological profile of languages changes over time, as is well known from historically well documented branches of the Indo-European linguistic family. In the case of East-Caucasian, for which no ancient documentation is available, there is no reason to assume that their grammatical systems have been more stable, since the languages themselves are very diverse, although clearly related; but clues as to possible changes can only be found by comparing synchronic systems, establishing relative chronologies for their grammatical features, and separating innovations from retentions, with special attention being given to morphology. For instance, the fact that no paradigm of personal indexes on verbs can be reconstructed from the paradigms found in languages of this family which do have some sort of person marking on verbs is unanimously accepted as a sign that proto-East Caucasian did not have person marking. Similarly, the fact that no single ergative case marker can be reconstructed as such, and that no single causativizing strategy is found across this family, raises in our view some doubts on the existence of such categories at earlier stages. By contrast, gender-agreement prefixes are found in all branches as very clear cognates, which has made it possible to posit them as a stable feature of (proto-)East Caucasian. Non-functional ("morphomic") oblique markers are found in all branches, and must have had some case marking or referential property-marking function in earlier stages of these languages. And contrary to recently grammaticalized causative markers or transparent causative auxiliaries, bound detransitivizing morphology, often non-productive, is found in all across the family (with the possible exception of Nakh) and obviously cognate, which points to such a valence changing device in the proto-language. Our presentation will aim at establishing the typological profile reconstructible for proto-languages of some of the main branches of East Caucasian and the most plausible profile of their common ancestor in the grammatical subdomain of core argument case marking and indexing, and valence change.

Reference

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What does not kill us, tears us apart: Accusative Subject Verbs in Russian
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Unlike dative subjects, accusative subjects have remained an under-researched topic in the field of noncanonical case marking of subjects. Such structures are found abundantly in Old Germanic, but are less represented in other early IE languages. Modern Russian has many such constructions, although the question of how to account for them remains controversial. Some researchers view them as another sub-type of oblique subjects (Barðdal & Eythórsson 2009), while others argue that clauses containing such structures must be separated from dative subjects and treated as null subject cases (Zimmerling 2013).

The goal of this presentation is to investigate how such structures arise and to provide a constructional analysis of that development, focusing on three types of Nom–Acc alternations in Russian, as shown below.

(1)   Eto   menja   unichtozhajet
       this.NOM   me.ACC   destroy.3SG
       'This destroys me'

2 (a)   Eto   menja   ubivajet
       this.NOM   me.ACC   kill.3SG
       'This kills me'
  (b)   Menja   ubivajet,   chto   ty   ne   prishel
       me.ACC   kills.3SG   that   you   not   come.PST.3SG
       '(It) kills me that you didn't come'

3 (a)   Eto   menja   razryvajet
       this.NOM   me.ACC   tear.apart.3SG
       'This tears me apart'
  (b)   Menja   razryvajet   ot   gorja
       me.ACC   tear.apart.3SG from   grief.GEN
       'I'm torn apart with grief'

The first type is a simple transitive clause (1) with a verb that can only be used with a nominative subject and an accusative object. Type 2 can be transformed into a transitive clause (2b) with a dropped subject and a relative clause originally dependent of that dropped nominative. The example in (3b), however, is a true 'accusative subject', an anticausative variant of the transitive in (3a).

While the virtual absence of clauses of the (3b) type in Old Russian may tentatively be explained by the features of the corpus, their presence of only a dozen of such examples even in early 18th century texts suggests that it is a relatively recent development.

The traditional discussion characterizes the verbs that can participate in the alternation of the third type as verbs that denote events and situations that are outside of the Patient's control (Mel'chuk 1979). This, however, is far from representing the full picture: all three verbs have a similar primary meaning, and there is no control over the event in any of the three examples.

I argue that in the course of the history of the Russian language verbs of certain semantical properties started to participate in such alternations, and that the syntactic types are distributed according to the semantics of the verb. New metaphorical meanings of the types (2) and (3) called for anticausative usage – and the grammatical differences between (2b) and (3b) are those of the different stages of the process that leads to the emergence of accusative subjects.

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⌀

WORKSHOP 19

Variation and Grammaticalization of Verbal Constructions

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The workshop focuses on verbal constructions in Germanic languages which display great constructional variation and a high degree of polyfunctionality between lexical, idiomatic and grammaticalized usages. Its aim is to investigate the conditions and interdependencies of such variations and polyfunctionalities. The theoretical and conceptual foundations of the workshop rest upon grammaticalization theory, usage-based constructional approaches, frame semantics and empirical modelling (corpus-based, experimental); the intended scope comprises synchronic as well as diachronic phenomena in any register, communicative type or linguistic variety.

Background and aims

This workshop sets out to explore how the constructionist approach can be utilized for an integrative investigation and description of phenomena such as lexicalization, idiomaticization and grammaticalization of verbal constructions both diachronically and synchronically. In the past decades, these topics have been investigated from several angles and with a number of partially diverging intentions. Among the theoretical approaches, Construction Grammar in particular has met with growing interest and meanwhile has proven to be a suitable tool for tackling synchronic variation as well as diachronic change. The following list assembles a selection of studies in major strands of linguistic investigation relevant for this workshop.

GRAMMATICALIZATION THEORY has accumulated enormous insight into the rise of grammatical categories and formatives and their restructuring in general (Diewald 1997, 2002, 2006, Hopper 1991, Hopper & Traugott 2003, Lehmann 2015, Lehmann, Lima, Soares 2010), and into the development of verbal constructions, e.g. modal and other auxiliaries, in particular (Bybee/Perkins/Pagliuca 1994, Diewald 1999, Kuteva 2001). Studies on mechanisms of change have elucidated the role of contexts, e.g. Himmelmann's 2004 concept of context expansion on three different levels (host-class, syntactic and semantic-pragmatic expansion). These efforts have resulted in the identification of a great number of grammaticalization (auxiliarization) path of verbal constructions.

CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR, represented by Cognitive Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2006), Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001) and Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 2008), has been extremely inspiring in providing tools for modelling gradience in variation and change. Verbal constructions have been investigated within the paradigm of construction grammar from a number of angles including idiomaticization processes as well as argument structure constructions (Boas 2003, Engelberg 2009, Faulhaber 2011, Goldberg 1995, Rostila 2007).

USAGE-BASED APPROACHES (Barlow & Kemmer 2000; Bybee & Hopper 2001; Bybee 2013; Diessel 2015; Langacker 1988; Tomasello 2003) have pointed out that usage is the place to look for variation and change.

EMPIRICAL / CORPUS-BASED APPROACHES have introduced quantitative methods for analyzing constructional functionality and variety synchronically (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003, Gries

2006, Glynn 2012) and diachronically (Hilpert 2006). These techniques have given rise to detailed studies of verbal constructions, lexicalization and idiomaticization, e.g. Gries 2006 with a corpus-based investigation of the verb to *run*.

Notwithstanding this wealth of studies on many aspects of verbal constructions, there remains a gap insofar as integrative approaches encompassing the full scale of variation between lexical, idiomatic and grammatical usages are still missing. There is neither an inclusive investigation of the motivating forces and of the delimiting structural, semantic or pragmatic features connected with the emergence of lexis or grammar. Nor is there a principled and encompassing framework accounting for the commonalities as well as the differences of individual processes, features and conditions relevant in variation and change.

This is where the workshop sets in. It aspires to determine the relevant aspects for an integrated approach to variation and change, i.e. an approach tackling the "opposed corners" of grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomaticization alike within one unified framework. At the same time, it aims at providing reliable criteria for distinguishing each semiotic type of construction, namely identifying the essential characteristics of grammatical construction as opposed to "frozen" idiomaticized constructions as opposed to "productive" lexical constructions.

The focus of this workshop is on verbal constructions, which are defined as comprising all elements containing a verbal core with a predicative function (finite and infinite constructions of any size). The following examples serve to indicate the range of phenomena subsumed under this term. (1) to (6) are constructions containing the German verb *bekommen* ('to get') as its verbal core element. (1) shows the grammaticalized usage as *bekommen*-passive; (2) and (3) are semi-auxiliary usages with modal and aspectual values; (4) and (5) show fully lexical verbs with their divergent argument or valency structures and verbal meanings, (6) exemplifies an idiomatic usage of the construction *Ärger bekommen* ('to get into trouble', literarally *to get anger*):

(1)   *Sie bekommt die Haare geschnitten.*
'She gets her hair cut.'
(2)   *In diesem Job bekommt sie furchtbare Dinge zu sehen.*
'In this job, she gets to see horrible things.'
(3)   *Sie bekommt das bis heute Abend geregelt.*
'She will manage to get this done by tonight.'
(4)   *Soviel Milch bekommt einer Katze nicht.*
'This much milk is not tolerated by / is not good for a cat.'
(5)   *Sie bekommt das Mineralwasser.*
'She gets the mineral water.'
(6)   *Er bekommt Ärger von seinem Chef.*
'He gets into trouble with his boss.'

The following examples with the English verb *to run* represent the three classes of usages identified in the study by Gries (2006) via a fine-grained analysis of semantic variation. (7) shows the intransitive use, (8) the transitive use and (9) the more idiomatic use of run (examples taken from Gries 2006: 63, 69, 72 respectively):

(7)   *Simons had run down to the villa to get help.*
(8)   *He ran a finger down his cheek, tracing the scratch there.*
(9)   *They were reluctant to appoint sheriffs to protect the property, thus running the risk of creating disturbances.*

Verbal constructions may contain very specific syntactic and topological feature, e.g. German cleft sentences with the structure [*Es* COPULA NP RELATIVE CLAUSE] or [NP COPULA *es* RELATIVE CLAUSE] as in:

(10)   *Es ist Paul, der immer wieder Workshops organisiert.*
'It is Paul who keeps organizing workshops.'
(11)   *Paul ist es, der immer wieder Workshops organisiert.*
'It is Paul who keeps organizing workshops.'

While the cleft construction is highly productive, other verbal constructions have reached the stage of idiomaticization with a fixation of lexical slots, e.g. the expression *mir scheint's* [PERSONAL PRONOUN-DATIVE *scheint es/-s*], which is used parenthetically in the function of an epistemic adverbial:
(12)   *Sie haben sich – mir scheint's – bei der Abzweigung verlaufen.*
'It seems they have lost their way at the turnoff.'

Papers
The workshop provides a platform for the discussion of an integrative perspective on variation and grammaticalization of verbal constructions in Germanic languages. Topics and research questions that are raised in the papers (see provisional abstracts) include

•   detailed case studies of (sets of) verbal constructions under the perspective of the workshop,

•   determination of the factors (structural, functional, pragmatic …) of variation in the diverging directions of grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomaticization respectively,

•   identification of successive stages of change by their distinctive types of contextual/ constructional conditions, e.g. different types of context expansion,

•   elaboration of relevant constructional formats, including levels of schematicity for particular types of variation and grammaticalization,

•   investigating the types of connections between (productive) lexical, idiomatic and grammatical meanings,

•   establishing grammaticalization paths of verbal constructions as holistic entities.
We hope that a discussion of those questions will contribute to develop an integrative approach on variation and grammaticalization of verbal constructions in Germanic languages.

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✄

Viewpoint mechanisms as a factor for variation and grammaticalization of verbal constructions

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Research question: Grammaticalization is commonly described in terms of context expansion (Bybee et al. 1994; Diewald 2002; Heine 2002), where 'context' refers both to a constructional-internal and syntactic as well as a semantic / pragmatic level (Himmelmann 2004: 32). While it is still unclear how these expansion processes interact, an answer to this question is crucial since it would constitute a step towards an integrating framework accounting for the conditions in variation and change connected with the emergence of grammar and lexis. With this in mind, the paper investigates the interaction patterns between grammaticalization of verbal constructions and discourse context, based on two steps.

Approach: (i) First, an account of perspectivization is proposed that models discourse modes in terms of viewpoint constellations. The resulting taxonomy provides the theoretical basis for a binary distinction between narrative vs. deictic discourse mode.
(ii) Second, the paper presents a detailed case study of a specific verbal construction, namely the grammaticalization path of the German pluperfect which is known for a wide variety of semantic, pragmatic and idiomatized readings (cf. Bertinetto 2013).

Method and data: The analysis is based on data from five different time frames of German (Old High to Present Modern German). Except for the earliest period of Old High German, where the pluperfect is still rare, a sample of 1000 pluperfect forms is analysed for every time frame. The qualitative analysis allows for a detailed description of the semantic pathway of grammaticalization which is both compared to the cross-linguistic development of perfect constructions and tested with respect to its sensibility towards several contextual parameters, namely text genre, 'literary' vs. 'non-literary', 'language of distance' vs. 'language of proximity', and 'narrative' vs. 'deictic'.

Results: The analysis reveals (i) that the polyfunctionality of the pluperfect is already documented for the early instances of the pluperfect in Middle High German, but that the pathway runs differently for narrative vs. deictic discourse mode. The data shows that within the deictic mode, pluperfect forms are extremely rare within the historical stages of German and show a tendency towards aoristic use which is commonly seen as a later stage of grammaticalization of perfect constructions. (ii) Second, the diachronic analysis calls for a differentiation between the development of an aoristic use in narratives and the new use of the 'pseudo-pluperfect' with the meaning of a preterite ('Ich war in Mallorca

gewesen.'). This leads to a reevaluation of the cross-linguistic development of perfect constructions in terms of 'aoristic drift'.

Discussion: The results call for a modification of previous context models which commonly assume that desemantization precedes context expansion and regard the contextual distribution merely as an indicator of semantic change. In contrast, the results indicate that it is the interaction between the viewpoint parameters of the verbal construction and the underlying discourse mode which can trigger both grammaticalization and idiomatization of specific readings and opens up the possibility of different pathways for the same source construction.

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The place of paradigms in a constructional approach to the grammaticalization of verbal constructions

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Grammar has an inherent, relational, and indexical structure (Jakobson 1971, Bybee et al. 1994). Consequently, grammaticalization is a process during which elements, ranging from affixes to whole constructions, become indices (Diewald 2009, Diewald 2010, Lehmann 2002 [1982]). The present paper aims to describe this indexical, relational structure as paradigmatic and argues that paradigms can be useful tools in a constructional approach to the grammaticalization of verbal constructions.

Members of a grammatical category share a common semantic basis, such as 'assessing the factuality of the proposition' in the category MOOD in German. Basic semantic oppositions subdivide the category meaning, in this case into factual and non-factual. The latter is divided further into the subcategories of deictic, phoric, and quotative. Paradigms in this sense, grammatical paradigms, constitute the inherent structure of grammar as holistic entities with an inherent relational, indexical structure. Such grammatical paradigms are the target structures of grammaticalization processes and form "hyperconstructions" (Diewald 2017), such as TENSE or MOOD. The oppositions between their members, which can also be constructions, result in obligatory choice among them (Diewald and

Smirnova 2010). Reinterpreting paradigmatic structures in this way allows for evaluating increasingly abstract, schematic constructions with regard to their degree of grammaticalization, such as modal verb constructions in German.

Examples for this come from German modal constructions with *würde* + infinitive (Smirnova 2006) and *dürfte* + infinitive, inter alia. Both constructions express phoric non-factuality within the category MOOD. *Würde* + infinitive is used as a periphrasis of the conjunctive mood or as an evidential construction (1), whereas *dürfte* + infinitive is used as an epistemic (2) or as the conjunctive mood of *dürfen* ('would be allowed to do something'; 3).

(1) Sabeth **würde** es natürlich anders **taufen**, aber ich weiß nicht wie. (Smirnova 2006: 225)
    *Sabeth **would** of course **baptise** it differently, but I don't know how.*
(2) Sie **dürften** es wohl nicht **gehört haben**. (DWDS: Helmut Krausser, 2006: 51)
    *They **probably didn't hear** it.*
(3) Die Frage klang, als **dürfte** sie sie auch mit Nein **beantworten**. (DWDS: Martin Suter, 2004: 48)
    *The question sounded as if she **was allowed to answer** it with No.*

The present paper proposes on the basis of corpus data from the DWDS Core Corpus (*DWDS-Kernkorpus*; Geyken 2007) that the respective constructions constitute cells of the grammatical paradigm MOOD. They stand in paradigmatic opposition to the other members of the paradigm such as the grammatical moods and other modal verbs.

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ﰠ

Mapping out the semantics of prepositional verb argument structure constructions in German

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With few exceptions, prepositions in German prepositional object (PO) verb argument structure constructions are not interchangeable, and it is often difficult to relate different PO uses of the same preposition to a common semantic core (cf. (1)). PO prepositions are therefore commonly viewed as 'desemanticised' and similar in function to case markers (cf. Breindl 1989). On the other hand, local semantic similarities between clusters of predicates that take POs with the same preposition cannot be overlooked:

(1)   a.   auf (/*für/*nach/...) etwas warten/lauern/hoffen
              'to wait/lurk/hope for sth'
        b.   auf (*in/*über/...) etwas vertrauen/bauen/zählen
              'to rely/build/count on sth.'
        c.   auf (*zu/*nach/...) etwas antworten/reagieren/eingehen
              'to answer/react/attend to sth.'

The rise (and, by hypothesis, subsequent collocational and semantic expansion) of such fixed V+PP-combinations has been analysed as an interplay of lexicalisation and grammaticalisation processes (Rostila 2005, 2014). Although there are some suggestions as to the nature of the grammaticalising function/emergent constructional meaning of (subtypes of) some such POs (e.g. 'prospectivity' for certain POs with *auf* 'on', 'causality' for certain POs with *vor* 'in front of' and 'aspectuality' for certain POs with *an* 'at', cf. Rostila 2014), sufficiently detailed empirical investigations of the full usage spectrum and interconnectedness of relevant PO- and PP-adverbial constructions are still wanting. The present paper reports results from a large-scale corpus-linguistic research project on German prepositional verb argument structure constructions that aims at closing this gap. Combining Frame Semantics (Ruppenhofer et al. 2010) with Cognitive Linguistic concepts such as image schemas (Hampe 2005) and force dynamics (Talmy 1988), the talk presents an analytical framework that seeks to accommodate the full spectrum from item-specific verb valencies over idiomatised multiword units to more or less productive constructional generalisations.

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☞

The affactive *få* 'get' construction in Danish: Afficiaries, agentivity and voice

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Danish uses the verb *få* 'get' as an auxiliary in combination with the perfect participle of the semantic main verb. Compared to similar constructions in other Germanic languages (Larsson 2014, Askedal 2012, Diedrichsen 2012, Colleman 2015), the construction appears to be particularly prominent in Danish and to allow for a particularly broad range of verbs. The central types are illustrated in (1-3).

(1) Kurt   fik   dans-et
     K.   get.PST   dance-PRF.PTCP
     'Kurt managed to get his dancing done'

(2) Kurt   fik   vask-et   jakken   (af Bernhard)
     K.   get.PST   wash-PRF.PTCP   the.jacket   by B.
     'Kurt got his jacket washed (by Bernhard)'

(3) Kurt   fik   forklar-et   vittigheden   (af Bernhard)
     K.   get.PST   explain-PRF.PTCP   the.joke   by B.
     'Kurt had the joke explained to him (by Bernhard)'

The type in (1) has an agentive subject and is typically interpreted as expressing successful intentional action. When the optional agent adverbial *af Bernhard* is present, (2) is interpreted as having a non-agentive beneficiary subject, but without the adverbial, the agentive interpretation is also, and equally, possible. In (3) the subject may be interpreted as equivalent to an indirect object (IO) governed by the verb *forklare* 'explain', but in the absence of the agent adverbial, the agentive reading is also possible. The comprehensive grammar of Danish Hansen and Heltoft (2011) treats (1-3) as different non-integrated constructions whose distinct functional contributions are I) specification of the designated event as telic (1), II) benefactive meaning (2) and III) passive construction with IO promotion (3) (cf. Falster Jakobsen 2007, 2009).

Based on a functional approach to syntax (Engberg Pedersen et al. 1996, Harder 1996) and data from the 56-million-word corpus of contemporary written Danish *KorpusDK*, this paper presents a new integrated analysis of the *få* construction and all its subtypes. The core meaning of the construction is 'affaction': the subject has the role of afficiary (beneficiary or maleficiary, Zúñiga 2011). The central subtype division concerns whether the subject, in addition to the role of afficiary, has the agent role or not. A non-agentive subject is either a subcategorised complement, namely an IO as in (3) (expressing recipient as a specialised instance of the afficiary role, cf. Zúñiga 2011), or a promoted non-governed peripheral participant as in (2), under the passive interpretation, where the

subject *Kurt* is not bound by main verb valency. [S = afficiary + agent] vs. [S = afficiary, non-agent] is a voice distinction between active and passive affactive constructions (cf. Comrie 1977, Foley 2007: 418-419 on passives as subject (agent) demotion). The consequence of this analysis is that the passive affactive construction allows for promotion to subject of subcategorised complements as well as non-governed peripheral participants. The paper discusses the typical ambiguity between active and passive interpretation as an argument in favour of describing affaction as the basic meaning of the construction, and explains how the "successful intentional action" interpretation of e.g. (1) follows pragmatically from the semantic coding of afficiary + agent.

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✄

Progressive constructions in German

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In German, progressivity can be expressed by different multi-word expressions (cf. Ebert 1996, Krause 2002, Rödel 2004, 2014, van Pottelberge 2004, Hoffmann 2012, Ramelli 2012, Flick/Kuhmichel 2013, Flick 2016). Strikingly, four of them are partially identical periphrastic constructions containing the auxiliary *sein* + (locative) preposition + enclitic definite article + infinitive/verbal noun, cf. the following figure.
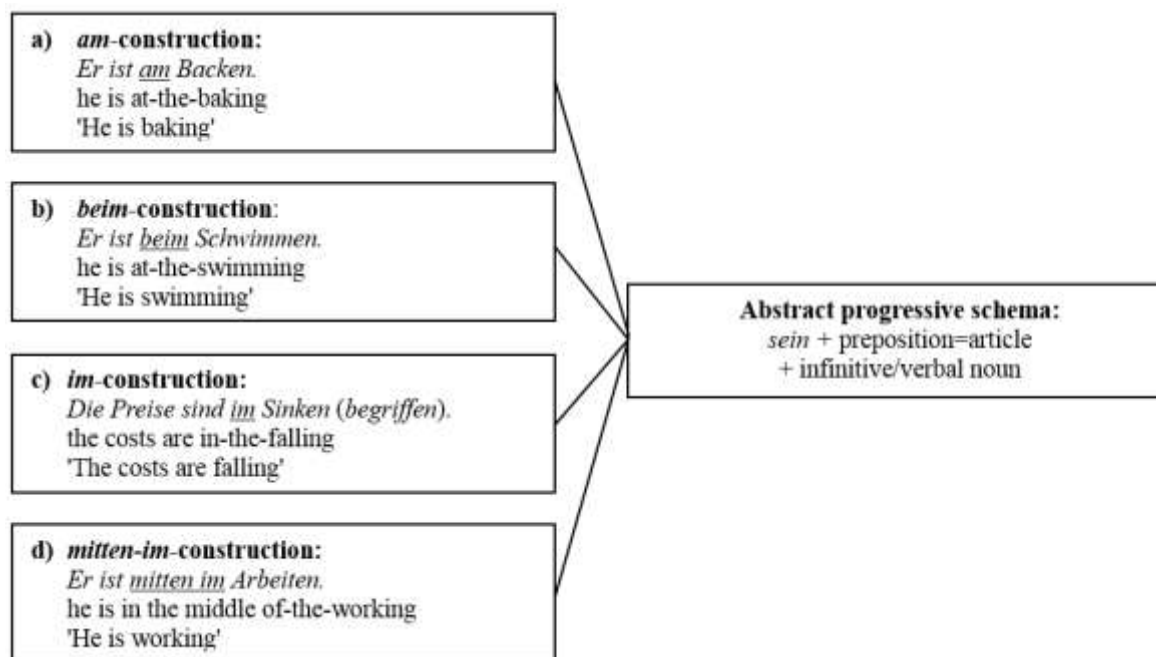
These allostructions, as we will argue, constitute an abstract progressive schema, where the preposition=article slot can be filled with different primary or complex prepositions (*am, beim, im, mitten im*). However, they differ regarding their productivity and functional range.

It is claimed that the *am*-construction is specialized for progressive reading, while the *beim*-construction can also be used as compositional locative expression or absentive (cf. Ebert 1996, Krause 2002, Flick 2016). Little do we know, however, about the aspectual potential of the *beim*-construction, let alone the *mitten-im*-construction that we encounter in everyday German (cf. Hoffmann 2012). Not only different degrees of conventionalization but also differences in terms of grammatical and stylistic acceptance can be expected.

In our talk, we will present the results of an acceptance and a free association test that we conducted in order to investigate the functional potential as well as the particular semantic and pragmatic properties of the constructions in question: Test persons from different German regions were asked to rate possible answers to either prototypically locative, absentive or progressive situations on a four-stage scale from "very bad" to "very good". Furthermore, they were asked for free associations. The results reveal a complex network of polyfunctional constructions in which each construction occupies a certain functional niche. Yet, some of these constructions are more stigmatised than others. The "bad reputation" has a direct impact on their constructionalization process (Traugott/Trousdale 2013).

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Copula Ellipsis and Grammaticalisation
in Emerging German '(it is) no matter WH' Subordinators

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Although verbal constructions often contribute to change in language, they are rarely the source of new subordinators. In our contribution we will nevertheless highlight one such case, viz. the emergence of concessive-conditional subordinators in modern German from expres-sions of indifference like *es ist egal/gleich/gleichgültig/einerlei* with embedded interrogatives:

(1)   Es ist mir doch vollkommen *egal*, *was* bei dir und ein paar anderen verpönt ist.
        (all examples from the DeReKo corpus)
(2)   Eigentlich *egal*, *was* Altvater war oder ist.
(3)   Diese Familie hält zusammen, *egal was* kommt.

Just like equivalent English *(it is) no matter WH*, such subordinators are grammaticalised from copula constructions expressing indifference as to the choice implied by the interroga-tive (Haspelmath/König 1998: 621). The copula is elided, along with any optional material such as dative phrases and adverbs (cf. *mir* and *vollkommen* above), as a strategy of communicative backgrounding, enabling *egal* (etc.) + *W* to be reanalysed as complex subordinators and even as free-choice indefinite pronouns:

(4)   Diese Datenkombination darf man nicht einmal erheben, geschweige denn speichern und für *egal was* nutzen!

In this paper, we report on on-going research into the patterns of variation linking expressions of indifference to concessive-conditional subordinators and indefinite pronouns in the *Deutsches Referenzkorpus* (DeReKo). Nearly 20,000 tokens with *was* 'what' will be statistically analysed for ten parameters, eventually yielding a fine-grained, dynamic picture of the interplay of ellipsis and schematisation in the grammaticalisation of this recent paradigm. The results complement a parallel study into the emergence of synonymous *W immer/auch* subordinators which is close to completion.

Not only does our approach provide new insights into a functionally driven change involving verbal constructions, it will also contribute significantly to our understanding of concessive conditionals in constructional terms (cf. d'Avis 2016) and of expressions of indifference in a contrastive and typological perspective. For example, in the impersonal expressions at issue here (*es ist egal* etc.), German displays a wide range of variation (*piepe*, *schnurz*, *schnuppe*, *wurscht*), including the productive use of compounding (*egal > piepegal > schnurzpiepegal*). English, by contrast, shows strong effects of layering thanks to the conversion of *matter* from noun to verb, as the older phrase *(it is) no matter* is now used almost exclusively with elipsis (*no matter who he is*), while the newer version *it doesn't matter* is unavailable for elipsis (*it doesn't matter who he is*). Expressions of indifference are clearly tied up more closely with more fundamental differences between German, English and potentially other languages than suggested in the literature so far (e.g. Leuschner 2005).

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Variation and polyfunctionality of German verbo-nominal constructions with *kommen* 'come'

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The German verb *kommen* 'come' offers an excellent example of constructional variation in German, as it is used in a wide range of lexical, idiomatic and grammatical constructions. For example, *komm!* in (1) is a grammaticalized imperative marker; in (2), it serves as a semi-auxiliary indicating the direction of movement, whereas the participle *herangekrochen* specifies the manner.

(1)   ***Komm****, reg dich nicht auf!*

'Come on, don't be upset!'

(2)   *siehst du die schnecke dort? sie **kommt herangekrochen**.* (Goethe 12, 212, ex. from DWB)
        'Do you see the snail? It is crawling towards us [lit. coming crawling]'

The present study will focus on constructions with *kommen* and prepositional phrases with *zu* 'to' [*kommen + zu*-PP], which in German linguistic tradition are normally attributed the status of *Funktionsverbgefüge* (FVG, other terms are 'light verb constructions', 'verbo-nominal constructions', 'support verb constructions'). As has been criticized by Van Pottelberge (2001), these constructions have usually been lumped together under the name FVG, although they represent a highly heterogeneous group, encompassing among others free syntactic combinations, fixed idioms as well as more or less grammaticalized constructions.

Taking up this idea, and approaching the issue from the constructionist perspective, we will deal with the diachrony of two different groups of constructions with *kommen*. On the one hand, there are combinations as in (3), which follow a general syntactic pattern and seem to share a general aspectual/aktionsart semantics.

(3)   ***zu** Wort **kommen***   ***zu** Schaden **kommen***
        'to get a word in edgeways'   'to come to grief'
        zu** Ohren **kommen   ***zu** Hilfe **kommen***
        'to get/come to one's ears'   'to come to s.o.'s aid'

On the other hand, there are highly idiomaticized constructions such as *zugute kommen* 'to benefit', see (4), as well as *zurechtkommen* 'to cope' and *zustande kommen* 'to come about', which have partially preserved the original syntactic structure [*kommen + zu*-PP].

(4)   *Die Nacht ist dunkel, sagte Bernhard, das wird **dir zugute kommen**.* (DWDS-Kernkorpus)
        'The night is dark, Bernhard said, you will benefit from that.'

Whereas the examples in (3) may be considered instances of a schematic and productive construction, examples such as in (4) represent individual construction types. Diachronically, though, they can be traced back to a common source.

A detailed corpus study of these two groups of constructions will be conducted using the data from the DTA section of the DWDS corpus covering the time span between 1600 and 1920. From the descriptive point of view, the study aims at determining structural and contextual factors of variation at different stages in the divergent development of constructions.

The theoretical discussion will evolve around the issue of the relevant constructional format, including especially the notions of schematicity, productivity and semantic generality. More specifically, the study aims at reassessing the notion of FVG by offering an alternative classification of constructions based on these notions.

The overall aim is to test if, and in what respects the constructionist model serves better to capture the relevant similarities and differences between the constructions than the existing models of grammaticalization and lexicalization.

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The weakening of strong verbs in Dutch:
A multifactorial, diachronic approach

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A well-known and well-researched characteristic of the Germanic languages is their ability to form the past tense in two ways. They can either use ablaut (e.g. *zwem-zwom-gezwommen*, 'swim-swam-swum') or a dental suffix (e.g. *speel-speelde-gespeeld*, 'play-played-played'). Some verbs use the first strategy, the so-called 'strong inflection', other verbs the second, the so-called 'weak inflection'. The original distribution has, however, changed a lot throughout the ages. A major drift has been the gradual expanse of the more generally applicable weak inflection (Pijpops et al. 2015), though, strikingly enough, not all strong verbs have succumbed to this rise of the weak inflection. Why some verbs have weakened and others have not, is largely a consequence of the token frequency of the verbs (Lieberman et al. 2007 and Carroll et al. 2012). However, this is far from the only factor of influence. Synchronic studies have also looked at, among other factors, ablaut class (Knooihuizen & Strik 2014), vowel pattern (Van de Velde & Kestemont 2015) and aspect of the verb (Baayen & Moscoso del Prado Martin 2012). What has been lacking is on the one hand diachronic research studying these factors and on the other hand a study that combines all of them (and more) using a multivariate research design. With this study we try to fill this gap. We look in Modern Dutch corpus data from 1500 and onwards (Van Olmen in press) at all verbs that have been strong at one point in time to see which verbs weaken and which stay strong, while bringing the more well-researched factors like frequency and ablaut class together with less-researched factors like, i.a. the etymology of the verb (Fertig 2009), different aspects of frequency and possible ambiguity avoidance in a mixed-effects regression model. We expect the weakening of the strong verbs to be an interplay between these factors. This way we try to combine a quantitative perspective with an eye for philological complexities of more traditionally oriented studies in historical morphology.

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Evolving three-argument 'give' verbs

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GIVING is a three-participant event, often expressed by a three-argument verb. While GIVING seems to be socially basic, three-argument verbs are syntactically and semantically quite complex (Margetts and Austin, 2007). The goal of this paper is to argue that indeed, 'give' verbs may evolve out of simpler, two-argument verbs, specifically ones associated with caused motion, where an optional locative *adjunct* turns into a recipient *argument*. I focus on two independent evolutions into a 'give' verb in the history of Hebrew (i) from Biblical Hebrew *natan*, originally 'put', and (ii) from Modern Hebrew *hevi* 'bring'. Both are originally two-argument verbs. The syntactic valency increase is accompanied by a semantic change from 'put'/'bring' into 'give'. Based on 151 Old Testament *natan*s (every 10th token) and 434 age-graded *hevi*s from *Israblog* (Linzen, 2009), I argue that it is the *salient discourse profiles* associated with the actual use of these verbs that enabled the syntactic change, followed by the semantic change.

PUTTING and BRINGING establish spatial facts involving a human, an object and a location, while GIVING establishes a social fact of changed possession involving two humans and an object. But inference can enrich a 'putting' utterance into a 'giving' utterance, as in the Biblical:

1.   wa=ʔeten   nezem   ʕal   apex
        And=I.**put** (a) ring   upon   **your.nose** (*Ezekiel* 16, 12)

Inference makes it plausible that the changed location here is accompanied by a change of possession. *Thy nose* is not so much a literal location as it stands for a recipient. Once a human participant was frequently perceived as a recipient it was sometimes encoded by a dative, resulting in a Transferred Possession Construction (akin to the Double Object Construction as analyzed by Goldberg, 1995). This construction is attested for 12.6% of *natan* tokens in the Old Testament, but is routinely used in Modern Hebrew.

    While the Biblical change occurred in the absence of a dedicated 'give' verb, it is puzzling that Hebrew is currently undergoing a similar change where *hevi* 'bring' is turning into 'give', despite the thriving dedicated *natan* 'give':

2.   ha=ben adam   hevi   la   dira
        The=man   **gave**   her (an)   apartment.

    The corpus examination revealed (i) a frequent use of *hevi* 'bring' in the Transferred Possession Construction, where transferred possession is indicated purely by the optional dative, as well as (ii) a rather frequent use of a variety of nonliteral *hevi*s 'bring'. The latter weakened the 'caused motion' component of *hevi*. A comparison with English *bring* (Santa Barbara Corpus), which

shows no signs of such change, revealed (i) no frequent occurrences in the Double-Object Construction, and (ii) no nonliteral uses.

In conclusion, it is a frequent use of the Transferred Possession Construction that gradually triggered a reanalysis of the argument structures of both verbs from AGENT; THEME; optional GOAL to AGENT; THEME; obligatory RECIPIENT. At the same time, frequent nonliteral uses enabled the semantic reanalysis of the verbs' meanings into 'give', where 'changed location' is no longer part of their meaning.

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⚥

The meaning(s) of *must* in Middle English

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According to a widely accepted analysis, the English modal auxiliary *must* derives from an Old English (c. 700–1100 AD) verb expressing possibility, as in (1). From late Old English onwards, directive (deontic) necessity uses started to occur, as in the Present-Day English example in (2). Later still, *must* also acquired epistemic uses, as in (3).

(1) *Ic*   *hit*   *þe*   *þonne*   *gehat-e,*   *þæt*   *þu*
1SG.NOM   3SG.N.ACC   2SG.DAT   then   promise-1SG   that   2SG.NOM

on   *Heorot-e*   ***most***   *sorhleas*   *swef-an*
in   Heorot-DAT.SG   MUST.2SG   sorrowless   sleep-INF

'I promise you that you will be able to sleep free from anxiety in Heorot'

Beowulf 1673–4; transl. Traugott & Dasher (2002: 122)

(2)   *They **must** get married, I demand it.*

(3)   *They **must** be married, I am sure of it.*

Traugott & Dasher (2002: 2)

The development of epistemic meaning has been variously interpreted as metaphorical in nature (Sweetser 1990, Bybee et al. 1994) or as an instance of a gradual process of subjectification (Traugott 1989, Traugott & Dasher 2002). On the whole, however, there is agreement on the broad strokes of the history of *must*, which remains a textbook example of the semantic pathway from deontic to epistemic modality (cf. e.g. Heine & Kuteva 2004, Tagliamonte 2006, Ziegeler 2016).

However, recent scholarly work has questioned various details of the above story from different theoretical perspectives. On the one hand, Furmaniak (2011) argues against the 'metaphorical'

hypothesis about the origin of epistemic meaning, instead proposing a step-by-step development of epistemic modality in Early Modern English. On the other hand, Yanovich (2016) suggests that *must* in Old English did not express possibility in the usual sense, but a type of 'variable-force' modality which collapses the distinction between possibility and necessity.

This paper attempts to connect these strands of research by focusing on the intervening period, namely Middle English (c. 1100–1500 AD). Inspired by Nuyts & Byloo's (2015) investigation of Dutch and building on their classification of modality, I present a detailed semantic analysis of the uses of *must* in a large corpus of Middle English texts. The main conclusions are that there is little evidence of a gradual process of subjectification in the sense of Traugott & Dasher (2002), and that the development of necessity meaning happened in a stepwise fashion from dynamic to directive uses. The data also reveal a large number of idiomatic uses and fixed expressions, such as the frequent collocation with the adverb *nede(s)* 'necessarily', as in the example in (4).

(4)   *he makeð hire his meister & deð al þet ha hat as þach he* **moste nede**
'He makes her his master and does everything that she commands, as if he necessarily had to'

<div align="right">PPCME2, *Ancrene Riwle* (13th c.)</div>

These collocations, I propose, developed as a result of the semantic ambiguity between possibility and necessity in Early Middle English, which has so far received little attention in the literature. The paper aims to fill this gap and contribute to a better understanding of the possible diachronic pathways of modality.

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Modeling a constructional network for the readings of English *have*-past participle-sequences

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The sequence [*have* NP PastPart] in Present Day English has various conventionalized readings, which can be seen in the examples below: (1) the adnominal, (2) the conclusive perfect or attained state, (3) the causative, and (4) the passive, affectee or experiential (see e.g. Jespersen 1940: 18-22, Chomsky 1965: 21-22, Palmer 1988, Ikegami 1989, Brinton 1994, Inoue 1995, Ritter & Rosen 1997, and de Acosta 2013).

> (1)   They had little kitchens arranged in a sort of square
> (2)   They had our dinner cooked every time we got home
> (3)   I had my hair cut recently
> (4)   I had my phone stolen there
> (5)   I had two joints replaced

However, authors disagree on the number of different readings, their description and labels, and on how to deal with ambiguity, such as in example (5), which, without any further context, can have a causative or an affectee reading. In addition, none of the mentioned studies model the meaning variation in a usage-based constructional approach and cognitive and/or constructional accounts have so far focused on the causative construction only (e.g. Kemmer & Verhagen 1994, Wierzbicka 1998, Stefanowitsch 2001, Gilquin 2010).

This paper reports on the process of modeling a constructional network that accounts for these conventionalized readings, based on data from the Spoken BNC2014 (Love et al. 2017). After identifying the different readings and potential ambiguities, I will discuss the questions of compositionality and constructionhood with regard to the various readings, for which the semantic contribution and thus the links to both more abstract schemas and categories (e.g. the transitive construction or past participles) and embedded lexical constructions (e.g. *have* or the specific verb that occurs in the past participle form) will be evaluated. This analysis will show that some of these readings share more links within the network and thus are more prone to be activated in ambiguous cases.

Eventually, this synchronic model of meaning variation will be useful for the diachronic study of change within the constructional network of English *have*-past participle-sequences, including the diachrony of the *have*-perfect.

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You don't get to see that every day: The rise of permissive *get* in American English

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This paper is concerned with modal uses of the English verb *get* that express a permitted action, privilege, or opportunity. Based on diachronic corpus data, we show that examples such as the following (from COHA, Davies 2010) are diachronically on the rise.

(1)   In the movies the prisoners always get to make one phone call.
(2)   This is a big day for the guards. They get to remind us who's boss.
(3)   I want to be a Marine. They get to wear swords, right?

Our study aims to determine the contexts in which permissive *get* emerged. Different views exist on this issue: Gronemeyer (1999: 30) suggests that the permissive meaning derives from causative uses (*I got him to confess*). An alternative is proposed by van der Auwera et al. (2009: 283), who view permissive *get* as an extension of its acquisitive meaning (*I got a present*).

In order to revisit these claims, we searched the COHA for forms of *get* followed by *to* and a verb in the infinitive (n=31'316). Besides examples of permissive *get*, this pattern also retrieved obligative *got to* (*I got to leave*), causative *get* (*Who did you get to confess?*), possessive *got* (*What have I got to be ashamed of?*) and a category that we label inchoative *get* (*You're getting to be a big girl now*). All examples were annotated for the lexical verb they contain. The data show a substantial diachronic increase of permissive *get*. The change is driven by early examples with verbs including *see*, *be*, and *meet*:

(4)   I guess we won't get to see Colonel Morrison after all. (1910s)
(5)   Some day she'd get to be an editor herself. (1930s)
(6)   Oh thank you and you'll get to meet our new minister then sure! (1900s)

Examples of this kind allow us to make three observations. First, early examples tend to express a privilege, rather than a permitted action. The events described in (4)-(6) are non-agentive and could come about through lucky circumstances. They do however allow the inference that the positive outcome could have been triggered by a human agent who granted a permission. Second, the examples share the lexical aspectual meaning of inchoative *get*, since they evoke the eventual starting point of an activity. Third, later uses of permissive *get* include a wider set of lexical verbs, many of which have agentive meaning, such as *do*, *take*, or *spend*, and which thus encode actions that can be permitted.

We conclude, contrary to Gronemeyer (1999) and van der Auwera et al. (2009), that permissive *get* has evolved out of inchoative uses that invited the idea of a permission, which eventually conventionalized. We will discuss this proposal in the light of cross-linguistically common grammaticalization paths of permissive modality (Plungian and van der Auwera 1998, Heine and Kuteva 2002).

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