

Societas Linguistica Europaea

SLE

39th Annual Meeting

Relativism and Universalism in Linguistics

30 August-2 September 2006

Universität Bremen

**Organised by the Department of Linguistics
and the
Institute of General and Applied Linguistics (IAAS)
at the University of Bremen**

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SLE 2006 in Bremen - welcome!

On behalf of the organising team, I welcome all participants of the 39th Annual Meeting of the *Societas Linguistica Europaea* in Bremen. The *Institut für Allgemeine und Angewandte Sprachwissenschaft* (IAAS) [= Institute for General and Applied Linguistics] and the *Studiengang Linguistik* feel honoured by the fact that this year's meeting has been allotted to our department. Moreover, we also hope that the interest the international linguistic circles take in this event in Bremen will help our institute to overcome the politico-economic turmoil which has put the survival of linguistics in Bremen at stake. However, the present state of the humanities not only in Bremen or in Germany, but in general requires that we make the general public understand that what we are doing professionally is important and not a negligible hobby-horse. The general topic of the meeting is "Relativism and Universalism in Linguistics". This dichotomy of science-philosophical viewpoints is something that will also appeal to the interested laymen and thus, may attract people from outside academia to attend. In this way, the public awareness of the importance of linguistic research can be strengthened. We hope to achieve a similar effect by large-scale media coverage for our meeting.

With a view to setting the scene, I take the liberty to repeat what I have said in the conference description published on the internet: Throughout the history of linguistics, two opposing views on linguistic facts have been competing with each other. Simplifying, a crude version of relativism takes the structural diversity of human languages to be evidence of the differential determination of language structures by non-linguistic factors (most prominently, culture-dependent world-views, etc.). An equally crude universalism, on the other hand, denounces the very same facts as secondary and thus largely unimportant phenomena behind which the "real" language is hidden. This supposed real language, then, is organised in such a way that it obeys universally valid rules (which may be innate).

The program of SLE 2006 comprises six plenary lectures which are devoted to the problem of Relativism vs. Universalism. Furthermore, the largest section of our conference, section B (with 16 talks), shares its title with the general one of the meeting. In addition, several of the workshops focus on aspects of Relativism and/or Universalism within a special branch of linguistics. Of course, many of the talks which are on the program of other sections and workshops also touch upon the major topic of SLE 2006. Thus, we expect that the 39th Annual Meeting of the *Societas Linguistica Europaea* will give a new impetus to the above debate.

Thomas Stolz
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Conference fees

	by May 30, 2006	after May 30, 2006
Members	€ 70	€ 100
Non-members ¹	€ 100	€ 130
Participants from Eastern Europe ²	€ 60	€ 90
PhD students	€ 70	€ 100
Students	€ 30	€ 60

1. The annual membership fee for SLE is 30 Euro
2. In this context the term Eastern Europe includes the following countries (in alphabetical order): Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Russia, Serbia and Montenegro, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan

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Programme Overview

Wednesday, August 30, 2006		
08:30–09:00	On site registration	
09:00–10:00	Plenary talk I: Lehmann, Christian (Erfurt) <i>Linguistic competence, proficiency and aptitude</i>	
10:00–11:00	Sections <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • B: Sessions 1 – 2 • G: Sessions 1 – 2 • I: Sessions 1 – 2 	Workshops <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fer: Session 1 • Had: Session 1
Coffee break		
11:30–13:00	Sections <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • B: Sessions 3 – 5 • D: Sessions 1 – 3 • G: Session 3 – 5 • I: Sessions 3 – 5 	Workshops <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fer: Sessions 2 – 3 • Had: Sessions 2 – 3
Lunch break		
14:00–15:00	Plenary talk II: Werlen, Iwar (Bern) <i>Humboldt, das tagalische Verb und die sprachliche Relativität</i>	
15:00–16:30	Sections <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A: Sessions 1 – 3 • B: Sessions 6 – 8 • D: Sessions 4 – 6 • E: Sessions 1 – 3 	Workshops <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fer: Sessions 4 – 5 • Had: Sessions 4 - 5
Coffee break		
17:00–18:30		Workshops <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Had: Session 6
20:00–	Reception	

Thursday, August 31, 2006		
08:30–09:00	On site registration	
09:00–10:00	Plenary talk III: Dahl, Östen (Stockholm) <i>Relativism and Universalism from the perspective of areal typology and grammaticalization theory</i>	
10:00–11:00	Sections <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A: Sessions 4 – 5 • G: Sessions 6 – 7 • I: Sessions 6 – 7 	Workshops <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cor: Sessions 1 – 2 • Fer: Session 6 • Ron: Session 1
Coffee break		
11:30–13:00	Sections <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A: Sessions 6 – 8 • G: Sessions 8 – 9 • I: Session 8 	Workshops <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cor: Sessions 3 – 5 • Fer: Sessions 7 – 8 • Ron: Sessions 2 – 3
Lunch break		
14:00–15:00	Plenary talk IV: Creissels, Denis (Lyon) <i>Direct and indirect explanations of typological regularities the case of alignment variations</i>	
15:00–16:30	Sections <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A: Sessions 9 – 11 • B: Sessions 9 – 11 • E: Sessions 5 – 6 	Workshops <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abr: Sessions 1 – 2 • Cor: Sessions 6 – 8 • Ron: Sessions 4 – 5
Coffee break		
17:00–18:30	Sections <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • B: Sessions 12 – 13 • E: Sessions 7 – 8 	Workshops <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abr: Sessions 3 – 4 • Cor: Sessions 9 – 11

Friday, September 1, 2006					
08:30–09:00	On site registration				
09:00–10:00	Plenary talk V: Dressler, Wolfgang U. (Vienna) <i>Universal, typological and language-specific morphological properties: converging and diverging evidences</i>				
10:00–11:00	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>Sections</td> <td>Workshops</td> </tr> <tr> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • B: Sessions 14 – 15 • H: Sessions 1 – 2 </td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abr: Session 5 • Anc: Session 1 • Gro: Session 1 • Ron: Session 6 </td> </tr> </table>	Sections	Workshops	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • B: Sessions 14 – 15 • H: Sessions 1 – 2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abr: Session 5 • Anc: Session 1 • Gro: Session 1 • Ron: Session 6
Sections	Workshops				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • B: Sessions 14 – 15 • H: Sessions 1 – 2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abr: Session 5 • Anc: Session 1 • Gro: Session 1 • Ron: Session 6 				
Coffee break					
11:30–13:00	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>Sections</td> <td>Workshops</td> </tr> <tr> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • B: Session 16 • F: Sessions 1 – 3 • H: Sessions 3 – 5 • L: Sessions 1 – 2 </td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abr: Sessions 6 – 7 • Anc: Sessions 2 – 3 • Gro: Sessions 2 – 3 • Ron: Sessions 7 – 8 </td> </tr> </table>	Sections	Workshops	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • B: Session 16 • F: Sessions 1 – 3 • H: Sessions 3 – 5 • L: Sessions 1 – 2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abr: Sessions 6 – 7 • Anc: Sessions 2 – 3 • Gro: Sessions 2 – 3 • Ron: Sessions 7 – 8
Sections	Workshops				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • B: Session 16 • F: Sessions 1 – 3 • H: Sessions 3 – 5 • L: Sessions 1 – 2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abr: Sessions 6 – 7 • Anc: Sessions 2 – 3 • Gro: Sessions 2 – 3 • Ron: Sessions 7 – 8 				
Lunch break					
14:00–16:30	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>Sections</td> <td>Workshops</td> </tr> <tr> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • C: Sessions 1 – 5 • F: Sessions 4 – 6 • J: Sessions 1 – 3 • K: Sessions 1 – 5 </td> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abr: Sessions 8 – 10 • Anc: Sessions 4 – 6 • Gro: Sessions 4 – 6 </td> </tr> </table>	Sections	Workshops	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • C: Sessions 1 – 5 • F: Sessions 4 – 6 • J: Sessions 1 – 3 • K: Sessions 1 – 5 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abr: Sessions 8 – 10 • Anc: Sessions 4 – 6 • Gro: Sessions 4 – 6
Sections	Workshops				
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • C: Sessions 1 – 5 • F: Sessions 4 – 6 • J: Sessions 1 – 3 • K: Sessions 1 – 5 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abr: Sessions 8 – 10 • Anc: Sessions 4 – 6 • Gro: Sessions 4 – 6 				
Coffee break					
17:00–19:00	SLE business meeting				
20:00–	Conference dinner				

Saturday, September 2, 2006		
09:00–10:00	Plenary talk VI: Mithun, Marianne (Santa Barbara) <i>Rhetorical prosody and polysynthesis</i>	
10:00–11:00	Sections <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • C: Sessions 6 – 7 • J: Sessions 4 – 5 	Workshops <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abr: Session 11 • Anc: Session 7 • Gro: Session 7
Coffee break		
11:30–13:00	Sections <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • C: Sessions 8 – 10 • J: Sessions 6 – 8 	Workshops <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abr: Sessions 12 – 13 • Anc: Sessions 8 – 9 • Gro: Sessions 8 – 9
Lunch break		
14:00–16:30	Sections <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • C: Sessions 11 – 12 • H: Sessions 6 – 10 • J: Sessions 9 – 10 	Workshops <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abr: Sessions 14 – 16 • Anc: Session 10 • Gro: Sessions 10 – 12

Sections

Section A: Language Contact

Conference room: GW1 B0080

Wednesday, August 30, 2006	
15:00–15:30	Bakker, Dik (University of Amsterdam) / Hekking, Ewald (Universidad de Querétaro) Anything goes, but within limits
15:30–16:00	Bucheli Berger, Claudia (Universität Zürich) Africanism or universalism? Serial verbs in French-based Creoles.
16:00–16:30	Carrió, M^a Luisa (Universidad Politécnica de Valencia) The variations of technical English texts: native writers vs. non-native writers

Thursday, August 31, 2006	
10:00–10:30	Franco, Jon (University of Deusto-Bilbao) / Landa, Alazne (University of the Basque Country) The Negative Split in Romance: Focus on Spanish Contact Varieties
10:30–11:00	González-Vilbazo, Kay E. (University of Illinois at Chicago UIC) / Rothe, Astrid (Universität zu Köln) The universal component of Gender Agreement in Code-Switching
Coffee break	
11:30–12:00	Hentschel, Gerd (Universität Oldenburg) / Tesch, Sviatlana (Universität Oldenburg) Die Traşjanka – Produkt des weißrussisch – russischen Sprachkontakts
12:00–12:30	Jabet, Marita (Université de Lund, Suède) Le français d'Abidjan, influence typologique des L1 ou évolution générale d'une langue en contact
12:30–13:00	Mailhammer, Robert (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) Integration of loan material in German through Phono-Semantic Matching (PSM)
Lunch break	
15:00–15:30	Wanzeck, Christiane (Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich) The Change of German Lexic Through English
15:30–16:00	Nötzel, Sibylle (Louisiana State University) / Dubois, Sylvie (Louisiana State University) Intergenerationelle Interferenz- und Sprachwandelmuster im Cajun-Französischen

6:00–16:30	Sand, Andrea (Universität Hannover) Angloversals? Shared Morpho-Syntactic Features in Contact Varieties of English
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Anything goes, but within limits

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In studies on language contact, two positions are taken with respect to what and what cannot be borrowed. In the more traditional literature, such as Moravcik (1978), it is assumed that borrowing is heavily constrained by typological aspects of the source language (SL) and the target language (TL) involved in a process of borrowing. In more recent work, notably Thomason (2001), which is based on a large amount of empirical data from contact research in the literature, the general perspective sketched is that anything can be borrowed between any pair of languages. The only real pattern is the order and relative proportions in which lexical and grammatical material may be borrowed by the TL in the course of its gradual change under the pressure of the SL. This is expressed on a 5-point borrowing scale running from limited borrowing to fundamental change and language loss. Typological aspects of the languages involved seem to play a relatively modest role.

In our paper we will take the position that both views hold to some extent, and that they should be unified in some way or other. We will support our position with observations from three combined case studies in language contact, as reported in Bakker et al (forthc). For that exercise we selected three typologically different languages from Latin America, Otomí (Mexico), Quechua (Ecuador) and Guaraní (Paraguay). All three are in more or less equivalent contact with the same (official) language, Spanish in the sense that there is a high level of bilingualism in all language communities involved. For each of them we collected spoken data from a wide variety of speakers, stemming from different age groups, educational backgrounds, dialectal areas, etcetera. In the three resulting corpora, which range from 80,000 to 120,000 tokens, we located the Spanish borrowings and coded these for both part of speech in the SL and their syntactic function in the utterance of the TL. We analyzed the data with the support of a computer programme which was developed precisely for this purpose. Comparison of the results for the three languages shows that there are vast differences between the patterns of borrowing between them but across dialects, which might arguably be explained only on the basis of fundamental typological differences between the TL involved. They also make it unlikely that there would be a universal type of borrowing scale phrased mainly in terms of parts of speech of the SL.

After discussing our observations on these three instances of linguistic borrowing and comparing the results, we will conclude our presentation with a tentative proposal for an adapted borrowing scale, on which speakers, source and target language play a role.

References

- Bakker, D., J. Gómez-Rendón & E. Hekking (forthc). ‘Spanish meets Guaraní, Otomí and Quichua: a multilingual confrontation’. In Th. Stolz et al (eds) *Romanization*.
- Moravcik, E. (1978). ‘Universals of Language Contact’. In Joseph Greenberg: *Universals of Language*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 95-122.
- Thomason, S.G. (2001). *Language Contact. An Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Africanism or universalism? Serial verbs in French-based Creoles.

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The examination of French-based creoles can make a substantial contribution to the debate of how serial verbs emerged in Creole languages. Is it West African influence in the case of the American-Caribbean Creoles (Alleyne 1996: 170, 184)? Or are they due to special universal factors of creolisation (Bickerton 1981, 1989) or to universal grammaticalisation paths? And, even if grammaticalisation and African influence both are assumed to play a part, it remains an open question what their mutual relationship was.

With regard to the number and the stage of development of serial constructions, there is an important difference between the French Creoles in the Indian Ocean and those in the American-Caribbean zone. A typological comparison of serial verbs in Caribbean Creoles, in West African and South Asian languages has been undertaken in order to estimate the influences of universal tendencies and the African factor in the genesis of serial verbs in French Creole languages. I will argue that the difference between the French Creoles in the Indian Ocean and those of the American-Caribbean zone can be explained on the basis of differences in the substrate languages. The presence or absence of transfer-effects caused different activations (or non-activations, respectively) of universal factors like universal lexicalisation or universal grammaticalisation patterns of serial verbs. Further, I will show that in the American-Caribbean zone, the serial constructions with the V2 ‘to give’ have achieved different stages of grammaticalisation. Concerning Haitian Creole, interviews with informants and a corpus of texts (as well printed texts as electronic texts of the internet) provide a solid empirical basis for the investigation of the productivity of the V2-constructions (‘to give’, ‘to go’, ‘to come’). Testing syntagmatic and paradigmatic combinations of these verbs with other verbs or elements allows determining the degree of grammaticalisation and reveals striking differences between Haitian Creole and the French Creoles of the Lesser Antilles.

References

- Alleyne, Mervyn C. (1996): *Syntaxe historique créole*. Paris: Karthala.
- Bickerton, Derek (1981): *Roots of Language*. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers.
- Bickerton, Derek (1989): “Seselwa serialization and its significance.” In: *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 4:2, 155-183.
- Bucheli Berger, Claudia (ms.): *Serielle Verbkonstruktionen in Frankokreolsprachen: Beschreibung, Genesetheorie und typologischer Vergleich*. Dissertation 2006, Universität Zürich.

The variations of technical English texts: native writers vs. non-native writers

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Language is influenced by non-linguistic factors such as contextual interferences, culture-dependent world-views and the mother tongue of the user of a second language. Cultural differences that influence the production and the diversity of language structures are evident when you compare a corpus of written English texts produced by native writers and non-native Spanish writers. This study shows the results of the variations found between the

corpora of native writers and non-native writers and so we enhance the fact that they evidence the impossibility to establish universal language rules. The main aims of this study are to provide evidence that variation exists and that to know all the different kinds of variations could be useful to vindicate the international use of the English language. These variations are expressions of the language that are grammatically correct and so, they are accepted by a community as different ways of communication. They are universally understood and used by non-native writers mainly influenced by their mother tongue. The variations found in this study were classified considering lexical, structural and modal parameters in order to detect the most prominent ones. Then, the different variations were contrasted with the mother tongue of the non-native writers in order to establish the causes of the variations found in the corpus. This study is also pointing out the need to establish a corpus which will consider all the variations of non-native writers in order to be included in grammar rules, as they are intended to native speakers but mainly to non-native speakers.

The Negative Split in Romance: Focus on Spanish Contact Varieties

Franco, Jon / Landa, Alazne

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The phenomenon: Romance languages can be divided in two major groups with respect to the behavior of preverbal negative words. Thus, in languages like French, Catalan or Rumanian for instance, these words are followed by a negative clitic particle on the verb, as in (1)–(3). On the other hand, European Portuguese, Spanish and Italian preverbal negative elements do not allow to be doubled by this negative clitic on the verb, as in (4)–(5). However, the negative clitic head is obligatory when the negative word is postverbal across Romance dialects. This means that Spanish and Italian exhibit a relevant asymmetry between preverbal and postverbal negative elements, as shown in (6). Interestingly, in Basque Spanish, not only negative words in postverbal positions need to be licensed by a negative particle attached to the verb like in the Standard variety, but also preverbal n-words including subjects require the NEG particle, as illustrated in (7), which is highly reminiscent of constructions with negative elements in Basque per se, as exemplified in (8).

The data:

- | | | | | |
|--------|------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| (1) | <i>Rien</i>
Nothing | <i>ne</i>
NEG | fait sens
makes sense | (French) |
| (2) | Ningú
Nobody | no
NEG | va venir
came | (Catalan) |
| (3) | Nimeni
Nobody | n-a
NEG-has | venit
come | (Rumanian) |
| (4) | Nessuno
Nobody | e
has | visto Maria
seen Maria | (Italian) |
| (5) | Nada
Nothing | (*no)
(*NEG) | importa ya
matters anymore | (Spanish) |
| (6) a. | Nadie
Nobody | (*no)
NEG | ha venido
has come | (Spanish) |
| (6) b. | *(No)
NEG | ha
has | venido nadie
come nobody | (Spanish) |
| (7) | Aquí nadie no
Here nobody | Neg
Neg | sabe
knows | (Basque Spanish) |
| | | | sobre eso
about that | |
| | | | ‘Here nobody knows about that’ | |

- (8) Inork ez daki (Basque)
 nobody.ERG NEG knows
 ‘Nobody knows it’

The analysis: This paper accounts for the syntactic distribution of N-words in preverbal and postverbal positions in Basque Spanish. Furthermore, it discriminates between what is transferred from Basque, if anything, and what is kept as part of the syntax of Romance languages. These two goals are accomplished by: (i) determining the syntactic properties of Basque Spanish N-words, (ii) comparing them with the syntactic properties of negative elements in Basque and Standard Spanish. Thus, whereas Basque Spanish N-words abide by the syntax of Standard Spanish (i.e. negative XPs are not NPIs), some similarities with Basque, such as seemingly parallel word orders and absence of anti-agreement effects induced speakers of this variety to interpret the doubling NEG head as an agreement marker and develop a negative concord relation with the preverbal N-word.

The universal component of Gender Agreement in Code-Switching

González-Vilbazo, Kay E. / Rothe, Astrid

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Our talk deals with gender agreement in DPs which contain a code-switch between the noun and its determiner. In monolingual contexts, the gender of the noun and the determiner have to agree, as in the Spanish examples in (1) and (2), i.e. they have to bear the same abstract gender feature.

- (1) el tenedor
 the-MASC. fork-MASC.
- (2) *la tenedor
 the-FEM. fork-MASC.

In our data from code-switching pairs like Spanish/German or French/German (Gonzalez 1996, Gonzalez/Müller 2003 and Rothe 2004/2005), we found gender agreement patterns that differ strikingly from known monolingual patterns. Example (3) shows a mixed DP in which the noun and its determiner bear different genders and yet the example is grammatical. In (4), we can observe that changing the gender renders the DP ungrammatical.

- (3) el Brötchen
 the-MASC. bun-NEUT.
- (4) *la Brötchen
 the-FEM. bun-NEUT.

Even more unexpected is the fact shown in (5), where a DP containing a noun and a determiner with the same gender turns out to be ungrammatical.

- (5) *der cuaderno
 ART-MASC. notebook-MASC.

These agreement patterns can be explained without postulating a specific grammar for code-switching. All that is required are the monolingual grammars of the involved languages and a general theory about agreement. This is captured in the *agreement constraint* (Gonzalez 2005)

which postulates that the morphosyntactic requirements of each lexical item have to be satisfied, no matter whether the item is inserted in a monolingual or a bilingual utterance.

To explain the constraint in general and apply it to gender phenomena in DPs, we propose a gender system for German, Spanish, French and Italian based on a feature hierarchy and an agreement algorithm for the DP.

González-Vilbazo, Kay-Eduardo (1996): *Esplugisch: Datenerhebung Deutsche Schule Barcelona*. Ms.

González-Vilbazo, Kay-Eduardo (2005): *Die Syntax des Code-Switching. Esplugisch: Sprachwechsel an der Deutschen Schule Barcelona*. Doctoral dissertation, Universität zu Köln.

González-Vilbazo, Kay-Eduardo & Susanne Müller (2003): *Esplugisch: Datenerhebung Deutsche Schule Barcelona*. Ms.

Rothe 2004/2005: Free spoken data and questionnaires at the Lycée International Saint-Germain-en-Laye and at the Lycée Franco-Allemand, Buc, Sorbonne, Paris, Ms.

Die Traszjanka – Produkt des weißrussisch – russischen Sprachkontakts

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Das Gebiet, das mit dem Gebiet des heutigen Staates Belarus (Weißrussland, Belorussland) zusammenfällt, ist seit Jahrhunderten ein Areal mit intensiven und extensiven Sprachkontakts, ein Areal mit verbreiteter Zwei- bzw. Mehrsprachigkeit. Für Gegenwart und jüngere Vergangenheit ist außer dem Weißrussischen natürlich das Russische einschlägig (davor auch das Polnische). Eine eindeutige Einordnung der zweisprachigen Konstellation Weißrussisch-Russisch nach gängigen Konzepten wie Bilingualismus und Diglossie ist nicht möglich. Dennoch lässt sich ohne Zweifel sagen, dass das Russische nicht erst heute die in öffentlichen Kontexten (in einem weiten Verständnis von "öffentlich") dominierende Sprache ist (wenn auch vielfach mit insbesondere phonetischen Interferenzen, mit weißrussischem Akzent gesprochen) und das Weißrussische in seiner standardsprachlichen Varietät eher eine "symbolisch" national markierte Option als eine von breiten Sprechermassen betriebene Praxis ist. Mit anderen Worten, die weißrussische Standardsprache wird nur von einem kleinen Teil der weißrussischen Bevölkerung in nennenswertem Umfang aktiv verwendet.

Ein weit verbreitetes Phänomen im nicht-öffentlichen Bereich (besonders im familiären und kollegialen) sprachlicher Kommunikation ist die sog. Traszjanka. Etymologisch geht dieser Terminus auf eine Bezeichnung für ein Gemisch aus Heu und Stroh, also für ein schlechtes, gestrecktes Viehfutter, womit auch schon die soziale Konnotation angesprochen ist. In national orientierten Polemiken ist verschiedentlich von verdorbenem Weißrussisch bzw. verdorbenem Russisch die Rede. Vorsichtig formuliert handelt es sich bei der Traszjanka um einen Wechsel von weißrussischen und russischen Elementen (Wortformen, Morphemen) und Struktureigenschaften (z.B. syntagmatische Regelmäßigkeiten wie Rektion in der Syntax, Assimilations- und Reduktionsphänomen in der Phonetik) in der Rede von (mehr oder weniger) bilingualen. Die einheimische Sprachwissenschaft betont stark die Heterogenität des Phänomens und negiert eine "Systemhaftigkeit", ohne die extreme Verbreitung in Frage zu stellen. Kennzeichnend ist die Traszjanka für den städtischen Kontext. Nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg haben weißrussische Städte eine starke Zuwanderung aus ländlichen Bereichen erfahren, wo bis dahin autochthone Mundarten dominierten, die inzwischen, bedingt durch die Massenmedien, jedoch auch eine deutliche Beeinflussung durch das Russische zeigen. Die

Stadt brachte jedoch den Zwang zu einer noch stärkeren Hinwendung zum Russischen mit sich, was das Phänomen her der Trasjanka hervorgebracht hat.

Das Problem in der wissenschaftlichen Auseinandersetzung mit der Trasjanka ist, dass bisher keine Korpora vorlagen. Bisherige Untersuchungen beruhen in der Regel auf Gelegenheitsbeobachtungen (wenn auch teils in beträchtlichem Umfang). Aufgrund des Fehlens empirisch solide basierter Analysen ist die Beurteilung des Status der Trasjanka schwierig: extremes intrasententielles Codeswitching – Codemixing – "fused lect"; approximatives System ("nicht zu Ende gelerntes Russisch"), extremes Entleihen – Relexifizierung des Weißrussischen, ...? In diesem Beitrag soll auf der Basis eines ersten Korpus gesprochener Rede der Frage nachgegangen werden, inwieweit sich die Wortformen und Lexeme der Trasjanka-Rede (unter Ausblendung rein phonetisch-phonologischer Eigenschaften zwecks Unterscheidung vom weißrussischen Akzent im Russischen) überhaupt als weißrussisch, russisch, hybrid oder eben unentscheidbar gemeinsam beschreiben lassen. (Angesichts der großen genetischen Nähe des Weißrussischen und Russischen ist letzteres häufig der Fall.) Grundlage wird eine quantitative Analyse differenziert nach Wortarten sein: die Entlehnungsskala mit ihren Spezifika für Konstellationen aus typologisch nahen bzw. genetisch-strukturell ähnlichen Sprachen. Differenziert werden soll aber auch zwischen Generationen von Trasjankasprechern. Letztlich soll die Bedeutung der Ergebnisse dieser Analysen für die Frage nach dem Status der Trasjanka diskutiert werden.

Le français d'Abidjan, influence typologique des L1 ou évolution générale d'une langue en contact

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Les analyses effectuées sur notre corpus, comprenant des productions orales du français parlé à Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire) et du français parlé en France, montrent chez les Abidjanais, des occurrences d'absence du déterminant et du pronom clitique sujet, alors que chez les Français, ces mots fonctionnels sont toujours présents en contexte obligatoire. Les résultats indiquent que les deux genres de marques zéro sont des exemples d'appropriation du français abidjanais par rapport à l'usage du français hexagonal. Parmi les dix locuteurs abidjanais, il y a cependant des différences dans la distribution des marques zéro. Une approche sociolinguistique s'applique aux productions des Abidjanais, car en ce qui concerne les références nominales, on trouve un rapport entre le taux de noms sans déterminant et le degré de scolarisation en français. Le pourcentage de noms sans déterminants est le plus élevé dans les productions orales du groupe de locuteurs A1, à savoir les Abidjanais qui n'ont reçu que très peu de scolarisation en français et qui sont des analphabètes. Dans la production du groupe A2, qui consiste en locuteurs qui ont été scolarisés jusqu'à la fin du CM2, on trouve également un certain nombre de noms à marque zéro, alors que chez le groupe A3, Abidjanais scolarisés au moins jusqu'à la fin du collège, les noms à marque zéro sont rares. De point de vue, absence/présence de l'article ou du pronom sujet, il n'y a pas de différence significative entre le groupe A3 et le groupe F (Français). Pour ce qui est du sujet zéro, cependant, on note d'abord que c'est un phénomène bien plus rare que celui des noms sans déterminant. C'est la raison pour laquelle nous nous limitons à proposer des tendances d'évolution au sujet des pronoms sujets nuls. Deuxièmement, on note moins de différence entre les groupes A1 et A2.

Selon la recherche antérieure sur les variétés à base française de substrat africain, les marques zéro apparaissent fréquemment dans des structures "sémantactiques" émanées de modes communes de catégorisation de l'expérience (cf. Manessy 1995). Typologiquement, le français a évolué en un type de langues très restrictif pour les "noms nus". Certains articles,

comme l'article partitif et celui de indéfini pluriel, sont des structures marquées dans les langues du monde. La langue source de la plupart des Abidjanais étudiés, le baoulé, et qui sert d'exemple, a la marque zéro pour référer aux noms à lecture générique ou non-spécifique, alors que la marque du défini renvoie exclusivement aux référents spécifiques. La marque du pluriel peut être absente lorsque la pluralité n'est pas posée comme pertinente. En outre, le pronom sujet zéro peut apparaître dans la construction de série verbale.

Nos résultats confirment des critères typologiques et sémantiques pour les marques zéro, en particulier pour ce qui est des locuteurs abidjanais non-scolarisés. À l'exception d'une seule occurrence, l'article est toujours présent dans la référence aux animés; ces référents sont toujours comptables et le plus souvent spécifiques. Dans certains domaines lexicaux fréquents (à savoir 'langue/école', 'aliments' et 'travail/métier') l'article est absent bien plus souvent que dans d'autres domaines lexicaux. En outre, ces noms nus renvoient le plus souvent à des référents inanimés, massifs, non-spécifiques et/ou génériques. Des contextes mentionnés dans la littérature antérieure sur le pronom zéro, nous retrouvons dans notre corpus également celui de la construction ressemblante à la série verbale africaine. Mais le plus souvent dans nos textes, le sujet zéro apparaît dans un contexte de répétition. Ces structures à marques zéro sont ainsi interprétées comme transposées des langues africaines à la variété locale de français.

Pour ce qui est des Abidjanais scolarisés, la transposition de traits typologiquement africains au français abidjanais semble renforcée par des tendances évolutionnaires générales, telles que l'évitement de traits marqués. Pour ces locuteurs, les marques zéro sont utilisés dans des nouveaux contextes, ce qui suggère une propagation de ces traits et une appropriation du français à convenir à la situation plurilinguistique.

Integration of loan material in German through Phono-Semantic Matching (PSM)

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The theory of Phono-Semantic Matching (PSM) was developed in Zuckermann (2003) to come to grips with Israeli Hebrew. The basic idea is that instead of directly borrowing a particular word, languages can also find a word whose phonological structure is similar to the source etymon, and which may be semantically related. Thus, PSM works like folk-etymology, but it is used to integrate loanwords. Zuckermann (2005: 228) gives the following example from Israeli Hebrew:

(1) Israeli *mishafáim* 'a pair of glasses' coined from the Hebrew root *sqp* 'look through' against the background of the Yiddish source *shpakúln* 'a pair of glasses'

In other words, this process forms new words from native material modeled on the phonetic structure and the semantic content of the source language etymon. Zuckermann (2005: 229) claims that this kind of "camouflaged borrowing" is common in resurrected languages, such as Israeli Hebrew and re-invented Turkish, and in languages with a phono-logographical script, such as Chinese and Japanese.

In the talk I will apply this approach to Modern German by showing that, although not as widespread, German does integrate English words and, to a larger degree, phrases with the help of PSM. This can be demonstrated with the following examples:

(2) G *laden* 'load a computer program/battery' from G *-laden* (only as a complex verb otherwise, in e.g. *aufladen*, *einladen*, etc.) with the basic meaning 'carry' modeled on E *load* 'load a computer program/battery')

(3) G *Sinn machen* ‘make sense’ modeled on E *make sense*, but the Original phrase was G *Sinn geben*; the new phrase was coined after the English model. In fact, the camouflage was so effective, only Eastern Germans noticed the difference after reunification.

(4) G *eine gute Zeit haben* ‘to have a good time’ modeled on E *have a good time*, as opposed to original *eine schöne Zeit verbringen*.

This talk will basically support Zuckermann’s claim in the sense that PSM in German is not common for single words, which are most commonly borrowed directly. But with phrases, this is different, as they are often more or less directly imitated in German, sometimes with partial adaptation:

(5) G *einen guten Job machen* ‘do a good job’ modeled on E *do a good job* with change of E *do* into G *make*

I will argue that German behaves differently from languages such as Israeli Hebrew and Turkish, because in German there is neither an institution nor a need to cover up borrowings. However, PSM can occur less consciously as a part of the integration process, and should consequently be used to investigate and identify potential loan items in languages that do not belong to the prototypical candidates for PSM according to Zuckermann (2005).

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Intergenerationelle Interferenz- und Sprachwandelmuster im Cajun-Französischen

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Cajun-Französisch demonstriert variablen Präpositionengebrauch, wie alle französischen Varietäten. Manche stimmen mit dem Standardmodell überein (*chez ma mère*), während andere seit langem etablierte lokale Merkmale in der Gemeinschaft sind (*aller dans le Canada, venir à la Louisiane*). Darüber hinaus gibt es Veränderungen, die auf die schwindende sprachliche Kompetenz zurückgeführt werden können (*aller à ma mère, il travaillait sur Lafayette*), auch wenn wir dafür keinen empirischen Beweis haben.

Wir fügen in diesem Beitrag herkömmlichen Studien über lokative Präpositionen zwei neue Dimensionen hinzu: zum einen Daten, die in tatsächlicher Zeit (real time) gesammelt worden sind (Ersatz der synchronischen deskriptiven Perspektive), um Endonormen (Normen innerhalb der Gemeinschaft) von Exonormen (Normen, die von außerhalb der Gemeinschaft kommen) zu unterscheiden. Zum anderen ein methodologisches Werkzeug, das den Grad dialektaler Ausrichtung misst (MDI). Es handelt sich hierbei um eine Skala, die es uns erlaubt, das Konzept der schwindenden Sprachkompetenz anzuwenden, das eine bedeutsame Dimension des Cajun-Französischen darstellt. Ziel unseres Beitrages ist es, die Ursprünge und Richtungen der sprachlichen Veränderung innerhalb des lokativen Präpositionalsystems festzustellen. Die Mehrzahl der Interviews stammt aus dem cajun-französischen/englischen Corpus von Dubois (1997). In unserer Untersuchung beschreiben wir den Gebrauch von lokativen Präpositionen im cajun-französischen Diskurs von Sprechern über fünf Generationen hinweg: Hierbei handelt es sich um die einsprachigen Vorfahren (1890-1901),

die französisch-dominanten Älteren (1905-1915), die zweisprachigen Älteren (1907-1912), die Senioren (1920-1933), die Mittelalten (1935-1951) und die Jungen (1957-1977). Insgesamt wurden 5.441 Verwendungen kodifiziert und vier lokative Kontexte berücksichtigt: Präpositionen mit Bewegung zu oder Befinden in einem Gebäude (*à l'école*), Präpositionen mit Bewegung zu oder Befinden in der Wohnstätte einer Person oder an ihrem Arbeitsplatz (*chez ma mère, au docteur*), Präpositionen mit Bewegung zu oder Befinden in einer Stadt (*à Lafayette*) und Präpositionen mit Bewegung zu oder Befinden in einem Land (*dans la Louisiane*).

Unsere Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die Sprecher mit eingeschränkter Sprachkompetenz eine Vielfalt innovativer Formen in allen lokativen Kategorien benützen. Systemische und extralinguistische Beweise weisen darauf hin, dass einige dieser Formen durch Interferenz motivierte Innovationen sind, während andere auf innerer Motivation basierende Innovationen darstellen, die auf indirekte Weise durch den Kontakt mit anderen Sprachen hervorgerufen wurden. Ein Modell des Sprachwandels kristallisiert sich in der Generation der sprachlich weniger kompetenten älteren Sprecher heraus, die Veränderungen einführen. Diese werden dann nach und nach von den folgenden Generationen, ungeachtet ihrer sprachlichen Kompetenz, aufgegriffen.

Angloversals? Shared Morpho-Syntactic Features in Contact Varieties of English

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The present paper discusses selected results from a large-scale analysis of common morpho-syntactic features in number of contact varieties of English, i.e. Irish English, Jamaican English, Kenyan English, Indian English and Singapore English, on the basis of the respective *ICE-Corpora*. Traditionally, morpho-syntactic differences between contact varieties and international standard English are discussed in terms of substrate influence (e.g. Cheshire 1991 or McArthur 2002), which becomes difficult to conceive with such the wide range of substrate languages involved. While a number of authors have pointed out possible parallels between the *New Englishes* (e.g. Simo Bobda 1998) or vernacular varieties of English in general (e.g. Crystal 2003; Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi 2004) no comparative study on the basis of comparable sets of data has been carried out to date. While the complete study addresses noun and verb phrase as well as syntactic features, the present paper will concentrate on syntactic similarities with regard to tense and aspect. Despite the typologically diverse substrates involved, a surprising number of similarities have emerged with regard to these features in the varieties of English under analysis.

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The Change of German Lexic Through English

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This article deals with the influence of English on German and investigates, among other things, the extent to which English as a global language is capable of altering the German structure. Eisenberg (2004) even asks if German has become an endangered language. The German speaking countries assume an exceptional position with regard to non-English speaking societies when absorbing English words and phrases. The enormous growth of English within German has become so obvious that even English speakers are astounded by the change (cf. Bernstein 2004). In order to estimate just how powerful language use is for the language system in the case of English-German contact, changes in the area of morphology (i.e. the placement of an apostrophe before the plural morpheme: Ger. *Hit's der Woche* ‚hit's of the week); semantics (i.e. Ger. *feuern* ‚to fire' vs. the original meaning of ‚to make fire' < Engl. *to fire*; status of loan coinages) and syntax (i.e. Ger. *Passagiere gebucht auf Lufthansa* < Engl. *passengers booked on Lufthansa*) will be scrutinized for their representativeness and discussed. It is thus possible to weigh the lexical changes exactly. It is imperative for the relativization of English's influence on German to regard the role of loanage in the history of the German language (cf. Lutz 2002: 419-430; Munske 2005). In this context, problems with the term ‚mixed language' should be expounded; this means evaluating the sense of speaking about language mixture due to the fundamentals of linguistic-historical developments within closely related languages. The status of so-called ‚Denglish' should also be examined.

The degree of loanage with regard to English's influence on German should not be underestimated. It is therefore essential to distinguish between loanage for objects which is usually technical (i.e. Ger. *jazzen* < Engl. *to jazz*) (type I) and loanage for which an equivalent already exists in the adopting language (i.e. Engl. *kids* vs. Ger. *Kinder*) (type II); the latter type is especially interesting from the point of view of language change. Can this type of loanage cause a shift in German lexic? It will be shown that these loanages are predominantly justified, i.e. for a different practical value of the native word (Ger. *Feier* ‚celebration for a certain reason' vs. Engl. *party* ‚informal celebration').

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Section B: Relativism vs. Universalism

Conference room: GW1 A0010

Wednesday, August 30, 2006	
10:00–10:30	Arias Navarro, Javier (Hamburg University) Universalism in Angel Amor Ruibal's Theory of Language and Linguistics.
10:30–11:00	Ciutacu, Sorin (Universitatea de Vest, Timisoara, Romania) Whorf and his Aftermath Revisited
Coffee break	
11:30–12:00	Darquennes, Jeroen (FWO-Vlaanderen) The contribution of linguistic relativism, language universals and the ecology of language to praxis oriented language revitalisation efforts
12:00–12:30	Domínguez Rey, Antonio (Universidad Nacional de educación a Distancia (Madrid)) El Tropo del Lenguaje: El Relativismo Lingüístico de Á. Amor Ruibal (1869-1930)
12:30–13:00	Enghels, Renata (Ghent University, Belgium) Perception and perception verbs: cognitive universalism vs. linguistic relativism
Lunch break	
15:00–15:30	Haßler, Gerda (Universität Potsdam) Debatten über Universalität und Relativität von Sprachen im 18. Jahrhundert und ihre Berücksichtigung in der Linguistik und ihrer Historiographie
15:30–16:00	Kotin, Michail L. (Zielona Góra) Universelle vs. idioethnische Grammatik-Konzepte (am Beispiel der Kategorie des verbalen Tempus)
16:00–16:30	Trumper, John Bassett (Calabria Regional University - UNICAL) / Maddalon, Marta (Calabria Regional University - UNICAL) Relativism, general purpose (categories) and universals in ethnolinguistic classification
Thursday, August 31, 2006	
15:00–15:30	Novitskaya, Irina (Tomsk State University) Relativism in expressing the universal category of definiteness/indefiniteness in some old Germanic languages.

15:30–16:00	Oguy, Oleksandr (Czernowitz, Ukraine) Berechnung der Universalie als Regularität in der Panchronie
16:00–16:30	Schwarze, Brigitte (Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf) Relativismus und Universalismus im Rahmen der Behandlung der Genuskategorie
Coffee break	
17:00–17:30	Shaposhnikova, Irina (Novosibirsk State University) Relativism and Universalism in the Context of Historical Typology
17:30–18:00	Yap, Foong Ha (Chinese University of Hong Kong) / Shinzato, Rumiko (Georgia Institute of Technology) Relativism vs. Universalism in the Development of Modals

Friday, September 1, 2006

10:00–10:30	Vdovichenko, Andrej V. (Russian Academy of Science, Moscow) From Relative Words to Universal Acts: The Limit in Studying “Language”
10:30–11:00	Walmsley, John (University of Bielefeld) Relativism and Universalism in Traditional Grammar
Coffee break	
11:30–12:00	Wasik, Elzbieta (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan) On the Notion of Ecology and Ecologism as a Relativistic Attitude in the Domain of Language Sciences

Universalism in Angel Amor Ruibal’s Theory of Language and Linguistics.

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Ángel Amor Ruibal (1869-1930) ranks among the most intriguing personalities in the History of Linguistics in Spain and, one might argue, in Europe altogether. In spite of his academic position as Professor of Semitic Languages and Comparative Grammar at the Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, he remained a lonesome figure all throughout his life, leaving no disciples. His monumental work in the field achieved almost no resonance among his contemporaries, which is specially remarkable given his spiritual link to the Leipzig School (regular epistolary exchange, from which only indirect traces remain nowadays, seems to have taken place). Thorough inspection of his ideas reveals his status as the introducer of the new Linguistic Science in Spain. He may thus be seen as the founder of General Linguistics in the Spanish-speaking world. His life and work run (at least in part) chronologically parallel to those of Ramón Menéndez Pidal, the founder of the Spanish Historical School. However, their conceptions of the discipline could not differ more. Amor Ruibal’s attitude to the Science of Language can be related and traced back to Hervás y Panduro, of whom he felt he

was a legitimate heir. Furthermore, his debt to Wilhelm von Humboldt's ideas on language can be recognized all over his texts (even if there is well-grounded evidence to assume that his knowledge of Humboldt's linguistic work was indirect, through Heymann Steinthal and Max Schasler)

Two are the books where Amor Ruibal's linguistic ideas received extensive formulation, namely, *Introducción a la Ciencia del Lenguaje* (1900) and *Problemas Fundamentales de la Filología Comparada: su Historia, su Naturaleza y sus Diversas Relaciones Científicas* (1905, in two volumes, comprising more than 1100 pages). His endeavour to seek a synthesis of Comparativism with the new ideas he was sensitive to — punctual reception of Bréal's semantic work or of De Saussure's *Cours* can be perfectly attested either in the above-mentioned work or in his library, as well as in further articles — makes him, we believe, a seminal figure of the period. In the latter of his two works, a well-documented History of Linguistics and of what we nowadays would understand as „Philosophy of Language“, with special attention to the Indian and Hebrew traditions, is sketched.

This paper intends to provide a brief outline of the main theoretical issues involved in Amor Ruibal's linguistic work. Particularly, we will focus on his account of typology. A philological research on his main fonts will be presented, as well as an overview of the aspects where his conceptions are most original. Special emphasis will be given to his treatment of language classifications and to his criticism of the proposals posed up to his time, where a universalist approach to Linguistics can be recognized.

Whorf and his Aftermath Revisited

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Whorf claims that any thought process takes place within the boundaries of a language, that each language fleshes out a world outlook and that the outlooks structured by languages or, at least, the language families differ greatly. Whorf shrouds his outlook on world outlooks in a metaphysical mystery which makes up the gist of his epistemic paradigm of cultural relativism.

The paper sets out to rationalise the tenets and conclusions of Whorf's views, unveiling their traces into the contemporary linguistics and social sciences. The cognitivist paradigm is a follower of the weaker version of cultural relativism and cultural ethnology is a staunch offspring of Whorf's strongest claims.

The issue of incommensurability of world outlooks is also discussed and deconstructed. The author brings up the idea of semantic near-universals (Leech) and of semantic universals (Chomsky), which speak out firmly against a strong version of cultural relativism riddled by the myth of unoverridable incommensurability of world views. The merits and limits of Whorf's views are thus evaluated and put into a new critical light.

The contribution of linguistic relativism, language universals and the ecology of language to praxis oriented language revitalisation efforts

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Approaching European language policy from a positive angle Peter Nelde (2001) describes how during the last years some kind of a New Multilingualism has developed. Besides a generally accepted view on multilingualism as normal, as something that is not limited to multilingual states, as something that serves as an engine for the economy in a knowledge based society, this ‘New Multilingualism’ also entails the political willingness to reduce the marginalisation of autochthonous minority speech communities. The problems of the approx. 80 minority speech communities, that are represented by approx. 40 to 70 millions of the approx. 450 EU-inhabitants, have unmistakably developed to national and supranational topics. That became especially clear during the process of EU-enlargement in the year 2004 when the new member states were forced to reflect on the non-discrimination and societal integration of the minorities residing on their territory.

Although the situation of autochthonous minority speech communities has improved since the ethnic revival in the 1960s on the level of European language policy and European political discourse in general, most of the minority speech communities still have difficulties securing the intergenerational transmission of the minority language. EU-sponsored projects (e.g. Euromosaic and SMiLE) as well as other scientific publications clearly confirm that most of the minority speech communities still are subject – though to a different degree – to societal language shift. Typical of contemporary language minority research is that it no longer is basically restricted to theoretically well funded language use descriptions or philosophically inspired reflections on the relationship between language and culture. It can be noticed how academic considerations on linguistic relativism (and determinism) or the belief that small language communities and small languages deserve to be respected and valued in a linguistically pluralistic world (Fishman’s Whorfianism of the third kind) still form the philosophical backbone of attempts of minority language researchers (and advocates) to reverse societal language shift. Yet, it is clear that researchers and research groups increasingly concentrate on praxis oriented research approaches and thus try to bridge the gap between academia and real life. This paper links up to these approaches. Against the background of established and praxis oriented socio-and contact linguistic ideas a quest for a model is presented that could help minority language communities to detect their linguistic needs in a multilingual surrounding and to steer possible attempts to reverse societal language shift in the right direction. Special attention will be paid to the practical value of the Whorfian hypothesis of linguistic relativism, the possible contribution of language universals (as they feature in the work of Paul Garvin), and the need for a constant consideration of Haugen’s ecology of language in the context of language revitalisation.

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El Trope del Lenguaje: El Relativismo Lingüístico de Á. Amor Ruibal (1869-1930)

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Á. Amor Ruibal parte del fundamento gnoseológico -*cosa, sensación, idea*- y de la relación correlativa del lenguaje con el pensamiento desde el *objeto* significado, el *sonido* y el “valor objetivo” de la *idea* como *significación*. Superpone los dos esquemas y elabora una teoría del *signo lingüístico* con fundamento real y valor relativamente *arbitrario*, pues siendo natural la potencia del Lenguaje, se formaliza en acto con indiferencia de la forma verbal escogida. El *tipo fónico* ya refleja el primer grado de abstracción concreta, cuyo modelo es la *Etimología* educida de las raíces como función relativa del sonido, base *material*, y una *idea*, base *formal*, de tal modo que el lenguaje muestra en la actitud natural del *habla* una moción inductiva que descubre principios y leyes universales del conocimiento. La palabra se constituye como *universal individualizado*. Hay, como en Husserl, un *a priori* prelógico y óntico de correlación del pensamiento y del lenguaje con la realidad. El juicio ya opera en la base sensible con conceptos básicos y la *idea* es resultado de su operación lógica, no previa. La comprensión del concepto avanza el *predicado* sobre el tema que lo *sujeta*, así como la palabra se define en la estructura de la frase, que funciona como un todo teleológico: *el predicado busca sujeto*, y no viceversa. El lenguaje comienza donde el juicio lógico instaura fuerza expresiva y una palabra ya equivale a una o varias frases y proposiciones. Por eso la Gramática, como el lenguaje, tiene siempre carácter *reflejo*. El nombre así determinado viene inducido, no obstante, por la situación histórica del medio, la evolución continua de las sociedades y lenguas -Filología comparada, Gramática histórica- y moción del entorno vital o mundo de la vida, que Amor Ruibal entiende como *mesología*. La abstracción del sensible da como resultado cognitivo una *formalidad* intersubjetiva o significado que no se confunde con la esencia lógica. La palabra surge en el medio intencional de los interlocutores como voluntad comunicativa. Tiene un aspecto nocional psicológico y otro lógico. La *imagen* acústica –el autor escribe en 1904 y 1905- se convierte en *signo* comunicando la intención de la *idea*, aunque hay un fondo inconsciente en el lenguaje de legado histórico. El hablante selecciona una cualidad o varias del objeto real y la extiende, y predica, al conjunto de los seres clasificados con un atributo o conjunto de notas específicas. Al proceder así, la mente asigna nombre a las cosas, pero tal asignación es *adjetiva*, otra cualidad que adviene a lo real como *valor* significativo, de tal modo que el significado resulta un conjunto de *pseudónimos* atribuidos a las cosas, objetos o estados de cosas. El signo es entonces un *tropo*. La palabra nace en la intersección del esquema de cualidades –comprensión lógica- con el esquema de sujetos a los que se asignan tales cualidades -extensión predicamental- concebidas ahora como *categoremas*. El *a priori* categorial ya intenciona: expresa. El elemento fundamental de relación es, como en Humboldt, el *verbo*.

El método lingüístico es *sintético-histórico* y resume las bases metodológicas de paleogramáticos, la *junggrammatische Schule*, hermeneutas y tradición helénica gramatical, así como la antropología lingüística de Hervás y Panduro, Humboldt, la filología del P. Sarmiento y las relaciones lógicas y psicológicas del lenguaje con el pensamiento, en la línea de O. F. Gruppe, G. Gerber y otros teóricos de finales del Siglo XIX, como M. Müller, P. Regnaud, Gabelentz, Bréal, etc. Su teoría lingüística funda un relativismo de fondo universal correlativo válido para las ciencias humanas.

Perception and perception verbs: cognitive universalism vs. linguistic relativism

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Perception is a complex process by which human beings experience external stimuli supplying them with information about their environment. Since people use language primarily to talk about the world they perceive, perception and language seem to be closely related cognitive processes (cf. Miller & Johnson Laird 1976; Dupas 1997). The connection between language and perception is one of the basic principles of Cognitive Grammar: since language constitutes an integrated part of human cognition, linguistic configurations cannot be understood without the larger context of other cognitive processes such as our motor system, memory and in particular perception (Langacker 1987, 1991). Consequently, different ways of perceiving the world should cause different ways of talking about that world.

I intend to tackle the universalism vs. relativism problem by studying the relationship between the cognitive properties of visual and auditory perception and the semantic-syntactic behaviour of the Spanish and French perception verbs (PVs) *ver/voir*, *mirar/regarder*, *oír/entendre* and *escuchar/écouter*. If the universalism principle is valid, the cognitive characteristics of different perception modalities will influence the linguistic behaviour of the PVs and the same syntactic phenomena will be observed in both languages. If, on the other hand, the relativism standpoint is right, there will be no direct correlation between the cognitive properties of visual and auditory perception and the linguistic behaviour of the corresponding PVs in Spanish and in French. The case study of the syntactic position of the perceived participant in the infinitive construction will solve this problem.

The direct perception of an event is generally represented by the construction *perception verb + perceived participant NP₂ + infinitive*. In Spanish and in French, the position of the perceived participant NP₂ varies; it can be anteposed (1) or postposed (2) to the infinitive:

(1) Oigo (a María)_{NP2} cantar; J'entends (Marie)_{NP2} chanter

(2) Veo llegar (a María)_{NP2}; Je vois arriver (Marie)_{NP2}.

The analysis of a large corpus containing about 7000 infinitive constructions shows that the two languages prefer different basic word orders: French mostly selects preverbal NP₂s whereas Spanish prefers postverbal NP₂. However, a closer inspection of the empirical data reveals some striking analogies: in both languages the number of preverbal NP₂s is higher with the auditory PVs than with the visual ones. The former observation supports the relativism point of view whereas the latter sustains the universalism principle.

It will be shown that the cognitive differences between visual and auditory perception do influence the linguistic behaviour of the PVs in different languages, but that this correlation interferes with language specific structures. Relativism and universalism will be considered to be complementary viewpoints.

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Debatten über Universalität und Relativität von Sprachen im 18. Jahrhundert und ihre Berücksichtigung in der Linguistik und ihrer Historiographie

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Als Hans Helmut Christmann schon 1967 einen Artikel über *Die Geschichte der These vom Weltbild der Sprache* veröffentlichte, in dem er vor allem französische und italienische Sprachtheoretiker der Aufklärung behandelte, stand fest, dass es sich nur um einen historischen Gegenstand handeln konnte. Die Vorstellung von inkommensurablen semantischen Strukturen verschiedener Sprachen, die auch auf mögliche Konsequenzen für das Denken und Verhalten der Sprecher befragt wurden, hatte durch das Aufkommen der Kognitionswissenschaften und die empirische Feststellung von Universalien sogar in Fachwörtern, nichtnomenklatorischen Pflanzennamen und Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen für Anthropologen, Linguisten und Psychologen an Attraktivität verloren. Fast zeitgleich setzten jedoch Entwicklungen ein, die in der Gegenwart zu einem ganz anderen Bild führten. Zu diesem Bild gehört auch die Rückbesinnung auf Sprachtheoretiker vor Humboldt, die sich mit dem Verhältnis von Sprache und Denken befassten und in diesem Zusammenhang die Verschiedenheit der Sprachen und Kulturen in ihrer gegenseitigen Wechselwirkung behandelten.

Ziel des Beitrages ist es, die dabei immer wieder auftretende ornamentale Behandlung von Autoren des 18. Jahrhunderts zu überwinden und auf der Basis der Untersuchung von Textserien (Preisschriften, Gebrauchsgrammatiken, Missionsschriften) die Grundlagen der europaweiten Diskussion über Universalien und Relativität aufzuzeigen. Dabei zu berücksichtigende Fragestellungen sind die Rolle der Zeichen bei der sprachspezifischen begrifflichen Organisation von Wahrnehmungsinhalten (z.B. Locke, Condillac), die erkenntnistheoretische (Leibniz) und die geschichtsphilosophische (Vico) Erklärung der Notwendigkeit der Vielfalt und die kontrastive Metaphorik (z.B. Du Marsais). Doch auch in praktischen Fragen, wie im Sprachunterricht, standen sich die Forderung nach einem schnellen Lernen von Sprachen durch Rückführung auf das 'natürliche' Denken und die Annahme einer prägenden Funktion des besonderen Charakters der Sprachen für die Besonderheiten des Denkens gegenüber. Nach der rein normativen Bestimmung des *génie de la langue* wird die Problematik eines besonderen Charakters der Einzelsprachen vor allem im Zusammenhang mit kulturellen Unterschieden zwischen Völkern diskutiert. Die Zeichen der menschlichen Sprache werden auf dem Hintergrund eines langen Interaktionsprozesses mit den kognitiven Fähigkeiten der Menschen betrachtet. Den aus diesem Prozess hervorgegangenen Regeln für die Verknüpfung zwischen Ideen und die Belegung mit Zeichen wird für die jeweiligen Völker Verbindlichkeit und konstitutive Eigenschaft für den besonderen Charakter der Sprache zugeschrieben. In der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts lässt sich eine begriffliche Weiterentwicklung feststellen, die vor allem den grammatischen Bau als Kern des besonderen Charakters der Sprachen bestimmt.

Abschließend soll der Retrospektionshorizont des modernen sprachlichen Relativismus und universalistischer Theorien kritisch hinterfragt werden.

Universelle vs. idioethnische Grammatik-Konzepte (am Beispiel der Kategorie des verbalen Tempus)

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Die Gegenüberstellung des universellen und des idioethnischen Grammatikkonzepts kann an der Einordnung der Kategorie des verbalen Tempus verfolgt werden. Das aus der Antike ererbte und in der westeuropäischen rationalistischen Philosophie weiter entwickelte universalistische Tempusmodell fand im 20. Jh. seine formalisierte Version in dem bekannten Reichenbach-Schema (1947), das mutatis mutandis in den meisten Grammatiken europäischer Sprachen fortlebt. Das ontologische Grundprinzip des Reichenbachschen Herangehens ist die Feststellung eines Zusammenhangs zwischen der postulierten logischen („real-außersprachlichen“) und der sprachlich-grammatischen Zeit, oder zwischen Tempusstufe und Tempusform. Dabei stellt Reichenbach die reale Zeit als eine Gerade dar, welche in drei Abschnitte (von links nach rechts: Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft) eingeteilt ist. Der jeweiligen Tempusform wird abhängig von deren Bezug auf den hic-et-nunc-Moment der Sprechzeit ein gewisser logisch bestimmbarer Tempuswert zugewiesen. Nicht zufällig heißt sein Werk „Elements of Symbolic Logic“. Ein Gegenprojekt zu diesem Konzept ist die aus der frühromantischen Sprachauffassung Humboldts stammende Theorie, die die Zeit als eine subjektive und direkt sprachvermittelte Kategorie betrachtet und mit unterschiedlicher Stringenz und Akzentverteilung in den Grammatiken von Weisgerber, Brinkmann, Porzig, Weinrich u.a. vertreten ist. Der französische Germanist M. Lefèvre 1997, 1 stellt das Konzept der Zeitachse in Frage mit der Begründung, eine metasprachlich aufgefasste orientierte Gerade entspräche lediglich der modernen Auffassung der Zeit, der man frühere Zeitauffassungen mit Kreis- bzw. Ellipse-Modellen entgegensetzen kann. Der Übergang vom Zeitbild des ersten Typs zu dem des zweiten ging mit einem umfassenden Paradigmenwechsel im gesamten Spektrum der Weltanschauung und der Kultur der Völker einher, der auch den Sprachwandel in mannigfacher Weise betraf. Allerdings scheint Lefèvres Versuch, aus diesem Grund das übereinzelsprachliche Konzept der „Zeitachse“ bei der Sprachforschung in Frage zu stellen, etwas voreilig. Er lässt außer Acht, dass die rekonstruierten Ur- bzw. Protosprachen die Tempuskategorie in deren heutiger Gestalt (noch) nicht besaßen. Diese Tatsache ist nun mit dem Reichenbachschen sprachbezogenen Zeitkonzept vollkommen affin, ohne dass Reichenbach und seine Nachfolger sich dessen bewusst waren. Die „moderne“ Kategorie des verbalen Tempus entsteht nämlich im Ergebnis von Wandelprozessen, die deren Etablierung erst möglich machen. Sie ist in der Tat übereinzelsprachlich und universell, dabei aber deutlich historisch bedingt. Diese Schlussfolgerung kann jedoch erst dann gezogen werden, wenn man die Tempuskategorie nicht nur schlechthin historisch-dynamisch, sondern vielmehr panchron-ontologisch behandelt.

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Relativism in expressing the universal category of definiteness/indefiniteness in some old Germanic languages.

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The conceptual category of definiteness/indefiniteness (D/ID) is a universal linguistic category but the forms of expressing its meaning are known to vary from language to language. While in some languages the category is regularly expressed by a variety of grammatical means, in others it relies mostly on its lexical representation. The Indo-European languages possess a range of grammatical means to express the meaning of D/ID which can be reduced to two types: those that stand in the pre-position to a defined word and those that stand in the post position. The major grammatical means to denote the meaning of D/ID in Germanic languages are pre-positive and suffixed articles.

In all modern Germanic languages the category of D/ID presents a two- or tripartite opposition: indefinite, zero and definite article. The former always stands in pre-position, while the latter may be found both in pre- and post-positions. In the Old Germanic languages the conceptual category of D/ID was not grammaticalized and its formation was influenced by some common germanic features as well as specific features of every language.

The category of D/ID is attested in all Old Germanic languages in the initial stage of its formation which was characterized by two tendencies: by the use of demonstrative pronouns both in pre- and post position to denote definiteness. The post-positive definite article in old Scandinavian languages is viewed as an innovation and its relics can be found in the Gothic language.

In the paper a possibility to use the noun stem-building suffix *-ein-* in the function of the definite article in the gothic language is analyzed. This suffix is based on the Indo-European pronominal root that used to have a demonstrative meaning (Jener-Deixis). Further use of the suffix *-n-* as a marker of relation to something resulted in its development into a marker of a constant, typical feature of a thing or a being that made them definite.

The meaning of definiteness expressed by the suffix is revealed if one compares the use of abstract nouns derived from the same root and belonging to different declension types in the Gothic language.

Berechnung der Universalie als Regularität in der Panchronie

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Wegen der "blurred" oder "fuzzy edges" polysemer Wörter stellen die semantischen Systeme der Polysemante (wie des ganzen Wortschatzes der Sprache) das richtige Netzwerk von sich überlappenden Feldern, Gruppen und anderen paradigmatischen Einheiten dar. Dabei tendieren manche synonymische Polysemante zu denselben LSGs und zu einer ähnlichen semantischen Derivation (Ableitung der derivativen Bedeutungen). Dieses Phänomen bezeichnet man gewöhnlich mit den Termini "die semantische Tendenz", "das semantische Gesetz", auch "eine Universalie" usw. (vgl. Ullmann, Boretzki, Levickiy). Die Suche nach Universalien als Regularitäten, die bestimmten quantitativ auszurechnenden Grad haben, ist das Ziel des vorliegenden Beitrages.

Die semantischen Regularitäten, die sich auf die Panchronie (Allgemeinzeitlichkeit) beziehen, lassen sich nach Meinungen der Forscher durch die Formel von Lautgesetzen (A wird zu B in einer Zeit C in einem Raum D unter den Voraussetzungen E) nicht interpretieren (vgl. *Ullmann 1967, 233*). Wenn A, B, E und manchmal C bekannt und substituierbar sind, müsste man aber auch bestimmte Systeme für D aufstellen, denen die Elemente zugeordnet sind. Nach den typologischen Untersuchungen in verschiedenen Sprachen scheint es nicht notwendig, alle systemhaften Beziehungen innerhalb des ganzen lexikalischen Systems zu analysieren, sondern nur innerhalb seiner Paradigmen – nämlich, wo die Ähnlichkeiten der semantischen Komponenten zu beobachten sind. Das Paradigma scheint u. E. das gesuchte D zu sein. Zum Forschungsobjekt wurden also die Adjektive aus "Beowulf" (und dann "Nibelungenlied"), d. h. aus einheitlichen Texten mit einem großen Gesamtumfang gewählt. Nach der Untersuchung von 2400 Wortverwendungen bezogen sich 450 angelsächsische Adjektiven aus "Beowulf" bezogen sich auf drei große Subsysteme der Adjektive, die in kleinere vom Autor klassifizierte Wortfelder und lexik-semantischen Gruppen mit ihren Paradigmen aufgeteilt worden sind. Wenn man das Verhältnis zwischen den Komponenten mit der veränderten Semantik und den Komponenten, deren Sememe erhalten blieben, in Betracht zieht, so läßt sich dieses Verhältnis durch eine einfache Formel erfassen, die uns die vorhandene semantische Derivation und darüber hinaus eine mögliche semantische Tendenz zeigt:

$$(1) K_t = C/T \text{ (Oguy1996)}$$

In dieser Formel ist K_t der Koeffizient der ähnlichen semantischen Derivation, die als eine semantische Tendenz aufgefaßt werden kann, C sind die Paradigmakomponenten, die ein ähnliches Semem produzieren; T ist die Gesamtzahl der Paradigmakomponenten. Mit anderen Worten wird in dieser Formel berücksichtigt, daß einige polyseme synonymische Wörter bestimmte gemeinsame Sememe haben und auf solche Weise derivativ ähnlich sind. Je größer K_t ist, desto ähnlicher sind die Komponenten des Paradigmas in ihren Bedeutungsstrukturen und desto eher kann vermutet werden, daß sich hinter der Tendenz eine gewichtige semantische Gesetzmäßigkeit (mit $K_t > 0,7$) oder ein induktives "Gesetz" verbirgt, wenn dieser K_t in vielen Sprachen mit unterschiedlicher semantischer Struktur statistisch relevant ist. So läßt sich die Frage von N. Boretzky (1977, 232) danach, in welchem Verhältnis Tendenzen und Gesetzmäßigkeiten zueinander stehen, aufgrund dieser approximativen empirischen Formel lösen. Der Koeffizient K_t kann verschiedene Typen der semantischen Derivation demonstrieren, aber nicht den Grad ihrer Verbreitung. Deswegen erscheint es notwendig, einen zusätzlichen Frequenzindex I einzuführen:

$$(2) I_f = \Sigma f_1 + f_2 + f_3 \dots + f_x / f_n,$$

wo $f_{1,2,3} \dots x$ die Frequenzen von neuen Sememen sind und f_n die Summe dieser Frequenzen für alle Komponenten ausmacht.

Im Vortrag werden zahlreiche Beispiele dazu vorgeführt.

Relativismus und Universalismus im Rahmen der Behandlung der Genuskategorie

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Die Frage nach der Relativität sprachlicher Strukturen ist auch und gerade im Rahmen der Behandlung nominaler Klassifikationssysteme immer wieder unterschiedlich beurteilt und zum Teil auch höchst kontrovers diskutiert worden. Relativistische Ansätze vertreten nicht nur Herder, Adelung und Grimm (u.a.), die die „Genitalien der Sprache“ (Herder) – i.e. das

grammatische Genus – als „eine in der phantasie der menschlichen sprache entsprungene ausdehnung des natürlichen auf alle und jede gegenstände“ (Grimm) ansehen, sondern auch kognitiv ausgerichtete Linguisten – etwa George Lakoff in seiner berühmt gewordenen Analyse des Klassifikationssystems der australischen Sprache Dyirbal – sowie verschiedene Anhänger der sogenannten feministischen Linguistik in ihren Aussagen zum generischen Maskulinum; in allen Fällen wird angenommen, dass sprachliche Strukturen außersprachlich motiviert seien. Dem stehen solche Arbeiten gegenüber, in denen im Extremfall jeglicher Rekurs auf extralinguistische Faktoren kategorisch abgelehnt und auf universale sprachliche Organisationsprinzipien verwiesen wird.

Im Vortrag wird am Beispiel des generischen Maskulinums sowie anhand der auch in neueren Arbeiten (wieder) aufgeworfenen Frage nach der Funktion der Genuskategorie auf die Grenzen extremer Standpunkte hingewiesen und auf die Existenz und Fruchtbarkeit mittlerer Ansätze aufmerksam gemacht. Hierbei bildet die kontrastive Betrachtung der Genussysteme der spanischen, französischen und deutschen Sprache die Grundlage.

Relativism and Universalism in the Context of Historical Typology

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The Russian linguist G.P.Melnikov proposed a model of structural change aimed at increasing the explanatory potential of typology. His model is based on the synthetic approach to various theories concerning the origin and transformation of the four types of languages (isolating, agglutinating, inflecting, and polysynthetic). The conceptual basis he had thus worked out was called *system typology*. It explains the emergence and structural organization of the four types of languages with the help of the key-concept *inner determinant* (inner form, communicative attitude). Being sort of organizing force, it is manifested at all levels of a language system. The inner determinant is drawn from the *outer determinant*. The latter includes such features as extralinguistic mentality behind a language as well as communicative conditions and the structure of a speech community (with such dimensions as their size, heterogeneity, homogeneity, temporal and spatial restrictions imposed on the intervals between communicative acts).

All these dimensions specifically modify the communicative function of the language. The resulting variability of typical utterances (communicative acts) concerns their plots, as well as motivation and communicative attitudes. What is universal here? The very possibility to identify dominants (both inner and outer) in any language. The fact that they have been identified supports the view that language structure is largely dependent on the extralinguistic dimensions described above. It has nothing to do with innate rules. The dependence is rather conventional. It suggests a mental representation of a more or less stable semantic pattern (I would say, a set of mental associations, including knowledge of the native language), which has been acquired by a younger generation via cognitive activities. The general structural patterns are inevitably modified in every particular ethno-cultural community in the course of ethnogenesis. Specific interaction of ethnic and linguistic processes becomes explicit only via historical analysis and reveals the functional adaptation of the language structure encoding the constantly changing experience of the speech community.

Continuous change in the ethnic system cannot but find its way in the modification of communicative conditions and semantic configuration of the essential parameters in typical utterances. One of the pathways of ethnolinguistic interactions lies in the choice of optimal

substance (linguistic units) and reorganization of their structural configurations. This is inevitable relativism since ethnocultural diversity has proved to be *a natural law*. The more unifying tendencies we try to establish, the more reasons people see for their ethnocultural originality, which seems to be an essential basis for human creativity. Mosaic-like ethnic plurality is a natural form of existence for *Homo sapiens*, which helped us to survive and spread all over the planet. Every ethnos is a complex phenomenon having its own motherland and history in space and time. The creative activities of each ethnos are semiotic by nature and are reflected in multifarious semiotic systems, which can tell us much about particular ethnocultural types. The type of structural organization may change via cross-ethnic contacts in the creative periods of ethnogenesis since the character and intensity of these contacts as well as their length are usually crucial for the choice of substance and distribution of the functional load among different linguistic units and structures. A language is thus viewed as a subsystem within a supersystem of a higher rank, which aligns extralinguistic functional parameters for the language and speech activities. These parameters in their turn cause a dominant tendency organizing all the structural levels of the language. It is a universal law.

Relativism suggests that we should study every particular language as a subsystem within its supersystem ETHOS – LANGUAGE molding a particular structural frame, which only partially coincides with the general concepts of the four language types. Relativism and universalism are thus two sides of one and the same medal. It is semiotics and systemology that provide a methodological background for their reconciliation in historical typology.

Relativism, general purpose (categories) and universals in ethnolinguistic classification

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There appear to be two contrasting trends in ethnolinguistics, the first a trend that springs directly from a more or less classical relativism paradigm. Culturo-specific categories are to be recognised and isolated in the analytic model. The second trend, apparently diametrically opposed to the first, is the cognitivist approach that brings to the fore universalistic tendencies based on the fact that humans possess the same mental structures and perceptual faculties.

These two trends, viz. cultural relativism vs. perceptual universalism, appear to be in open conflict. However, it might well be more interesting and relevant to consider these two trends as two differing analytical aspects of the general process of categorising the external world. In fact, perception is the same for all humans, and the models generated to deal with perception have to be able to express this sameness, though perception has also to be conceived as a complex of differing pertinent levels, i. e. the sensorial levels require perception to be considered multiple, concerning sight, sound, touch, taste etc. On the other hand the model created in a particular historical natural language has to be culture-specific, namely, ambience, habitat, cultural structure etc. influence the categories of the very model. When we deal with ethnobiological categories, it would seem to be more useful to construct a model that incorporates the two perspectives and gives them a relative weighting in category construction processes.

An example: the concept PLANT is perceptually constant but is culturally variable, changeable, sometimes not lexicalised (though not perceptually a null quantity), sometimes realised with different lexical means and premisses, sometimes in a different relation with subordinated lexical items. As a general trend, life-forms are seldom lexicalised, sometimes categorially subordinated items are upgraded to occupy the apparent lack, that, obviously, is non-null at the perceptual level. Other concrete cases will be discussed (*Brassicaceae* in Romance).

From Relative Words to Universal Acts: The Limit in Studying “Language”

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The structural diversity of human languages becomes obvious from the procedure of comparing traditional material of different languages, i.e. words, word parts and word groups. If postulating the meaning of *words* one comes to a paradox: there are no *words* which would coincide semantically in any two languages, so the translated word in a target language can never equate to the original. That would lead to the total impossibility of translation.

(Quine’s theory of the indeterminacy of translation is represented by his famous example of a native saying "gavagai" on the sighting of a rabbit. An observer of this act could conclude that what the native expressed in this word was the sighting of a rabbit, or simply of food, or even a description of the rabbit’s colour etc. To properly know what the native means, we must have an understanding of the grammar of the language, but in order to understand the grammar we must first make hypotheses concerning statements such as the one above, which are interpretatively indeterminate. What we are left with is a pure indeterminacy of meaning).

Moreover, a real word of the same language never has the same meaning when being used in different communicative contexts. Thus, the English dictionary won’t give the meaning “A.V.” for the word “I”, though I mean just that when saying “I” in actual situation. So even in the field of the same language a word can never be the same. That would lead to the total misunderstanding even among native speakers. But in fact, translation is possible as well as understanding in actual (oral or written) communication.

The examples above mean that the relativism towards linguistic facts is introduced by the *word-dependent approach* to the meaningful speech phenomena. It is insufficient. What is relative is a word in different languages. What is universal is what beyond objective verbal facts. That could not be a form-dependent, objectively defined *verbal* “language”. The word-dependent (system-orientated) approach points at the limit in studying the real communicative process. The *universal* element of communication is the *act which a communicant tends to perform in the conceivable communicative situation* .

(The native when saying "gavagai" has something definite in mind. He/she is doing something understandable for him/herself. The meaning is in his/her mind, not in the relative words themselves. To translate means to (make) understand the *conceivable inner act*).

In the inner representation *the act is not verbal*. Thus, there aren’t any words in a wish to ask smb of doing smth, to inform smb about smth etc. One doesn’t need words to compare (identify, dissolve, etc.) conceivable objects or situations. A communicant doesn’t need verbal models (“words”) but in order to make an influence to a conceivable audience. “Words in mind” are the images of communicative interactions in which the given phonetic (graphic) units, according to a speaker’s viewpoint, could be used. The “structure of a language” is being created by a linguist when based upon the *typology of the conceivable situations of actions*. The general typology, though, is rather a “fuzzy set”. Thus, a concrete culture-dependent situation could propose its own typology. The more parameters of the concrete authentic action an observer takes into account, the more understanding of an actual word process he/she reaches. Being out of relative words, the *conceivable acts* tend to be a universal basis for translating and understanding.

(In fact the very “gavagai” by itself means nothing. Contrary, the inner act of a native saying that, represents the meaning of the word. That becomes clear not from the grammar, but from the complex communicative situation).

The change of viewpoint “from relative words to universal acts” makes it possible to re-interpret the former linguistic material in a new way (a short sample of the Jewish Greek-speaking texts, i.e. NT Corpus, could be not out of interest).

References:

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Horsley G.H.R. *The Fiction of “Jewish Greek”*, in: *New Documents...* v. 5, 1989, etc.

Relativism and Universalism in Traditional Grammar

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The swing from relativism to universalism and back in the history of Linguistics is like the swing of a pendulum, moving through time from one extreme to the other. The periodical pre-eminence of one view or the other, however, must always be seen against a background of ongoing change: change in motivation, change in definition, change in the ideological context. Against this background, Structuralism - emphasising the unique individuality of each language, can be seen as a specific form of relativism.

The structuralist ~ universalist dilemma (“Which facts exactly are we looking at?”) and the responses to it can be illustrated by the development of modern English grammatical terminology in 15th century England. It is commonly assumed that Bullokar was the grammarian first responsible for the transfer of Latin grammatical categories to English. In fact, Bullokar came towards the end of a two-hundred-year period over which a rich and diverse grammatical terminology was developed. This terminology forms the basis of so-called “Traditional Grammar” (TG) - no longer practised but still exercising considerable influence, as we shall see. When Structuralist influence was at its peak around the middle of last century, TG was criticized for failing to deal with the language under discussion - the object language - on its own terms (Crystal 1971, Dinneen 1972). This criticism raises the question: if older grammarians made this foolish mistake, did they do it on purpose, out of ignorance or incompetence, lack of proper training? Chomsky (1964) took a different view, seeing the traditional enterprise as an attempt to postulate a set of universal grammatical categories in terms of which all languages could be described.

The answer must be sought in the context in which the texts were produced. In England, until the mid-14th century Latin (the object-language) was taught through the medium of French (meta-language). From around 1350 to about 1600 grammars were increasingly written in English. Over the same period, however, the texts undergo a striking metamorphosis. From the initial situation, in which the metalanguage was English and the object-language Latin, the roles are steadily reversed, so that we finish with English as the object-language and Latin the metalanguage.

This case study shows how - and why - the grammatical categories of Latin came to be transferred to English. It also underscores the central role played by terminology. In the context of the relativism ~ universalism debate, the study brings into sharp focus the question of how “the very same facts” are to be interpreted.

On the Notion of Ecology and Ecologism as a Relativistic Attitude in the Domain of Language Sciences

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In this paper the ecology-related terms and the ecological way of thinking encountered in the works of the practitioners of language sciences will be discussed from a historiographical and methodological perspective. Its point of departure constitutes the metaphorical term “ecology”, initially meaning the study of the relationships between organisms and their environments, which has been popularized first in the domain of social studies concerned with the spacing and interdependence of people and institutions and then in the domain of linguistic studies dealing with external conditionings of natural languages.

In the linguistic perspective, the so-called ecological-relational properties were opposed to lexical-relational, lexical-inherent and grammatical-inherent properties of language as a system. And the system of a language, as an ecological specimen, was seen as embedded within a more complex system at a higher level, the so-called ecosystem, including grammar and lexicon and the people who communicate with their natural and cultural settings and their dispositional and behavioral properties. Attention was paid to dynamic changes within an ecosystem in order to answer how the environmental factors influence the functioning of elements and structures of language.

Bearing in mind, however, that the basic parts and aspects of the so-called “ecology of language” comprise external and internal conditionings of communicating individuals and communities, we have come to a conclusion that it is more appropriate to speak rather about the ecology of man than of language. As far as languages are not autonomous organisms but constituents of “human ecology”, the ecological properties of verbal means of communication are to be highlighted from the viewpoint of disciplines that study factors influencing the life of language “knowers” and “doers” or language speakers and interpreters. While focusing on people, we have decided to treat their communicative behavior as linguistic properties of communicating individuals that aggregate into particular ecosystems at various levels of social groupings, phylogenetic, professional, ethnic, cultural, confessional or economic, etc. Thus, due to the existence of various forms of interactions, the societal ecosystem might be investigated within the scope of the so-called ecology of discourse communities in relation to their constitutive elements as parts of linkage systems, individuals playing certain roles of participants in group communication, verbal means, channels and communicational settings.

Postulated in this framework, the concept of “ecological grammar”, as a linguistic network formed within an ecosystem of communicating people, is counterpoised to that of “universal grammar”. The latter idea stems from the followers of rationalist philosophers, advocating the hypothesis that human languages reflect extra-linguistic reality in a similar way, who believe in the possibility of deducing from all hitherto described languages of the world elements and structures that are primordial to human thinking. Contrariwise, the ecological grammar is grown out of the experience of the practitioners of communication sciences bearing in mind that the manifestation forms of verbal behavior of communicating individuals and social groups are polymorphous and unequally put into use when formed in dependence on their environments. It is based on the assumption that verbal and nonverbal forms of communication occur on various organizational levels of society in a twofold manner, as relatively changeable practices and stabilizing patterns of interpreted discourses.

Relativism vs. Universalism in the Development of Modals

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This paper focuses on a crosslinguistic comparison of the grammaticalization of modals to address the question: Are the grammaticalization pathways determined by specific cultures, or by universal constraints which transcend cultural differences? Previous studies *tend to* advocate for the universal and unidirectional tendency of change: more objective content word > more subjective modal auxiliary. This unidirectionality, often referred to as ‘subjectification’ (Traugott 1995; Traugott and Dasher 2002) has been substantiated in empirical studies, and also supported in the generative framework as well. For instance, Bybee et al. (1994:194) describe the development of English modal auxiliary *can* as follows: mental ability ‘to know’ > ability > root possibility > epistemic possibility. Roberts and Roussou (2003) view that epistemic modals (T), dynamic modals (v) and lexical verbs (V) occupy the slot designated in the following structure: [TP T [VP v [VP V]]]. Given the well-known development of English *may* from lexical verb (physical ability) > dynamic possibility > epistemic possibility, they claim that the diachronic change structurally corresponds to ‘upward movement’ (or ‘raising’) within the generative paradigm).

While the above tendency appears to be fairly robust, detailed discussions of the development of modals for specific languages are still lacking, and due to this shortcoming, some interesting issues and possible variations to the unidirectionality theme has remained unaddressed. For example, in contrast to European languages (Bybee, et al 1994), Asian languages such as Japanese and Thai exhibit the opposite change, namely, root possibility > agent ability. For instance, Japanese portrays the following development: emergence verbs > root possibility > agent ability.

We believe this difference stems from a typological difference between these language groups. In the first group (European languages as cited in Bybee et al. 1994), the agent plays a prominent role, and the original content word is a volitional mental/perception verb (e.g. English *cunnen* ‘know (how to)’), while in the second group, the agent is often defocused, and even effaced syntactically, and the original content word is non-volitional (e.g., Japanese *ideku* ‘come out’). This typological difference has been discussed in terms of different dichotomies such as ‘have vs. be’ languages (Issatschenko 1974), ‘do vs. become’ languages (Ikegami 1987).

In this paper, based on comparisons between European and Asian languages, we highlight how linguistic universalism interacts with linguistic relativism. More specifically, we will show that a macro view of diachronic change supports previous claims of a central role for linguistic universalism, as evidenced in numerous ‘less-to-more’ subjective clines of grammaticalization/ pragmaticization (e.g., lexical verb *can* denoting mental ability to modal auxiliary *can* functioning as epistemic possibility marker), while a micro view of the same change reveals that the directionality of change sometimes could go both ways (e.g., either ability > root possibility, or root possibility > ability), particularly at the earlier (non-subjective) stages of language change. Crucially, counter-directionality is observed, not for the same morpheme, but rather between different source morphemes across different languages, which lend support to the argument that there is also an important (sometimes socio-psychological or cultural) role for linguistic relativism in language change.

Section C: Grammaticalization and Language Change

Conference room: GW1 B0080

Friday, September 1, 2006	
14:00–14:30	Bogdanova, Svetlana (Irkutsk State Linguistic University, Russia) Reconceptualization of Spatial Relations
14:30–15:00	Doyle, Aidan (University College Cork, Ireland) Grammaticalization and the Irish passive
15:00–15:30	Fernández Sánchez, Eulalio (University of Córdoba, Spain) Cognitive etymology as a tool for unveiling the non-arbitrary nature of language
15:30–16:00	Fritz, Matthias (Freie Universität Berlin) Dualschwund als Universale im allgemeinen und insbesondere im Deutschen
16:00–16:30	Hill, Eugen (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) Die Vorgeschichte des ostbaltischen Futurs: paradigmatische Struktur und funktionale Verhältnisse

Saturday, September 2, 2006	
10:00–10:30	Jezek, Elisabetta (University of Pavia) / Ramat, Paolo (University of Pavia) On transcategorization
10:30–11:00	Leschber, Corinna (Viadrina-University Frankfurt (Oder)) Historical linguistics: Obsolete lexemes and desemantized fossilized syntagmata
Coffee break	
11:30–12:00	Öhl, Peter (University of Frankfurt (Main)) Formalist and Functionalist Explanations of Grammaticalisation: an Integrational Approach
12:00–12:30	Pajusalu, Renate (University of Tartu) Death of a demonstrative: time and person: The case of Estonian <i>too</i> .
12:30–13:00	Smith, John Charles (University of Oxford) From number to the lexicon via gender: the refunctionalization of neuter noun morphology between latin and romance
Lunch break	
14:00–14:30	Visconti, Jacqueline (University of Genoa) On the diachrony of Italian <i>mica</i>

14:30–15:00	Wischer, Ilse (University of Potsdam) The Grammaticalisation of <i>Will-</i> and <i>Shall-</i> Futures in Middle English
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Reconceptualization of Spatial Relations

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Every language has a set of means to characterize spatial relations. It is universal. However, the languages of the world differ widely in their treatment of space (G.A. Miller, Ph. Johnson-Laird). Thus, phrasal verbs in the English language are considered to be a typologically relevant phenomenon. Such means can be called language specific.

A limited number of spatial elements in any language, caused by the peculiarities of the human perception of space, help linguists to trace their *groupings* and define the main directions of shifts of meanings. Spatial elements (spatial prepositions, particles, prefixes, etc.) show a tendency to develop metaphorical meanings by extending their direct spatial meanings. The extended meanings can describe some other spheres of activities, including mental activity. Our comprehension of complicated and abstract entities and events of the surrounding world is grounded mainly on basic spatial dimensions, which are simple, their number is limited as well as the number of describing them spatial adverbs, prepositions, prefixes, etc. These elements can be used in several cognitive domains both in direct and metaphorical meanings.

It is possible to differentiate two levels of knowledge structuring: conceptualization and reconceptualization. In the process of *conceptualization* direct spatial meanings are formed with the possibility of their further metaphorization. The oppositions of spatial particles in English and spatial prefixes in Russian are observed: *up-down; ahead-back; in-out; on-off; войти-выйти* (come in – go out); *спрыгнуть-запрыгнуть* (jump down – jump up), etc. In the process of *reconceptualization* particles and prefixes in metaphorical (extended) meanings combine into groupings, because practically every event can be described from different points of view. The peripheral meaning of one spatial element can be connected with the peripheral meaning of the other spatial element, as a result of this merging there comes a grouping of their metaphorical meanings, which is a productive derivational model both in English and in Russian. Thus, in some contexts the particles *out, down, off* can have rather close meanings and together they can characterize the cognitive domains of ‘tiredness’, ‘cooling’. E.g. *wear out – wear down – wear off; cool down, cool off, cool out*, etc. The same phenomenon of reconceptualization we can observe in Russian: in some contexts verbs with different spatial prefixes have practically the same meaning. E.g. *rus. обогнать – перегнать* (come first), *выждать – переждать* (wait for some time), *побить – избить* (beat smb up), *уронить – выронить* (drop smth), *colloq. утворить – вытворить – натворить* (do smth wrong), *выгнать – прогнать* (send off), *въехать – заехать* (drive into), etc.

The groupings of spatial elements reflect the processes of conceptualization and reconceptualization of spatial relations. Phrasal verbs in English and prepositional verbs in Russian illustrate the peculiarities of the linguistic categorization of the world, caused by the human cognitive activity. They also illustrate the tendency in both languages to combine spatial elements with extended meanings into groupings to characterize some definite cognitive domains.

Grammaticalization and the Irish passive

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A common phenomenon in language change is the process whereby an independent pronoun gradually undergoes semantic bleaching to become a marker of some morphological feature. We can observe a similar process at work in the history of Irish. In Old Irish, object pronominals procliticised to verbal nouns are fully-fledged pronouns. Consider the sentence:

- (1) Baí Eva_i oc a_i tirmugud.
 was Eve at her dry-VN

There are two interpretations for this:

- a. Eve was drying herself. (Active)
- b. Eve was being dried. (Passive)

In a., although the object proclitic is coreferential with the subject, it has a distinct theta-role. In b., the object does not have a theta-role of its own, the role of verbal complement being borne by the subject.

In modern written Irish the same construction is found, but with only one interpretation:

- (2) Bhí Éabha_i á_i triomú.
 'Eve was being dried'. (Passive)

Here, the proclitic is no longer a full pronoun, but is simply a marker of agreement on the verbal noun.

Finally, in modern spoken Irish a single proclitic, the 3rd sg. masc. *á*, which lenites the initial consonant of the following word, is becoming generalised for all persons, so that (2) is being replaced by:

- (3) Bhí Éabha *á* **th**riomú. (lenition marked in bold)
 was Eve proclitic dry-VN

Even though the form of the proclitic is the same in (2) and (3), in (2) it still agrees with the subject with respect to person, number and gender, whereas in (3) this is no longer the case.

In this paper, we argue that the proclitic of passive constructions has its origin in the reflexive use evidenced in (1a). Grammaticalization has led to the reduction in the referential properties of the proclitic. It is now used to simply indicate agreement with the subject, retaining the features of person, number and gender. There are strong indications from the spoken language that the proclitic is in the final stages of grammaticalization, which involves its losing these features, and becoming simply an invariant marker of passive.

In terms of general linguistic theory, this paper aims to contribute to the study of grammaticalization, and to broaden our understanding of the typology of passivization.

Cognitive etymology as a tool for unveiling the non-arbitrary nature of language

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Cognitivism provides science and scientists with a new paradigm wherein new questions find their place and are waiting for new answers. In the case of linguistics, cognitive studies have already pointed out the connection between language and humans' cognitive system so that it is widely accepted that language is no longer an autonomous system, but it requires a wider approach with a clear cognitive perspective. This has led linguists and language philosophers to rethink the nature of language itself and ancient axioms cease to be taken for granted. In this sense, cognitive etymology, that is, the search for the reasons why a given community chose a particular phonological sequence in order to lexicalize and make reference to a certain entity, quality or event, provides new findings that will lead us into a reconsideration of some widely accepted universal features of natural languages, such as, arbitrariness and conventionality. In cases of recent lexicalization processes such as telephone, television, computer and so on, the motivation or connection between the entities referred to and the phonological sequences selected is evident from a synchronic perspective, but in most cases in the lexicon of a language the connection is not that evident. So far, several cognitive studies have already stressed the motivated nature of language at the level of syntax, morphology and semantics, but the lexicon has been considered as an area where language remains to be arbitrary. However, cognitive etymology may lead us to find the motivation between the concept that has been lexicalized and the phonological sequence selected for it. In this way, cognitive etymology will draw a line between the non-arbitrary nature of language and its conventionality. These two concepts have been traditionally misunderstood and, in this paper, it is explained how the conventional (coming along with a community) nature of language has contributed to blur its motivation throughout time. As a result of cognitive etymology findings, language will prove to be a communication system in which lexicalization is motivated by humans' cognitive system and which is limited and designed according to humans' physiological features and cognitive capabilities and limitations. This perspective can be useful to reconsider the nature of language and can provide new insight into linguistic universals.

Dualschwund als Universale im allgemeinen und insbesondere im Deutschen

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Der Dual wird als Numeruskategorie aller flektierten Wortarten für das Ur-Indogermanische rekonstruiert. Über die Zwischengrundsprachen zu den Einzelsprachen hin finden dann Abbauprozesse statt, die über den Verlust der Kategorie in einzelnen Wortarten in den meisten Fällen zum völligen Verschwinden des Duals führen. Innerhalb der Indogermania gibt es ganz unterschiedliche Dualsysteme: In manchen indogermanischen Sprachen haben alle flektierten Wortarten einen formal markierten Dual, in manchen nur ein Teil der flektierten Wortarten und in manchen nur eine flektierte Wortart; in einigen indogermanischen Sprachen ist der Dual schon vor Einsetzen der Überlieferung geschwunden. In den meisten indogermanischen Standardsprachen der Gegenwart gibt es keinen Dual mehr; die einzigen Ausnahmen, die den Dual bis heute bewahrt haben, sind das

Niedersorbische, das Obersorbische und das Slowenische. Zur Erklärung für diese Abbauprozesse wurden schon früh kulturelle Aspekte herangezogen. An dem Sprachwandel des Abbaus läßt sich jedenfalls erkennen, daß der Dual keine universelle grammatische Kategorie ist; vielmehr ist gerade der Abbau des Duals innerhalb der Indogermania nahezu (bis auf die genannten Ausnahmen) universell. Nicht ein bestimmter Zustand einer Sprache ist somit universell, sondern ein Vorgang, der aus diesem Zustand folgt. Wie dieser Zustandswandel vor sich geht, soll exemplarisch am Deutschen demonstriert werden.

Das Deutsche hat an Numeruskategorien den Singular und den Plural. Dies ist schon seit Beginn der Überlieferung des Deutschen so. Wir wissen aber, daß in der Vorgeschichte des Deutschen noch der Dual vorhanden war, im Ur-Indogermanischen in allen flektierten Wortarten und im Ur-Germanischen bei einem Teil der flektierten Wortarten. Im Althochdeutschen dann ist, wie gesagt, der Dual als Flexionskategorie nicht mehr bezeugt, ab dem Mittelhochdeutschen erscheinen jedoch Formen des Personales, die auf Dualformen zurückgehen. Für das Althochdeutsche ist also zu erschließen, daß es neben den Pluralformen des Personales auch Dualformen gegeben hat, für die es in der Überlieferung lediglich keine Belege gibt. Doch bleibt eine Frage noch offen, nämlich welche Bedeutung die Dualformen im Althochdeutschen hatten; denn bereits im Mittelhochdeutschen gelten die ehemaligen Dualformen, die in der Dialektregion des Bairischen auftreten und bis heute in den Subvarietäten des bairischen Dialekts fortleben, als Bezeichnungen für den Plural. Um eine Antwort auf diese Frage zu erhalten, ist es sinnvoll, die frühesten Belege der mittelhochdeutschen Pluralformen des Bairischen, die auf Dualformen zurückgehen, auf ihre genaue Bedeutung hin zu untersuchen. Der Vortrag widmet sich empirisch der Aufgabe, ob im Mittelhochdeutschen beim Personale noch Dualfunktion festgestellt werden kann und welche universellen Konditionen zu diesem Sprachwandel geführt haben, bei dem die Kategorie Dual in der Frühgeschichte des Deutschen abgebaut wurde.

Die Vorgeschichte des ostbaltischen Futurs: paradigmatische Struktur und funktionale Verhältnisse

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Das Flexions-Paradigma des ostbaltischen Futurs setzt sich bekanntlich aus zwei morphologisch verschiedenen Bildungen zusammen: einer thematischen Bildung auf urbaltisch *-sya- und einer athematischen Bildung auf urbaltisch *-s-. Beide Bildungen haben Entsprechungen in den anderen indogermanischen Sprachen. Der Bildung auf urbaltisch *-sya- entspricht das -sya-Futur der indoiranischen Sprachen. Der athematischen Bildung auf urbaltisch *-s- entspricht das sigmatische Futur im sabellischen Zweig des Italischen.

In uestbaltischer Zeit müssen die Futur-Bildung auf *-sya- und die Futur-Bildung auf *-s- eine sekundäre Symbiose eingegangen haben. Das dadurch entstandene Paradigma weist eine ungewöhnliche Struktur auf: der -ya-stämmigen 1.Sg. steht der athematische Rest der Flexionsformen gegenüber, wobei das zugehörige Partizip wiederum -ya-stämmig gebildet wird. Diese ungewöhnliche Verteilung der beiden alten Futur-Bildungen auf die paradigmatischen Formen des ostbaltischen Futurs kann erklärt werden, wenn man die allgemeine Typologie der Futur-Bildung in den Sprachen Europas heranzieht. Inhomogene Futur-Paradigmen sind aus Sprachen bekannt, deren Futura alte Strukturen mit modaler Semantik fortsetzen. Bildungen und Strukturen mit jussiver Modalität, z.B. Imperative, weisen aufgrund ihrer Funktion eine systematische Lücke in der 1.Sg. auf und bilden keine Partizipien. Jussive Bildungen neigen auf Satzebene zu Symbiosen mit Bildungen und Strukturen desiderativer Modalität. Das ungewöhnliche paradigmatische Verhalten des

ostbaltischen Futurs bekommt eine natürliche Erklärung, wenn man für die Bildung auf urbaltisch *-sya- mit desiderativer Modalität rechnet, die Bildung auf urbaltisch *-s- dagegen auf ein futurisches Jussiv zurückführt. Aus dieser Hypothese ergeben sich wichtige Konsequenzen für das System der urbaltischen Konjugation und seine Vorgeschichte.

On transcategorization

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Our theoretical starting point is that the Parts-of-speech (PoS) embodied by the categories of grammar (traditionally called ‘*partes orationis*’) are the result of the analysis of the linguist. As such they are universal concepts, and their definition has to be universally, i.e. cross-linguistically, valid: an ADV must have such and such definitional property, such and such morphosyntactic behaviour; but this does not mean that ADVs must be present in all languages, though languages must have some way to modify a verb as well as other PoS. The implementation of the category (‘part-of-speech’) ADV need not be universal. Another important preliminary point is that there are items which belong to the core of a category and items which are more peripheral: e.g. *yellow* as ADJ vs. *dog* as Noun; *green*, on the contrary, may be metonymically used also as Noun : ‘an area planted with grass’.

We define transcategorization (TC) the phenomenon according to which linguistic elements (lexemes and phrases) are used with different functions without any superficial modification of their form. This means that TC is a functional reanalysis based on (morpho)syntactic context. Transcategorized elements are employed in different syntactic environments which are different from the original one. In this way, verbs may become adpositions (as Chin. *yong* “to use” and “with”; Ewe *bé* “to say” and complementizer), adjectives may be used as adverbs (as Germ. *schön*: *sie ist schön* “good looking” and *sie singt schön* “in a nice way” or It. *forte* “strong” and “strongly”), verbs may be used as nouns (as Engl. *he likes to run* and *he went for a run*), etc. In such cases we may speak of ‘categorical flexibility’.

The general aim of the paper is to improve the description of TC processes both synchronically and diachronically and, consequently, to sketch a possible typology of TCs. We discuss many instances and various types of TC: some of them are frequent, others less frequent and of other possible TCs we have no or very rare examples.

Finally, attention is paid to where (i.e. in which language type) TC is/can be more operative.

Historical linguistics: Obsolete lexemes and desemantized fossilized syntagmata

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In an investigation of word material of unknown etymology several characteristics were discovered:

- Of the denotations of as yet unknown etymological classification, the majority are those attested in isolated, inaccessible areas, frequently mountain regions.
- Mountain ranges protect relic vocabulary from innovations.
- In part, this vocabulary can be defined as originating from unknown contact languages or substrata languages, about which we still know very little.

- Within a vocabulary of a certain language certain semantic areas are dominated to a large extent by etymological unknowns, such as customs (including reflections of profaned ritual acts), plant names, animal names and expressions for phenomena from nature and the countryside.
- Especially in the analysis of Bulgarian lexemes of unknown origin, it became clear that a large number of them were either lexemes and expressions whose meaning was completely unclear or unclear components of fossilized expressions. Some phrases are attested only in certain fossilized expressions. Different parts of speech are represented here - verbs and adverbs as well as nouns. A number of these lexemes and syntagmata are chiefly documented in archaic folk songs and tales which had, over a long period of time, just been passed down orally.
- The semantic content of some lexemes and expressions could only be described approximately; the speakers are no longer sure of the exact meaning. This indicates that the process of forgetting the meaning of formal known lexemes and expressions can be graded, from lexemes and syntactic expressions whose form and meaning we know, through those of whom just the form is known, all the way up to obsolete lexemes and syntactic expressions whose form and meaning are both, nowadays, completely unknown.

With regard to the features of vocabulary of unexplained origin which have been established, an attempt can be made first to indicate the origin and semantic content of the components of a specifically-compiled corpus of Bulgarian lexemes and expressions with wholly unclear meanings, or semantically unclear components of fossilized expressions, and then to place the results obtained from this in a wider context.

The process of how lexemes are becoming obsolete:

Lexeme well-known	formally known	meaning well-known
Lexeme out of use (tendentially obsolete)	formally known	meaning less well-known - meaning can be reconstructed only with the help of fossilized expressions/idiomatic expressions
(Lexeme obsolete)	formally known	meaning unknown - meaning cannot be reconstructed even with the help of fossilized expressions
Lexeme obsolete/ disappeared	formally unknown	meaning unknown

Formalist and Functionalist Explanations of Grammaticalisation: an Integrational Approach

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There are two mainstream explanations of grammaticalisation processes: Generative (formalist) accounts regard them as reflections of structural reanalysis through parametric change during language acquisition, resulting in recategorisation of lexical elements as

functional heads in syntactic structure. Functionalist approaches focus on performance, arguing that speakers tend to either improve expressiveness or economise speech production by varying the application of the rules of grammar, which may result in conventionalisation and finally even change the rules of grammar or create new functional elements.

This paper is intended to integrate the advantages of both approaches. Basically, it is argued that performance based conventionalisation plays a central role for grammaticalisation by providing the linguistic preconditions for recategorisation of lexical elements as functional ones, or semi-functional elements as fully functional ones. However, changes of the basic rule system of grammar, which includes the parametric lexicalisation of functional heads in syntactic structure, cannot be changed but through structural reanalysis during language acquisition. On the other hand, the input for language acquisition is speech, which may be created through manipulation of the functional rules of the grammatical system by the speaker. The part of grammar that is accessible to manipulation by the speaker is called 'fringe-grammar' in generative theory. Thus the central claim will be: *in processes of grammaticalisation, change of the core grammar is often initialised by functional variation at the fringe*. The whole process may include several steps of alternate performance based and parametric changes.

Our model will be exemplified by two case studies: firstly, the rise of periphrastic inflection in Germanic and Romance; secondly, the marking of embedded interrogatives in Germanic and Romance, as compared to the system in Persian.

Death of a demonstrative: time and person: The case of Estonian *too*

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There were four demonstrative pronouns in Proto-Finno-Ugric (Larjavaara 1986: 307), but Estonian dialects have preserved them to varying degrees. The Northern dialects have preserved only one (*see*), the Southern dialects (which are often regarded as South Estonian) three (*sjoo* 'proximate to the speaker', *taa* 'proximate to the hearer', *tuu* 'remote from both the speaker and the hearer'). Between North Estonian and South Estonian usage lies the variety that has two demonstrative pronouns (*see* 'this', *too* 'that'). Standard Estonian has also two demonstrative pronouns (*see* and *too*), but *too* is actually very rare and seems to be disappearing.

However, there are some contexts where *too* is used, at least in fiction texts. According to the data from Corpus of Written Estonian *too* refers to

1. a person, in different contexts, where the personal pronoun *ta/tema* is already "occupied" by some other person (e.g. for non-protagonist of the narrative);
2. past time.

Grammaticalization of a demonstrative into a personal pronoun and (metaphorical) extension of space domain to time domain are well-known processes in many languages. Nevertheless the case of Estonian *too* may have some specific properties, which will be discussed in details in my paper.

From number to the lexicon via gender: the refunctionalization of neuter noun morphology between Latin and Romance

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It is well known that Latin, even during the Classical Period, had neuter/feminine doublets which resulted from the reinterpretation of the neuter plural *-a* inflection as a feminine singular: e.g., ARMENTVM (neuter singular), ARMENTA (originally neuter plural, subsequently feminine singular), both with the meaning ‘herd of cattle’ (see, for instance, Väänänen 1981:102). The number of such doublets increased dramatically in Late Latin. Following the absorption of neuter singulars by the masculine gender, some of these oppositions survived in one or more Romance languages as distinct lexical items distinguished by masculine vs. feminine gender (compare Latin *folivm* vs. *folia* ‘leaf’, yielding Italian *foglio*, Old French *feuille* ‘leaf (of parchment or paper)’ vs. Italian *foglia*, Old French *feuille* ‘(botanical) leaf’). In other words, in Late Latin and Romance, a morphological distinction of number was refunctionalized first of all as a morphological distinction of gender and then as a distinction between two separate lexical items.

It has been claimed (Donohue & Smith 1998, Smith 1999, 2005) that refunctionalization is not random, but conforms to a principle of ‘core-to-core mapping’, whereby the new opposition retains, however abstractly, some element or feature which is present in the original opposition. A central tenet of this claim is that markedness relationships remain constant. In this paper, I shall examine the process outlined above in the light of this hypothesis and show, in particular, that there is some correlation between the plural > feminine forms and literal meaning, on the one hand, and the singular > neuter > masculine forms and figurative meaning, on the other, as in the Italian and Old French examples cited above. *A priori*, this development is the opposite of what might be expected under the ‘core-to-core’ hypothesis, as singular number, masculine gender, and literal meaning are all, in an obvious sense, unmarked. I shall discuss whether and how the ‘core-to-core’ hypothesis needs to be refined in the light of these phenomena.

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On the diachrony of Italian *mica*

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This paper provides an account of the origins and evolution of the Italian negative particle *mica*. Starting from Schwenter's (forthcoming) analysis of the information-structural nature of the constraints observed in the use of "non-canonical" forms of negation, such as Catalan *pas* and Italian *mica*, this paper looks at the diachronic data as a key for capturing the synchronic properties of such forms. The data are from the *Letteratura Italiana Zanichelli* and the *Tesoro della Lingua Italiana*. The results bear on three main issues: (i) the synchronic and diachronic properties of negation in a wider context; (ii) concepts such as 'given', 'new', 'inferrable', 'accessible' information and the whole dimension of 'givenness'; (iii) the contribution of the lexicon to the information-structural dimension of texts.

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The Grammaticalisation of *Will-* and *Shall-*Futures in Middle English

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Although *willan* and *sculan* still occurred as lexical verbs in Old English, they had already developed auxiliary status and were used in periphrastic constructions (cf. Wischer forthcoming). Here they most often conveyed a deontic modal meaning (of volition or obligation). However, apart from this there were already epistemic uses and occasionally the constructions with *willan* and *sculan* even referred to mere future events. (for the latter cf. also Jespersen 1909: 275-276; Mustanoja 1960: 489; Kisbye 1971: 111; Berndt 1982: 148-149). Bybee *et al.* (1994: 244) define a genuine future tense as "a prediction on the part of the speaker that the situation in the proposition, which refers to an event taking place after the moment of speech, will hold". Thus, as a mere future it must be devoid of any modal meaning and express just a prediction. Bybee *et al.* further claim that cross-linguistically agent-oriented sources of desire or obligation are less amply attested than other source constructions of future grams, such as those containing movement verbs or 'be-/become'-verbs. The reason for this could be that the meaning of volition- or obligation markers might be generally too specific for a semantic attrition process. In my paper I will approach the question of how *will* and *shall* lost their modal meanings to become future markers, i.e. in what constructions they were used and what specific meanings they conveyed in these linguistic contexts that allowed an interpretation in a mere future sense. I will base my analysis on data drawn from the ME part of the Helsinki Corpus. With this I hope to shed some light on the use of *will* and *shall* in ME, based on the analysis of empirical data as well as to contribute to a better understanding of the grammaticalisation process of future grams in general.

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Section D: Pronouns

Conference room: GW1 A0150

Wednesday, August 30, 2006	
11:30–12:00	Acuña Fariña, Juan Carlos (University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain) Activeness and the Minimal Chain Principle: Spanish <i>se</i> reflexives, passives and impersonals do not wait even for minimal chains
12:00–12:30	Cerrón-Palomino López, Alvaro (University of Southern California) Subject Resumptive Pronouns in Spanish Relative Clauses: Universalism or Relativism?
12:30–13:00	Helmbrecht, Johannes (University of Erfurt) Personal pronouns - a corpus analysis and its implications for language typology
Lunch break	
15:00–15:30	Siewierska, Anna (Lancaster University) / Hollmann, Willem (Lancaster University) Explaining the <i>my</i> vs. <i>me</i> variation in Lancashire dialect: a usage-based grammar.
15:30–16:00	Lai, Vicky Tzuyin (University of Colorado, Boulder) Pragmatic Functions of First Person Singular Pronouns in Classical Chinese
16:00–16:30	Razímová, Magda (Charles University, Prague) System of Pronominal Words in Czech with Respect to German and English*

Activeness and the Minimal Chain Principle: Spanish *se* reflexives, passives and impersonals do not wait even for minimal chains

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De Vincenzi's (1991, 1996, 1998) *Minimal Chain Principle* (MCP) postulates a preference by the human parser to opt for structures with no movement over competing structures with (hypothesized) movement. The general idea of the MCP is that displacement is costly for the mind because it delays phrasal packaging. The reason for this is that resources need to be spent on 'undoing' movement and reconstructing an underlying SVO template before the right who-did-what-to-whom order can be sent to a semantic component for post-syntactic analysis. As conceived, the MCP works as follows: on recognising a gap the parser initiates an *active* search for a filler and preferentially construes any displaced phrase as one. Here I argue that the activeness of an MCP type of processor is unnecessarily constrained by the MCP granting invisibility to any phrase that occupies a lawful deep structure position. Data

from Spanish *se* reflexives, passives and impersonals show that, after encountering a subject gap, no phrase is granted that kind of invisibility. On the contrary, the processor appropriates the first available phrase as a subject filler even if it looks like the perfect object in the typical (post-verbal) object position. I use the Spanish data to propose a new theory of gap-driven gap-filling, which complements the habitual filler-driven theory encapsulated in the well-known *Active Filler Strategy* of Frazier and Flores d'Arcais (1989). Gap-driven parsing of the kind recognised here is necessary for languages, like Spanish, where obvious changes in syntactic function are not signalled by overt movement.

Subject Resumptive Pronouns in Spanish Relative Clauses: Universalism or Relativism?

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The occurrence of resumptive pronouns (RPs) in relative clauses (RCs) has been approached from different theoretical frameworks, some of them arguing for a universal explanation while others for a language-specific account.

Hawkins (2005), from a typologically universal point of view, claims that RPs show up within RCs across languages to ease the process of the syntactic position relativized. In contrast, Prince (1990), after studying English, Hebrew, and Yiddish RP-containing RCs, suggests that the factors triggering RP presence are due to language-specific preferences.

Cross-linguistically, by taking into account the statistics of RP distribution in 24 different languages (Hawkins 2005: 189), the universal tendency of making RC processing easier seems to hold true: genitive RCs, the hardest to process, show RPs almost categorically (96%), whereas subject (SU) RCs, the easiest to process, show no RPs at all.

However, Spanish, a language not considered in the survey, allows SU RPs, (Cerrón-Palomino 2005), in spite of the fact that it is the easiest position to process for the speaker. These RP occurrences are illustrated in sentences (1) and (2).

(1) Tengo otras recetas; ahí, que **esas** sí son recetas argentinas.

Have-1-sg other recipes there that those yes are-3-pl recipes Argentine

“I have some other recipes there, that are really Argentine”

(2) Me recetaron unas pastillas; que **esas**; sí son buenas.

Me prescribed-3-pl some pills that those yes are-3-pl good

“They prescribed me some pills that are really good.”

This study, adopting a variationist quantitative framework (based on 12 hours of speech recordings of 12 Spanish speakers), shows that the motivations for the occurrence of SU RPs in Spanish RCs are different from those of RPs in the other syntactic positions, and they obey to language-specific motivations. They are not due to the processing difficulty of retrieving the function of the relativized position, but are instead a contrast marker, used to distinguish the referred entity (recipes and pills in 2 and 3, respectively) from a set of other possible subjects which, however, do not share their peculiarity (being Argentine and being good in 1 and 2, respectively). In other words, by contrasting the characteristics of their antecedent NPs with other possible referents, these RPs emphasize their antecedents' uniqueness.

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Personal pronouns - a corpus analysis and its implications for language typology

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There is a long-lasting controversy about markedness hierarchies in pronominal paradigms in particular with regard to the basic values of the person category. Proposals include $1 < 2 < 3$, $1/2 < 3$, $3 < 1/2$, $3 < 2 < 1$, and others (cf. Waugh & Lafford 2000:277). The data that were given to provide evidence for the one or the other hierarchy are mostly taken from a cross-linguistic comparison of pronominal paradigms. The reason for the diversity of person hierarchies lies in the fact that people judged markedness relations among pronouns a) on the basis of different markedness criteria and b) mostly ignoring the morphosyntactic context of the occurrence of the pronouns.

It is the goal of the proposed paper to go the other way round in order to solve these hierarchy problems. Adopting a multifactor approach to typological markedness (cf. Greenberg 1966; Croft 1990/2003) and assuming that textual frequency is not just one factor among the others, but the central (explaining) factor with regard to markedness, the proposed paper will present fine-grained text counts of the frequencies of personal pronouns (and other referential phrases) across spoken and written corpora of German. It will be shown that the frequencies of the different person/number values differ significantly depending on a) the text genres, b) the clause types (mood), c) predicate type (verbal or non-verbal), d) tense and modality of the verbal predicate, e) semantic class of the predicate (perception, cognition, volition, etc.), and the syntactic function (S, A, P, IO, etc.). These language-internal frequency hierarchies will be compared to markedness relations found in the pronominal paradigms cross-linguistically (cf. Helmbrecht 2004). It will be shown that there is plenty of evidence that language-internal markedness relations correspond to cross-linguistic markedness relations. However, there are also cases which do not match. They will be briefly discussed.

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Pragmatic Functions of First Person Singular Pronouns in Classical Chinese

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The present paper examines the functions of the first person pronouns in Classical Chinese (BC479 – AD220). In Classical Chinese, there were five different means to code the first person pronoun: *yu2* “I”, *yu3* “I”, *wu2* “I”, *wo3* “I”, and zero pronoun. Pulleyblank (1995), in “Outline of Classical Chinese Grammar”, pointed out that the syntactic distributions and semantic denotations of these pronouns overlap, but did not investigate any difference in pragmatic functions. Other works looked at pragmatic functions, but in more recent Chinese. Lee (1999) found that in 18th-century Chinese, the variation between singular and plural first person pronouns could convey social meanings. Xiong (1998) suggested that zero pronoun in modern Mandarin was used to express modesty. The present work shows that the overlap in pronouns found by Pulleyblank can be explained by differences in social pragmatic functions.

The data used are the electronic text of *Lunyu* “Confucius’ Book” from Academia Sinica Corpus of Classical Chinese. *Lunyu* is a written record of the conversation between Confucius and his disciples in BC479. Because the data were available electronically, in addition to qualitative analysis, this study examines the quantitative distribution of the different pronouns.

The analysis shows that *yu2* is a subject pronoun with register function used in pre-Classical Chinese only by kings, and used in Classical Chinese direct speech when people of a higher social status address people of a lower social status. For example, King *Shuen* (BC1600) uses *yu2* in the phrase *yu2 yi1 ren2* “I one man”. *Yu3* is a subject and object pronoun, used in discourse topics related to heaven, kings, and death. For example, Confucius uses *yu3* in the sentence *Yu3 si3 yu2 dao4-lu4 hu1* “Would I die beside the road?” *Wu2* is primarily a subject pronoun and occasionally an object or possessive pronoun, and is used to make reference to the concept of self and bring self back to subject position when the discourse has drifted. *Wo3*, on the other hand, occurs in either subject or object position and contrasts the self with other existing referents. For example, after Confucius mentions the names *Jishi* and *Minziqian*, he uses *wo3* to contrast the self with the various names. After establishing the contrast by using *wo3* twice, he returns to using a subject position *wu2*. Finally, zero pronoun is used in Classical Chinese by the speakers in lower social status or who want to present themselves as having a lower social status than the addressee.

In conclusion, the overlapping syntactic and semantic distribution of the first person pronouns in Classical Chinese can be explained in terms of their social pragmatic functions, which were so important in Classical Chinese that they required overt marking.

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System of Pronominal Words in Czech with Respect to German and English*

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Pronouns and other pronominal words are unproductive, ‘closed’ classes with (at least to a certain extent) transparent derivational relations not only in Czech, but also in other languages. In the first part of our contribution, we introduce the representation of Czech pronominal words at the underlying syntactic layer (so called tectogrammatical layer, t-layer) of the Prague Dependency Treebank version 2.0, 1 the annotation scenario of which was built on the theoretical basis of the Praguian Functional Generative Description (Sgall et al., 1986). In the second part, we try to apply this representation to English and German pronominals in order to illustrate some of the common (universal) properties of the pronominal systems.

(1) At the t-layer, pronominal words are represented by a reduced set of underlying representations (lemmas). The surface forms are generated from the lemma and the values of several attributes. **(a)** All personal pronouns are represented by a single, ‘artificial’ lemma #PersPron in combination with attributes Person, Number, Gender and Politeness (the last one for discerning between common and polite usage of the 2nd person pronouns). For example, the pronoun *vy* in ‘*vy* jste přišel’ (‘*you* came’ said politely to a single person) is generated from the representation ‘#PersPron+2nd(person)+singular+masc.anim.+polite’. **(b)** Also indefinite, negative, interrogative, and relative pronouns can be viewed as surface forms derived from the same underlying representation. Since an artificial lemma like the lemma #PersPron in (a) has not yet been introduced for this type, all these pronouns are represented by the lemma corresponding to the relative pronoun at the t-layer; i.e. for example, the indefinite pronoun *někdo* (somebody) as well as the negative pronoun *nikdo* (nobody) are represented by the t-lemma *kdo* (who). The semantic feature completing the reduced lemma is stored in the attribute indeftype (its value indef corresponds to indefinite pronouns, the value negat to negative pronouns etc.). **(c)** Since pronominal adverbs (e.g. *nějak* (somehow) or *nikde* (nowhere)) express the same semantic features like pronouns in (b) in Czech, they are represented in the same way at the t-layer. Another derivational relation is seen between pronominal adverbs with directional meaning and those of location. E.g., the adverb *odněkud* (from somewhere) is represented by the lemma *kde* (where), the value indef (of the attribute indeftype) and the functor DIR1 (capturing the directional meaning).

(2) The presented reduced representation of pronominal words can be applied also to English or German pronominal systems. Such unified representation of pronominal expressions in several languages could be useful for instance for machine translation.

With regard to the Czech system, similar relations in the set of English and German pronouns (e.g. *who–somebody–nobody*, and *wer–jemand–niemand*, respectively)² will be shown. The suggested representation also enables to represent equivalent expressions in different languages by the same means. For example, both the English expression *from somewhere* and its Czech one-word counterpart *odněkud* will be represented by the analogous underlying representations (lemma *where/kde* + indef + functor DIR1). In spite of these resemblances, the application of the representation developed for Czech to other languages will not be straightforward and various subtle differences have to be taken into account.

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Notes:

* The research reported in this paper was supported by the projects 1ET101120503, GA-UK 352/2005 and GD201/05/H014.

1 See <http://ufal.mff.cuni.cz/pdt2.0/>

2 By means of the attribute indeftype, the German pronoun *nichts* will be represented ‘lemma was + negat’. A similar treatment of indefinite and negative pronouns as of two subtypes of the same entity was introduced also in the MultiNet knowledge representation system (Helbig, 2001).

Explaining the *my* vs. *me* variation in Lancashire dialect: a usage-based grammar.

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In current spoken English the first person singular possessor used in substantival possession occurs in two main variants: a full and a reduced variant. The full variant, which we will refer to as *my*, features the diphthong [ai]. The reduced variant, which we will refer to as the *me*-variant, has several phonetic realizations, with the reduced vowel schwa, a short [i] or a long [i]. According to Wales (1996:14), though the first two of the reduced variants occur in standard spoken English, on the whole the reduced variants are characteristic of dialectal speech, where they co-occur with the full variant.

To the best of our knowledge the factors underlying the use of the full and reduced variants of the first singular possessor in dialectal speech have not yet been the subject of investigation. In this paper we set out to shed some light on the issue by considering the distribution of the two variants in Lancashire dialect, where the dominant form of the reduced variant is [mi]. Our investigation is based on a corpus of conversations, originating from the North West Sound Archive (see also Siewierska & Hollmann 2006). Our analysis of the distribution of the *my* and *me*-variants in the speech of 20 speakers reveals that the reduced variant is strongly favoured by constructions with inherently possessed nominals, especially kin terms and body parts, as opposed to those with non-inherently possessed ones.

Within the context of the usage-based model of grammar (see e.g. Bybee 1985, Croft 2000, Kemmer & Barlow 2000 and Tomasello 2003) an explanation for such a distribution of the two variants may be sought in the high token frequency of the possessor-noun strings in question, while the cognitive saliency of kin terms and body parts may be a factor as well. We will present the case for each of the two lines of explanation, and show how the factor of token frequency should probably be complemented by reference to the entrenchment — hence productivity — of certain (semantically coherent) possessive-noun schemas.

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Section E: Word Order

Conference room: GW1 B0100

Wednesday, August 30, 2006	
15:00–15:30	Prado-Alonso, José Carlos (University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain) The Iconic Function of Full Inversion in English
15:30–16:00	Erelt, Mati (University of Tartu) / Metslang, Helle (University of Helsinki) Estonian clause patterns — from Finno-Ugric to SAE
16:00–16:30	Hänsch, Alexandra Yvonne (University of Ottawa) An Analysis of the V2 Structure of Two Old French Texts of the 12 th Century

Thursday, August 31, 2006	
15:00–15:30	Kaledaite, Violeta (Vytautas Magnus University) Locative inversion and presentative structures: a case study in English and Lithuanian
15:30–16:00	Magnus, Ilse (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium) La position et l'ordre relatif de deux circonstants dans la phrase : étude comparative du français et du néerlandais.
16:00–16:30	Mereu, Lunella (University of Roma Tre) Universality and the word order variation issue today
Coffee break	
17:00–17:30	Drijkonigen, Frank (UiL-OTS, Utrecht University) / Kampers-Manhe, Brigitte (CLCG, University of Groningen) Word order in French and the influence of topic and focus
17:30–18:00	Zikánová, Šárka (Charles University, Prague) What do the data in PDT say about systemic order in Czech?

Word order in French and the influence of topic and focus

Drijkonigen, Frank / Kampers-Manhe, Brigitte

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In this paper we wish to focus on linguistic data and issues for which a theory based on innate universals, such as generative theory, has come to the accept that the system must be relativized with respect to the (discourse) environment. We view the discussion of innateness vs. environment as a matter of “proper balance”, rather than a full opposition, and feel that a reasonable balance between the two can be achieved if different domains and properties are teased apart.

We make use of a distinction between the core syntactic properties of a construction on the one hand (with hard judgments of (un-)grammaticality) and the discourse-embedding of the sentence on the other hand (with soft judgments bearing on the (in-)felicity of the sentence in context).

French is reputed to be a language with a fixed word order, SVO, with two types of obligatory inversion in direct questions. However, there also is a domain in which freedom seems to reign; the position of the subject with respect to the verb is undetermined in embedded clauses in subjunctive mood and in relative clauses, as shown in (1) and (2) respectively.

- (1) a. Je veux que parte Paul (I want that leaves Paul)
 b. Je veux que Paul parte (I want that Paul leaves)
- (2) a. Le livre qu'a écrit Paul (The book that has written Paul)
 b. Le livre que Paul a écrit (The book that Paul has written)

On the theoretical level the situation can be expanded to the statement “If the core syntax of a language allows for choices, the actual reason for a speaker to prefer the one variant rather over the other in a given situation is beyond syntax and typically reflects stylistic variation”. In this paper we argue that this type of stylistic variation is largely dependent on discourse functions which can be stated in terms of topic and focus. Our argumentation makes use of questions/answer pairs among other things; a prominent one is given in (3).

- (3) a. Que veux-tu que Paul fasse? √ 1b # 1a
 b. Qui veux-tu qui parte? # 1b √ 1a

Our proposal is that topicality induces a preverbal position of the subject (SV if S = topic), while focalisation induces a sentence-final position of the subject (VS if S = focus). The proposal improves on the one in Kampers-Manhe et al (2004), and takes into account the semantic data in Drijkoningen & Kampers-Manhe (ms.). Our more general point is that word orders used to reflect the communicative progress of the discourse cannot overrule syntactic impossibilities, such that French speakers are often forced to use SVO structures even if focus is involved, as shown in (4).

- (4) Qui viendra? *Viendra Paul / Paul viendra *VS (even if S=focus)

This entails for us that the interaction between word order and discourse is a matter of “proper balance” rather than a discussion of the type “either/or”.

Drijkoningen, F., & Kampers-Manhe, B., (Ms. submitted), “On inversions and the interpretation of subjects in French”; Kampers-Manhe et al. (2004), “Subject NP inversion” In: F. Corblin & H. de Swart (eds) *Handbook of French Semantics*, CSLI Publications, pp. 553-580.

Estonian clause patterns — from Finno-Ugric to SAE

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Estonian clauses can be divided into two basic patterns: unmarked basic clauses and marked basic clauses, based on whether the clause-initial topic is the (nominative) subject. The subject of the unmarked basic clause is the semantic actor and has the typical coding and behavioural properties of the subject, among other things the ability to trigger verbal

agreement, e.g. *Jaan/poisid sööb/söövad suppi* [Jaan/boy:pl eat:3sg/pl soup:part] ‘Jaan/the boys is/are eating soup’.

The main type of marked basic clause is an existential clause that presents a referent: e.g. *Aias kasvasid lilled* [garden:in grow:past:3pl flower:pl:nom] ‘Flowers were growing in the garden’; *Aias kasvas lilli* [garden:in grow:past:3sg flower:pl:part] lit. ‘There were growing some flowers in the garden’. In a typical existential clause the clause-initial topic is an adverbial of location (or time). The subject exhibits some object properties: it is a rhema and often indefinite. The subject may receive the partitive case, which is typical of objects (and obligatory in negation), and thus does not trigger verbal agreement.

Between the unmarked basic clauses and the existential clauses there are clauses whose clause-initial subject is an actor with behavioural properties similar to those of the subject of the unmarked basic clause, except that the actor here is not realised as the subject but as an adverbial (in certain cases as a direct object) as in the existential clause. This is illustrated in the table below. Another argument may (although need not) be realised as the subject. This subject has some object properties: e.g., it may also be in the partitive. This kind of clause pattern, similar to the existential clause, is used to express possessive, experiencer relations and resultative processes, whereas the marked actor functions as the possessor, experiencer or the source of the resultative process. These clause patterns are not the only ones that can express the relations mentioned. The same relations can be expressed also with unmarked basic clauses, as again illustrated in the table.

	Unmarked basic clauses	Clauses with a marked topical actor	
Possessive clauses	<i>Jaan omab autot</i> [Jaan has:3sg car:part] ‘Jaan has a car’	Adessive	<i>Jaaniil on auto</i> [Jaan:ad be:3sg car] ‘Jaan has got a car’
Experiential clauses	<i>Ma kardan</i> [I fair:1sg] ‘I am afraid’	Adessive	<i>Mul on hirm</i> [I:ad be:3sg fear] ‘I am scared’
	<i>Tiia armastab lapsi</i> [Tiia like:3sg children] ‘Tiia loves children’	Allative	<i>Tiiale meeldivad lapsed</i> [Tiia:all like:3pl children] ‘Tiia loves children’
	<i>Ma tean teie arvamust</i> [I know:1sg you:gen opinion:part] ‘I know your opinion’	Partitive	<i>Mind huvitab teie arvamus</i> [I:part interest:3sg you:gen opinion] ‘I am interested in your opinion’
Resultative clauses	<i>Poiss kasvas meheks</i> [boy grow:past:3sg man:trns] ‘The boy grew into man’	Erelative	<i>Poisist kasvas mees</i> [boy:el grow:past:3sg man] ‘The boy grew into man’

Current trends in language use demonstrate an expanding use of unmarked possessive and experiential basic clauses at the expense of marked clauses. This could be seen both as a language contact-induced shift from the Finno-Ugric clause patterns towards SAE patterns and as (just) the simplification of the internal structure of the language. Resultative constructions show a tendency to use the focussed clause-final subject in both clause patterns. The subject is, according to the aims of the speaker, either the focussed goal, e.g. *Tomsonist sai direktor* [Tomson:el became director:nom], or the source, e.g. *Direktoriks sai Tomson* [director:trns] became Tomson:nom].

An Analysis of the V2 Structure of Two Old French Texts of the 12th Century

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There are two main types of verb-second (V2) languages: asymmetrical and symmetrical. Asymmetrical languages like German, Dutch, and Mainland Scandinavian have the V2 constraint in their main clauses but not in their embedded clauses, whereas symmetrical V2 languages like Yiddish and Icelandic are V2 in both their main and embedded clauses. In main clauses, asymmetrical languages have the verb under C and any XP in SpecCP. The subject inverts with the verb from the moment on any other XP is occupying the SpecCP position (den Besten, 1989). Symmetrical V2 languages have been analyzed with the verb under I and any other XP in SpecIP for main and for embedded clauses (Diesing, 1990).

The V2 type that Old French belongs to is still in debate. Dupuis and Lemieux (1995) consider Old and Middle French as being symmetrical V2. Côté (1995) restricts the symmetrical V2 character of Old French to the Early Old French period up to the 12th century. After the 12th century, she classifies Old French as asymmetrical V2. On the other hand, Adams (1987), Vance (1997) and Labelle (2006) claim Old French as being asymmetrical V2. Kaiser (1998) even argued for Old French being non-V2.

Hirschbühler (1989) and Kaiser (1998) insist on the fact that an analysis of Old French syntax needs to integrate regional and diachronic differences, which are indeed numerous in Old French texts, to be able to offer adequate results.

Our analysis has the aim to bring light to the question of which type of V2 language Old French belongs to. We are analysing the syntactic structure of the main and embedded clauses of two different Old French dialects of the 12th century: *Le Voyage de Saint-Brandan*, written in Anglo-Norman, and *Gormont et Isembart*, written in the literary language of the centre of France.

The present study tries to answer three research questions: Is the Old French of the 12th century an asymmetrical or a symmetrical V2 language? Are there syntactic differences in the two dialects that have been analyzed for this research? If yes, is one of the two dialects -more advanced in the syntactical development than the other?

To answer these research questions, we have coded both of the texts with the help of the program Excel. The coding categories are the following: the type of main clause, the type of embedded clause, and the verb position (V1, V2, V3, >V3, verb final).

The results of our analysis suggest a symmetrical V2 structure for the Anglo-Norman text and an asymmetrical V2 structure for the text written in the literary standard of the centre of France. We claim that the dialect of the centre of France can be considered the more innovative of the two dialects, because it seems to be syntactically at a more advanced stage than the Anglo-Norman dialect.

Locative inversion and presentative structures: a case study in English and Lithuanian

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Locative inversion and the *there*-construction in English have enjoyed an exhaustive treatment in linguistic literature (cf. Breivik 1990, Birner 1996, and Dorgeloh 1997, among others). However, the structurally diverse presentative construction without *there*, as in *Outside a crowd had gathered*, *In the garden stood a sundial*, and *A woman stood on his step* is seldom treated as one well-defined structural category.

Lithuanian presentative constructions raise additional problems. The typological differences between English and Lithuanian are especially conspicuous on the syntactic level (cf. Kalėdaitė 2002). It is a well-established fact that where there is an opening place adverbial, existential clauses in English seem to be closely related to constructions with locative subject-verb inversion, as in *Behind the sundial there were a few trees, some of them in flower: a small path led into their deceptive shallow depths, and there, in a hollow a few yards from a high brick wall that bordered the garden, stood a sculpture* (LGSWE 1999: 954).

As regards existential sentences in the two languages, the only difference in the syntactic structure is the occurrence of an empty subject *there* in the English ESs, whereas Lithuanian ESs exhibit the *Loc + verb_{exist} + subjNP* element order. This is exactly the pattern that corresponds to the *locative inversion* in English. Does this mean that Lithuanian has not developed an existential construction at all? Or have the locative inversion and the existential structure merged into one?

The paper discusses locative inversion and presentative structures in the two languages from a contrastive perspective. It aims at providing an account based on such parameters as basic word order patterns, the discourse function of inversion, and the generation of additional (e.g. subjective) meanings through marked word order.

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La position et l'ordre relatif de deux circonstants dans la phrase: étude comparative du français et du néerlandais.

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L'ordre des constituants dans la phrase est le résultat de l'interaction complexe entre différents facteurs, d'ordre syntaxique, sémantique et pragmatique. S'il est vrai que l'organisation syntaxique de la phrase peut être très différente d'une langue à l'autre, les

organisations sémantique et pragmatique s'appuient sur des principes communs. En termes très généraux, le principe sémantique de l'inhérence consiste à mettre le plus près du verbe le constituant qui y est le plus lié, tandis que le principe pragmatique implique que l'information la plus importante (focalisée) a tendance à figurer en finale de phrase. Cependant, l'application concrète de ces deux derniers principes dans différentes langues peut présenter des écarts importants.

Cette étude traite le cas de la position et de l'ordre relatif de deux circonstants 'intra-prédicatifs' ou 'caractérisants' dans la phrase en français et en néerlandais. Cette catégorie de circonstants sert à caractériser le verbe ou le lien entre le verbe et un des actants et englobe quatre sous-ensembles (compléments d'attitude, instrumentaux, aspectuels et sémiématiques):

(1) *Jean a peint la porte avec soin / à la brosse / en dix minutes / en partie.*

Malgré l'utilisation d'un certain nombre de facteurs communs en français et en néerlandais, l'ordre relatif de deux caractérisants dans la phrase qui en résulte est loin d'être identique dans ces deux langues. Cela s'explique par des différences considérables quant à la hiérarchie des facteurs (c.-à-d. l'ordre dans lequel ils opèrent) et quant à leur fonctionnement précis.

En français, l'insertion de deux caractérisants dans la phrase est d'abord déterminée par les propriétés morphologiques de ceux-ci. Ainsi, un adverbe occupe de préférence la position postverbale, alors qu'un groupe prépositionnel apparaît en position finale de phrase:

(2) *Jean a entièrement peint la porte à la brosse.*

Il n'intervient d'autres facteurs que si les deux caractérisants adoptent la même forme morphologique (deux adverbes ou deux groupes prépositionnels):

(3) *Jean a soigneusement compté les votes manuellement.*

Jean a peint la porte en partie à la brosse.

Dans ce cas (et avant tout s'il s'agit de deux groupes prépositionnels), les ordres 'sémantique' et 'pragmatique' coïncident dans la mesure où le caractérisant qui figure le plus loin du verbe (parce qu'il entretient le lien le moins étroit avec le verbe) et donc le plus en arrière dans la phrase est en même temps le caractérisant le plus facilement focalisé.

En néerlandais, les propriétés morphologiques des deux caractérisants n'ont aucun impact sur leur position ou leur ordre relatif dans la phrase. Le facteur de premier plan est le principe sémantique de l'inhérence, qui, dans plusieurs cas, s'oppose au paramètre pragmatique, opposition qui est résolue tantôt en faveur du principe sémantique, tantôt en faveur du principe pragmatique. Dans le premier cas, c'est la position du dernier accent de phrase qui permet de déterminer l'information la plus pertinente ou le circonstant focalisé.

En conclusion, la comparaison du français et du néerlandais, fondée sur des phrases construites qui ont été soumises à des locuteurs natifs, fait apparaître que la position et l'ordre relatif de deux caractérisants en français sont relativement 'prévisibles', parce que déterminés par une nette hiérarchie des différents principes qui interviennent. La situation beaucoup plus complexe en néerlandais doit être attribuée aux propriétés prosodiques (en particulier au rôle du dernier accent de phrase) et à la position finale de phrase du verbe principal, qui fonctionne comme centre attracteur sémantique, mais surtout à la multiplication des centres attracteurs sémantiques (outre le verbe principal, aussi le verbe auxiliaire et même certains actants).

Universality and the word order variation issue today

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The aim of this paper is to discuss whether word order phenomena can lead us to single out universal principles of sentence construction in the languages of the world. The question has long been debated but, though we know a lot now about many typologically different languages, still there is no agreement in the linguistic community.

It is well known that there are two main opposing views in relation to syntactic variation: 1) the typological and 2) the formal view. Typologists distinguish between fixed word order and free word order languages and motivate the two types in terms of pragmatic constraints (Givón 1984). Formal linguists, instead, belong to two groups: one group denies word order variation and universally represents languages as SVO configurational structures (Kayne 1994); a second group makes a distinction between two macro-types, configurational and non-configurational, (Hale 1983), or, more recently, between *syntactically oriented* and *morphologically oriented* languages (Baker 1996).

In the paper we will reconsider the configurationality issue by trying to detect the principles that govern and constraint word order variation.

We will start by comparing different kinds of syntactic representations that have been proposed in formal syntax to account for sentence structure in non-configurational languages, mainly according to Baker's morphological hypothesis, and to Bresnan's (2001) treatment of non-configurational languages.

Next, we will show that the morphological richness of languages, although relevant, does not universally affect word order variation, since there are languages with no inflectional morphology showing word order flexibility, for example Chinese.

We will then analyse Chinese word order behaviour and, following Li and Thompson's (1976, 1981) proposal, we will show how pragmatic principles or, more precisely, specific information structure strategies determine the way sentences are built in this kind of languages.

Finally we will compare Chinese word order behaviour with that typical of configurational languages such as Italian in syntactically and pragmatically marked contexts, that is in sentences with left and right dislocations or focalization, with or without contrastive meanings associated. We will also analyse the intonation patterns of sentences drawn from a corpus of spoken Italian and will discuss their prosodic structures.

Comparing languages of the Chinese type (non configurational) with languages of the Italian type (configurational) and also with languages of the Warlpiri type (morphologically oriented), it will emerge how all languages adopt the following two pragmatic strategies in organizing sentence structure:

1. as sequences of Given – New information;
2. as sequences of [+ Prominent] – [– Prominent] information

Languages vary according to whether they apply both strategies or just one: Chinese and other non configurational languages including those morphologically oriented adopt only the second strategy, while Italian and other configurational languages can apply both strategies.

The Iconic Function of Full Inversion in English

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Over the past few years, *full* inversion — constructions in which the subject follows the entire verb phrase in a declarative clause, as in “On the near corner was *Herb’s gas station*” or “Upstairs was *a bedroom and a bathroom*” — has been the subject of extensive research (cf. Birner 1996; Dorgeloh 1997; Chen 2003; Kreyer 2004), the focus of each individual study varying according to the nature and goals of the specific theoretical framework adopted.

Thus, analyses of full inversion carried out within the generative paradigm (cf. Bresnan and Kanerva 1992; Schachter 1992) have looked mainly at the grammatical and structural aspects of the construction and have neglected questions of usage. By contrast, functional accounts of full inversion have concerned themselves with its pragmatic functions and its patterns of distribution as reflected in actual performance data.

This paper offers a corpus-based analysis of a particular type of *full* inversion, namely *prepositional phrase* inversion (e.g. “*On the near corner* was Herb’s gas station”), in English fictional texts. It is argued that in fiction prepositional phrase inversion must be considered a marker of spatial experiential iconicity through which the process of physical perception is mirrored in the syntax. Beyond this, the analysis of the data also reveals that the motivations for this type of word-order variation must be sought in both structural and discourse factors.

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What do the data in PDT say about systemic order in Czech?

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Since ancient linguistics, the survey of Indo-European word order works with the conception of universal natural word order (*ordo naturalis*) – an order of the verb-dependent constituents in the linear organization of a sentence. The description of the natural word order is usually based on occasional (and in some degree random) observations of sentences in a certain language.

In Czech linguistics, the idea of the natural word order was formulated in a more precise as the hypothesis of the "systemic order" (P. Sgall, E. Hajičová, E. Buráňová, 1980). According to the authors, the existence of the systemic order is universal for every language, whereas the form of the systemic order is language-specific though languages do not differ in this order in a decisive way. Their study of the Czech word order in 70's (based on an analysis of hundreds of sentences and supported by psycholinguistic experiments) showed that the contextually not bounded participants and adverbials are ordered as follows:

actor – time (when – since when – to when – how often – how long) – location (where) – manner – measure – instrument (mean) – direction (which way) – addressee – origine – direction (from where) – patiens – direction (where) – effect – condition – aim – reason

In our paper, we check the hypothesis of the systemic order in Czech with modern means of the linguistic work – on data from Prague Dependency Treebank (PDT). PDT contains 100.000 Czech sentences, with analyses of morphology, dependency syntactic structure and topic-focus articulation. It allows to set how far the expected order is exhibited in the real data and to classify the deviations from the systemic order (e.g. depending on the word length or on the occurrence in phrasemes).

Having been validated, the Czech systemic order can be compared with systemic orders of other languages and may become a serious argument in the discussion on the universal form of the Indo-European natural word order.

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Section F: Phonology

Conference room: GW1 A0150

Friday, September 1, 2006	
11:30–12:00	Astruc, Lluïsa (The Open University) High pitch as an universal marking of interrogation: evidence from Catalan
12:00–12:30	Astruc, Lluïsa (The Open University) / Hernández, Núria (Freiburg University) Independent prosodic phrasing of peripheral constructions: a phonological universal?
12:30–13:00	Ramírez Verdugo, M^a Dolores (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid) / Astruc-Aguilera, Lluïsa (The Open University in the East of England) / Morán, M^a Berta (Universidad Complutense de Madrid) The universality of intonation: some common and language specific patterns in interrogative intonation
Lunch break	
14:00–14:30	Hermans, Ben (Royal Dutch Academy of Science; Meertens Institute) On the relation between Vowel Reduction and Open Syllable Lengthening
14:30–15:00	Quentel, Gilles (University of Gdańsk) Challenging French Diachronic Phonetics' Universalism
15:00–15:30	Tambovtsev, Yuri (Novosibirsk Pedagog. University) Some universal trends in the distribution of labial consonants in world languages

Independent prosodic phrasing of peripheral constructions: a phonological universal?

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It has been presented as a phonological universal that certain peripheral syntactic constructions such as, among others, right-dislocated phrases, non-restrictive relatives, and parenthesis form independent phrases in any language that makes use of them (Selkirk 1984, Nespor and Vogel 1986, Truckenbrodt 1995). However, the frequently observed variability in the phonetic cues of prosodic constituency (which are mainly pauses, lengthening, and tonal movements) appear to challenge the universality of independent phrasing. Detailed analyses of different languages (in English, Pierrehumbert 1984; in Chichewa, Zerbian 2005; in Haya; Downing 2002) have cast doubt on the compulsory independent phrasing of at least some of these constructions.

The goal of this study is to present a functional and phonological analysis of the prosody of the main peripheral constructions in English, using the conceptual framework of information structure theory and the analytical tools of Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993; McCarthy and Prince 1993; Kager 1999; McCarthy 2002), and citing as evidence English examples. The study asks four questions. First, is there any variation in the phrasing of the constructions under study? If so, second, is it merely phonetic? Or, third, is it phonological (hence compromising the claim of universality)? Fourth, how can it be accounted for?

We present a phonetic and phonological description of the intonation of the main types of peripheral constructions (left- and right-detached constructions, non-restrictive relatives, parentheses, etc.) which is based on spoken corpora English data (Freiburg Corpus of English Dialects, FRED), and on empirical data that was collected as part of the first author's doctoral dissertation (Astruc 2005). Results show significant variation in the phrasing of the constructions under study. We argue that such variation is phonetic in nature, not phonological. We provide arguments for analysing these constructions as intermediate phrases, the constituent in the prosodic hierarchy (Nespor and Vogel, Selkirk 1986, Truckenbrodt 1995) ranked just below the Intonational Phrase. The proposed analysis successfully accounts for the observed patterns of phonetic variability by proposing a set of phrasing constraints ranked with faithfulness constraints, and, crucially, with effort-minimizing constraints that promote rephrasing or deaccenting according to speech rate and style. We discuss this analysis in relation to current theories of information structure. After Vallduví, we assume a model of information structure which is composed of a set of categories that consists of a limited number of scalar categories: 'tail', 'link', and 'focus' (Vallduví 1990, 1994). In this study, we provide evidence for such a three-way partition of information structure, which is both consistent with Vallduví's (1990, 1994) 'tail', 'link', and 'focus', and with Ward and Birner's (2004) 'evoked', 'unused', and 'brand-new', and which effectively captures the functional asymmetry between right- and left-peripheral constructions. We further argue that these are marked in terms of information structure and intonation. Peripheral constructions are intonationally marked, but this marking is not exclusively achieved by means of separate phonological phrasing. It can also be achieved by means of tonal phonological mechanisms, such as deaccenting, tonal subordination, or by a combination of phrasing and tonal mechanisms. Thus, we propose, that independent phonological phrasing and/or subordinated intonation are possible universal ways of signalling information structural markedness.

High pitch as an universal marking of interrogation: evidence from Catalan

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In most languages statements end in a low pitch and questions end in a high pitch. High pitch is thus connected to the expression of uncertainty and interrogation (Lieberman 1978, Bolinger 1978, Ohala 1983, Cruttenden 1997, Gussenhoven 2004). High-pitched question tunes are regarded as grammaticalisations grounded in the 'frequency code' (Ohala 1983). In this frequency code, low pitch indicates physical power (since the bigger the larynx is, the more lower-pitched the animal sounds), while high pitch would indicate the opposite. The grammaticalisation of the frequency code means that linguistic assertion is expressed by low pitch, while uncertainty and interrogation are expressed by high pitch. Studies in Spanish (Prieto 2004, Rourke 2005), Dutch (Haan 2002), and Estonian (Asu 2003) offer support for this view.

This paper examines the intonation of yes-no questions in Catalan, a Romance language that is spoken in parts of Spain, Italy, France, and Andorra. Yes-no questions in Catalan can receive two different intonational patterns. One is a falling tune, that starts high on the speaker's pitch range, rises slightly on the pre-nuclear syllable, and then falls down on the nuclear syllable (H+L*). The other one is a rising tune that has a low nuclear accent (L*) followed by a rising (H-H%) boundary tone. Yes-no questions can also be optionally introduced by the morpho-syntactic marker 'que', as in 'Que vols venir amb mi?' (*Do you want to come with me?*). Catalan 'que' is an unstressed morpho-syntactic marker of interrogation, with no meaning of its own, which is equivalent to the particle 'que' in French, 'li' in Russian, 'mipos' in Greek (Baltazani 2004), and 'kas' in Estonian (Asu 2003), among others.

Previous studies of interrogative intonation in Catalan have proposed that interrogatives preceded by 'que' receive the falling tune (H+L* ...L-L%), and that interrogatives without 'que' receive the rising tune (L*...H-H%) (Bonet 1984). This alternation is explained on the grounds of the greater perceptual saliency of the rising tune. The argument is that if no morpho-syntactic marker of interrogation is present, the rising tune, which constitutes a much more salient mark of interrogation, is preferably used. If this is true, Catalan would offer support for the view that high or rising pitch constitute a near-universal marking of interrogation, and also it would have the implication that there is some kind of trade-off between morpho-syntactic markers and intonational markers to signal interrogation.

The database examined in this study includes 182 sentences, elicited from 12 Central Catalan speakers, using two different elicitation methods: a read task (controlled corpus, 6 speakers, 156 sentences) and a directed interview (semi-spontaneous corpus, 12 speakers, 26 sentences). The database is organized according to: 1) sentence type (declarative or yes-no interrogative), (2) presence of the morpho-syntactic marker 'que' (with yes-no interrogatives). Results show a statistically significant correlation between the absence of 'que' and the use of the rising tune. These results are discussed in relation to the hypothesis of the universal use of high pitch to signal interrogation and in relation to theories of the syntax-phonology interface.

On the relation between Vowel Reduction and Open Syllable Lengthening

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It is my firm belief that universal factors define the set of possible linguistic changes. Whether in a given language a specific change becomes operative depends on other, narrower factors, both language internal and external. These latter factors also determine the exact form a change takes in a specific language.

In my talk I discuss one universal factor pushing languages towards one specific change. Concretely, my claim is that *if* in a language unstressed vowels are reduced to schwa, then this language exhibits a strong tendency to lengthen its vowels in open, stressed syllables. My claim, then, is that there is a relation between unstressed and stressed syllables, such that reduction of the former induces amplification of the latter. If true (and I will show that it *is* true), then this observation poses an interesting challenge for formal phonology. The problem is that in all dominant theories it cannot be formalized! Usually, lengthening is handled by a constraint like 'a stressed syllable must be heavy'; reduction is handled by a constraint of the type 'full vowels are not allowed in unstressed position'. These constraints are entirely

unrelated. It is therefore impossible to formalize the fact that the constraint inducing lengthening tends to be active if the constraint inducing reduction is active.

The fact that the two constraints cannot be related is a consequence of a more fundamental problem; the usual formal representations of stress (i.e. foot structure) are not sophisticated enough. It is here, then, that we have to look for a solution to the problem. I show that a specific version of Government Phonology can express the interrelation between unstressed and stressed syllables. Specifically, my proposal strongly relies on the model proposed in Harris' (1994) *English Sound Structure*. This model works with two basic notions: Government and Licensing. Basically, a governed segment tends to be weakened, whereas a licensed segment exhibits its full featural potentiality. Both types of relation can only hold over segments that are adjacent at the relevant level. Furthermore, a governed position loses its licensing capacity. Finally, licensing can also be done by a segment's featural content.

In this model the relation between a stressed and an unstressed vowel can be expressed in the following way. Consider a bisyllabic foot of the schematic structure $CV_1 CV_2$, where V_1 is stressed and V_2 unstressed. V_1 governs V_2 , which inhibits V_2 's ability to license the intervocalic consonant. This is not disturbing if V_2 contains featural content, because in that case V_2 's featural content can take over this segment's licensing role. Hence, if V_2 is filled, the preceding consonant is still licensed. On the other hand, if V_2 is reduced to schwa, there is no featural content to take over V_2 's licensing role. Therefore, the pre-schwa consonant is *not* licensed. One way to repair this is to rescue V_2 from the governing force of V_1 . This can be done by inserting a position into the stressed syllable, i.e. lengthening the stressed vowel. This creates the structure $CV_1V_2 C@$ (@ = schwa). In this configuration schwa is not governed by V_1 (because schwa is not adjacent to V_1 at the relevant level). Therefore schwa's ability to license the preceding consonant is not affected. Everything is fine, then.

My claim, then, is that a stressed syllable tends to be lengthened if an unstressed syllable turns to schwa. Working within Government Phonology I explain this as a repair mechanism rescuing schwa's licensing ability. My discussion will be based on Vowel Reduction and Open Syllable Lengthening as they took place in the history of English.

Challenging French Diachronic Phonetics' Universalism

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Historical or diachronic phonetics considers that the acoustic evolution of a given language abides by some rules which depend only on “inner-linguistics” factors. In other words, that there is no other cause to these linguistic rules than the language itself. Historical phonetics illustrates quite accurately the excessive faith in such a conception. This is especially true of French, for which the rules of diachronic phonetics are radically universalist: it assumes no external impact, neither of the Celtic Galic substratum nor of any neighbouring language. This statement is all the more so unexpected since French etymology, on which the whole historical phonetics system is based, is definitively latinocentrist. This latinocentrism, which suggest that almost all the etymons of the French words are Latin, is more a cultural concept than a universalist one: when the dictionary may choose between a Celtic and a Latin origin, it always chooses the Latin one, without any further explanation. And when no obvious origins are to be found, it often connects French words with Latin by using some rhetoric devices (eg. words like “true”, “vanneau”, “oie”, etc). This attitude is definitively not universalist in its obsession to dismiss relativism.

Despite the very rigorous methods and the often proven conclusions of French diachronic phonetics, there are many reasons to believe that the impact of other languages and substrata has been deeply underestimated, and that the system does not work completely by itself like a pendulum, directly from Latin to French.

This paper aims at analyzing some cultural explanations of this latinocentrism, and at showing some relevant cases which challenges the diachronic phonetic system by implying the impact of other languages than Latin. The examples of the words “oiseau”, “chien” and “gauche” are more specifically analyzed.

The universality of intonation: some common and language specific patterns in interrogative intonation

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Intonation is a complex linguistic system that interacts with grammatical, pragmatic and affective levels of language description (Halliday 1994; Snow and Balog 2002). The understanding and interpretation of the pragmatic meaning of spoken discourse largely depends on the choice of intonation patterns (cf. Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg, 1990; Couper-Kühlen and Selting, 1996; Brazil, 1997; or Wichmann 2000). However, even though intonation could be regarded as one of the universal resources available to express meaning in many languages, “the system of intonation and the interaction between intonational and lexico-grammatical form varies from language to language (Bolinger, 1986; Cruz-Ferreira, 1987: 103; Ladd, 1996: 113; Hirst & Di Cristo, 1998). This variation often leads to difficulties in the acquisition of L2 intonation, mainly due to the unsatisfactory overuse of a very limited variety of patterns in the foreign language (Ramírez Verdugo 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006; Ramírez Verdugo and Romero Trillo, 2005). Any slight change in intonation, which initially may appear to be insignificant, implies some changes in the semantics and pragmatics of the final message as perceived by interlocutors (Kelm 1995: 435). Furthermore, it seems that while mistakes in the pronunciation of segmental sounds are generally overlooked at, deviant intonation patterns may affect comprehension negatively and provoke pragmatic consequences on the spoken discourse (cf. Anderson-Hsieh et al. 1992, and Derwing and Munro 1997). In this respect, Cutler (1984) suggests that listeners, even from very early developmental stages, perceive and attend to intonation as a cue to the processing and understanding of the information being exchanged. In fact, several linguists have proved that the intonation system of a language is one of the first phonetic features acquired by a child (Lieberman, 1986; Cruttenden, 1994 and Snow and Balog, 2002). While in these first stages of language acquisition children mostly rely on prosodic prompts, in later stages, once children have acquired more syntactic, semantic and pragmatic competence, intonation becomes subconscious and automatic to the message (cf. Berkovits, 1980: 271, 279). It would be interesting then, to examine the three intonational systems available while learning foreign languages: L1 and L2 intonation systems and the learners’ interlanguage intonation in order to answer recurrent yet not answered questions related to universal principles versus language specific varieties; language transfer versus learning processes; psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic factors, etc.

This study presents an account of interrogative intonation found in the variety of Castilian Spanish spoken in Madrid, Standard British English and Spanish learner or English within the

framework of the ToBI model of intonation. In this paper we analyse yes-no questions following Grice and Savino's (2003) and Payà and Vanrell (2005) basic distinction between questions asking for new information (QUERY) and those asking for given information (CHECK). We ask the following research questions: (i), is there any phonological differences between QUERY questions in the three intonation systems investigated? (ii) are there any phonological differences according to information structural function (QUERY versus CHECK)? The results will indicate whether there are significant differences in the intonational patterns used in Spanish, English and Spanish learners' English interlanguage or whether there are common patterns available in these three language systems. These results are discussed in relation to theories of information structure and conversational analysis.

Some universal trends in the distribution of labial consonants in world languages

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The aim of this research is to establish the exact limits, in which the labial consonants function. That is, the frequency of occurrence in different language families is studied. It allows us to find out the universal trends in the distribution of labial consonants in world languages. Most all of world languages use labial consonants. The problem is to find out the overall natural foundation why some languages do not use as many labial consonants in their speech chains as the others. There arises a question if the use of labial consonants in the speech chain of any language is determined by some linguistic factors. Or the occurrence of labial consonants is not determined by the system of a particular language. That is, it is determined by the work of the articulation apparatus of man. It also can be that the articulation habits resist the particular system of a language. It may, very well, be, that the system of a language requires more labials in its speech chain, but it is resisted by the work of the articulation tract. The investigation of the use of labial consonants may enlighten the limits, in which the labial consonants may occur. It may explain the force, which makes the human language use labials (cf. Tambovtsev, 2003). To my mind, there exists a universal potential to use labials, though in every concrete language this potential embodies itself to a different degree, because of the press of the phonological system of this or that languages. Therefore, this potential expresses itself differently in different language branches, subgroups, groups, families and super-families. One can find the exact figures on the use of labial consonants elsewhere (Tambovtsev, 2001-a; 2001-b; 2001-c).

We computed the transcribed texts in 167 world languages to see the tendencies of the occurrence of the occurrence of labial consonants. Below we provide the mean frequencies of labials in such language families as Indo-European (Indic – 10.30%; Iranian – 13.38%; Slavonic – 13.65%; Germanic – 11.42%; Romanic – 11.08%), Finno-Ugric (11.22%), Samoyedic (11.46%), Turkic (8.71%), Mongolic (7.28%), Tungus-Manchurian (10.12%), Paleo-Asiatic (7.93%), Caucasian (10.45%), Austronesian (9.11%), Australian (11.18%) and American Indian (10.52%). The data show the general tendencies of the use of labials in world languages. It is vivid that Mongolic and Paleo-Asiatic languages underexploit the use of labials. In fact, the lowest concentration of labial consonants we found in the speech chain of the Itelmen language (6.43%), spoken on the Kamchatka peninsula while the greatest concentration of labials is in Swahili (16.61% of all the phonemes in the speech chain). So, one can see that the use of labials may be depressed really much, i.e. by about 3 times.

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Section G: Verbal Categories (aspect and sundry distinctions)

Conference room: GW1 HS 1010

Wednesday, August 30, 2006	
10:00–10:30	van der Auwera, Johan (University of Antwerp) / Miestamo, Matti (University of Antwerp and University of Helsinki) Negation and perfective vs. imperfective aspect
10:30–11:00	Machado, José Barbosa (Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro University, Portugal) La utilización del gerundio en la versión portuguesa medieval de la "Demanda del Santo Grial"
Coffee break	
12:00–12:30	Conradie, Jac (University of Johannesburg, South Africa) Modal Particles in Dutch and Afrikaans: a Case of Divergence
12:30–13:00	Malchukov, Andrej (Radboud University Nijmegen) TAM-hierarchy and a typology of alignment splits
Thursday, August 31, 2006	
10:00–10:30	Kühnast, Milena (Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft (ZAS), Berlin) Aspectual coercion in Bulgarian negative imperatives
10:30–11:00	Khizanishvili, Tamar (Universität Bremen) „X sitzt“ – aber wo und wie?
Coffee break	
11:30–12:00	Podolski, Ludmilla (Estonian Business School) The Passive and the Impersonal
12:00–12:30	Shmelev, Alexei (Moscow Pedagogical State University) / Zalizniak, Anna (Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow) Aspect, modality, and closely-related categories: the case of Russian

Modal Particles in Dutch and Afrikaans: a Case of Divergence

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Modern Dutch and Afrikaans, two closely related languages (Afrikaans deriving from 17th cent. Dutch), have both shown a propensity for developing modal particles. In as far as the presence of a syntactic middle field may be a factor in the creation of such particles (cf. W. Abraham), Dutch and Afrikaans may both partake of a universal tendency. While the two languages still have a considerable number of particles in common, deriving from earlier language phases, each has after their separation gone on to develop its own set of modal particles, such as *best*, *echt*, *soms*, *eens*, *even* in the case of Dutch, and *hoeka*, *mos*, *sommer*, *glo*, *rêrig*, *darem* in the case of Afrikaans. A number of inherited Dutch temporal adverbs have developed a modal value in Afrikaans.

It seems likely that these later developments in both languages differ both as to the source of the modals and their target profiles, which would indicate a certain relativism in the development of modals. Thus a factor which seems to have given rise to Dutch modal such as *best* and *echt* seems to be metonymia, while the new Afrikaans modals often derive from temporal expressions, such as the Khoi loan *hoeka* and Dutch derived temporal adverbs which have taken on a modal sense in Afrikaans, for example *straks*, *reeds*, *dalk* (< *dadelijk*), *aans* (< *aanstonds*), *altemit*, *netnou*. *Soms*, meaning ‘from time to time’ in both languages, is exceptional in that it only became modal in Dutch. As far as semantic or pragmatic values are concerned, Dutch seems to target politeness (*eens*, *even*, *soms*) and persuasion (*heus*, *echt*) while Afrikaans targets probability (*dalk*), make-believe (*kamma*) or hearsay (*glo*), the assertion or validation of the speaker’s point of view (*rêrig*, *darem*), and solidarity between speaker and addressee (*mos*).

Aspectual coercion in Bulgarian negative imperatives

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Bulgarian is known as a language which has a negative imperative construction with a genuine verbal imperative inflection. From a Slavic perspective this would be a trivial statement, if Bulgarian was not the only Slavic language exhibiting aspectual coercion in negative imperatives. Negative Imperatives with perfective verbs are ungrammatical. Imperfective or secondary imperfectivised verbs are obligatory in Preventives in which other Slavic languages regularly choose perfective verbs.

In the following I want to argue that this phenomenon is due to the inability of Bulgarian perfective verbs to express finiteness. The reasoning follows the cognitive approach of time categorisation in language (Klein, 1994) and provides typological evidence contrasting the different functions of perfective verbs in Bulgarian and other Slavic languages.

Finiteness is synonymous with tense expression, signalling that a speaker makes an assertion restricted to a time span which is located with respect to the time of speaking. This combination of truth assertion and a time stretch, called Topic time (TT), is also essential for the definition of aspect. Depending on the relations between TT and the duration of a situation, different aspectual values are yielded. Perfectivity means a full or partial inclusion

of the situation stretch in TT, which is perceived as an external perspective on the eventuality. Topic Time is the pivot mediating between the time of speaking and the time of the situation.

Imperatives do not feature TT because a truth claim cannot be made about a situation whose realisation depends on the abilities of the addressee. Imperatives contain a reference time span constraining an obligation. This time span includes the time of speaking because the obligation is valid at the moment the imperative is uttered. The use of a perfective verb emphasises the completeness of the requested situation because the resultant state is included in the time stretch of obligation (OT).

In Imperatives negation usually operates on the proposition, influencing the aspectual interpretation. Perfective verbs express a change of state, focusing the reference time on the resultant state. Negating the perfective aspect means to move the reference time back to the source state. The reference time becomes included in the situation time, yielding an imperfective interpretation. Under negation we obtain a combination of temporal values known as Present: time of speaking and source state are included in the reference time of the obligation. This causes a mismatch between the aspectual interpretation of the imperative and the perfectivity of the verbs.

In Bulgarian, this type of aspectual coercion induces secondary imperfectivisation. This overt morphological marking applies obligatory also in Preventives, a type of negative Imperatives in which other Slavic languages use perfective verbs. This phenomenon is rooted in the different functional range of perfective verbs. In contrast to Bulgarian, Slavic languages use perfective verbs to express Future, Historic present and habituality. The TAM system in Bulgarian emphasises the imperfective side reaching a state in which bare perfective verbs cannot express Tense in the main clause. Bulgarian perfectives are fully integrated into the analytic Future, where Tense is borne by the future auxiliary. Historic present and habituality are predominantly in the domain of imperfectivised verbs. The holistic meaning of Bulgarian perfectives prevents them from expressing Present, as their TT never includes the time of speaking. Only imperfectivised verbs maintain such a relation to the time of speaking, while indicating the boundedness of the situation. The productivity and transparency of imperfectivising suffixes support their spread within the temporal domain, a process indicative of Bulgarian's strong analytic tendency. Given these typological peculiarities, the motivation for the aspectual coercion in negative Imperatives is straightforward.

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„X sitzt“ – aber wo und wie?

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Nach allgemeiner Auffassung der Kartvelologen gibt es im Megrelischen ca. 90 Präverbien. Durch Präfigierung dieser Präverbien wird die Bedeutung der Grundverben semantisch modifiziert. Bei der direktionalen Differenzierung spielen die Präverbien im Megrelischen eine große Rolle. Daneben können sie Zeit und Raum näher bestimmen. Manche der Präverbien können adverbial gebraucht werden. Z. B.:

- *eše ešelj*. – „Er kam nach oben“.
- *gime gimelj*. – „Er kam nach unten“.
- *mite mitilj*. – „Er ging hinein“. usw.

Im Vortrag sollen hauptsächlich die statischen räumlichen Relationen zwischen zwei Entitäten diskutiert werden. Diese Relationen zwischen einer Entität („figure“) und dem Ort, an dem sie sich befindet, wird im Megrelischen am Prädikat ausgedrückt. Außer der direktionalen, temporal-aspektualen und räumlichen Differenzierung können im Megrelischen durch den Gebrauch einiger Präverbien die Beschaffenheit des Ortes („ground“) und die Position der „figure“ an diesem Ort näher bestimmt werden. Beispielsweise werden durch die Verbformen *aša-xe* und *ala-xe* (beide Verbformen werden im Deutschen mit „Er sitzt in etwas“ übersetzt) unterschiedliche Informationen vermittelt. In beiden Fällen ist der Ort, wo man sitzt, eine durch Wände begrenzte, oben offene Räumlichkeit. Dabei ist die Position der „figure“ an diesem Ort bei dem Präverb *aša-* mittig, beim Präverb *ala-* befindet sich der Gegenstand jedoch eher am Rande des Raumes.

Es soll unter anderem auf die Problematik der Klassifizierung solcher megrelischen Präverbien nach deren Funktionen eingegangen werden und eventuell eine Möglichkeit der Klassifizierung dargestellt werden.

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La utilización del gerundio en la versión portuguesa medieval de la "Demanda del Santo Grial"

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La versión portuguesa de la "Demanda del Santo Grial" se dio a conocer a través del manuscrito 2584 de la Biblioteca de Viena, de mediados del siglo XV. Esta versión estaría basada en una traducción realizada en la época del rey D. Alfonso III (1248-1279) a partir de textos franceses pertenecientes a la "Post-Vulgata" (1230-1240). Nuestro estudio tiene como principal objetivo realizar un análisis del uso del gerundio a lo largo de la obra. De hecho, siendo el tema central la búsqueda o la demanda del Grial, la presencia del gerundio, con el significado de progresión y de acción que perdura en el tiempo, es constante a la largo de toda la obra. Pretendemos, a través de una recogida informático-lingüística de datos, verificar el aspecto durativo e inacabado del gerundio a través de sus diferentes manifestaciones semántico-pragmáticas: el gerundio precedido de la preposición "em", el gerundio antepuesto a la oración principal y las construcciones adverbiales con gerundio acompañadas de verbos declarativos, subjetivos, de movimiento y de estado.

TAM-hierarchy and a typology of alignment splits

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In this talk I address the typology of alignment splits, focusing on the splits conditioned by tense/aspect/mood (TAM). Alignment splits have been studied both in typological and optimality-theoretic literature mostly with respect to NP-based splits, as captured by Silverstein's generalization about distribution of ergative and accusative patterns. In particular, the phenomenon of differential object marking (DOM) has attracted much attention in the literature, both typological (Bossong 1985) and optimality-theoretic (Aissen 2003). Aissen suggests to derive DOM patterns (e.g. preferential case marking of animate and/or definite objects) through interaction of markedness hierarchies and economy constraints. In this paper I propose to enrich this model through integration of other factors responsible for alignment splits (i.e. distribution of accusative and ergative patterns). In particular, building on earlier work in the functional-typological tradition (Comrie 1978, Moravcsik 1978, Nedjalkov (ed.) 1988, Dixon 1994, Lazard 1998), I set up the following hierarchy responsible for alignment splits in languages with a TAM-based split ergativity:

Imper > Fut/IRR > PRES > IMFV Past > PFV Past > PERF > RES(ultative).

The claim embodied in this hierarchy is that categories high on the hierarchy favor accusative alignment while categories low on the hierarchy favor ergative alignment. Building on the earlier literature, I shall present cross-linguistic data in support of the hierarchy, as well as discuss some counterexamples running against the general pattern. Problematic cases (e.g. Newari, where the present shows an accusative pattern, while other tenses show an ergative pattern; Givón 1985) will be shown to relate to clashes between the aspectual and tense/mood hierarchies jointly contributing to the overall hierarchy above. I shall also propose an optimality theoretic account of the TAM related alignments splits. Further I show how different types of constraints proposed in the literature (Woolford 2001; De Hoop & Narasimhan 2005; Malchukov 2005), can be integrated within a single model predicting cross-linguistic distribution of accusative and ergative patterns. Taking additional constraints, reflecting both indexing and discriminating functions of case marking, into account is crucial, as it allows to explain apparent violations of the TAM-hierarchy, such as the "anti-ergative" pattern in Finnish (Comrie 1975), where object marking is lost with imperatives, or the pattern found in Gariera, where object marking is restricted to past tenses (Kittilä 2002).

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The Passive and the Impersonal

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Although the use of the passive has been repeatedly criticised and disapproved of, we can observe a need for avoiding mentioning the agent in many languages. This paper is a typological study of the use of passive and impersonal sentences mainly in three non-cognate languages: English, Russian and Estonian. English is used in this research as a starting point, which means that we take into consideration the types of passive constructions pointed out for English and study their equivalents in Russian and Estonian.

The division of passives into stative and dynamic, with a further subdivision of the latter into short (agentless) and long (passives with *by*-phrases) is essential for Russian and Estonian as well. Doubts have been expressed as to whether stative passives can be regarded as passives. They are considered to be so different from dynamic passives that they can be treated as homonyms. In fact, in some languages, the two passives are also different in form, e.g. in German *sein* is used in stative passives and *werden* in dynamic. There is a tendency to regard stative passives as link verbs with predicatives, i.e. as nominal predicates, in all the three languages under consideration.

As for the short and long passives, they serve very different purposes. Only short passives are impersonal, whereas long passives preserve all the information of an active sentence and the main function they serve is pragmatic, viz. ordering of information. In English, short passives are much more common than long passives. In Russian and Estonian, long passives are even less common than in English. They are not needed to express the pragmatic functions of Topic and Comment as often as in English due to the relatively free word order, which serves this purpose. Both in Russian and in Estonian, the subject of the active sentence can be in the final position. Thus, the semantic agent is the new information in an English passive sentence with a *by*-phrase as well as in its active equivalents in Russian and Estonian.

It is noteworthy that there is more similarity between Russian and Estonian in the area under investigation than between Russian and English, although Estonian is not an Indo-European language. Both Russian and Estonian have subjectless sentences, in which the agent is not mentioned. In Estonian grammar these constructions are usually called impersonal, whereas in Russian the most common term is 'indefinite personal', because in Russian the verb is in the third person plural of the active voice, whereas in Estonian there is a special voice form of the verb, called 'impersonal'. Since the term 'impersonal' is used in several meanings depending on the definition of the term 'person', we can speak about constructions which are either grammatically or semantically impersonal, or both. Long passives, for example, are semantically personal.

An interesting issue is the syntactic function of the initial noun in Estonian impersonal sentences. It can be considered a borderline case between subject and object when it is in the nominative case. If the predicate verb is in an analytical form, it agrees with the noun in number.

Finally, it is important to distinguish between subjectless sentences where the agent is not mentioned intentionally and may remain unclear, and those where the agent is either generic or absolutely clear from the context and therefore does not need to be mentioned.

Aspect, modality, and closely-related categories: the case of Russian

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It is sometimes claimed that deontic modality is linked to perfective aspect. The Russian evidence does not seem to support this claim. On the contrary, the general rule of expressing modal or near-modal meanings by Russian aspect is as follows: the standard modal interpretation for a perfective verb is alethic while the standard modal interpretation for an imperfective verb is deontic. Consider two sentences: *Zdes' možno perejti* (perf.) *ulicu* vs. *Zdes' možno perexodit'* (imperf.) *ulicu*. The first sentence expresses a general idea of possibility ('One can cross the street here'); the second one implies that crossing the street here would not violate the traffic regulations.

The above tendencies are even more clear under negation. For example, *K oknu ne podojti* (perf.) means that there is no access to the window (it is impossible or extremely difficult to come close to it) while *K oknu ne podxodit'* (imperf.) would express prohibition to come close to the window. The sentence *Zdes' nel'zja oshibat'sja* (perf.) means: 'one would never make a mistake here' (the most natural reading, with the stress on *nel'zja* 'not possible'); the sentence *Zdes' nel'zja oshibat'sja* (imperf.) would have stress on the verb and would mean: 'one should be attentive in order to avoid possible mistakes'.

The above regularities are no more than tendencies. Both perfective and imperfective aspect may have alethic and deontic as well as epistemic readings in certain conditions.

The opposition between alethic and deontic modality is closely related to the feature of controllability. Thus, the imperfective verb in modal constructions under negation is liable to be employed in case of controlled actions (expressing prohibition, that is deontic modality), while the perfective verb may be used in such constructions if reference is made to an event that is beyond the subject's control (meaning impossibility, that is, alethic modality). Consider the following sentences: *Nel'zja budit'* (imperf.) *otca* 'You ought not to wake father' (deontic reading) vs. *Nel'zja razbudit'* (perf.) *otca* 'It is impossible to wake father' (alethic reading).

The opposition between controllability and uncontrollability may overshadow modal distinctions (cf. [Bulygina, Shmelev 1999]). Consider the following sentences: *Ne budite* (imperf.) *otca* 'Don't wake father' vs. *Ne razbudite* (perf.) *otca* 'Be careful not to wake father'. The former can be stated as a warning not to perform the controllable intentional action (deontic reading) while the latter would be understood as a caution against uncontrollable unintentional accident. The above point may also be illustrated by the contrast between the following utterances: *Ja bojus' budit'* (imperf.) *otca* 'I am afraid to wake my father up' (controllable action) vs. *Ja bojus' razbudit'* (perf.) *otca* 'I am afraid of waking my father up' (uncontrollable action).

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Negation and perfective vs. imperfective aspect

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That perfective (or completive) aspect is more often neutralized under negation than imperfective (or incomplete) aspect is a widespread view in linguistics. In Schmid (1980: 39) we find the following claim about aspectual categories: “First, if there are restrictions on the appearance of aspectual forms under negation, completive forms will be restricted. Secondly, if any modifications occur with the negative, at least the perfect or perfective will be affected.” Similarly, Matthews (1990: 83–86) claims that perfectives are more often neutralized in negatives than imperfectives. The neutralization of perfective aspect is seen as functionally motivated since negatives report ongoing states, not events occurring at a specific point in time (typically foregrounded in discourse and expressed by perfective aspect). These claims have however been based on observations of rather limited numbers of languages.

Miestamo (2005) examines the behaviour of imperfective and perfective aspect in an extensive language sample and concludes that there is no cross-linguistic preference for neutralization either way – the occurrence of incomplete aspectual categories is restricted in negatives just as often as that of completive categories. In Kiowa and Lugbara, for example, the imperfective–perfective distinction is neutralized in favour of the perfective, whereas in Bagirmi and Paamese a completive gram is excluded in negatives.

In this paper we will examine in detail cases where the occurrence of imperfective or perfective aspect is restricted under negation: all cases in Miestamo’s (2005) sample plus all relevant cases known to us outside the sample. Our purpose is to describe the cross-linguistic picture of perfective–imperfective neutralization in detail, and see what the language-specific motivations are in each individual case. The motivation may come (partly) from formal properties of each language (position of negation and aspect markers in the structure of the verb, language-specific markedness patterns). Or they may be functional in nature, such as the above-mentioned general explanation proposed for the exclusion of perfectives under negation. Since a cross-linguistic generalization does not exist for imperfectives to be favoured over perfectives under negation (or vice versa), such functional motivations must be justified for each language individually. A detailed examination of each individual case may also reveal some more subtle cross-linguistic generalizations in the behaviour of perfective and imperfective aspect under negation.

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Section H: Syntax

Conference room: GW1 HS 1010

Friday, September 1, 2006	
10:00–10:30	Anders-Marnowsky, Sabine (Universität Oldenburg) Sekundäre Prädikate – insbesondere ‘als’-Depiktive – und ihre Controller (ein Vergleich Deutsch-Polnisch-Russisch)
10:30–11:00	Avgustinova, Tania (DFKI Language Technology Lab & Saarland University) The concepts of shared and non-shared grammar in modelling Slavic morphosyntax
Coffee break	
11:30–12:00	Fanego, Teresa (University of Santiago de Compostela) Developments in English sentential complements: a processing-based explanation
12:00–12:30	Gaeta, Livio (Università di Napoli “Federico II”) The myth of verb cluster languages
12:30–13:00	González-Vilbazo, Kay E. (University of Illinois at Chicago UIC) / Struckmeier, Volker (Universität zu Köln) Scrambling in the AP and the Fractal Nature of Language Structures
Saturday, September 2, 2006	
14:00–14:30	Skopeteas, Stavros (University of Potsdam) / Verhoeven, Elisabeth (University of Bremen) Discourse conditions for focus in Yucatec Maya: evidence from experimental data
14:30–15:00	Liakin, Denis (Université Concordia, Montréal, Canada) Sur l'acquisition des catégories fonctionnelles de la périphérie gauche
15:00–15:30	Renz, Martin (Universität Oldenburg) / Hentschel, Gerd (Universität Oldenburg) Partizipantenbezogene Adverbien als sekundäre (und primäre) Prädikate: Ein Vergleich zwischen Polnisch und Russisch
15:30–16:00	Viti, Carlotta (University of Pisa) The discourse basis of head-marking
16:00–16:30	Vosberg, Uwe (University of Paderborn (Germany)) Contrasting finite, infinitival and gerundial complements in extractions

Sekundäre Prädikate – insbesondere als Depiktive – und ihre Controller (ein Vergleich Deutsch-Polnisch-Russisch)

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Sekundäre Prädikate sind ein in der Linguistik, und hier besonders in der Typologie, stark diskutierter Themenbereich. Eine wesentliche Teilfrage der Diskussion ist, welche Partizipanten des Satzes (Komplemente oder Adjunkte) als sog. Controller fungieren können oder – anders gesagt – welche Partizipanten Bezugswort („Subjekt“) in der „kopularen Beziehung“ sein können, die gemeinhin als konstitutiv für die sekundäre Prädikation angenommen wird. Diese Frage ist ganz offensichtlich für verschiedene Untertypen von sekundären Prädikaten unterschiedlich zu beantworten. Für sog. Depiktive, die im Zentrum der aktuellen Diskussion stehen und als Prototypen der sekundären Prädikategelten, findet man in der einschlägigen Literatur die Aussage, im Deutschen könnten nur zentrale Partizipanten wie das Subjekt (S) intransitiver Verben und das Subjekt (A) und direkte Objekt (O) transitiver Verben Bezugselemente für Depiktive sein (*Peteri kehrte betrunkeni nach Hause zurück.*). Oblique Controller kämen nur sporadisch und fast nur in der Umgangssprache vor (Co-Agens: *da mussten wir mit Matthiasi quasi nackigi nach Hause laufen.* Adjunkt: *Und sie haben dann den Kaffee aus der Tassei unausgespülti getrunken.*). In vielen anderen Sprachen träten dagegen neben S, A und O auch weitere Controller von Depiktiven auf. In australischen Sprachen könnten z.B. agentive Komplemente in Passivdiathesen, Dativobjekte und direktionale Adjunkte Depiktiv-Controller sein. Auch für die mit *als* markierten Depiktive des Deutschen findet man in der Literatur die Ansicht, dass sie nur auf das Subjekt und das direkte Objekt bezogen sein können; Präpositionalobjekte und Situativangaben seien als Controller von *als*-Depiktiven nicht möglich.

Eigene Untersuchungen zeigen, dass *als*-Depiktive mit präpositional markierten Bezugsnomen durchaus existieren; die Bezugsnomen treten hier v.a. in den semantischen Rollen des Co-Agens, des Komitativs, des Instruments und des Stoffes auf (= Satelliten der Ebene 1 nach Dik), daneben findet man agentive Komplemente in Passivdiathesen als Controller von *als*-Depiktiven (*Der Täter verließ das Haus dann mit Käthe Vonrein als Geisel.*). Im Deutschen scheint also der Kreis der möglichen Controller bei *als*-Depiktiven weiter zu sein als bei den adjektivischen Depiktiven. Letztere drücken typischerweise einen Zustand / eine Eigenschaft des Partizipanten aus, erstere eine Rolle / Funktion, wobei nicht nur Funktionen i.e.S. (soziale, politische, berufliche Funktionen), sondern auch Funktionen i.w.S. (ad-hoc-Funktionen) vorliegen können. Bei einem Vergleich mit den mit *jako* markierten Funktionsdepiktiven des Polnischen hat sich in Hinsicht auf die möglichen Controller eine weitgehende Analogie zum Deutschen gezeigt. Man fühlt sich hier an die alte Meinung erinnert, dass das Polnische eine Entlehnung aus dem Deutschen vorgenommen hat, denn das Polnische trifft als einzige slavische Sprache eine zum Deutschen annähernd analoge formale Differenzierung zwischen *jako – als* und *jak – wie*. In den anderen slavischen Sprachen ist diese formale Unterscheidung nicht einschlägig (im Russischen *kak dekan* ‘als Dekan’ oder ‘wie ein/der Dekan’, je nach Kontext); „bei Bedarf“ kann natürlich durch andere Ausdrucksmittel zwischen ‘als’ und ‘wie’ differenziert werden. Erste Befunde deuten darauf hin, dass für die mit *kak* markierten Funktionsdepiktive des Russischen in Hinsicht auf die möglichen Controller das Gleiche gelten könnte, wie für die *als*- und *jako*-Depiktive. Eine Entlehnung liegt hier nicht nahe; es ist eher an eine – nicht durch Entlehnung verursachte, sondern funktional begründete – Ähnlichkeit zumindest (mehr oder weniger) verwandter, hier indogermanischer Sprachen zu denken.

The concepts of shared and non-shared grammar in modelling Slavic morphosyntax

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There is an emerging awareness in the grammar engineering community that for the rapid development of grammars for new languages and for the systematic adaptation of grammars to variants of languages, the notion of grammar sharing is essential, as it aims at maximum reusability, lifting out the elements that can and should be common across language specific grammars. Initial efforts in designing an open-source starter-kit for rapid development of computational grammars in terms of a grammar matrix with associated grammar engineering environment have been reported by (Bender, Flickinger & Oepen, 2002). Emerging in parallel to the grammar sharing concept of the present study, this early version of the grammar matrix comprises first and foremost the formalism-specific technical devices and the basic feature geometry, while on the linguistic side, only general semantic types in the formalisation of (Copestake, Lascarides & Flickinger, 2001) are envisaged. In line with increasing interest in fine-grained modular linguistic representations, it is essential to investigate the plausibility of designing linguistically motivated shared grammatical resources that would systematically go beyond language-independent and fairly abstract semantic information.

As Slavic languages share a much wider range of linguistic information than typically assumed in standard multilingual grammar architectures, a linguistically sound and theoretically motivated modularity would certainly incorporate important insights from Slavic linguistics. The common properties of the languages in question are observed at various intermediate levels of linguistic abstraction, where minimal differences are also detectable as parameters of systematic variation. The domain of interest in this study is, therefore, the grammatical knowledge about Slavic languages as it is contained in linguistic theories and descriptions. According to traditional morphosyntactic descriptions of the Slavic language family, Southeast Slavic, and more specifically Bulgarian, represents an extreme as a language lacking morphological cases and infinitive, but showing an impressively complex verbal system, a definite article, a full-fledged clitic paradigm, and a phenomenon of clitic doubling. Another extreme is claimed by Russian, which is a prototypical East Slavic language having morphological case and infinitive but lacking any auxiliary or pronominal clitics and extensively employing non-verbal predication. Therefore, careful consideration of Bulgarian and Russian data is indispensable for the purposes of the current study. A selective focusing on key phenomena from West Slavic languages, represented by Czech and Polish, is crucial too. Together with Southeast Slavic, represented by Serbo-Croatian and Slovene, they have clausal-domain auxiliary and pronominal clitics, along with morphological case and infinitive.

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Developments in English sentential complements: a processing-based explanation

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Since Chomsky (1965), it has been generally assumed in linguistics that grammars have not been shaped by performance to any significant extent. Hawkins (2004; see also Hawkins 1994), however, puts forward the hypothesis that grammars have been profoundly shaped by processing considerations, that is, by language in use. More specifically, he proposes three very general constraints or *principles of efficiency* –namely Minimize Domains, Minimize Forms, and Maximize On-line Processing– which are suggested by the preferences observed cross-linguistically in actual performance data.

The basic insight of Minimize Domains is that the processor prefers shorter processing domains than longer ones, given combinatorial and/or dependency relations between two elements within a particular domain; this principle explains, inter alia, why SVO languages tend to be prepositional and SOV languages postpositional. Minimize Forms predicts, in turn, that “it is preferable to reduce the number of distinct form-property pairs in a language as much as possible, as long as the intended contextually appropriate meaning can be recovered from reduced linguistic forms with more general meanings” (Hawkins 2004: 28). Finally, Maximize On-line Processing captures the intuition that the human processor prefers to select and arrange linguistic forms so as to provide the earliest possible access to properties in the ultimate proposition to be communicated.

In my presentation at the 39th Annual Meeting of the SLE I will check whether the above predictions can help to account for a number of changes in the history of English, including:

- a. The specialization of *to*-infinitives to encode object clauses with controlled implicit subjects (e.g. “I want *to see Mary*”) and of gerundives to encode object clauses with non-controlled implicit subjects (e.g. “I cannot understand *mobilizing demonstrations against your own country*”). In earlier stages of English the infinitive (or occasionally a *that*-clause) was used in both cases.
- b. The specialization of the opposition *to*:-*ing* to distinguish the different senses of retrospective verbs. Compare “I will remember *to do it*” (future reference) with “I perfectly remember *carrying back the manuscript you mention*” (past-time reference).
- c. The long-term replacement of preverbal subject infinitives (“*To invite the twins* was a bad mistake”) by gerundives (“*Inviting the twins* was a bad mistake”). In Present-day British and American English the average frequencies per 100,000 words of preverbal infinitives and gerundives are, respectively, 7 and 34; in the seventeenth century the respective frequencies were 26 and 0.9.

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The myth of verb cluster languages

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Recently, there have been several proposals of grouping a certain number of languages by means of properties displayed by verb clusters such as those reported below and exemplified by German (cf. É. Kiss & H. van Riemsdijk, 2004, *Verb Clusters*, Amsterdam etc., Benjamins, for a survey):

- (1) a. *Thomas meint, dass die Studenten Deutsch werden lernen müssen.*
 b. *Thomas meint, dass die Studenten Deutsch lernen müssen werden*
 ‘Thomas thinks that the students will have to learn German’
 c. *Thomas ist froh, dass die Studenten Deutsch haben lernen müssen.*
 d. **Thomas ist froh, dass die Studenten Deutsch lernen gemusst haben.*
 ‘Thomas is glad that the students had to learn German’

So-called verb cluster languages are claimed to be characterized by not displaying a rigid word order pattern in multiple verb constructions, as exemplified by the auxiliary *werden* ‘will’, which may either open or close the verbal complex in (1a-b). Notice that in (1c-d) the phenomenon of substitutive infinitive (*infinitivus pro participio* = IPP) shows up, in which an unexpected infinitive form surfaces instead of the morphosyntactically “justified” past participle *gemusst*, which is also attested in the paradigm. In despite of the big amount of accounts worked out to derive the verb cluster properties from the perspective of universal grammar, “what still appears to be an open question is the question of *why* the elements of a verb cluster are inverted in certain languages and constructions. An answer to the question of what the (deep) motivation of verb cluster formation is and why this phenomenon only exists in certain languages is still outstanding” (S. Wurmbrand in press in *The Syntax Companion*, Oxford, Blackwell). The aim of this paper is to reconsider the whole problem addressing this precise question: why is it so that basically West-Germanic languages share to a certain extent the same patterns for verbal periphrases? The answer must be sought in the grammaticalization process of the verbal periphrases, which took place in the late Middle Age and accompanied the general reorganization of word order in the sentence. In particular, the mismatch given by the IPP is a consequence of the semantically grounded ban against employing the past participle of verbs governing an infinitive, for instance in the attributive function as again exemplified by German: **der im Park laufen gesehene Mann* ‘lit. the man seen run in the park, i.e. the man who was seen running in the park’ vs. *der im Park gesehene Mann* ‘the man seen in the park’. This is due to semantic reasons, because the past participle needs a second argument-time window to be anchored at. For light verbs the latter is however saturated by the governed infinitive, which explains the asymmetry mentioned above. When the perfect got grammaticalized, the potential domain given by verbs governing an infinitive could only be exploited on condition that the restriction against the past participle was saved. Therefore, the arguably default form, i.e. the infinitive, came in as a viable solution, giving rise to the synchronic mismatch. The word order reorganization is to be seen as connected with the developments of the periphrases, as confirmed by the future periphrasis which also shows a default infinitive and is affected by the same scrambling process: as expected, it was grammaticalized during the same time span of the perfect. There is no need for assuming a universal language group: this set of properties goes back to the particular evolution of a closely related language family. The lesson to be learned from this tricky case is as old as modern linguistic theory: languages are the result of historical processes, and accordingly language change (and grammaticalization) can shed light on many mismatch effects observed in synchronic grammars. Before moving to a universal explanatory level, the language-specific properties at stake must be carefully scrutinized both from a synchronic and a diachronic point of view.

Scrambling in the AP and the Fractal Nature of Language Structures

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The question of universalism and relativism in language is one that cannot be fully resolved with our present-day knowledge. However, it is possible to point out seemingly universal principles of language, with superficial complexities arising from recursive operations yielding fractal structures. The talk presents new evidence for the fractal nature of language.

The operation of *scrambling* refers to changes in the order of constituents in the so-called *Mittelfeld* of the German sentence. The phenomenon has received ample discussion. We show that it is not restricted to the sentence level but recurs in another, seemingly unrelated structure. In the German AP, arguments of the head place variably vis-a-vis adjuncts:

- (1) [DP_{der} [AP [DP_{ihr}] [immer] treue] Max]
 the her-DAT always faithful Max
- (2) [DP_{der} [AP [immer] [DP_{IHR}] treue] Max]
 the always to-her faithful Max
 'Max, who is always faithful to her'

This closely resembles scrambling at the sentence level: unstressed pronouns are base-generated inside the VP but have to be moved to the so-called *Wackernagel* position, crossing the VP-adjunct. Pronouns can be left behind only when they receive contrastive stress.

Treating the inversion of adjunct and pronoun in (1, 2) as scrambling explains further effects found in the pronominal AP which are well-known from scrambling:

- (3) der [DP einer Frau] [Adv immer] treue Max
 the women-DAT always faithful Max
- (4) der [Adv immer] [DP einer Frau] treue Max
 the always a woman faithful Max

With normal intonation, the preferred reading of (3) is that *Max* would be always faithful to any generic *woman*. In (4), on the contrary, *Max* is always faithful to a specific *woman*. The effect becomes even more distinct when the attributive head is a participle:

- (5) der [DP einem Feuerwehrmann] [Adv immer] helfende Mann
 the a fireman-DAT always helping man
- (6) der [Adv immer] [DP einem Feuerwehrmann] helfende Mann
 the always a fireman-DAT helping man

The *man* is helping any generic *fireman* in (5) but a specific *fireman* in (6). We will show that Givenness, theme-rheme and focus interpretations seem to parallel the sentence level, too. Furthermore, the observations will be carried over to relevant Code-Switching data and will be explained by a sentential analysis of pronominal attributes in German.

Thus, if syntactic structures (CPs) show properties recurring in their substructures (e.g. DPs, and, in turn, APs) a fractal system displaying simple and robust principles seems at hand. It would not seem very plausible for such a system to arise easily from the infinitely variable contingencies implied in linguistic relativism. The fractal nature of linguistic structures might hence be taken as subtle evidence for a universalist position.

Sur l'acquisition des catégories fonctionnelles de la périphérie gauche

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L'hypothèse de Transfert Complet/Accès Complet de Schwartz et Sprouse (1996) stipule que la grammaire de la L1 constitue l'état initial de la L2. Ainsi, l'apprenant adopte la représentation de la L1 en faisant face à l'input de la L2. Selon cette hypothèse, la représentation langagière d'un apprenant de la L2 est nécessairement différente de celle des locuteurs natifs de cette langue. Quand la représentation de la L1 ne peut pas accommoder l'input de la L2, l'apprenant recourt aux options disponibles à travers la Grammaire Universelle et reconstruit la représentation langagière. Je veux démontrer que les connaissances de la L1 (le russe) de l'apprenant influencent son acquisition de la L2 (le français).

Dans son étude de l'acquisition du sujet de phrase en français la L1 Ferdinand (1996) propose trois étapes du développement des positions initiales de la phrase. À chaque étape d'acquisition, les projections fonctionnelles sont activées et ainsi certaines positions syntaxiques deviennent disponibles à l'enfant :

étape 1 : [AgrsP [NegP [TP [VP]]]]]]]]]

étape 2 : [WhP [FocusP [AgrsP [NegP [TP [VP]]]]]]]]]

étape 3 : [AdvP [WhP [FocusP [AgrsP [NegP [TP [VP]]]]]]]]]]]

Ainsi dans l'exemple en (1) de Ferdinand (1996) le syntagme *cheveux* porte le trait [+focus] et se trouve dans la périphérie gauche de la phrase :

(1) cheveux est ça.(Grégoire 1;9.28)

Contrairement à Ferdinand, De Cat (2001) propose que les syntagmes wh- et les syntagmes focalisés ne ciblent pas des projections fonctionnelles distinctes, mais occupent plutôt la position de spécifieur de CP.

Mes observations préliminaires sur les apprenants russes (basées sur les données de CHILDES et mes observation du garçon russe Maxim 2;3) démontrent que les syntagmes focalisés (2) se trouvent bien dans la périphérie gauche de la phrase.

(2) Maxim âge 2;3 (MLU 1.9)

Adulte : Čto papa spriatal? Maxim : **Knigu** spriatal

que papa a caché livre a caché

'Qu'est-ce que papa a caché?' 'C'est le livre qu'il a caché'

Ma prédiction serait que les apprenants russes qui apprennent le français la L2 doivent suivre le modèle de la structure de phrase de Ferdinand (1996) et non pas celui de De Cat (2001) en démontrant ainsi que les connaissances de la L1 influencent l'acquisition de la L2.

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Partizipantenbezogene Adverbien als sekundäre (und primäre) Prädikate:

Ein Vergleich zwischen Polnisch und Russisch

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In der aktuellen, besonders in der Typologie geführten Diskussion werden partizipantenbezogene sekundäre Prädikate ereignisbezogenen Adverbialen gegenübergestellt, bei Annahme eines graduellen Übergangs. D.h., es ist auch mit Fällen von Vagheit (ggf. auch von Ambiguität) zwischen Partizipanten- und Ereignisbezug zu rechnen. Für den Ausdruck von Eigenschaften bzw. Qualitäten können Adjektive als typische Exponenten des Partizipantenbezugs und Adverbien als typische Exponenten des Ereignisbezugs angesehen werden. Im Polnischen und im Russischen wird in ähnlicher Form sehr konsequent formal, d.h. morphologisch unterschieden. Dies erlaubt in vielen Satzkontexten z.B. eine overte Differenzierung (zumindest als Defaultlesart) zwischen Partizipantenbezug, pol. *Piotr wracał do domu wesoly*_{ADJ}, russ. *Petr vozvraščalsja domoj veselyj/veselym* _{ADJ (Nom. o. Instr.)} – und Ereignisbezug (ggf. Vagheit, hier im Sinne von Ereignis- mit Partizipantenbezug), pol. *Piotr wesolo*_{ADV} *wracał do domu* / russ. *Petr veselo*_{ADV} *vozvraščalsja domoj*. D.h., die Standardinterpretation wäre im ersten Fall, dass Peter lustig war, ohne dass etwas über die Art und Weise seines “Zurückkehrens” gesagt würde, und im zweiten Fall, dass er auf eine lustige Art und Weise zurückkehrte (und dass er dabei auch lustig war). Im Deutschen wäre dagegen das unmarkierte Übersetzungsäquivalent indifferent im Bezug: *Peter kehrte lustig nach Hause zurück*. Insgesamt ist aber zu beobachten, dass das Polnische wesentlich umfassendere Möglichkeiten der Verwendung von Adverbien bietet als das Russische. Setzen wir in den obigen Satzkontext statt ‘lustig’ ‘barfuß’ ein, so erlaubt das Russische hier nur das Adjektiv (wiederum im Nominativ oder im Instrumental), das Polnische dagegen wenn nicht ausschließlich, so doch stark präferent das Adverb. Ähnlich verhält es sich in anderen Satzkontexten: Qualitäten wie ‘jung’ kodiert das Polnische bevorzugt als Adverb in Übersetzungsäquivalenten zu *Peter starb jung*, wo das Russische wieder nur das Adjektiv erlaubt. Verwendungsmöglichkeiten des Adverbs liegen im Polnischen partiell sogar bei “Objektsbezug” vor (im Gegensatz zum Subjektsbezug der o.a. Qualitätsausdrücke), und zwar in Sätzen wie *Pasja ta chwyciła mnie młodo*_{ADV}, dt.: *Diese Leidenschaft erfasste mich jung (in jungen Jahren)*.

Der Beitrag strebt zunächst an, die unterschiedlichen Enkodierungsmöglichkeiten von Qualitäten mit (potentiellem) Partizipantenbezug durch Adverbien im Polnischen und Russischen zu beschreiben und zwar unter Berücksichtigung unterschiedlicher lexikalischer Subklassen von Qualitätsausdrücken und unterschiedlicher Subtypen von sekundären Prädikaten wie Depiktive (sekundäre Prädikate innerhalb der Verbalphrase) oder Zirkumstantiale im Sinne von Nichols (sekundäre Prädikate außerhalb der Verbalphrase). Diskutiert werden soll dabei auch das Problem der “mittleren Zone” im Kontinuum zwischen eindeutigem Partizipantenbezug und eindeutigem Ereignisbezug und somit auch das Phänomen der Vagheit der entsprechenden Konstruktionen.

Discourse conditions for focus in Yucatec Maya: evidence from experimental data

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In Yucatec Maya constituent focus is encoded through movement to a preverbal focus position and, in case of agent focus, additionally through a special verb form (see Bricker 1979, Tonhauser 2003).

In this paper we present two speech production experiments that have been performed in the field in order to localize the discourse conditions in which native speakers (n=16) use these focus constructions: (a) a dialogue-based experiment which makes use of different question types (confirmative, rejective, selective, and completive) applying visual stimuli; (b) a narrative-based experiment that manipulates the distribution of given and new information in descriptions of picture sequences.

The experimental results show that focus constructions occur in all question types but their frequency correlates with the question's power (7% of the confirmative answers, 26% of the selective ones, 20% of the corrective ones and 16% of the completive ones). In the narrative experiment, the focus construction frequently occurs to mark new information. This data allows for the revision of previous accounts according to which the focus position in Mayan is used in contrastive contexts. Our explanation is functional, drawing attention to the complementarity of syntax and prosody for the encoding of discourse functions. As a tonal language, Yucatec Maya does not mark discourse functions through pitch accents, which implies that a constituent may not bear the focus feature if it does not occur in the designated focus position. The functional consequence of this typological feature is that a marked syntactic construction occurs in a wide variety of contexts. This assumption is supported cross-linguistically, through the comparison of the Mayan data with data from languages that display both syntactic and prosodic means for the expression of focus (German, Greek, and Georgian) and in which the same experiments have been performed.

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The discourse basis of head-marking

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Although languages are commonly consistent in marking relations of dependency either on the head or on the dependent of a constituent, both head- and dependent-marked constructions can be occasionally found in the same language (Nichols 1986; 1992). In this case, it is more frequent that a head-marked construction is found in a generally dependent marking language rather the other way round. For example, the Indo-European languages mark subject agreement on the verb, i.e. on the head of the clause, but they encode possessum, as well as

various argumental and adverbial relations, on the dependent. Thus, head marking can be considered more basic than dependent marking.

Aim of this study was to investigate the factors underlying this basicness. We analyzed a language that generally marks grammatical relations on the dependent, such as Italian, and identified manifestations of head marking in clitics that belongs both to the noun phrase (with possessive or partitive functions) and to the verb phrase (for relations of direct object, indirect object, locative, comitative, and instrumental). We related these phenomena to topicalization devices, whereby a noun phrase that presents given information is introduced as an anchor for the subsequent discourse, and is resumed by a pronoun on the constituent that presents the new piece of information. Factors as definiteness and animacy, which play a decisive role in the choice of accusative over ergative alignment (Dixon 1994; Givón 1997) and of secundative over indirective alignment (Comrie 1982; Dryer 1986; Haspelmath 2005), appear also relevant to the distinction between head and dependent marking. The topical function of the Italian head marked constructions also emerges from the comparison with structures that present focused information, which are never resumed by a pronoun, and which are typically dependent-marked. While the latter exhibit a continuous intonation, head-marked constructions have two separate intonational contours, one for the topicalized noun phrase and one for its notional head. In written Italian, where the difference in intonation disappears, head marked constructions decay as well. Therefore, the distinction between head and dependent marking can be considered a sociolinguistic, rather than a purely syntactic, feature. Data from the spoken register of a generally dependent-language like Italian are consistent with data of certified head-marking languages like those of the Americas, which have a free word order and verb-indexed pronominal arguments. Although both Nichols' pioneering study and more recent revisitations of it (cf. Helmbrecht 2001) illustrate the areal and diachronic implications of head and dependent marking, the influence of sociolinguistic variation on these parameters is mostly ignored. We hypothesize that the use of head marking in the oral communicative mode, which is sensitive to pragmatic functions, underlies its cross-linguistic basicness. Accordingly, pragmatics is the domain where universalism in languages is mostly evident, to the extent that all languages are used for the purpose of communication. Differently, phonological inventories and morphological categories are more language specific. The traditional clear-cut distinction between head and dependent marking can be attributed to the fact that most reference grammars focus on structural phenomena but are often silent on discourse strategies.

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Contrasting finite, infinitival and gerundial complements in extractions

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Since Early Modern English, the verbalization of the English gerund has resulted in a re-arrangement of the entire system of complementation (cf. Fanego 1996). A long-term and general development leading to the replacement of *to*-infinitives by *-ing* forms has brought about a semantic specialization which many (in particular cognitive) linguists seemed to have regarded as clear-cut and even categorical (for a critical assessment cf. Fanego forthcoming). However, these semantic tendencies are very often accompanied (either reinforced or weakened) by major (and potentially universal) extra-semantic factors likely to accelerate or delay the rise or fall of *-ing* complements after certain verbs (such as *fail* or *regret*), adjectives (like *accustomed* or *desirous*) and verb-noun collocations (e.g. *have the opportunity*).

Large-scale analyses of historical as well as present-day electronic corpora reveal a syntactic constraint to the effect that the infinitival complement option will tend to be preferred to the gerundial one in environments where a complement of the subordinate clause is extracted (by relativization etc.) from its original position and crosses clause boundaries (cf. Vosberg 2003, to appear; Hawkins 1999 for finite and infinitival complementation). As to the contrast between *to*-infinitives and *-ing* complements, this factor must be seen against the background of the complexity principle which postulates a higher degree of explicitness for grammatical structures in contexts involving a substantial processing load (cf. Rohdenburg 1996). This view, however, implies that the infinitive is more explicit than the *-ing* form (in terms of sententiality).

In addition to surveying the general influence of this factor on the choice of sentential complement variants, this paper will give a brief description of some in-depth analyses covering the following aspects:

- Our corpus analyses have confirmed Hawkins' (1999) assumption that filler-gap dependencies tend to favour (short) infinitival complements rather than (long) finite complement clauses.
- Similarly, finite complement clauses explicitly marked as such by the complementizer *that* are apparently less acceptable in extraction contexts than those lacking the subordinator.
- It is suggested that (more explicit complements as provided by) gerundial constructions introduced by a preposition are more likely to be accepted by (the cognitively more demanding) extraction contexts than directly linked *-ing* forms.
- Contrasting simple gerundial complement structures (*-ing*) of the verb *remember* and their (semantically equivalent though less common) perfective counterparts (*having -ed*), we find that extraction contexts are more hospitable to the (more explicit) periphrastic constructions than to the simple ones.
- The tendency to use infinitival complements rather than gerunds in extractions is found to vary according to the degree of complexity involved in different types of extraction (relativization, comparativization, interrogation, topicalization etc.).
- Within the scope of complement verbs in extraction contexts additional complexity factors such as an increased number of syllables or a lower frequency (of usage) further increase the acceptability of the infinitival construction.
- Occasionally, different stylistic varieties are associated with different rates of change in extraction contexts.

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Section I: Morphology

Conference room: GW1 A0160

Wednesday, August 30, 2006	
10:00–10:30	Apridonidze, Shukia (Tbilisi, Georgia) Preverbs in Modern Georgian and Russian: Semantic and Grammatical Functions
10:30–11:00	Bittner, Dagmar; Gagarina, Natalia; Kühnast, Milena (Centre for General Linguistics, Typology and Universals Research, Berlin) / Popova, Velka (University of Schumen, Bulgaria) What are the first oppositions in the acquisition of verbal morphology? – Evidence from the acquisition of Bulgarian, Russian and German
Coffee break	
11:30–12:00	Rey, Véronique; Stoffel, Henriette (Université de Provence, Aix en Provence) Propos sur la définition du mot: spécificité ou universalité?
12:00–12:30	Krasukhin, Konstantin G. (Russian Academy of Science) Word stem in historical and general linguistics
12:30–13:00	Manova, Stela (University of Vienna) What's an Inflectional Paradigm? (Periphrastic Verb Paradigms in Bulgarian)
Thursday, August 31, 2006	
10:00–10:30	Hamans, Camiel (Dutch delegation of the PSE Group in the European Parliament, Brussels -Strasbourg) From Newglisch to Offglisch: The system behind morphological oddities
10:30–11:00	Voeykova, Maria (Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint-Petersburg) Redundancy in Russian Case Marking
Coffee break	
11:30–12:00	Osipova, Olga (Tomsk State Pedagogical University, Russia) The Two Level Declensions in Ancient Indo-European Languages.

Preverbs in Modern Georgian and Russian: Semantic and Grammatical Functions

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In Modern Georgian, several functions of preverbs can be distinguished:

1. coding direction: “thither” vs. “hither” (**mi-/ts’a-** – **mo-**), upwards vs. downwards (**a-** – **da-/cha-**), outwards from within and vice versa (**ga-** – **she-**);
2. orientation along with direction (by adding **mo-** ‘hither’ to the cited preverbs), where some languages show suppletion (cp. **ts’a-vla** ‘go’ – **mo-svla** ‘come’, **ts’agheba** ‘take’ – **mot’ana** ‘bring’);
3. formation of the perfective aspect: **khat’a** ‘was drawing’, **dakhat’a** – ‘drew’);
4. formation of the future (**khat’av** ‘you are drawing’ – **dakhat’av** ‘you will draw’);
5. derivation (**a-geba** ‘construct’, **da-geba** ‘spread’, **ga-geba** ‘understand’, **mo-geba** ‘win’, **ts’a-geba** ‘lose’ / ‘be defeated’, **mi-geba** ‘reply’).

Old Georgian preverbs had the functions 1. and 5. The aspectual and temporal functions are comparatively new and some scholars (e.g. A. Shanidze) ascribe their rise to the influence of European languages, especially Russian, where the same aspectual-temporal system seems to operate (cf. писал ‘was writing’ – на-писал ‘wrote’, пишет ‘is writing’ – на-пишет ‘will write’).

However, there are some differences between the Georgian and the Russian systems of preverbs.

1. While simple relations of orientation are characteristic of European languages in verbs denoting movement (cf. Russian **y- mi-/ ts’a-** – **при- mo-**), the coding of complex relations seems to be absent in Russian. Georgian (like German), on the other hand, possesses compound preverbs to serve this purpose: **ga+mo-** (from inside outwards + hither, or towards 1st or 2nd person), **she+mo-** (from outside inwards + hither), **a+mo-** (from below upwards + hither), etc.

2. There are cases where Russian has a purely aspectual marking, while a specific directional marking (in its broader, metaphorical sense) wins in Georgian. Consider e.g. inchoative forms such as: **a-tsvida** ‘it has grown cold’, **a-grilda** ‘it has got cool’, **da-tskha** ‘it has grown hot’, **da-tba** ‘it has grown warm’ vs Russian: **по-холодало** ‘it has grown cold’ – **по-теплено** ‘it has grown warm’.

3. Orientational preverbs differ from directional preverbs in that the latter, but not the former have an aspectual value. Both **mi-** and **ts’a-** denote a movement “thither”, but **ts’a-** is aspectually marked (it marks perfective forms (***ts’a-dis** ‘is going’, ***ts’a-dioda** ‘was going’, ***ts’a-akvs** ‘takes away (sth)’, ***ts’a-hkonda** ‘took away (sth)’, **ts’a-hqavs** ‘takes (away) (sb)’, **ts’a-hqavda** ‘took away (sb)’), whereas **mi-** occurs with both perfective and imperfective forms (**mi-dis** ‘is going’, **mi-dioda** ‘was going’ and **mi-va** ‘will arrive’, **mivida** ‘arrived at’, **misula** ‘has arrived at’, **misuligo** ‘had arrived at’).

4. The only preverb that does not combine with the directional preverb **mo-** is **da-**. **da-** has several functions that are of interest here.

- a. One is its so-called “intensity function”, which refers either to the habitualness of a movement (**dadis** ‘walks (usually)’, **darbis** ‘runs about’, **daakvs** ‘carries about’, **dahqavs** ‘takes sb. somewhere habitually’) or the multiplicity of its object with same-stem verb pairs (cf. **gach’ris** ‘will cut a single thing’ – **dach’ris** ‘will cut many things’ and ‘wounds’, **gatlis** ‘will whittle a

- single thing’ – **datlis** ‘will whittle many things’), and – rarely – with different-stem verb pairs (cf. **mok’la** ‘killed a single person or animal’, **dakhotsa** ‘slaughtered (many)’, **gat’ekha** ‘broke a single thing’, **daamt’vria** ‘broke/smashed many things’).
- b. The intensity function of the preverb **da-** can have syntactic implications in verb-pairs with and without **da-**. In particular, it can alter the syntactic function of an object (indirect object vs. direct object) without significantly altering the meaning expressed by the verb (**ak’otsa** dedam (S) **shvils** (IO) ‘Mother kissed her child’) vs. **dak’otsna** dedam (S) **shvili** (DO) ‘id.’; **hk’itkha** mosamartlem (S) **mots’mes** (IO) ‘the judge asked the itness’ **dak’itkha** mosamartlem (S) **mots’mes** (DO) ‘the judge interrogated the witness’.
- c. The the same relationship is found in: **usuna** / **uqnosa** man (S) **mas** (IO) ‘He/she smelled/sniffed it’ – **dasuna** / **daqnosa** man is (DO) ‘it smelled/sniffed it’. But whereas in the latter verb pairs the syntactically labile object is lexically stable, the same is not the case with the syntactically stable subject of these verbs: the preverbless forms (**usuna**, **uqnosa**) normally imply a human subject, while the preverb-added forms (**dasuna**, **daqnosa**) imply an animal as their subject (which seems to be connected with the fact that the sense of smell is the strongest instinct of the latter).

5. In Russian, not only the nominative subject (in the nominative) but also the accusative object are morphosyntactically stable, although in terms of intensity, preverbs alternate with relative ease. In particular, different preverbs appear in the intensity function with verbs of various semantic fields, e.g. **раз-/ рас-** occasionally points to a division of the object into two (**разрезал** ‘cut sth in two’, **разделил** ‘divided sth’ vs. **порезал** ‘cut one’s sth (e.g. finger)’ / **отрезал** ‘cut off (part of sth)’, **поделил** ‘distributed (sth among many)’; in some cases it denotes multiple action on the object: **расцеловал** ‘kissed (all over)’, **допросил** ‘interrogated’, **расспросил** ‘made inquires’.

On the basis of these observations, the paper aims at establishing parameters of possible variation in the domain of preverb-marking and its correlation with other properties of Georgian and Russian.

What are the first oppositions in the acquisition of verbal morphology? – Evidence from the acquisition of Bulgarian, Russian and German

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The idea that aspect precedes tense in language acquisition has its origin in a study by Antinucci/Miller (1976) on the acquisition of Italian. 30 years later, argumentations pro and contra the *aspect before tense hypothesis* are still going on. The present paper is addressed to this discussion. Data from first language acquisition of Bulgarian, Russian and German has been analysed with respect to the emergence of form contrasts and functional oppositions in verbal morphology. Our interpretation of the results is based on theoretical approaches to tense and aspect that start from the distinction of the three values: event time (E), speech time (S), and reference time (R). Aspect or aspectual distinctions are based on the relation of E to S/R, whereas Tense or temporal distinctions are based on the relation S to R.

The acquisition hypothesis derivable from these approaches is in accordance with the aspect before tense hypothesis of Antinucci/Miller: structural oppositions assigning distinct types of the relation of E to S precede structural oppositions assigning distinct types of the relation of

S to R. Relating the reported event to the moment of speaking is the basic operation. Relating the reported event to reference times which have to be related to the time of speaking is a much more complex and non-basic operation. Despite the typological differences between the three languages, Bulgarian, Russian and German, we can show that the investigated children interpret the first formal oppositions in the verbal system as representing aspectual distinctions, i.e., as symbolizing differences in the relation of the event and the time of speaking. Formal distinctions which exclusively differentiate distinct times of reference without changing the perception of the reported event emerge after this step in grammatical development.

Antinucci, F. & R. Miller (1976). How children talk about what happened. *Journal of Child Language* 3: 167-189.

From Newglisch to Offglisch: The system behind morphological oddities

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Traditionally morphology deals with complex words, 'words which are not simple signs, but which are made up of more elementary ones' (Aronoff 1976). Although 'portmanteau' words such as *smog*, *snark* or *chunnel* are derived from other forms - 'smoke + fog', 'snake + shark' and 'channel + tunnel' - Aronoff does not include the pattern of word formation in his theory of morphology. These products of blending processes are just 'oddities'. Bauer(1983), Scalise (1984), Spencer (1991) and Rainer (1993) share the same view.

In the work of Suzanne Kemmer (for instance Kemmer 2000) blends play a more central role. She considers 'lexical blends, such as *glitterati*, *stalkerazzi*, *imagineer* and *carjacking*, as instances of one of the most vivid and creative word formation processes in English'. However, she realizes how problematic blends are for rule-based theories of morphology. Therefore she describes the process of blending within usage-based network theories.

In this paper I want to show how systematic and especially productive these morphological processes are. Therefore we have to include blending and other 'odd' processes, such as clipping, in a theory of grammar.

I shall start with examples such as:

- (1) brunch breakfast + lunch
flumpet Flügelhorn + trumpet

The process under (1) is not very productive and at first sight not really systematic, just as in examples such as:

- (2) governor governor + terminator
Nescafé Nestlé + café
Nespresso Nestlé + espresso

On the other hand, examples as the ones under (3) suggests morphological boundaries might play a role in the formation of portmanteau words:

- (3) Oxbridge Oxford + Cambridge
stagflation stagnation + inflation
infotainment information + entertainment

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Word stem in historical and general linguistics

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0. The morphological analysis of word can be described in the terms of two several linguistic theories: Moscow formal (Fortunatov) school, and American descriptive linguistics (most exactly elaborated in Harris 1946). According Filipp Th. Fortunatov (1956:), each word is a member of two sets: basic and formal ones. The basic set is a labile category: new words can be derived from the basic one, and new derivational suffix builds new basic sets (e.g.: {*stul* ‘chair’, *stul-a* (Gen. sg.), *stul-u* (Dat. sg.)...} is a basic set; {*stul-u*, *dom-u* ‘to the house’, *volk-u* ‘to the wolf’...} is a formal set; diminutive derivate {*stul-čik*} builds a new set {*stulčik*, *stulčik-a*, *stulčik-u*). According Harris, each unit of language can occur in the text in an environment only; one must discern necessary, possible, and impossible development. Models of Fortunatov and Harris describes the same phenomena from morphological (paradigmatic), and syntactic (syntagmatic) point of view accordingly. One must add, that the morpheme and stem border is also labile: processes of the boundary change (Russian *pererazloženie*) in word are well known: Old Russ. Dat. pl. *žena-mъ* ‘to the wives’, *vlъko-mъ* ‘to the wolves’, Instr. pl. *žena-mi*, *vlъky* → contemporary *žen-am*, *volk-am*; *žen-ami*, *volk-ami* (Bogoroditsky 1939).

1. One can reconstruct for Proto-Indo-European (PIE) Language a so-called ablaut-accent-paradigm (AAP), being the basis of case system on the other hand, voice and mood system on the other hand; it is connected also with the present-aorist — perfect opposition. These grammatical systems differs very strong one from another. One can suggest the processes of boundary change and transformations of stems of words belonging to several classes.

1.1. The basic principle of AAP is such: $C\acute{V}C_v : C_vC\acute{V}$ (C – consonant, V – vowel, v – reduced vowel, $\acute{}$ – stress). The barytone word is an independent member of sentence; the oxytone one is a dependent member of sentence. Both can be nouns and verbs.

1.2. If barytone words occupied the predicative position, a “wide element” *-s/-t can be added. As a sequence, the oxytone stem can be changed: $C\acute{V}C_v-t : C_vC\acute{V} \rightarrow C\acute{V}C-t : C_vC-\acute{V}$ ($C_vC-\acute{e}$). Barytone form is a verb of active voice; oxytone form became so-called non-standard middle in Vedic, Hittite, Italo-Celtic (Krasukhin 2000).

1.2.1. Oxytone form could develop the recession (= leftward shift) of stress by the analogy with baritone: $C_vC\acute{e} (\rightarrow CoC\acute{e} \text{ in light stems}) \rightarrow C\acute{o}Ce$. It is a way of the intransitive perfect building (then it is developed into resultativ and preterit).

1.3. The stem $C_vC\acute{e}-$ in opposition to the $C\acute{V}C-t$ can be reanalyzed as a whole stem; therefore the flexion $-t$ can be added. It is a basis of thematic aorist, which means in Old Greek and Lithuanian the intransitive process: Greek $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\pi\omega$ ‘push’ — $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\pi\omicron\nu$ ‘I fell out’, $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\kappa\omega$ ‘destroy’ — $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$ ‘I was destroyed’; Lith. *merkti* ‘wet’ — *mirkti* ‘become wet’.

1.4. The accent in primarily oxytone stem can be recessed by analogy with barytone one: $C\acute{V}C- : C\acute{V}Ce-$. It is a way of building of PIE conjunctive and thematic presents: OInd *ásti* ‘(s/he) is’ — *ásati* ‘(s/he) would be’, cf. Avest. *aṇha’ti*, Old Persian *ahatīy*, Old Latin *esed*. Most archaic Latin conjunctives have zero grade of root vocalism: *attigat* ‘(s/he) would

touch', *attulat* '(s/he) would carry'. I.e. conjunctive stem was originally oxytone, then became equal to the indicative stem.

2. I.e. we can discern three types of oxytone stem: A. C_vC-é (Perfect, verb of state). B. C_vCé- (middle, thematic aorist, verbs of uncontrolled process). C. CV(C)Ce- (conjunctive). These forms are result of morpheme boundary change processes.

What's an Inflectional Paradigm? (Periphrastic Verb Paradigms in Bulgarian)

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The present paper is intended to contribute to the definition of inflectional paradigm. An inflectional paradigm comprises all inflectional forms of a lexeme, be they synthetic or periphrastic (Stump 2001; Ackerman & Stump 2004).

Recent theories of inflectional morphology (Stump 2001) advocate the inferential-realizational view that it is not the attachment of an affix that expresses inflectional semantics, but inflectional morphology associates a particular morphological form with a particular set of morphosyntactic properties, therefore a linkage between morphological paradigm (form-paradigm) and syntactic paradigm (content-paradigm), cf. Ackerman & Stump (2004). In other words, every cell in a lexeme's content-paradigm is associated with a cell in a form-paradigm. Such an understanding implies that a content-paradigm always has a single corresponding form-paradigm and vice versa, which is, in fact, in line with the prototypical properties of inflection (Dressler 1989), i.e. inflection is biunique whereas variations/competitions are typical for derivational morphology. The present paper, however, discusses a number of instances where a content-paradigm is associated with two or more form-paradigms. After explaining the diachronic origin of the phenomenon, I will demonstrate that the distribution of the competing periphrastic paradigms is not arbitrary, but can be defined in terms of combinations of morphosyntactic properties, such as FUTURE + PERFECT or FUTURE + NEGATIVE, and FUTURE + PERFECT + NEGATIVE. It will be concluded that combinations of highly marked morphosyntactic properties (i.e. cognitive complexity) tolerate doubling (multiplication) of the form-paradigm.

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The Two Level Declensions in Ancient Indo-European Languages.

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In this paper we postulate that ancient Indo-European languages preserve traces of the remote past. These traces can be found in the structure of ancient consonantal declensions which

greatly remind of the modern structure of substantives in the majority of Finno-Ugric possessive (or: definite) declensions. The order of elements in a substantive in both branches is alike, e.g. in Indo-European languages it is as follows: the stem + the stem-building suffix + the ending; in Finno-Ugric languages: the stem + the pronominal suffix + the ending.

Nowadays this order is not strictly observed in Finno-Ugric languages but it was typical in ancient time (see Decsy 1990).

Typological comparison gives us possibility to suppose that in the two-level structure of Indo-European declensions the consonantal stem-building suffixes were of pronominal nature. Through such typological comparison it is possible to state that primarily the Indo-European consonantal declensions were nothing else but possessive ones.

Propos sur la définition du mot: spécificité ou universalité?

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Les mots des langues permettent très schématiquement de différencier les langues isolantes des langues agglutinantes et des langues flexionnelles (Comrie, 2004). Le problème qui se pose est bien entendu la définition du mot. Si l'on y regarde de plus près, on se rend compte que cette classification des langues selon le mot repose sur un principe grammatical. Dans le cas des langues flexionnelles, il s'agit bien sûr pour le substantif, de la flexion casuelle, de la flexion du nombre et du genre et pour le verbe, de la flexion liée au TAM. Au regard de cela, le mot n'aurait alors pas de définition universelle. Pour résoudre cette difficulté, Martinet (1970) a proposé de pas étudier le mot mais le morphème, car « puisqu'il n'y a pas moyen de définir simplement le terme mot, de façon à concorder cette définition avec l'usage ordinaire que l'on en fait, les structuralistes font de ce terme un usage aussi restreint que possible et sont enclins à refuser de définir une unité linguistique universellement valable qui se situerait entre le monème (morphème) et la phrase. Notre conclusion est, évidemment, que ce terme est inutilisable. »

Nous proposons au contraire que le mot est une unité linguistique universelle car cette unité permet la dénomination de la réalité. Sans les mots, la réalité n'est pas appréhendée. Ce n'est pas donc seulement par la flexion mais aussi par la dérivation qu'il nous faut appréhender le mot. Nous proposons de considérer que le mot est composé d'un noyau (significatif ou non, mais toujours présent) et d'affixes (présents (et toujours significatifs) ou absents). Ces affixes sont toujours dans le même ordre. Les noyaux peuvent devenir des affixes. Notre propos est de tester notre définition du mot (noyau et affixe) à travers l'analyse des mots des dictionnaires de quatre langues : deux langues flexionnelles (le français, langue indo-européenne et le comorien, langue Niger-Congo, groupe Bantu) et deux langues non flexionnelles (le bambara, langue mande et le vietnamien, langue môn-khmer). L'étude porte sur l'analyse de la construction de 10 000 mots français, et 2000 mots dans chacune des trois autres langues. Cette différence s'explique en raison d'une tradition : la construction des mots français est essentiellement étudiée d'un point de vue diachronique ou bien, en synchronie, dans la perspective de mise en évidence de règles de dérivation. Notre propos sur la construction des mots français est de montrer que le mot est synchroniquement analysable selon notre grille : avec 1000 noyaux, nous rendons compte actuellement de la construction des 10 000 mots. La discussion portera sur la nécessité de distinguer énonciation et dénomination pour appréhender le mot en sachant que la frontière entre les deux domaines est nécessairement sur un continuum.

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Redundancy in Russian Case Marking**Voeykova, Maria**

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Redundancy is a crucial characteristic of a language system that serves as a base of its stability. Adult native speakers use this mechanism intentionally (Lüdtke 1980, Dahl 2001) whereas children and aphasia patients are sometimes not aware of the redundancy principles and, in this case, may speak grammatically correct but insufficiently in comparison with the standard language. In general, this phenomenon may be defined as an obligatory mirroring of some linguistic markers by other means. Agreement is a good example of this linguistic feature in the sphere of morphology. Redundancy occurring between the elements of different linguistic levels is known under the title of “bootstrapping mechanisms” in the studies of language acquisition (Weissenborn, Höhle 2002). It helps children and second language learners in their primary orientation. Obvious cases of redundancy are well described in the standard grammars of the corresponding languages, whereas some “hidden” features need more investigation, especially in the spoken variant of language.

Russian case markers are known for their low cue validity (in terms of MacWhinney) because of the strong reduction and change of the vowels [o] and [e] in the unstressed position. Since case marking is mostly expressed by vowels in Russian, only those case forms may be considered “valid” that either contain a consonant, or stable vowels like [a], [u], [i] and [y]. Case marking may be reinforced by word order and by the use of prepositions.

The study is based on recordings of Russian native-speakers spontaneous dialogues. It is shown that only some case markers (e.g. the Genitive and Dative of feminine nouns) need the redundancy support. A well-known tendency for the partiality of the spoken language is considered as a mean to strengthen redundancy. E.g.:

- Ne kakoj-to grafiki / ili bezumnyx programm my xotim.
- Not any graphic-Gen / or crazy programs-Gen:Pl we want.

Statistical analysis of the data shows that, unlike our expectations, in most cases syncretic forms are not directly supported by the additional case marking of any kind. The question arises, which role does this homophony play? Two possible explanations may be proposed: 1) homophonous forms in some cases may be left disambiguated (compare the Dative of Beneficiary and the Genitive of Possessor of animate nouns that have a closely related semantic function; 2) homophonous forms need to be disambiguated but help to attract the attention of the listener to the whole utterance. In the second case, redundancy has an important textual function putting several parts of the utterance together. These features are only characteristics of the adult native language, whereas in the child language and in the speech of aphasia patients redundancy principles are mostly not implied correctly.

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Section J: Semantics / Cognition

Conference room: GW1 B0100

Friday, September 1, 2006	
14:00–14:30	Goto, Yuki (Ohio University) The acquisition order of color words by Japanese children: The linkage with color preference and input frequency.
14:30–15:00	Carroll, M. (University of Heidelberg, Germany) / Lambert, M. (University of Paris X, France) / Starren, M. (Radboud University, The Netherlands) / Schmiedtová, B. ; v.Stutterheim, C. (University of Heidelberg, Germany) Language-specific profiling and conceptual representations
15:00–15:30	Glynn, Dylan (University of Leuven) Iconic motivation in grammatical categories: Questions for Cognitive Grammar

Saturday, September 2, 2006	
10:00–10:30	Kuzina, Irina (Irkutsk State Linguistic University) Some principles of semantic organization of constructions with parametrical adjectives
10:30–11:00	Kuzniak, Marek (University of Wroclaw, Poland) A note on epistemic patterns underlying the selected English idioms related to human body
Coffee break	
11:30–12:00	Prozorov, Oleg (Russian Academy of Sciences, Petersburg) Semantic Topologies as Linguistic Universals
12:00–12:30	Schroten, Jan (Utrecht University) The Expression of Feelings and Emotions in Spanish: “Psychological” Nouns, Verbs and Adjectives
12:30–13:00	Silk, Anni (Universität Tartu, Estland) Die Grammatik der deutschen und estnischen Emotionsverben. Ein Vergleich
Lunch break	
14:00–14:30	Thiering, Martin (University of Alberta, Canada) Construing Topological Mental Spaces
14:30–15:00	Wildgen, Wolfgang (Universität Bremen) Neurokognitive Modelle der semantischen Kompositionalität

Language-specific profiling and conceptual representations

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Cross-linguistic studies of Semitic (Modern Standard Arabic), Germanic (English, German, Dutch, Norwegian), Romance (French, Italian, Spanish), and Slavic languages (Russian, Czech) reveal language-specific patterns when selecting and encoding information. The underlying principles are both perspective driven and linked to grammaticisation. The empirical findings relate to systematic cross-linguistic comparisons carried out on a typological basis. They focus on the grammatical categories tense, aspect, syntactic subject, word order, and their implications in connecting syntax, semantics, and information structure.

The analyses include

- cross-linguistic differences in event construal
- cross-linguistic differences in expressing the contrast specific versus generic
- language-related differences in speech onset times
- eye movement when processing the visual input for verbalisation

For event representation and time-event relations the findings reveal language-specific patterns of event construal which are grammatically determined. Contrasts manifested in linguistic form can be linked to differences in the processing of information for verbalisation. The cross-linguistic comparisons show that speakers of languages from different cultures, but with similar grammaticised means, follow similar preferences in event representation.

The findings demonstrate that the opposition relative versus universal oversimplifies the picture. There is surely a level at which human cognition can be characterised in universal terms (the distinction between ‘static’ and ‘dynamic’, for example), but concepts coded in language as developed over time, however, are not adequately captured by these primitives and require another degree of differentiation. They form well-defined clusters in which basic concepts are organised in a specific manner. The differences are reflected in their applicability across various domains in that they lead to language-specific constraints in use – even though they may include similar conceptual components (e.g. the aspectual distinctions ‘ongoing’ or ‘completion’). Differences at the level of clustering as well as differences in domains of application lead to language-specific profiles in conceptualisation and language use. Further evidence comes from studies of ultimate attainment in very advanced adult second language acquisition. They show that a given profile, taken in its entirety, is not fully accessed by the learner.

Iconic motivation in grammatical categories: Questions for Cognitive Grammar

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Using found-data in English, Dutch and German, this study examines the proposal of iconic motivation for grammatical categories. Taking lexical concepts from the domain of weather terms, concepts that would be most likely to interact with iconic structures in a predictable manner, we examine the productivity of grammatical category - lexeme combination and test the hypothesis of iconic motivation in grammar.

Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, Lakoff 1987, Talmy 1988) proposes a model of language where all form is motivated. An important part of that motivation is argued to originate in our experience of the *Lebenswelt*. In other words, not only is formal structure semantically driven, but also that structure is motivated by our interaction with the real-world. Although a reasonable proposal and one that, at a theoretical level, offers an explanation for many basic semantic-grammatical phenomena, it remains an untested hypothesis. This study tests the theory in a simple case study.

One of the most important implications for this theory is in lexical field studies. Within Cognitive Linguistics, the near-synonymous, or onomasiological, approach to lexis (Geeraerts & al. 1994, Fischer 2000, Schmid 2000) has established that theoretically such research must include lexemes from across different word-classes. Despite this and the attempts at accounting for syntactic structure in field studies (Gries 2003, Glynn 2004), an analytical apparatus for the study of lexis that crosses word-classes is yet to be developed. Applying this premise to a word-field that is perceptually based in the *Lebenswelt* offers a best-case scenario for the theory. Although the study reveals instances where the proposal is supported, in certain cases we find that the behaviour of grammatical categories is arbitrary with regards to any 'real-world' motivation. The study, therefore, concludes that although the theory of iconic motivation of grammatical classes may be well founded at a schematic abstract level of analysis, it is too powerful to explain accurately the vagaries of lexical structure.

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The acquisition order of color words by Japanese children: The linkage with color preference and input frequency.

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Color words are often referred to as examples of how language affects perception. Whorf (1956) famously claimed that language affects people's perception and thinking. Universal Grammar, conversely, argues for the commonality of languages and downplays the role of culture and language. Thus, linguistic relativity and Universal Grammar make contradictory predictions about the acquisition of color terms.

In relation to color terms, Berlin and Kay (1969) anticipate that infants acquire color terms in the same order regardless of culture or language influence due to the biological development of color perception, which is similar to Universal Grammar. Pitchford and Mullen (2002, 2005), on the other hand, maintained that acquisition correlates with preferences and input frequency of color terms, which implies a role for culture and language. Findings from other

studies of color word acquisition are, however, mixed and inconclusive concerning the efficacy of universality versus relativity.

The objective of the present study is, thus, to exploring the role of preference and input frequency on acquisition in order to test the predictions of linguistics relativity regarding color vocabulary acquisition with Japanese children. Two tasks, naming and preference, were assigned to young children. In addition, the frequency of input was explored with a corpus of Japanese child-directed cartoons. Preliminary results concur with the findings of Pitchford and Mullen (2005), which suggest a linkage between acquisition and preference and frequency. This study is of importance because it may support linguistics relativity in acquisition of color terms.

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Some principles of semantic organization of constructions with parametrical adjectives

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There exists a fundamental split between linguistic knowledge and encyclopedic knowledge. Man's physical and biological environment places a number of constraints on how he can describe parametrical characteristics of objects. In geometrical terms, spatial objects extend over maximally three dimensions determinable within a Cartesian system of coordinates. Yet in language the objects are presented as three-, two – and even one- dimensional. Depending on how physical objects are perceived and conceptualized the parametrical adjectives can be classified into three categories: (1) those that characterize objects of at least one dimension (*long-short*) (2) those that presuppose objects of at least two dimensions (*wide, broad, narrow*) and (3) the adjectives that presuppose objects of at least three dimensions (*tall, high, low, thick, thin, deep, shallow*).

Parametrical adjectives differ in their conditions of application, and the choice of a proper adjective for dimensional characteristic of objects is predetermined by a varying number of pragmatic factors which enables us to work out some rules governing more characteristic usages of parametrical adjectives.

1. The choice of parametrical adjectives is influenced by the anthropocentrism of our perception. Parametrical characteristics of objects are closely connected with their functional use. For some objects their functions can be successfully realized only if they occupy a definite position in space, in such cases parametrical adjectives characterizing these objects contain the information both about the size of an object and its orientation in space. So the word combinations *a tall post* and *a long post* are used in different situations – the first one describes the vertical position of an object whereas the adjective *long* indicates its horizontal location in space. Constraints on semantic collocations are also very often stipulated by “functional” rules. Thus we have *a deep plate, a deep bowl*, but not *a deep spoon* and *a deep bottle*.

2. When analyzing semantic peculiarities of parametrical adjectives, it is of vital importance to take into consideration a pragmatic factor of the observer and the strategy of measuring the object. The observer can occupy different positions in respect to the perceived object and the observer's perspective determines the direction of his look. Thus the object is perceived from different angles: from above or from below, from inside or outside. Different dimensions can be ascribed to one and the same object according to the position of the observer in space relatively to this object. Vertical dimension of a big container can be called height, if the observer is outside it and depth if the observer looks inside this container from above (*a high vase, a deep vase, a high barrel, a deep barrel*).
3. Among basic notions, playing an important role in interpretation of parametrical characteristics of objects is the notion of norm. Norm standards are different for different objects (a deep raven and a deep wrinkle are incomparable). Names of some objects with standard parameters do not combine with parametrical adjectives (**a long /wide/ thick dollar; *a long/ thick/ wide bacteria*).
4. The parametrical adjectives *high, wide, long, thick and deep* and their nominalizations height, width, length, thickness, and depth refer to dimensions of objects measured along intrinsic and environmental axes, sometimes with reference to verticality or horizontality

For instance, length is extensional – it specifies the extent of an object that can be both horizontal and vertical (*long curtains, long tunnel*). Height is specified by environmental axes (gravitational or contextual) and is applied to vertically oriented objects (*high building, high mountain*).

A note on epistemic patterns underlying the selected English idioms related to human body

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The goal of the paper is to analyse a sample of 95 randomly selected human body-part English idioms from the perspective of the epistemic origins that underlie them. By epistemic origins is meant the folk knowledge (schematically represented by the set of interacting pre-conceptual image-schema) shared by language users that is believed to directly relate to the evidenced origin of a particular idiomatic expression. The aim of the analysis will, then, be to uncover cognitive-axiological epistemic patterns underlying the quoted etymology of the idiom as relevant for its conventionalised dictionary meaning. The discussed idioms will be organized into subsets along the criteria that emerge out of the research. The ambition of the paper will be to argue against the often taken for granted premise that idioms are unanalysable bits of lexicon, the idiosyncrasy of which excludes the queries about their potential non-arbitrary foundations.

Semantic Topologies as Linguistic Universals

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We consider mainly a written type of linguistic communication in some unspecified natural language, say English, French, German, Russian, and so its basic units are texts. We consider only texts written with good grace and intended for human understanding, called *admissible*.

We distinguish *sense*, *meaning* and *reference*. The term *meaning* of some fragment of a given text is accepted as the content grasped in some particular situation of reading following the reader's presuppositions and prejudices in the interpretative process, formalized by the term *sense*. For the text understanding is not postponed until the final sentence, it should have meaningful parts; their meanings determine the meaning of the whole. We argue that:

- i. an arbitrary union of meaningful parts of an admissible text is meaningful;
- ii. a nonempty intersection of two meaningful parts of an admissible text is meaningful.

For an admissible text X is meaningful by definition, it remains to define formally the meaning of its empty part in order to provide X with some topology in a strict mathematical sense, where open sets $U \subset X$ are all its meaningful parts. The ordinary reading process inherits a natural temporality of phonetic phenomena, that's why we call *phonocentric* the topology so defined. For any two different sentences x, y of an admissible text X , there is an open $U \subset X$ containing precisely one of them; whence the phonocentric topology should satisfy the separation axiom T_0 of Kolmogoroff. An admissible text X gives rise to a finite space, hence it is an A -space. For a sentence $x \in X$, we define U_x to be the intersection of all the meaningful parts that contain x , i.e. the smallest open neighborhood of x . We define the *specialization relation* \leq on X by setting $x \leq y$ if and only if $x \in U_y$, or, equivalently, $U_x \subseteq U_y$. Note that for all $x, y \in X$, $x \leq y$ implies $x \leq y$, where \leq defines the usual linear order of reading.

Proposition. The set of all open sets of the kind U_x is a basis of a phonocentric topology on X . Moreover, it is the unique minimal basis of a phonocentric topology. The phonocentric topology on an admissible text defines a partial order \leq on it by means of specialization; the initial phonocentric topology can be recovered from this partial order \leq in a unique way.

Note that another *concept of meaning* or *criteria of meaningfulness* would imply another definition of meaningful fragments and so will define yet another type of *semantic* topology which may be thought of as a kind of linguistic universal because it is invariant under translation.

There exists a simple intuitive tool called Hasse diagram for the graphical representation of a finite partially ordered set (poset). For a poset (X, \leq) , the *cover relation* $<$ is defined by:

' $x < y$ if and only if $x \leq y$ and there exists no element $z \in X$ such that $x \leq z \leq y$ '. For a given poset (X, \leq) , its Hasse diagram is defined as the graph whose vertices are the elements of X and whose edges are those pairs $\{x, y\}$ for which $x < y$. The usage of some kind of Hasse diagram under the name *Leitfaden* is widely spread in mathematical treatises. In this usage, the poset is constituted of all chapters of the book. The Hasse diagram of this kind may be "split" in order to draw the Hasse diagram whose vertices are all paragraphs and then, all sentences; this gives the graphical representation of a phonocentric topology at the semantic level of text.

These considerations may be modified in order to define a phonocentric topology at the semantic level of sentence. Thus for a given admissible text, we can find, in a constructive manner, its phonocentric topology at each semantic level. Likewise for any other type of semantic topology. Now we may interpret linguistic notions in terms of topology and order and undertake their geometric studies, which may be thought of as a kind of *universal syntax*.

References: My works on formal linguistics, and standard sources in relevant mathematics.

The Expression of Feelings and Emotions in Spanish: “Psychological” Nouns, Verbs and Adjectives

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The Experiencer of a Noun expressing feelings and emotions like *odio* (‘hate’) and *susto* (‘fright’) is expressed by a genitive DP. The Experiencer of the related Psych Verb is the subject of *odiar* (‘to hate’), and the object of *asustar* (‘to frighten’): *odiar* is an ES (=Experiencer Subject) verb and *asustar* is an EO (=Experiencer Object) verb. The other Theta-role, the “target of emotion” of *odiar* or the “cause of emotion” of *asustar* is the syntactic object of the ES verb and the syntactic subject of the EO verb. Thus, there are at least two classes of “psychological” verbs. The analysis of these verbs has focused on the “irregularity” in the hierarchy of Theta roles: the Experiencer of ES-verbs is higher, and of EO-verbs is lower than the other Theta-role.

In this contribution, based on suggestions of Hale & Keyser (2002), Experiencers are interpreted as “Possessors”. “Possessors” are introduced by a null preposition of “central coincidence”, similar in meaning to the lexical preposition *with*. Thus, *el odio / susto de Juan* (‘the hate / fright of John’) is analyzed as: *el odio / susto que está con Juan* (‘the hate / fright that is with John’). The other constituent combines in two different ways with the Psych Noun: it combines with the head or with the combination of the head and its “possessor”. It follows that the “posessor” combines with the “bare” head, or with the head and its complement.

The specific claim is that ES nouns combine with the non-Experiencer first, and then with the Experiencer, whereas EO nouns combine with the Experiencer first, and then with the non-Experiencer argument. This is sketched in (a) and (b):

- a. [odio] -> [[odio]+[a los asesinos]] -> [[[odio]+[a los asesinos]]+ [de Juan]]
<Result: *odio a los asesinos de Juan* (‘hate to the assassins of John’)>
- b. [susto] -> [[susto+[de Juan]] -> [[[susto]+[de Juan]]+[por los asesinos]]
<Result: *susto de Juan por los asesinos* (‘fright of John by the assassins’)>

The question now is why ES nouns and EO nouns should be analyzed this way. The answer is conceptual: feelings like ‘hate’ and ‘love’ are “specific”, since they require a “target”: there are different kinds of hate and love, and these differences are characterized by the “target” of the feeling, which is expressed by the first argument combined with ES nouns. Other feelings, like ‘fright’ or ‘joy’, are “general” emotions; they will have a cause, but the the different emotions which the Experiencer feels can be characterized independently of the cause.

Various lexical and syntactic properties will be given to show that this conceptual distinction between ES nouns and EO nouns is the root of systematic lexical and syntactic differences. There are also systematic, well-known syntactic differences between ES verbs and EO verbs which will be reviewed. Lexical and syntactic differences between ES adjectives and EO adjectives will also be shown to be systematically related to the conceptual difference.

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Die Grammatik der deutschen und estnischen Emotionsverben. Ein Vergleich

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Neben Substantivem und Adjektiven spielen beim Ausdruck des Emotionalen auch Verben eine große Rolle. Dabei kann man sogar von einer selbständigen Kategorie der Verben sprechen, die einen emotionalen Zustand, Entstehen, Erleben oder Hervorrufen einer Emotion oder eines Gefühls im Sinne der seelischen Regung bezeichnen. Die Kategorie der Emotionsverben wie die meisten Kategorien hat typische Mitglieder, die den Kern dieser Verbgruppe bilden (z.B. *ärgern, freuen, neiden, hassen*), und sog. Randmitglieder, die gleichzeitig auch zu Kognitions-, Stimmungs-, Wunsch- oder Charakterwörtern gehören können (z.B. *beleben, berücken, sichergehen, träumen, schmeicheln, entwürdigen*). Die Heterogenität der Emotionsverben kann dadurch bedingt sein, dass Emotionen selbst sehr schwer zu bestimmen sind. Sie umgeben uns im Alltag überall und immer und trotzdem gibt es bis heute noch keine einheitliche wissenschaftliche Emotionsdefinition. Aus diesem Grunde ist es auch schwer zu sagen, ob und inwiefern Emotionsverben z.B. mit den Stimmungen oder Launen betreffenden Verben zusammenfallen.

Die Emotionsverben können aber nicht nur einen bestimmten emotionalen Zustand oder Prozess beschreiben, sondern auch Informationen über das (belebte oder unbelebte) Objekt geben, auf das diese Emotion gerichtet ist. Ebenso können die Verben die Einstellung oder das Verhalten des Subjekts gegenüber dem Objekt ausdrücken, und zwar durch ihre Rektion. Viele Emotionsverben sind ja nicht nur einwertig (d.h. verlangen nur das Subjekt als einzige obligatorische Ergänzung wie z.B. *auffahren, sich langweilen, verzagen*) oder transitiv (z.B. *freuen, befremden, fesseln, nerven*), sondern haben Präpositionalergänzung(en) (z.B. *sich begeistern für Akk, sich erzürnen über Akk, schwelgen in Dat*), eine Dativergänzung (z.B. *gefallen, zusagen, trauen*), eine Genitivergänzung (z.B. *harren*) oder sogar mehrere Ergänzungen (z.B. *verdenken Akk Dat, vereckeln Akk Dat, neiden Akk Dat*). Außerdem werden einige deutsche Emotionsverben (z.B. *widern, wundernehmen, gereuen, schaudern*) impersonal gebraucht.

Im Vortrag werden die deutschen und estnischen Emotionsverben in Bezug auf ihre Grammatik betrachtet. Vor allem wird es verglichen, welche Verb(typ)ensich in ihrer Grammatik ähneln und welche sich voneinander unterscheiden und worin. Ein solcher Vergleich kann außer den sprachkontrastiven Ergebnissen auch eine Vorstellung davon geben, wie die Sprecher der entsprechenden Sprachen sich zu bestimmten Emotionsverben stellen, ob sie diese impersonal ansehen, die Tätigkeit oder den Prozess als ortsverändernd oder mit einer Richtung betrachten

Construing Topological Mental Spaces

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Mental spaces are individual and culturally depending representations that are shaped by the environmental input (Fauconnier 1994; Johnson-Laird 1983). I propose in this paper that if one only looked at a handful of European languages, it might seem that universal perceptual mechanisms take over and speakers everywhere encode spatial relations on relatively similar and objective grounds, i.e., we might expect similar cognitive domains. Using the *Topological*

Relation Markers elicitation tool enables the comparison of cross-linguistic data that relies on perceptual stimuli (Pederson, Wilkins & Bowerman 1998). In presenting the 71 line drawings, certain figure-ground asymmetries are imposed by the researchers question “Where is object X in relation to Y”, i.e., “Where is the cloud”. Speakers of the languages in (1) generally encode the drawing in Figure A as being static whereas speakers of an Athapaskan language, Dene (spoken in the sub-arctic region of Canada), tend to describe the scene as being rather dynamic (2).



Figure A: Cloud Above Mountain

- (1)a. *Die Wolkeist über dem Berg.* [German]
 the cloud is above the mountain
 ‘The cloud is above the mountain.’
- b. *Sky-en er over fjell-et.* [Norwegian]
 cloud-the is above mountain-the
 ‘The cloud is above the mountain.’
- c. *Un nuageest au-dessus d’unemontagne.* [French]
 a cloud is above a mountain
 ‘The cloud is above the mountain.’
- d. *La nube está arriba de la montaña* [Spanish]
 the cloud is above of/over ofthe mountain
 ‘The cloud is above/over the mountain.’
- (2) *ttheshéth dagheyak’odhazghe–shel* [Dene]
 rock.hill abovecloud IMPF.3sg.S–AM.float
 ‘A/the cloud above a/the mountain is moving.’

The examples in (1) suggest that the cloud—the figure—is construed as being located above the mountain in a static, neutral and relatively non-perspectivized relation. Speakers of Dene tend to express that the figure is never simply over the ground, but rather that it floats in the sky, i.e., the trajectory is profiled. The scene is generally encoded as a motion event and not as a static spatial relation. This amalgam indicates a mapping process from a spatial- to a time-related cognitive domain.

In this paper I want to challenge a speaker-independent if not visually based set of features in the encoding spatial categorization. Instead, I want to support a subjective and perspectivized construction of spatial categorization depending on subjectivized mental spaces. (Svorou 1993; Talmy 1983). The data supports the general idea that languages shape and carve up topological space depending on their language-specific affordances.

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Neurokognitive Modelle der semantischen Kompositionalität

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Die Grundform des psychologischen Kompositionsproblems war bereits Thema der Gestaltpsychologie. Wenn einige Teile gegeben sind, z.B. Kandidaten für Hintergrund und Vordergrund, wie wird der Zusammenhalt des Ganzen gefunden oder konstruiert? Das Hauptproblem ist dabei dasjenige der Ambiguität möglicher Konstruktionen. Die moderne Gehirnforschung hat mit invasiven Techniken der Gehirnforschung an Tieren und mit bildgebenden Verfahren, welche die Aktivitäten des menschlichen Gehirns bei der Lösung von Test-Aufgaben zeigen, die Fragestellung der Gestaltpsychologen präzisiert. Man nennt das Problem jetzt das Bindungs(binding)-Problem. Es sei etwa die Reaktion einer Neuronengruppe auf den Aspekt: Dreieck vs. Quadrat, und einer anderen auf den Aspekt: Oben – Unten, gegeben. Wie kann dann das Gehirn diese separaten Informationen (die sich aber auf *eine* Situation beziehen) kombinieren und das obere Dreieck, das untere Quadrat oder die relationale Aussage, „das Dreieck befindet sich oberhalb des Quadrats“, bilden? Erst wenn dieser Kern der Kompositionsproblematik richtig gelöst ist, lässt sich die Frage nach hierarchisch iterierten Kompositionen sinnvoll stellen. Dabei spielt das Phänomen der kortikalen Synchronisation/Desynchronisation eine entscheidende Rolle. Die Bindung erfolgt demnach primär (in gewissen Zeitfenstern) *temporal*, und zwar dadurch, dass Populationen von Neuronen (etwa 500–1000 Zellen) synchron feuern. Die Synchronisierung kann sogar über größere Distanzen im Gehirn erfolgen. Das Problem der Bindung wird noch dadurch verschärft, dass man dieser Synchronizität eigentlich ansehen müsste, ob sich die Bindung auf Eigenschaften (Was?) oder auf Befindlichkeiten (Wo?) bezieht oder ob gar das Verhältnis von Was und Wo Inhalt der synchronen Gestalt ist (diese müssten quasi eine Signatur tragen). Werden die Aktivierungen von zwei Zellverbänden, die z.B. die Gestalt (Dreieck oder Quadrat) versus die Position (oben oder unten) angeben, übereinander gelegt, so lässt sich bei Anwesenheit von zwei Objekten (Dreieck über dem Quadrat) nicht mehr ablesen, ob das Dreieck oder das Quadrat oben ist; d.h. die Relation geht verloren. Außerdem müssen bei Bewegungen temporale Sequenzen erkannt werden, die ebenfalls temporal kodiert sein müssen, und von der temporalen Kodierung von statischen Eigenschaften unterschieden werden müssen. Singer (1999: 50) schlägt eine parallele Kodierung räumlicher und zeitlicher Muster vor. Im Konfliktfall wird das prägnantere/relevantere Muster gewählt (das andere unterdrückt; *ibidem*). Ein Prozess kann wiederum mit ihm anhaftenden Eigenschaften, z.B. den am Prozess beteiligten Größen, verbunden werden, ebenso wie die Lokalisierung des Prozesses mit dem Prozess selbst verbunden werden kann. Besonders relevant für die Synchronisierung scheint das γ -Band (30-50 Hz) zu sein, so dass man im Zusammenhang des Bindungsproblems auch von der 40 Hz-Problematik spricht (vgl. die Homepage: www.40Hz.de von A.K. Engel).

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Section K: Theory - Methodology

Conference room: GW1 HS 1010

Friday, September 1, 2006	
14:00–14:30	Beedham, Christopher (University of St. Andrews) Using exceptions to rules as a means of empirical research in grammar
14:30–15:00	De Cuypere, Ludovic (University of Gent) / Willems, Klaas (University of Gent) / van der Auwera, Johan (University of Antwerp) Iconicity in language: an integrated approach
15:00–15:30	Huszár, Ágnes (Universität Pécs, Ungarn) Versprecheranalyse im Dienste sprachtypologischer Überlegungen
15:30–16:00	Stroh-Wollin, Ulla (Uppsala University, Sweden) The concept of definiteness
16:00–16:30	Seuren, Pieter A.M. (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen) Linguistic evidence for speech act operators

Using exceptions to rules as a means of empirical research in grammar

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Given that the number of sentences in a language is infinite, how do you go about tackling infinity? In this paper it is suggested that unexplained lexical exceptions to rules present us with the opportunity to empirically investigate those rules, to find out why a rule is wrong in that it produces mysterious exceptions, and to revise the rule so that it does not lead to those exceptions. Two examples are given, the rule of passive formation, and the rule of tense formation, in English, German and Russian. The exceptions to the rule of passive formation are non-passivizable transitive verbs, e.g. English *to have*, German *mögen* ‘to like’. An empirical investigation of exhaustive lists of such verbs in those two languages led to the discovery that most of them also do not form a resultative perfect, which in turn led to the conclusion that the passive is an aspect of the type Auxiliary + Participle (like the perfect), meaning ‘action + state’, whereby only telic verbs – verbs with an inherent end-point in their semantics (capable of becoming the end-state of the meaning ‘action + state’) – can form a passive. Thus the explanation for non-passivizable transitive verbs is that they are atelic, and hence cannot form a passive. Although this analysis arose in theoretical linguistics it is readily applicable in pedagogical grammars of English, German, and Russian.

The exceptions to the rule of tense formation are strong or irregular verbs in English and German, and non-productive verbs in Russian. Most verbs form a regular preterit and 2nd participle with *-ed -ed* in English and with *-t- -t* in German, but approx. 150 verbs in each of

English and German form their preterit and 2nd participle with ablaut and *-en*, e.g. English *drink drank drunk*, German *singen sang gesungen* ‘to sing’. Most verbs ending in *-at* in Russian form a regular/productive present tense in which the *-a-* is retained, e.g. *čitat’ čitaet* ‘to read’, but approx. 200 irregular/non-productive verbs in *-at* drop the *-a-* and undergo consonant interchange, e.g. *pisat’ pišet* ‘to write’. A comparison of exhaustive lists of the irregular verbs with exhaustive lists of structurally comparable regular verbs in the three languages has revealed that for English and German the VCs and CVs (the vowel + consonant (cluster) and consonant (cluster) + vowel sequences) – for Russian just the VCs – of the stems of the irregular verbs have a remarkably low rate of occurrence on the regular verbs, and thus serve as phonotactic markers of irregular conjugation; e.g. in English the [ɪŋk] of *drink*, in German the [ɪŋ] of *singen*, in Russian the *-is* of *pisat’*. Moreover, a comparison with monosyllabic words other than verbs in the three languages has revealed that the irregular verb VCs (but not the CVs) have a remarkably high rate of occurrence in function words, as opposed to full lexical words. Thus a phonotactic link has been established between irregular verbs and function words. The research described is not yet complete, since a rule of formation and a meaning for the irregular verbs are still to be found – it seems likely that the irregular verbs will turn out to be resultative, as opposed to process-oriented – but the patterns observed so far point in the direction of a phonotactic solution. Once again, any solution found will be applicable in pedagogical grammars.

This ‘method of lexical exceptions’ has the following stages to it: (i) choose a construction which is formally present in two or three languages and which has an unusually large number of lexical exceptions; (ii) look for a formal correlation between your construction and its exceptions on the one hand and some other category in your languages on the other (see Beedham 2005).

In terms of relativism vs. universalism the paper shows that structurally and typologically diverse languages, in this case two Germanic languages and a Slav language, are more similar in structure than previously thought if mistakes in their descriptions can be eradicated with the aid of the method of lexical exceptions.

Reference

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Iconicity in language: an integrated approach

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Western thought has been fascinated by iconicity in language, viz. the resemblance between linguistic forms and reality, ever since its earliest beginnings in ancient Greek philosophy. Already from the start two basic views on iconicity are apparent. Proponents of iconicity hold that iconicity offers a general account of linguistic forms. Opponents, on the other hand, contend that iconicity is merely in the eye of the beholder. From the 1980s onwards, a vast accumulation of studies arguing for iconicity in language may be witnessed. In particular, iconicity has become a popular explanatory concept for morphological (e.g. Bybee 1985) as well as syntactic structures (e.g. Haiman 1985). The age old opposition does not seem to be resolved, however, for not everyone is convinced by the empirical “evidence”.

Our talk starts off by exploring the epistemological problems involved in the matter, which we believe to be explanatory of this opposition. These problems are outlined through C. S.

Peirce's theory of semiosis. A discussion of Peirce's sign concept along with his classification of signs into icons, indexes and symbols, will clarify what prevents the iconicity debate from getting to unequivocal conclusions. It will be argued that a distinction needs to be made between iconicity as the sheer resemblance between language and reality and an iconically motivated sign. The former is easily attested on objective grounds, cf. the numerous studies on iconicity in language. But how does the observed similarity affect language? Maybe, as is claimed by the opponents, iconicity is merely coincidental (cf. Bouissac 2005)? If not, how is iconicity related to language then?

A new theoretical framework for iconicity in language seems mandatory therefore. We suggest a framework based on a hierarchical and evolutionary interpretation of Peirce's classification of signs offered by T. Deacon (1997). On Deacon's view, symbols are grounded in indexical relations which in turn are based on relations between icons. Interestingly, Deacon's interpretation allows for iconicity in language without disregarding the fundamental symbolic nature of language. According to Deacon, the iconic roots of communication are still visible and deployed in natural, i.e. symbolic, language. He believes that number, intensity and importance may iconically be reflected by syntactic features such as repetition, inflection and adjacency (cf. Deacon 1997: 354). Linguistic forms may thus still be iconically motivated. Building on E. Coseriu (2001 [1983]), who points out that the proper locus of language change is in the perpetual *creation* of language by the individual speaker (*energeia*), we will additionally argue that iconic language structures should be regarded as the outcome of iconically motivated language use.

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Versprecheranalyse im Dienste sprachtypologischer Überlegungen

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Die Analyse von Sprechfehlern – eine der traditionellen Methoden der Sprachproduktionsforschung – ermöglicht Einblicke in die kognitive Prozesse der Sprachproduktion. Die Erkenntnisse, die durch *on line* und *off line* Korpora, bzw. gezielte Experimente gewonnen werden können, sind vor allem von universeller Bedeutung. Sie vermitteln allgemeingültige Erkenntnisse über den Zugriff zum mentalem Lexikon, bzw. über die Arbeitsweise der weiteren Phasen der Sprachproduktion. Die Reihenfolge dieser Phasen sind charakteristisch für die Sprachproduktion schlechthin: die typischen Sprechfehler kommen in allen Sprachen, sogar in der Zeichensprache der Taubstommen vor.

Versprecherkorpora mehrerer Sprachen zeigen aber wesentliche Unterschiede in Proportionen ihrer Zusammenstellung.

1. Die Erklärung hierfür liegt vor allem darin, daß lexikalische Einheiten in einzelner Sprachen unterschiedliche Häufigkeitswerte aufweisen.
2. Es gibt aber auch Sprechfehler, die durch die typologische Aufbau der einzelnen Sprachen bedingt sind. Ein Beispiel: die Zeit- Raum-, Ursache-, Wirkung-Verhältnisse werden in den sog. flektierenden Sprachen durch vor den Nomina stehende Propositionen, in den agglutinativen Sprachen durch an den Endungen der Nomina auftretende Nachsilben ausgedrückt. Aufgrund dieser Differenz entstehen wesentliche Unterschiede in der Zusammenstellung der Versprecherkorpora flektierender vs. agglutinativer Sprachen.

Es wird der Versuch unternommen, englischsprachige (Dell) und deutschsprachige Korpora (Berg, Jescheniak) mit den von dem Verfasser zusammengestellten ungarischsprachigen Korpora aus sprachtypologischer Sicht zu vergleichen.

Linguistic evidence for speech act operators

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A number of syntactic and lexical phenomena in different languages are discussed, which show that speech act operators have structural linguistic reality. The arguments in Ross (1970) are discussed and judged to be insufficient. It is shown that speech act operators occur not only at the top of a semantic analysis but may also occur further down the structure. The evidence adduced is derived from German, English, Turkish, Tibetan, Sabanê (an Amazonian language), and perhaps other languages as well. Epithet phenomena are interpreted as evidence for underlying speech acts of lexical choice ("I hereby call x a runt"). Cases of reference to speech acts ("Stop giggling, and I mean it!") are treated as evidence, as well as specific uses of propositional connectives ("Hands up or I'll shoot!").

Reference:

John R. Ross (1970) "On declarative sentences" In: R. Jacobs and P. Rosenbaum (eds), *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*. Ginn & Co, Boston: 222–272.

The concept of definiteness

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There is a very long debate about the meaning of definite noun phrases. Key words in this debate are identifiability (or familiarity) and uniqueness. A term like identifiability is principally a pragmatic notion, whereas the proponents of the uniqueness description differ over whether uniqueness is part of the semantics of the phrase or derived pragmatically.

As a grammarian, I have tackled the meaning of definiteness in a quite different way. The majority of definite noun phrases are used in contexts where both the identifiability description and the uniqueness description work. However, I do not believe neither identifiability, nor uniqueness to be grammatically encoded meanings of definite noun phrases, but (contextually, conventionally etc.) interpretations within the limits given by the encoded meaning.

As I see it, the debate on definiteness would profit a great deal from a better understanding of what is actually the grammatically encoded definite meaning in definite noun phrases.

My point of departure is definite noun phrases in Swedish, a language with so called double definiteness, i.e. the use of two definite morphemes in one and the same noun phrase. This phenomenon is due to the fact that Swedish nouns can be inflected for definiteness by an suffixed definite article and that nouns in the definite form sometimes are used in combination with a preposed definite determiner, see (1) – definite morphemes in bold face.

- (1)a. *hus-et* ‘the house’
 house-def.
 b. ***det*** *vita hus-et* ‘the white house’
 def. white house-def.
 c. ***det*** *hus-et* ‘that house’ (only demonstrative reading possible)
 dem. house-def.

However, some definite noun phrases do not take a noun in the definite form. Noun phrases headed by possessive determiners, for example, always take the noun in indefinite form, whereas noun phrases with *det* + noun + restrictive relative clause usually can have the noun in either indefinite and definite form, see (2).

- (2)a. ***mitt*** *hus* ‘my house’
 my house
 b. ***det*** *hus(-et) som är till salu* ‘the house that is for sale’
 def. house(-def.) rel. is for sale

As is evident from the examples above, definite noun phrases can be structurally heterogeneous. An attendant question is of course if we then can expect them to be semantically homogeneous.

My hypothesis is that determiners and some inflectional morphemes in noun phrases are used by the speaker to restrict the set of referents in different ways. This process is less transparent in definite than in indefinite noun phrases. And maybe some definite phrases are more definite than others.

Section L: Discourse

Conference room: GW1 A0010

Friday, September 1, 2006	
12:00–12:30	Romano, Manuela (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid) / Molina, Clara (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid) / Hidalgo, Laura (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid) Cross-Linguistic SOLIDARITY: A Socio-Cognitive Approach
12:30–13:00	Petric, Teodor (University of Maribor, Slovenia) On speaker- and hearer-efficiency in German and Slovenian chats

On speaker- and hearer-efficiency in German and Slovenian chats

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In this paper in the framework of naturalness theory, I try to account for the trade-off of speaker- and hearer-efficiency in Slovenian and German chats in the Internet. Due to time pressure chatters tend to increase the information flow. This tendency affects the overtness of information, word order, the choice of deixis and other grammatical constructions. Since the redundancy of the linguistic constructions is decreased it is assumed that the chatters use different means to make their contributions more hearer-friendly, ie. more natural linguistic and non-linguistic constructions. This assumption is tested in several German and Slovenian Internet chats.

Cross-Linguistic SOLIDARITY: A Socio-Cognitive Approach

Romano, Manuela / Molina, Clara / Hidalgo, Laura

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This work is part of a broader project in which discourse markers are studied from a **socio-cognitive perspective**, a new interdisciplinary approach to language that has been called “Cognitive Contrastive Analysis” and, more recently, “Socio-Cognitive Contrastive Linguistics”. According to this innovative line of research, which prefers the terms “languages & cultures” to “language & culture”, linguistic diversity is as important as linguistic universals. In addition, human cognition cannot be thoroughly understood without taking into account the social elements it interacts with, an assumption which is best summarized within the concept of *embodied cognition* (Slobin 1996, Bernárdez 2003, Geeraerts 2003).

SOLIDARITY, as a natural category lying within the semantic field of FEELINGS, overlaps with other concepts such as SYMPATHY, EMPATHY, RESPECT, TACT, AFFECT, among others. The meaning that comes closest to our study is “unity or agreement of feeling or action, especially

among individuals with a common interest” (Oxford English Dictionary) or “...a reciprocal relationship characterized by similarities that make for like-mindedness or similar behaviour dispositions (Brown & Gilman 1978, Pickering 1990, Wouk 2001).

This paper concentrates on how **SPEAKER SOLIDARITY** is expressed in Spanish and English oral discourse, since it is this type of **SOLIDARITY** that has been less studied by discourse analysis and pragmatics. That is, we study the various linguistic means -discourse markers, lexis, grammar, intonation, repetition, silence, etc.-, speakers use in order to build a solidary relationship with hearer and secure a solidary response from him/her.

Because of the wide variety of forms, their multi-functionality and because of the fact that they are so difficult to translate, an *onomasiological approach* to the expression of **SOLIDARITY** in English and Spanish has been undertaken in the analysis under study. That is, we follow a comprehensive approach in which we trace down all the forms and functions manifested in English and Spanish oral discourse related with the semantic field of **SOLIDARITY**, rather than concentrating on concrete marker.

The **sources for our analysis** are Spanish and English radio programmes in which people speak about their most intimate worries or problems. Programmes in which speakers feel free to talk about their worries in a natural, anonymous situation/setting and therefore contain spontaneous oral discourse (Spanish: *Hablar por hablar*, *No es un día cualquiera*, *Géneros nocturnes* and English: *Late night love* and *Sunday Surgery*).

By examining, then, the conceptual domain of **SPEAKER SOLIDARITY** in English and Spanish and by explaining how it is realized in each language (that is, the different sources, their development, frequency of usage and functions of markers), we show that the qualitative and quantitative differences between both languages are based on different cultural values which lead to differences in conversational style and, in the end, can enhance both the translation and the acquisition of pragmatic markers within a cross-linguistic framework.

Workshops

Workshop 1 (Abr): Cross-linguistic aspect/Aktionsart-modality links

Abraham, Werner (Vienna) / Leiss, Elisabeth (Munich)

Conference room: GW1 A0160

Thursday, August 31, 2006	
15:00–15:15	Abraham, Werner (University of Vienna) Introduction to Workshop: Aspects – Modalities - Diatheses - Discourse Functions – Reference – Concepts and terminological standards
15:15–15:45	Leiss, Elisabeth (LMU Munich) Aspect, (in)definiteness, and modality. The invisible patterns of deonticity and epistemicity
15:45–16:30	Drobnjakovic, Ana (KU Leuven) The Aspect-Modality link in Serbian
Coffee break	
17:00–17:45	Kotin, Mikhail L. (U Zielona Góra) Aspekte einer Rekonstruktion von Form und Funktion von Modalverben
17:45–18:30	Malchukov, Andrej L. (U Nijmegen & Institute for Linguistic Research, St. Petersburg) Mood-aspect interaction: felicitous and infelicitous combinations
Friday, September 1, 2006	
10:00–10:45	Kopecky, Carmen (U Maribor) Indefinitheit und Epistemizität und ihr grammatischer Mikrokontext in deutsch-slowenischen Übersetzungstexten
Coffee break	
11:30–12:15	Ziegeler, Debra (Manchester) Propositional aspect in the development of modal inferences in English
12:15–13:00	Maché, Jakob (U Vienna) The decline of argument structure on modal verbs
Lunch break	
14:00–14:45	Narrog, Heiko (Tohoku U, Japan) Aspect and modality in the Japanese verbal system

14:45–15:30	Boogaart, Ronny (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) / Trnavac, Radoslava (University of Leiden) The connection between aspect and modality from a cross-linguistic perspective
15:30–16:15	Tanaka, Shin (U Chiba, Japan & LMU Munich) Eine Korrelation der Imperfektivität und Epistemizität: <i>Handan-Bun</i> (Urteilssatz) und <i>Gensho-Bun</i> (Deskriptiver Satz) im Japanischen

Saturday, September 2, 2006

10:00–10:45	Klimonow, Wladimir D. (HU Berlin) Die Konnexionen zwischen modaler Semantik und Verbalaspekt (am Beispiel der aspektuell-temporalen Formen des Russischen)
Coffee break	
11:30–12:15	Wiemer, Björn (U Konstanz) Aspect choice in modal contexts: Russian and the other Slavic languages
12:15–13:00	Paducheva, Elena V. (Moscow) Modality, negation and aspect: the case of the Russian <i>mozhet</i> and <i>nado</i>
Lunch break	
14:00–14:45	Pustet, Regina (LMU Munich) The Lakota aspect/modality marker <i>TKH</i>
14:45–15:30	Bauer, Brigitte L. M. (U Texas, Austin) Definiteness in Latin
15:30–16:15	Abraham, Werner (U Vienna) Results of the workshop

**Introduction to Workshop:
Aspects – Modalities - Diatheses - Discourse Functions –
Reference – Concepts and terminological standards**

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The introduction serves the purpose to set up terminologies and inventories of concepts that are expected to play a major role in the discussions in this workshop. Among them are:

1. What modalities are we speaking about in connection with aspect and tense
2. Is there a plausibility about the link between (in)definiteness and (im)perfectivity – mereological considerations.

3. What is the status of discourse functions such as Thema vs. Rhema, what is their grammatical status (“To what extent can Thema and Rhema be predicted, or computed, in terms of grammatical – i.e., formal, morphosyntactic – functions?”) and in which languages will this link be successful and in which languages it will not?

This discussion will be led concretely by (some of) the abstracts sent in by the workshop participants, particularly those that refute the theses extended by ABRAHAM&LEISS in the call for participation to the present workshop.

Definiteness in Latin

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In this talk I will present an analysis of definiteness in Latin, examining the various devices and evaluating to what extent definiteness did exist before definite articles emerged.

As is well known, several demonstratives lost their deictic value in the transition from Latin to Romance and became definite articles. Early instances of this change are found in Vulgar and Late Latin documents. Yet the origin of definite articles in the individual Romance languages may vary as may the actual place of the article within the noun phrase. A long tradition of analyses of this linguistic development exists already, but to my knowledge no one has asked to what extent the emergence of definite articles in the Italic-Romance branch of Indo-European truly was a grammatical innovation.

Recent research involving other linguistic branches (e.g. Bader 1993, Abraham 1997, Philippi 1997) has shown that languages without definite articles, such as Russian, may distinguish between perfective constructions with an accusative direct object (definite) and those with a genitive direct object (indefinite). Others may have two types of adjectival inflection as in Balto-Slavic or Germanic, cf. Gmc weak (with *-n-*, definite) vs. strong (indefinite) adjectives. Yet other Indo-European languages include derivational processes whereby a suffix (e.g. *-n-*) is added to an adjectival base creating a derived noun with definite characteristics, cf. Greek οὐράνιος ‘heavenly’ > Οὐρανίωνες; Lat. *catus* ‘sly’ > *Catonem* ‘(Cato-Acc.) ‘the sly one’.

Systematic analysis of defining devices in Latin to date does not exist. My paper will therefore discuss the expression of definiteness in Latin, as compared to devices in other early Indo-European languages, focussing on phenomena such as genitive and accusative direct objects, certain gender assignments, and derivational processes.

The connection between aspect and modality from a cross-linguistic perspective

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It is well known that there is a connection between tense and modality in the sense that the past tense may be used to express epistemic distance with respect to the Ground of the discourse. However, on closer scrutiny, there is a special affinity between IMPERFECTIVE past, rather than general past, and modal use (Fleischman 1995). This is especially clear in languages such as French, in which the *imparfait* (imperfective past), but not the *passé simple* (perfective past), occurs in a variety of ‘virtual’ contexts (Brisard & De Mulder ms.). A similar connection between aspectuality and modality can be observed in Germanic languages, as is demonstrated for English in (1).

- (1) a. [?]I wish I climbed Mount Everest.
 b. I wish I was/were a mountaineer.
 c. I wish I was/were climbing Mount Everest.
 d. I wish I had climbed Mount Everest.

The sense of counterfactuality implied by *wish* is incompatible with an eventive (perfective) complement clause, as in (1a), whereas it can be felicitously combined with either a lexically stative complement, as in (1b), or a complement containing a progressive or perfect construction, as in (1c) and (1d). Assuming that lexical states as well as (the finite, stative part of) progressive and perfect constructions express imperfective aspect, these sentences show the preference for imperfective forms in this specific modal context. Boogaart (2006), who provides more illustrations of this connection for English and Dutch, argues that the modal use of imperfective forms in Germanic and Romance languages can be linked to the ‘anaphoric’ nature of these forms: Situations presented by imperfective forms always need to be linked to a reference time R, to be provided by the context. The situation is interpreted as holding at this reference time; thus, our representation for IMPERFECTIVE PAST is $E, R < S$. The reference time may be a point of perspective or an epistemic evaluation time, giving rise to ‘subjective’ and epistemic-modal readings. In our view, the semantics of PERFECTIVE PAST does not contain a reference point: $E < S$. As a consequence, the form does not make available a point in time to function as epistemic evaluation time – which is why perfective forms are generally incompatible with epistemic-modal readings.

However, as is shown by Trnavač (2006), in Slavic languages one can find many counterexamples to the hypothesized connection between imperfective aspect and epistemic modality. In particular, PRESENT PERFECTIVE forms are used to express many kinds of epistemic-modal notions, such as in conditional constructions of the sort exemplified in Russian (2).

- (2) *Priděsh’ uvidish*
 come-PRES-PERF see-PRES-PERF
 ‘If you come, you will see’

In our paper, we will offer a comparative description of the modal uses of aspect in Romance, Germanic and Slavic languages. We will conclude that in none of these languages imperfective aspect is a necessary condition for the epistemic use of verb forms. More importantly, we will show the need for a more refined approach to the connection between aspect and modality, taking into account (i) different *kinds* of modality (e.g. counterfactual in (1) versus hypothetical in (2)), corresponding to different *degrees* of subjectivity (in the sense of Langacker 2003) and (ii) the interaction with temporal reference (e.g. ‘present’ in (1) versus ‘future’ in (2)). To conclude, we will discuss the theoretical implications of our description for the anaphoric analysis of imperfective aspect.

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The Aspect-Modality link in Serbian

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Serbian, like other Slavic languages, shows only one type of aspectual opposition resulting in two grammatical aspects: perfective and imperfective (Comrie 1993). Situated on the lexical level and therefore referred to as *Aktionsart*, this aspectual distinction implies that, with a few exceptions, each Serbian verb is either perfective or imperfective (Stanojčić & Popović 1997). Making use of the Corpus of the Serbian Language (henceforth CSL), the aim of this paper is to investigate whether Serbian confirms a cross-linguistically detected phenomenon according to which deontic shows affinity to the perfective and epistemic to the imperfective aspect (Abraham 1990, 2005; Leiss 2002). A preliminary examination shows that in Serbian deontic is, indeed, linked to perfective aspect and epistemic to imperfective aspect (1a- b):

[Glosses: PRS=present, IMPF=imperfective, PFV=perfective, PST=past, IMPR=impersonal; E(pistemic), D(eontic)]

DISTRIBUTIONAL AKTIONSART SENSITIVITY (cf. Abraham 2005: 248f.) D-reading E-reading

(1) a	<i>Mora</i>	<i>da radi</i>			+	+
	must-prs	that work- ipfv				
	‘He must work /He must be working’					
	b	<i>Ona mora da postane lekar</i>			+	-
	she must-prs that become- pfv doctor					
	‘She must become a doctor’					

However, the affinity between deontic and perfective, on one hand, and epistemic and imperfective, on the other, is detectable in Serbian only when the modal is in the 3rd person singular, present tense, as is the case in (1). The reason for this is that Serbian has a way of encoding for deontic and epistemic meanings other than aspect: The impersonal form (3^r person singular, present tense) of a Serbian modal has to be used, when an epistemic meaning is to be communicated (2):

					D- reading	E-reading
(2) a	<i>Moraju da rade</i>				+	-
	must- 3pl.prs that work-3pl.prs					
	b	<i>Mora da rade</i>			-	+
	impr that work-3pl.prs					

And yet, when epistemic modal is in the past tense, the impersonal form of a modal is no longer the element enabling the distinction between deontic and epistemic meaning, the finiteness of a main verb now beginning to play an important role (3a-b):

					D- reading	E-reading
(3) a	<i>Morali su da idu</i>				+	-
	must- 3pl.pst that go-3pl.prs					
	‘They had to go’					
	<i>Morali su ići</i>				+	+
	must- 3pl.pst go- inf					

From (3) we conclude, that Serbian does confirm, in the case of modal verb embedding under a modal verb, another cross-linguistically valid tendency according to which epistemic modality shows affinity towards finiteness and deontic towards non-finiteness (Abraham 2005:246/passim).

All of the abovementioned properties of Serbian urge for a thorough analysis of the CSL, which would provide us with clearer clues dealing with the factors determining the aspect-modality link in Serbian.

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Die Konnexionen zwischen modaler Semantik und Verbalaspekt (am Beispiel der aspektuell-temporalen Formen des Russischen)

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Das primäre Ausdrucksmittel der Modalität ist die Kategorie des Modus. Im Russischen werden drei grammatisch differenzierte Modi unterschieden. Der Konjunktiv mit der Bedeutung der fiktiven Handlung ([+FIKTIV]) steht dem Imperativ und dem Indikativ gegenüber, die das Merkmal der Fiktivität nicht signalisieren. Der Imperativ als Träger der deontischen Modalität verfügt über das Merkmal der Debitivität ([+DEBITIV]). Für das Konjunktiv ist dieses Merkmal nicht relevant. Der Indikativ als unmarkiertes Glied der auf Fiktivität bzw. Debitivität begründeten Oppositionen hat ein breites Bedeutungsspektrum. Seine Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten umfassen: 1. nichtfiktive nichtdebitive Handlungen ([-FIKTIV], [-DEBITIV]), 2. nichtfiktive debitivische Handlungen ([-FIKTIV], [+DEBITIV]) und 3. fiktive Handlungen ([+FIKTIV]). Während der Konjunktiv und der Imperativ semantisch markiert sind und mit Modalitätsmarkern ausgestattet sind, hat der semantisch unmarkierte Indikativ keine formalen Indikatoren der Modalität. Beim Indikativ fungieren die aspektuell-temporalen Formen als Ausdrucksmittel der modalen Information.

Ich unterscheide sechs aspektuell-temporalen Formen (ATF) als Abbildung der zweier Aspekte (des perfektiven (pf. A.) und des imperfektiven (ipf. A.)) auf drei Tempora (Präsens, Präteritum und Futurum). Das Präsens des pf. A. und das Futurum des pf. A. betrachte ich als synkretisch, d.h. sie fallen formal zusammen. Ich stelle im Vortrag die Analyse der modalen Bedeutungen aller sechs ATF vor, da diese Problematik in der Russistik uneinheitlich und widersprüchlich behandelt wurde und eigentlich nur am Rande der Beschreibung der temporalen Funktionen der ATF. Das Ziel meiner Untersuchung besteht in der Feststellung der Konnexionen zwischen den Aspektformen und dem Ausdruck der deontischen bzw. der epistemischen Modalität. Das pf. Präsens ist die reichste mit modalen Bedeutungen

ausgestattete ATF, während das ipf. Präteritum, das seiner Natur gemäß überwiegend eine reale Handlung ausdrückt, am wenigsten durch modale Bedeutungen belastet ist. Die aspektuellen Marker der ATF dienen zum Ausdruck der inhärenten Aspektsemantik, der temporalen Information und in Verbindung mit Kontextexponenten auch der pragmatischen (modalen und expressiven) Bedeutungen. Die aspektuell-temporalen Bedeutungen entstehen im Ergebnis der Interaktion zwischen aspektueller und temporaler Semantik. In den eigentlichen Aspektparadigmen sind die Formen des pf. A. mit der Bedeutung der Totalität der Handlung ([+TOTAL]) die markierten Glieder der Aspektoppositionen. In den temporalen Paradigmen sind dagegen die ATF des ipf. A. die markierten Glieder, die das Merkmal des Getrenntheit von Handlung und Sprechaktmoment ([+GETRENNT]) signalisieren.

Die modalen Bedeutungen der ATF sind kontextsensitiv. Kontext verstehe ich hier einschließlich der lexikalischen Semantik des Verbs, d.h. in einem ganz weiten Sinne. Im Kontext von performativen Verben, die den Zusammenfall oder die Koinzidenz von Ereignis und Sprechakt ausdrücken, besitzt die ATF des pf. Präsens (Beispiel (1-1)) eine volitive oder desiderative Bedeutung, die eine Absicht oder einen Willensakt des Sprechers darstellt, während die ATF des ipf. Präsens diese Bedeutung nicht hat:

(1-1) Na ehtom ja zakonču (pf. A.) (= choču zakončit‘) / zakančivaju (ipf. A.) svoj doklad
,Hiermit möchte ich meinen Vortrag beenden / beende ich meinen Vortrag‘

Im explizit modalen Kontext (Beispiel (1-2)) mit der Partikel *požaluj*, die die Bevorzugung der Beendigung des Vortrages zum gegebenen Zeitpunkt seitens des Sprechers ausdrückt, kann die ATF des ipf. Präsens nicht verwendet werden:

(1-2) Na ehtom ja požaluj zakonču (pf. A.) / *zakančivaju (ipf. A.) svoj doklad
,Hiermit möchte ich meinen Vortrag beenden‘

Der russische Modalisator *požaluj* im Beispiel (1-2) wird nicht explizit ins Deutsch übersetzt, schlägt sich aber im Modalverb *mögen* nieder. Die performativen Verben sind nicht der einzige Kontext, in dem die ATF des pf. Präsens die Bedeutung der aktuellen Handlung hat. In der Russistik herrscht die Anschauung vor, das die Bedeutung des aktuellen Präsens mit der Bedeutung des pf. A. unvereinbar ist, und deshalb wird die ATF des pf. Präsens nicht als selbständige ATF anerkannt. Bei Vorhandensein eines Modalisators (wie im Beispiel (1-2)) funktioniert die ATF des pf. Präsens wie die ATF des ipf. Präsens, die per default das aktuelle Präsens ausdrückt. Die ATF des ipf. Präsens wird in solchen Kontexten ausgeblendet und durch die Form des pf. Präsens ersetzt.

Die sekundäre Funktion der ATF des pf. Präsens ist die Bezeichnung des nichtaktuellen Präsens. Im Kontext einer einmaligen oder singulativen Handlung und einer definiten Nominalphrase (NP) wird die dort zu realisierende modale Bedeutung nur durch die ATF des pf. A. wiedergegeben (vgl. Beispiel (2-1)), während die entsprechende modale Bedeutung im Kontext mehrmaliger oder iterativer Handlungen mit einer indefiniten NP durch beide Aspekte ausdrückbar ist (Beispiel (2-2)).

(2-1) Pjotr *otkroet* (pf. A.) (= možet otkryt‘) / *otkryvaet* (ipf. A.) ehtot zamok
Peter öffnet (= kann öffnen) / öffnet (nur als aktuelles Präsens) dieses Schloss

(2-2) Pjotr *otkroet* (pf. A.) / *otkryvaet* (ipf. A.) (= možet otkryt‘) ljuboj zamok
Peter öffnet (= kann öffnen) ein beliebiges Schloss

Beide Ausdrucksweisen bezeichnen eine epistemische Lesart der Modalität. Auch in deontischen Lesarten (vgl. Beispiel (3)) sind die beiden Aspekte austauschbar wie im Beispiel (2-2):

(3) Voda *zakupit* (pf. A.) / *zakupat* (ipf. A.), esli temperatura *dostignet* (pf. A.) / *dostigaet* (ipf. A.) 100 gradusov Cel’sija
,Das Wasser fängt an zu sieden, wenn die Temperatur 100° C erreicht‘

Ich unterscheide drei Kontexttypen, in denen eine Neutralisierung der temporalen und der aspektuellen Bedeutungen eintritt: 1. sporadische, d.h. sich nicht regelmäßig wiederholende Handlungen (s. Beispiel (4)), 2. habituelle oder usuelle, d.h. sich regelmäßig wiederholende Handlungen (s. Beispiel (5)) und 3. generische, d.h. generalisierte, sich regelmäßig wiederholende Handlungen (s. Beispiel (6))

(4) *Byvaet, čto vspomnitsja* (pf. A.) / *vspominaetsja* (ipf. A.) *molodost'*

„Es kommt vor, dass man sich an die Jugend erinnert“

(5) *Nina vseгда vyučit* (pf. A.) / *vyučivaet* (ipf. A.) *uroki*

„Nina macht ihre Hausaufgaben immer“

(6) *Čelovek vyderžit* (pf. A.) / *vyderživaet* (ipf. A.) *mnogoe*

„Der Mensch hält viel aus“

Nur in einigen „eingefrorenen“ lexikalischen Verbindungen übernimmt einzig der pf. A. die Bedeutung der möglichen, d.h. epistemischen Handlung:

(7) *Net-net da i* (vdrug) *pozvonit* (pf. A.) *Svetlana*

„Lange Zeit ist nichts zu hören von Svetlana, und plötzlich ruft sie an“

(8) *Vsego ne zapomniš* (pf. A.)

„Alles kann man sich nicht merken“

Indefinitheit und Epistemizität und ihr grammatischer Mikrokontext in deutsch-slowenischen Übersetzungstexten

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Der Beitrag setzt sich mit dem Problem der Grammatikalisierung syntaktischer Kategorien (konkret: Indefinitheit und epistemische Modalität im Deutschen und Slowenischen) auseinander, indem er theoretisch auf den Prinzipien der Natürlichkeitstheorie aufbaut. Es wird davon ausgegangen, dass die Markiertheitsgrade verschiedener Konstruktionstypen, mit denen die untersuchten kategorialen Inhalte verbalisiert sind, auch als Kriterien zur Feststellung von Grammatikalisierungsphasen herangezogen werden können, und zwar unter Berücksichtigung des Kriteriums *der Markiertheit der kollozierenden grammatischen Parameter*, die als *mikrogrammatischer Kontext* statistisch ausgewertet wurden.

Als Beispiele konkreter Token-Frequenzen wurden in diesem Zusammenhang Texte (einige Prosaerzählungen im Deutschen aus der Periode 1848 -1919 und ihre Übersetzungen ins Slowenische) statistischen Analysen unterzogen. Die gewonnenen statistischen Daten wurden mit Resultaten vergleichbarer Textauswertungen aus unterschiedlichen Epochen der deutschen sprachlichen Überlieferung (17., 19. und 20. Jahrhundert) verglichen. Die jeweils untersuchten Konstruktionstypen *die deontischen* und *die epistemischen Modalverbkonstruktionen*, *die werde+Infinitiv* und *die würde+ Infinitiv Konstruktionen* mit epistemischen Bedeutungskomponenten (E+) wurden als Grundmuster isoliert und miteinander unter Berücksichtigung ihrer grammatischen »Satelite« (bzw. *des mikrogrammatischen Kontextes*, in dem sie in den untersuchten Texten auftreten : Person, Numerus, Genus verbi, Satzform, Satzart, Modus, Transitivity, Tempus, *Definitheit* und Aspekt) verglichen. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit wurde der Kollokation von Definitheit/Indefinitheit mit der Perfektivität/Imperfektivität und der Epistemizität (im Rahmen der token-Frequenz der untersuchten Konstruktionstypen) gewidmet, auch unter dem Aspekt der typologischen Unterschiede zwischen dem Slowenischen und dem Deutschen. Im Kontrollsample wurden die oben angeführten Konstruktionstypen mit fehlender E+ Komponente in gleicher Weise untersucht, wie die Konstruktionen im Grundsampl. Daraus konnten Hinweise zu den Grammatikalisierungs-

stufen von unterschiedlichen Kategorien und ihren Verbalisierungsvarianten abgeleitet werden, vor allem im Hinblick auf die allgemeine Konstellation und die Markiertheit jener Parameter, von welchen die Konstruktion in ihren jeweiligen Grammatikalisierungsphasen in signifikanter Weise begleitet wird..

Die auf Grund dieser korpuslinguistischen Untersuchungsmethode gewonnenen Ergebnisse bestätigen die Postulate der NT, wonach ein höherer kognitiver Verarbeitungsaufwand auf der funktionalen Ebene (d.h. größere Komplexität bzw. Markiertheit der jeweiligen Kategorie) vor allem *am Anfang* der Durchsetzung solcher Konstruktionstypen – *von hohen bzw. relevant höheren Komplexitäts- / Markiertheitswerten ihres unmittelbaren / mikrogrammatischen Kontextes* begleitet werden, als dies für weniger komplexe Konstruktionen der Fall ist.

Aspekte einer Rekonstruktion von Form und Funktion von Modalverben

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Genuine Modalverben in germanischen Sprachen gehören zu der morphologischen Klasse der Präterito-Präsentia, d. h. ihr Präsensparadigma weist die für das Präteritum „normaler“ starker Verben typische Form (Ablautstufe und Endungen) auf. Präteritalformen dieser Verben sind bekanntlich erst viel später als Analogiebildungen zu dem schwachen germanischen Präteritum (d. h. mithilfe des Dentalsuffixes und ohne Ablaut) entstanden. Da nun aber das germanische Präteritum genetisch auf das indogermanische Perfekt zurück geht und von den ursprünglichen indogermanischen Präsensstämmen der Modalverben jede Spur fehlt, muss davon ausgegangen werden, dass die entsprechenden indogermanischen Verbalstämme Perfecta tantum gewesen sind. Das Perfekt im Protoindogermanischen ist seinerseits kein Tempus, sondern Aspekt gewesen, dessen genuine Funktion in der Kodierung eines Zustandes als Resultat einer am Subjekt vollzogenen sukzessiv abgeschlossenen Handlung bestand (vgl. die Ergebnisse der Rekonstruktionen von Stang 1932, Kuryłowicz 1964 u. a.), also es lag offenkundig eine kategoriale Verflechtung von perfektivem Aspekt und medialer Diathese vor, die dem Präsens als einer aktiven Diathese und zugleich einem imperfektiven Aspekt gegenüber stand. Die Germania erbt von der idg. Protosprache die Präsensformen (unter Wahrung der Primäreendungen und Systematisierung der entsprechenden Abtönung des Wurzelvokals, also der *e*-Vollstufe in den ersten 5 Ablautreihen, der *a*/*ə*-Vollstufe in der 6. und der Dehnstufe in der 7. Reihe), die im germanischen (temporal umgedeuteten) Präsens fortleben, und die Perfektformen (unter Wahrung der Sekundäreendungen und der „perfektischen“ Abtönung des Wurzelvokals, also der *o*-Vollstufe in der 1. und 2. Person Sg. bei den Reihen 1–5 bzw. der Dehnstufe in den Reihen 6 und 7), die im germanischen (temporal umgedeuteten) Präteritum fortleben. Die innere (Ablaut) und die äußere (Endungen) Flexion der germanischen Präterito-Präsentia weisen unzweifelhaft darauf hin, dass es sich um genuine Perfecta tantum handelt, die in der Protosprache überhaupt keine imperfektiv-präsentischen Entsprechungen hatten. Sie hatten dort aber wohl auch keine deontische Modalfunktion, die sich bekanntlich erst viel später ausbildet, und zwar, wie die Rekonstruktion zeigt, unmittelbar aus der perfektiven bzw. perfektiv-medialen Funktion. *Ich kann* hieß ursprünglich etwa `etwas ist (von mir) erkannt, begriffen (worden)`, *ich mag* – soviel wie `etwas ist (durch mich) beherrscht bzw. bezwungen (worden)`, *ich muss* – `etwas ist mir (von mir selbst) zugemessen (worden)`, *ich darf* - `etwas ist (von mir) verbraucht (worden)`, *ich soll* - `etwas ist (von mir) verschuldet (worden)` – also durchweg perfektiv-mediale Bedeutungen ohne imperfektiv-aktive Entsprechungen. Man kann also feststellen, dass die deontische Modalfunktion unmittelbar aus der perfektiven

(genauer: perfektiv-medialen) Funktion ableitbar ist, und zwar als deren modale Deutung. Das ist durchaus vergleichbar mit der temporalen Umdeutung der Aspektfunktion. Die epistemische Funktion der Modalverben entsteht wiederum unmittelbar aus deren deontischer Modalität, als deren „deiktische“ Lesart (Diewald 1999), wobei dieser Prozess *sensu stricto* keiner Rekonstruktion bedarf, da er erst in der Epoche der Schriftlichkeit einsetzt und daher sehr gut nachvollzogen werden kann.

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Aspect, (in)definiteness, and modality: The invisible patterns of deonticity and epistemicity

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The central thesis guiding our research in this domain says that aspect languages use aspectual form to encode deontic and epistemic meanings. On the other hand, languages which have lost aspect, develop articles and a class of modals with deontic and epistemic meanings. The starting point is the seminal paper presented at Tokyo by Abraham 1991, which claims that:

1. modals combine with perfective infinitives in order to generate deontic meaning;
2. modals combine with imperfective infinitives in order to generate epistemic meaning.

Van Gelderen (2004:155) follows this line of argument in syntactic terms: “Since I argue that (deontic) modals merge as ASP, this raises the question as to what modals have in common with aspect“.

What kind of shared grammatical meaning attracts perfectivity to deonticity? The common denominator to be found has to deal with some more striking data: A strong affinity between non-finiteness and deontic meaning in contrast to an apparent affinity between finiteness and epistemic meaning (Abraham 2001, 2002; Hyams2005).

In the present paper, historical evidence supporting these correlations will be presented. In Old and Middle High German perfective verbs are used more frequently in non-finite form (Behaghel 1923/1989:103-104). This focus on the affinity of perfectivity and non-finiteness is very revealing as to the direction where to find the hidden patterns of deonticity and epistemicity such as suggested in Leiss (2002).

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The decline of argument structure on modal verbs

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The rise of epistemic modals in German remains up to now unaccounted for. Neither accounts following the tradition of ROSS (1969) offer a satisfying explanation, nor do those in the sense of WURMBRAND (2001): According to the view of Ross, root modals have to be regarded as control verbs, while epistemics involve a raising structure. Correspondingly, ABRAHAM (1991) and DIEWALD (1999) conceive the grammaticalization of epistemics as a reanalysis that transformed control verbs (root) into raising verbs (epistemic). This hypothesis can no longer be maintained since AXEL (2001) pointed out the existence of non-epistemic occurrences of raising modals in Old High German (OHG) time.

WURMBRAND (2001: 183), by contrast, claims the existence of different modal readings to the circumstance that they are base generated in different functional projections: root modals as Mod₀; while epistemic modals as Aux₀; where AuxP dominates ModP. This analysis would imply that the evolution of epistemic modals in German must have been triggered by some kind of recategorization, Mod > Aux. Note that Wurmbrand's account involves a very unattractive consequence conflicting with CHOMSKY (1981): The different modal readings could not be united within a single lexicon entry, for they belong to distinct syntactic categories.

Counter to WURMBRAND'S (2001) assumption, I will present an account which provides both an adequate explanation of the diachronic development of German modals and a way of lexical representation that avoids multiple entries.

First of all the situation of German modals is quite more intricate as Wurmbrand suggests, for they involve up to four different forms, each reflecting a different stage of grammaticalization, as pointed out by DIEWALD (1999: 34): *können* initially was used as a transitive verb (stage I). This use, although very rare in contemporary German, was still highly frequent in Middle High German time:

<i>ich</i>	<i>enkan</i>	<i>decheinen</i>	<i>buochstap</i>
<i>I</i>	NEGCL.canany.ACC		<i>letter.ACC</i>

„I don't know any letter – I'm illiterate“

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The further stages of grammaticalization were both already available in OHG: *können* with infinitive as a control verb in ability reading (stage II) and as a raising verb (stage III) as shown by AXEL (2001). Stage (IV), the epistemic use, evolved only during the 16th century.

Let us consider this development in detail. At stage (I) *können* contained the following set of formal features: {THext, THint, +P, +Acc}, where TH each assigns an arbitrary q-role, +Acc accusative case of the direct object, and where +P is a feature that licences the projection of a

complement in terms of Haider (1993). According to Lehmann (1995:126), grammaticalization involves typically the decline of the integrity of a sign. In our case this decline can be conceived of as a loss of features. In a first step the + Acc feature ceased to be obligatory with infinitives, so that they weren't analyzed as nominalized verbs anymore. This step was the birth of the control verb *können*ability containing the features {THext, THint, +P}. Similarly *können*possibility emerged when the assignment of external q-role perished in particular contexts, so that only two features remained {THint, +P}. Finally *können* epistemic with the single remaining feature {+P} evolved when it became possible to drop the internal q-role that is assigned to the infinitive. Note that the decline of argument structure reflects exactly the semantic difference between root modals and epistemics. While in the first case modality targets the action denoted by the infinitival complement, in the latter the target is not the whole infinitive but just its factivity. Correspondingly *können*root(stage I,II,III) denotes the principal possibility of the action, while *können*epistemic(stage IV) denotes the possibility that the proposition expressed by the infinitive is true.

This becomes even clearer if we shift our attention to the modal *wollen* which denotes *to desire, to want* as a root verb and *to claim* in its quotative-epistemic use. This is exactly what our analysis predicts: in the case of *wollen*root the desire targets the whole infinitival complement, in *wollen*quot-epist. only its factivity. That is, the subject of *wollen*quot-epist. desires that the factivity of the infinitival action is accepted by the hearer.

Now it becomes clearer why epistemic modals occurred initially only with auxiliaries as infinitival complements (see Diewald 1999). These verbs are too void of semantic content to be able to bear q-roles in unmarked contexts (in this respect they are akin to expletives), so children were tempted into the assumption of a distinct verbal form.

However, this account of grammaticalization suggests that the different forms of modals should be projected out of the same lexicon entry, where the underlying entry is the one of *können*trans and the other uses are derived by suppression of the corresponding features. This meets exactly the condition of CHOMSKY (1981), which excludes multiple lexicon entries.

Apart from this, our analysis reflects exactly the difference, that only lexical elements may involve an independent argument structure but not functional ones (epistemics assign no q-roles). Further this explanation offers an answer to the old question, why it is impossible in German to tear a clear distinction between auxiliaries and main verbs. The loss of argument structure does not take place at once but piecemeal, and correspondingly there are several intermediary forms.

Finally, our assumption provides deep insights into why epistemic modals occur across typologically extremely different languages like English, Italian, French or German: In each case they are the result of a decline of argument structure - a process which affects primitives of UG and therefore may apply independently of language specific peculiarities.

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Mood-aspect interaction: felicitous and infelicitous combinations

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As indicated in the Call for Papers, interaction between aspect and modality is a complex issue which is not well-understood. I attribute this complexity to the fact that different factors are involved here. On the one hand, the correlation between imperfectivity and negation, may be explained in terms of clustering of transitivity features, along the lines of Hopper and Thompson (1980) and Tsunoda (1981). The correlation between deontic meaning and non-finiteness, on the other hand, may be related to the fact that different modal categories differ with regard to their scope/embedding in the clause structure, and thus are prone to be lost on non-finites to different degrees (see Malchukov 2004 on functional constraints on transcategorial operations; cf. Borsley & Kornfilt 2000 for a similar proposal in a generative framework). Some other peculiarities of mood-aspect interaction, can arguably be explained through general rules of grammeme interaction (as proposed in Malchukov, forthcoming). These rules, inasmuch as they are cross-linguistically consistent, result from interaction of different functional motivations. In particular, some grammeme combinations are known to be more harmonic (felicitous), while others are less so (cf., e.g., an infelicitous present perfective combination). In the latter case an infelicitous grammeme combination, if available at all, may result in reinterpretation of one of the respective grammemes (the “recessive” grammeme, in terms of Xrakovsky 1996).

In this talk I will discuss examples of mood-aspect interaction, in particular, cases of interaction between imperative and aspect (which may also cast some light on interaction between deontic moods with aspect, mentioned in the Call for Papers; see also Abraham 2005). It will be argued that for functional reasons the imperative universally aligns with the perfective rather than imperfective, which would account why in some languages (e.g. Pa’anci) the imperative is restricted to the perfective aspect. It will be shown that in cases where neutralization goes in the opposite direction, that is, when imperatives are found only in imperfective, the imperfective is an unmarked aspect. This account explains, for example, why the aspectual opposition is partially neutralized in imperative forms in Russian, as well as why imperatives invariably appear in the passive form in Maori. The talk will discuss further examples of mood-aspect interaction from a wide range of languages, showing how a competing motivations approach to grammeme interaction (which is compatible with the functional optimality-theoretic approaches), can account for restrictions on combinability between certain mood and aspect grammemes.

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Aspect and modality in the Japanese verbal system

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Japanese is a language which throughout her documented history has had a rich system of grammatical aspect and modality, but no overt marking of lexical aspect. Furthermore, while in Old Japanese some modal markers were conspicuously polyfunctional, in the modern language the expression of deontic and epistemic modalities is strictly separate.

In this paper, I wish to present an overview of the interaction of aspect and modality in the Modern Japanese verbal system, with an excursion into diachrony. I will show that in this language (1) all types of modality are independent of grammatical aspect, that is, are base-generated in different structural positions; (2) both deontic and epistemic modality are base-generated at higher positions than aspectual positions; (3) there are at least two positions at which modal markers are generated, one lower than T (MP1), and one higher than T (MP2). The former includes expressions of all types of modality (deontic, epistemic, evidential, volitional), and both suffixes and periphrastic constructions, while the latter only includes expressions of epistemic and evidential modality which are morphologically suffixes (In agglutinative Japanese, suffixes and periphrastic constructions correspond to modal verbs in Germanic languages. Adverbs are excluded from the considerations here). That is, the categories of the IP mentioned here stand in the following relationship to each other: [MP2[TP[MP1[ASPP [(vP)]]]]]. Now, crucially, both deontic and epistemic modalities are basically unrestricted in their interaction with perfective and imperfective aspectuality as illustrated in the following examples, (1)-(4):

1. Perfective ASP + deontic M:

Kimi-wa [TP [MP1 [ASPP [sore-o haya-ku wasure]te simaw]anakerebanarana] i]
 you-TOP that-ACC quick-ADV forget-GER PRF DEO -NPST
 'You must forget that quickly' (deontic)

2. Perfective ASP + epistemic M:

Kimi-wa [MP2 [TP [ASPP [sore-o haya-ku wasure]te sima(w)] u]daroo]
 you-TOP that-ACC quick-ADV forget-GER PRF-NPST EPI
 'You'll surely forget that quickly' (epistemic)

3. Progressive ASP + deontic M:

Kimi-wa [_{TP} [_{MP1} [_{ASPP} [soko-de mat]tei] (a)nakerebanarana] i]
 you-TOP there-LOC wait-GER IPFDEO -NPST
 ‘You must be waiting there’ (unambiguously deontic)

4. Progressive ASP + epistemic M:

Kimi-wa [_{MP2} [_{TP} [_{ASPP} [soko-de mat]te i] ru daroo]
 you-TOP there-LOC wait-GER IPF-NPST EPI
 ‘You’ll probably be waiting there’ (epistemic)

Nevertheless, an effect of aspectuality on modality may be observed which might support the general status of the connection between (im)perfectivity and type of modality. Concretely, in specific contexts, sentences with progressive ASP and deontic M can carry the implication of epistemicity. The possibility of an implicature here has already been pointed out by some authors (Tamura 1999, Amamiya 2000). However, actual examples with epistemic readings in empirical data are vanishingly rare. Apparently, the conventionalization of this implicature is blocked by the rich extant system of epistemic modal marking.

Modality, negation and aspect: the case of the Russian *mozhet* and *nado*

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It is a well known fact that in Slavic languages there is a strong tendency to use imperfective in negative contexts. However, linguistic mechanisms that lead to correlation between negation and imperfective are still poorly known and need further investigation. This paper deals with modal contexts. The term modality is meant here to refer to contrasts in the sphere of possibility and necessity (as in Auwera, Plungian 1998).

Two particular instances are considered: the Russian verb *moch'* in its epistemic use, when it expresses two alternative possibilities, and the modal word *nado* expressing necessity.

1. The verb *moch'* in its epistemic use, both in the present and in the past tense, expresses lack of knowledge: two mutually excluded possibilities are accepted as plausible. Two ontological categories of verbs may enter the construction *moch'* + infinitive, and the aspect of a verb is determined by its category.

1.1. Verbs of happening combined with *moch'* in the past tense are in the perfective aspect:

(1) *On mog[past] oshibit'sya* ‘he could make a mistake’, *obmanut* ‘deceive’, *opozdat* ‘to be late’, *nayabednichat*, *donesti*, ‘to peach’ *sovrat* ‘tell a lie’ *uklonit'sya*, ‘avoid’, *promaxnut'sya*, ‘to miss the target’ etc.

The same is true about the present tense of *moch'*, when the event refers to the future:

(2) *On mozhet[present] oshibit'sya*, *obmanut*, *opozdat*, *nayabednichat*, *donesti*, *sovrat*, *uklonit'sya*, *promaxnut'sya*, etc.

Verbs with a negative connotation evidently predominate in this construction. In fact, the negative connotation makes the interpretation in the sense of objective possibility (» ability) highly improbable, so that epistemic meaning becomes the only one plausible. But verbs with a positive connotation or evaluatively neutral ones are possible as well, especially with the past tense of the modal verb:

(3) *mog uspet'*, 'could manage', *mog ugovorit'* 'could persuade' etc.

1.2. Verbs of state are also admissible in the context of epistemic *moch'*. In this context the aspect of the verb is inevitably imperfective:

(4) *On mog naxodit'sya v bedstvennom polozenii* 'he could be in a disastrous situation'; *on mog ot etogo stradat'* 'he could suffer because of that'.

Now, in the context of epistemic *moch'* negation changes the modal meaning of the modal verb: in (1) the speaker was in the state of lack of knowledge – (s)he accepted both possibilities; while (1') excludes one of the possibilities and (s)he is, thus, in the state of knowledge. But the modality remains epistemic: this knowledge is arrived at by inference:

(1') *On ne mozhet oshibit'sja, obmanut', opozdat', najabednichat', donesti, sovrat', uklonit'sja, promaxnut'sja*, etc.

Thus, in case of *moch'*, negation has no direct influence upon the aspect of the verb in the infinitive.

2. Now with *nado* the situation is entirely different: *nado*, in its primary meaning, occurs exclusively with verbs denoting actions (and activities) and negation drastically influences the choice of aspect in its dependent infinitive.

Namely, in non-negated contexts both aspects are possible (cf. Rassudova 1968):

(5) a. *nado varit'kartoshku*[IpF] 'it is necessary to boil[IpF] potatoes';

b. *nado svarit'*[Pf] *kartoshku* 'it is necessary to boil[Pf] potatoes'

(6) a. *nado chinit'*[IpF] *kryshu* 'it is necessary to repair[IpF] the roof';

b. *nado pochinit'*[Pf] *kryshu* 'it is necessary to repair[Pf] the roof'.

The difference in meaning between a and b examples in (5), (6) is thoroughly described in Paducheva 1996: 53-65; in fact, in (5a), for instance, the activity is in the center of attention, while in (5b) the focus is transferred to the resulting state.

In the context of negated *nado* the only possibility is imperfective:

(5') a. *ne nado varit'*[IpF] *kartoshku* 'it is not necessary to boil[IpF] potatoes';

b. **ne nado svarit'*[Pf] *kartoshku* 'it is not necessary to boil[Pf] potatoes'

This co-occurrence restriction can be regarded as semantically motivated. In fact, in order to say that the action as a whole makes no sense it is sufficient to say that this is true about the very beginning of the activity.

Thus, we arrive at the conclusion that aspect is independent of negation + modality combination in the case of epistemic modality, while negation+deontic modality places a severe restraint on aspectual choice. It would be interesting to find out whether there are typological parallels to this effect in other languages.

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The Lakota aspect/modality marker *TKH*

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Lakota (Siouan, Central North America) is moderately rich in both aspectual and modal categories. The diachronic sources of many of the grammatical elements in question are still transparent. Lakota is equipped with one grammeme that covers both aspectual and modal meanings, namely, the postverbal marker *tkhá*, which can (roughly) be glossed as follows:

- a. 'almost'
- b. 'used to but no more' (PERFECTIVE ANTERIOR)
- c. 'would have' (PERFECTIVE IRREALIS)
- d. 'assertion of fact which runs counter to what is generally believed or what the speaker previously believed' (COUNTERFACTUAL)

Example:

yá *tkhá*
go.3SG ASP/MOD

's/he almost went, s/he used to go (but no more), s/he would have gone, I thought s/he went but s/he didn't'

What makes *tkhá* an interesting object of study with respect to the general topic of the interaction of aspect and modality is that this element shows a mingling of perfective and epistemic meanings. It thus potentially challenges one of the initial hypotheses to be investigated in this workshop.

The diachronic source of all meanings of aspectual/modal *tkhá* is the conjunction *tkhá* 'but'. In addition to the obvious criterion of homonymy, there are both structural and semantic criteria by means of which the aspect/modality marker *tkhá* can be linked to the conjunction *tkhá* 'but'. The aspect/modality marker *tkhá* arose via ellipsis of the clause which follows the conjunction *tkhá* 'but'.

The common semantic denominator for all meanings of aspectual/modal *tkhá* is that the state of affairs modified by this element is not instantiated in reality at the moment of utterance, either because it never reached the point of actualization ('almost', 'would have', COUNTERFACTUAL), or because the actualization has been terminated prior to the moment of utterance ('used to but no more'). In those cases in which an aspectual meaning can be clearly assigned to *tkhá*, that meaning is always perfective. This is self-evident for 'would have' and 'used to but no more', and also true for 'almost': this particular meaning of *tkhá* features states of affairs that came near actualization at some point in time. However, the opportunity for actualization does not exist any more at the moment of utterance. Counterfactual *tkhá* is to be classed as conveying an epistemic meaning since it asserts that the opposite of the assumed state of affairs holds.

Thus, the marker *tkhá* can be characterized as a multifunctional aspectual-modal hybrid that combines perfective with epistemic concepts.

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Eine Korrelation der Imperfektivität und Epistemizität: *Handan-Bun*(Urteilssatz) und *Gensho-Bun* (Deskriptiver Satz) im Japanischen

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(1a) Kai-wa ima yakyu-wo shi-teiru. „Kai spielt gerade Baseball.“

Kai-TOP. jetzt Baseball-AKK. Tun-PROGRESSIV

(1b) Kai-ga ima yakyu-wo shi-teiru. „Kái spielt gerade Baseball.“

Kai-NOM. jetzt Baseball-AKK. Tun-PROGRESSIV

Im Minimalpaar (1a) und (1b), in dem *wa* als Topikmarker und *ga* als Nominativkennzeichnung auftreten, stellen die beiden Sätze den gleichen Sachverhalt dar. In der einschlägigen Literatur wird der *wa*-Satz als *Handan-Bun* (URTEILSSATZ) bezeichnet, der ein Urteil des Sprechers abgibt. Hier sind die beiden Satzteile (Subjekt (eigentlich besser: Topik und Prädikat) thematisch, d.h. im aktuellen Kontext gegeben, und der Informationskern liegt in der subjektiven Einschätzung des Sprechers, dass das Topik mit dem Prädikat in Verbindung bringt. Der *ga*-Satz in (1b) stellt eine objektive Darstellung eines Sachverhaltes dar, die oft *Gensho-Bun* (DESKRIPTIVER SATZ) genannt wird. Beim deskriptiven Satztyp sind das Topik und das Prädikat beide rhematisch, d.h. sie werden erst mit dem Satz eingeführt, und der Sachverhalt wird als eine Proposition wiedergegeben.

Es ist bekannt, dass die beiden Satztypen eine Affinität zu bestimmten Prädikationstypen haben: Der URTEILSSatztyp bevorzugt Eigenschaftsprädikate bzw. imperfektive Prädikate (obwohl hier ein perfektives Prädikat nicht ausgeschlossen ist, was auf den hohen Grammatikalisierungsgrad der Konstruktion zurückzuführen ist). Dagegen wird der REIN DESKRIPTIVE Satztyp häufiger mit dem perfektiven Prädikat gebraucht.

Die Beobachtung, dass der Satztyp mit ausgeprägtersubjektiver Sprechereinstellung ein imperfektives, der Satztyp zur objektiven Szenenbeschreibung dagegenein perfektives Prädikat vorzieht, lässt sich wohl mit der starken Bindung zwischen der (Im)perfektivität, (In)definitheit und Epistimizität/Deontizität in Verbindung bringen, wenn auch durchaus Abweichungen anzutreffen sind.

Eine Fallstudie aus einer typologisch weit entfernten Sprache wie dem Japanischen, in der Aspekt-, Artikel- und Modalitätssystem anders organisiert sind, würde eine neue Einsicht bringen, um dem Rätsel der Aspekt-Modalität-Zusammenhänge näher zu kommen.

Aspect choice in modal contexts: Russian and the other Slavic languages

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I would like to discuss facts from Russian, Polish and other Slavic languages which demonstrate that some assumptions given in the overview by the organizers of the workshop are false, at least that they cannot be generally true (beyond Germanic).

First, in diverse modal contexts Russian imperfective (ipf.) verbs are tightly linked to deontic functions, whereas perfective (pf.) verbs are associated rather with alethic or epistemic meanings. This can be shown most clearly in the scope of negated modals, for instance:

(1a) *Nel'zja otkryvat' okno. Na ulice xolodno ved'!*
 neg.modaux open:ipf.inf window.acc
 ‚It is not allowed to open the window.‘ For it is cold outside. → deontic

(1b) *Nel'zja otkryt' okno. Ručka slomana.*
 neg.modaux open:pf.inf window.acc
 ‚It is impossible to open the window, because the handle is broken.‘ → alethic

The meaning of *nel'zja* ‚cannot, must not‘ is underdetermined, the proper modal meaning is an outcome of this modal together with the aspect of the verb (infinitive).

Second, deonticity is associated with control by an agent. This can be seen from the fact that negated imperatives, as a rule, require an ipf. verb (2). In this context, pf. verbs occur only as a kind of “preventives” to warn the addressee about some undesirable consequences out of his control (3), i.e. of events that might occur given such and such circumstances (® alethic or epistemic):

(2) *Ne govori emu ob ètom!*
 neg speak:ipf.imp.sg him.dat about that.prep
 ‚Don’t tell him about that!‘ → deontic

(3) *Smotri, ne progovori' (slučajno)!*
 look:ipf.imp.sg neg blurt_out:pf.imp.sg accidentally
 ‚Be careful, don’t blurt it out (by accident)!‘ → alethic, epistemic

Without negation, the choice of aspect in an imperative is governed not by modal distinctions, but rather by the speaker’s assumption whether the addressee shares with him the presupposition that the denoted event (action) is about to occur, or not. The same holds for aspect choice in the scope of non-negated modals.

Third, as concerns the role of (non-)finiteness, it is true that the infinitive in East Slavic (not in other Slavic languages) can often be used as an equivalent of the imperative, i.e. with a deontic function. Aspect as such however is rather irrelevant, and pf. verbs are usually used in non-negated independent infinitive clauses with a directive illocution; for instance: *Emu javit'sjapf v kommandanturu!* ‚He is to appear at the commandant’s office!‘, *Zakončit'pfèto bezobrazie!* ‚Stop with these foolish things!‘.

Fourth, Russian independent negated infinitive clauses in general have an epistemic or participant-internal meaning (for this term cf. van der Auwera/Plungian 1998); for instance:

(4a) *Emu ne spravít'sja s takim zadaniem.*
 him.dat neg cope_with with such.ins task.ins
 ‚He is not be able to cope with such a task.‘

Such clauses are synonymous with finite clauses of the same respective pf. verbs:

(4b) *On ne spravitsja s takim zadaniem.*
 he.nom neg cope_with with such.ins task.ins
 ‚He will not get ready with such a task.‘ (@ ‚He is not able to cope with ...‘)

Non-negated clauses with the present-stem of pf. verbs also have a participant-internal and “omnipresent” meaning, for instance:

(5) *Ona razrešit ljuboj konflikt.*
 she.nom solve:pf.prs.3.sg any.accn.m.sg conflict.acc.m.sg
 ‚She solves (will solve) any conflict.‘ (@ ‚...is able to solve ...‘)

Aspect choice is relevant also in independent infinitive clauses with constituent negation. Here, again, pf. verbs are correlated with participant-internal or epistemic modality (6a), ipf. verbs with deontic modality (6b):

(6a) *Ne ej rešit' étot vopros!*
 neg her.dat solve:pf.inf this.acc.m.sg question.acc.m.sg
 ‚She **is not capable** of solving this question.‘

(6b) *Ne ej rešat' étot vopros!*
 neg her.dat solve:ipf.inf this.acc.m.sg question.acc.m.sg
 ‚She **is not allowed / supposed** to solve (deal with) this question.‘
 (More lit. for both 6a-b: ‚It is not for her to solve this question.‘)

Thus, data from Russian amply show that deontic modality is by no means strongly linked to perfective aspect; rather it is imperfective aspect that shows affinities with deontic modality. Wherever in Russian a “modality-split” can be noticed in which aspect choice plays a role, it is a split between deontic (® ipf.) vs. non-deontic (® pf.) modality. Likewise, Russian data do not sustain the claim of “a strong affinity between non-finiteness and deontic meaning”.

I want to take up these issues by first clarifying the facts w.r.t. Russian, before I would like to have a look on other Slavic languages. This broader look shall allow us to make conclusions concerning the question of how aspect and modality are intertwined. My guess is that the Russian situation reflects general tendencies in the whole Slavic-speaking world and that these tendencies must have a cognitive motivation. Differences between Slavic languages would concern rather the degree of “tightness” between aspect choice and the predictability of a given modal function, i.e. the degree to which modal functions have been integrated into the set of grammatical functions of two opposed aspect classes.

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Propositional aspect in the development of modal inferences in English

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Evidence from grammaticalisation sources has shown a strong tendency for the gradual development of epistemic meanings from deontic meanings in English, usually by the pragmatic processes of the strengthening of pragmatic meaning (see Traugott 1989; Traugott

and Dasher 2002), and illustrating that the determination of modal type is a result of historical developments. Abraham (1998-2002) has also shown that historical factors are at issue, including the loss of Old English perfective prefixes and the development of definite articles, which co-occur with the tendency for deontic modality to associate with perfective main verbs and epistemic modality to be found with imperfective main verbs. Evidence from a study of the history of *be supposed to* reveals that a pre-modal stage of marking generic aspectual situations may be found prior to the development of deontic meanings (Ziegeler 2003; in prep.); further evidence is found in the case of a core modal, *will*, for the same generic aspectual conditions to arise in Old English examples, prior to the stage known as 'future-projecting modality'. In the latter case, the generic examples studied are all seen to have generic subjects, thus creating the meaning of general proclivity rather than intention, a semantic property of individuated subjects.

Compositional theories of aspect refer to the need to consider not only verbal semantics but the semantics of the entire construction of verb plus nominal arguments and adjuncts in describing aspect (Verkuyl 1993; 1999). In other studies, e.g. Visconti (2004), and as also suggested by Bybee (1985), the shift to deontic meanings of *be supposed to* took place when the main verb referred to events taking place after the moment of speaking (thus entailing perfective aspect in the verb). However, even with a perfective main verb, the presence of generic subjects still renders the meaning of the construction truth-conditionally gnomic, and such generic uses of the emerging modal were frequent in early stages of development. In the shift from generic aspectual functions to future-projecting modality seen in the present studies, it will be observed that the increase in individuated, specifically-referring arguments plays a significant role. However, the present paper will examine what additional factors may have been relevant in the transition from generic, pre-modal constructions to the future-projecting modality associated with the development of deontic functions today.

**Workshop 2 (Anc):
Universalism and relativism in face-saving:
Focus on postcolonial contexts**

Anchimbe, Eric A. (Munich) / Janney, Richard W. (Munich)

Conference room: GW1 C1070

Friday, September 1, 2006	
10:00–10:20	Janney, Richard W. (University of Munich) Welcome and introduction to Postcolonial Pragmatics
10:20–11:00	Versluys, Eline (University of Antwerp) Criteria of language choice as face-saving strategies in a multilingual society: the case of Dakar (Senegal)
Coffee break	
11:30–12:15	Ifukor, Presley A. (University of Osnabrück) Face-Threatening Acts (FTAs) to Codeswitching: Insights from the Nigerian and British Print Media
12:15–13:00	Terkourafi, Marina (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) Two ways of thanking in Cypriot Greek
Lunch break	
14:00–14:45	Dlali, Mawande (Stellenbosch University, South Africa) The expression of gratitude in IsiXhosa educational contexts
14:45–15:30	Nizonkiza, Deogratias (University of Mons-Hainaut, Belgium) Adjusting to communication in new contexts: the use of compliments by Burundians in the Diaspora
15:30–16:15	Burt, Susan Meredith (Illinois State University) Courtship, Marriage and Face-Preservation in the Hmong Diaspora
Saturday, September 2, 2006	
10:00–10:45	Akpan, Ekaete Evangel (University of Port-Harcourt, Nigeria) / Ekpenyong, Bassey (University Of Abuja, Nigeria) Face-saving as a relative phenomenon in parliamentary context: a study of the nigerian national assembly
Coffee break	
11:30–12:15	Anchimbe, Eric A. (University of Munich) Name-escapism as face-saving strategy in Cameroonian cultures

12:15–13:00	Nomsa Satyo (Stellenbosch University, South Africa) Politeness and requests in Xhosa drama
Lunch break	
14:00–14:30	Workshop participants General discussion of workshop, results, announcements, goodbye, etc.

Face-saving as a relative phenomenon in parliamentary context: a study of the Nigerian national assembly

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Nigeria is one of the post-colonial countries in the world that is struggling to find political stability in a democratic culture. Amidst the palpable influence of the protracted military rule, the Nigerian Parliament is in constant conflict with decisions seen to be meted out by the Executive Arm of Government, in the English language, the country's official language. While the Executive Arm is controlled by the ruling Peoples Democratic Party, the parliament comprises representatives from at least three political parties across the country.

The parliamentarians belong to diverse linguistic backgrounds with different cultural indexes in handling situational faces. In the daily parliamentary deliberations, issues of national integration, distribution of economic amenities and political positions, individual and community empowerment are negotiated in sometimes very volatile atmosphere exuding immense pragmatic interest.

In these contexts, there are possibilities of exposure to personal insult, derogatory remarks, disregard for one's status, failure to achieve desired goals and damage to valued friendly and political relationships.

It was observed that at the end of face-threatening behaviours, face-saving or face-honouring processes also occur with due reference to and application of the parliament Rules Book coded in English, structured after universal pattern but with matters relative to the Nigerian Parliament. Can this reference to universal parliamentary Ethics, coded in English but applied by Nigerians from a mix of indigenous languages and linguistic identities said to be really universal? This paper seeks to answer this question in the context of postulations by Brown and Levinson (1978) Rosenberg (2004).

Name-escapism as face-saving strategy in Cameroonian cultures

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“And you dare call me by my name? – the world these days is amiss.” This is a common phrase in most African contexts where the (unwritten) code of name-escapism as a sign of respect for the other is used. To call someone by name is not only disrespect but also a sign that he or she has no honour to merit that respect that goes with ‘not calling his or her name.’ This paper discusses the different contexts of name-escapism and the socio-pragmatic impacts each creates. It studies among other things, name-escapism between the young and old;

between initiated and non-initiated members of traditional groups; the substitution of names by kinship terms (even for strangers); and the use of call-outs (interpellations, excuse-me, etc.) rather than people's real names. These contexts are acutely different from Western cultures in which name-calling is rather a sign of respect and not disrespect as it is the case in Cameroonian and some African cultures. So face-saving and politeness strategies are only as good as they are limited to specific cultures and specific regions. To claim universality in them is to claim culture itself is universal – this would be outrageous.

Courtship, Marriage and Face-Preservation in the Hmong Diaspora

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A prompt on the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project reads: “A young woman wants to get rid of a young man pestering her on the street.” (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 14). The question is of interest to politeness researchers because the situation contains potential face threat to both parties. This paper will discuss culturally appropriate variants of this question in the context of a “hybrid” population, the Hmong who immigrated to the United States from Laos up to 30 years ago. The paper will present two kinds of data on male-female encounters: 1) responses to a prompt in ethnographic interviews given to 30 Hmong-Americans of different ages in 2001-2002 in Wisconsin, and 2) data from “hybrid,” expressive Hmong-American literature in English, a short story, “The Good Hmong Girl,” by a female author, and a short play, “Hmoob Boy Meets Hmong Girl,” by a male author.

The data from the interviews show that a young Hmong woman who wants to learn how to discourage a suitor who has invited her to play a traditional courting game will receive contradictory advice on how to do so: while traditionally, girls were expected to “be polite to every boy” (Donnelly 1994: 129), older women who were interviewed advised the young woman to use direct, unmitigated statements and directives to discourage the unwanted suitor. Their advice reflects the fact that marriage in traditional Hmong culture, which usually involved clan exogamy, bride-price and virilocality, often posed a serious threat to young women's autonomy. Of particular interest is the fact that the older women's advice is to use these direct unmitigated speech acts in a situation that is quite unlike that in which Brown and Levinson (1987: 69) predict such FTAs will be used (Burt 2005).

Young men and women in the “hybrid” generation show evidence of receiving a complex message on how to behave in this situation, both in the interviews and in the literary data. Most young interviewees re-iterate the advice to be polite, and some discern a “fine line” between traditional politeness and acculturated effectiveness. Nevertheless, the majority seem to prefer acts which are less face-threatening than those recommended by the woman elders. An invitation to play the traditional courting game does not seem to pose a threat to these young women the way that it did to their grandmothers in Laos.

However, young Hmong-American writers produce works that show that threat and conflict still remain in courting and marriage for young Hmong-American women. “The Good Hmong Girl” tells of the unhappy courtship and wedding of a young woman, who is betrayed by her boyfriend and ultimately forced to marry her unattractive cross-cousin (a traditionally preferred marriage pattern). The story reflects many concerns that marriage customs presented to young women in traditional Hmong culture, and shows that they still constitute concerns for today's young Hmong-American women.

“Hmoob Boy Meets Hmong Girl,” a short play, takes a more playful approach to the situation, showing the young woman as preferring what is portrayed as an Anglo-American cultural response to an invitation to dance, sarcastic refusal. The male character in the play, on the other hand, takes an ultra-masculinist approach, which he presents as traditional Hmong. The story and the play show that invitations from men may still constitute a face threat to young Hmong women, and that the verbal tools available to them as responses are not so different from those their grandmothers used.

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The expression of gratitude in IsiXhosa educational contexts

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Expressing gratitude is a language function that has important social value in any language including Xhosa. The expression of gratitude is commonly used and is influenced by the relationship between the giver and the receiver. The language function of expressing gratitude is used frequently and openly in a wide range of interpersonal relationship, i.e. among intimates, friends, strangers and with superiors and subordinates. If properly used, the expression of gratitude can engender feelings of warmth and solidarity. Inappropriate expression of gratitude can have negative consequences, sometimes resulting in severing the relationship of the speaker and listener.

The main aim of this paper is to examine whether Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory would map onto another type of verbal behavior, namely expressing gratitude. This study will look at the expression of gratitude consequent to an action. When a person (a receiver) receives a benefit from another person (a giver), he or she usually says something to express his or her feelings of gratitude. The expressions are diverse. They are considered to be influenced not only by the relationship between the giver and the receiver, but also by the characteristics of the giver's benefiting behavior. It is thus expected here that the imposition is on the giver.

Situations in which gratitude is expressed in response to receiving reward, gift, favor, service and compliment will be investigated. The investigation here will analyze a range of gratitude expressions in Xhosa.

Face-Threatening Acts (FTAs) to Codeswitching: Insights from the Nigerian and British Print Media

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“When an individual appears before others he will have many motives for trying to control the impression they receive of the situation. ...this mask represents the conception we have formed of ourselves – the role we are striving to live up to – this mask is our truer self, the self we would like to be” (Goffman, 1959:15,19). The reaction of French President Jacques Chirac to his compatriot’s switch to English at the European Union summit on 23 March, 2006 is a timely display of face-threatening acts (FTAs) to codeswitching. Chirac expressed his displeasure both verbally and non-verbally. While Ernest-Antoine Seilliere showed a positive face of solidarity to the audience by addressing the summit in English, the French businessman’s choice of English "because that is the accepted business language of Europe today" earned him Chirac’s negative face. According to Chirac: "France has great respect for its language...Faced with the efforts that we are making constantly, particularly within the European Union... I must say that I was deeply shocked to see a Frenchman speak at the council in English. That is the reason why the French delegation and I left, rather than have to listen to that." When linguistic pride is at stake, what face do people show universally? Are people’s FTAs to codeswitching the same in Europe and Africa? Or are certain attitudinal dispositions context-bound? These and related issues are what we seek to explore in this paper. With copious examples drawn from the two most widely-read Nigerian newspapers, we compare and contrast FTAs to codeswitching cross-continently. In Africa, whereas Nigeria is a suitable ‘laboratory’ for plurilingual experiments, Nigerians at home and in the diaspora are ideal ‘experimental subjects’ for investigative FTAs to codeswitching. This investigator’s experience with codeswitching as a stable bilingual speech behaviour among Nigerians in Nigeria, Austria, Belgium, England and Germany makes this study a particularly interesting one to undertake, coupled with his native and near-native speaker proficiency in three Nigerian indigenous languages, one hybrid language (Nigerian Pidgin) and two European languages. We shall establish the different kinds of threats to positive and negative face in codeswitching. Our hypothesis: face-saving strategies, as far as codeswitching is concerned, are universal while patterns of FTAs are a mixture of relativistic cum universalistic manifestations cross-continently.

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Welcome and introduction to Postcolonial Pragmatics

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The main question this panel wishes to address is: to what extent are the patterns of face-saving claimed by Brown and Levinson (1978) *really* universal? Since the publication of Brown and Levinson’s work, several other works have been published that describe patterns of politeness and face-saving in Non-western cultures that are distinctly different from those in Western cultures. Although some researchers have discussed politeness in certain African and Asian cultures, it is still not established if the further mix of languages and linguistic identities created by colonialism play a significant role in the way speakers in multilingual postcolonial speech communities produce and react to speech acts related to politeness and face-saving. This issue is particularly complex, because language use and abuse play important roles in many areas of postcolonial life. Language can be a powerful mediator of understanding, empowerment, and solidarity, or a source of repression, disempowerment, and discrimination. Choices of *what* and *how* (and in *what languages*) things are expressed stand at the centre of postcolonial pragmatic interest.

If certain face-saving strategies (hedging, complimenting, understating, distancing, etc.) are relatively uniform in Western cultures, as Brown and Levinson claim, how are these realised in postcolonial contexts? What happens to these strategies among speakers who have complex, hybrid linguistic identities built on mixtures of foreign languages imposed during colonialism, indigenous languages, and the languages of wider communication (Pidgins and Creoles)? Do speakers adopt *situational faces*, using the different languages (and with these, identities) at their disposal to project such faces? Or do they adopt stable face-saving patterns specific to one language and culture in their daily communication? Answers to these questions could be found by analyzing everyday face-to-face discourse, political and institutional discourse, print media discourse, literary discourse, and all forms of electronically mediated communication.

Although the focus of this panel is primarily on face-saving, papers related to the myriad locutionary forms, illocutionary functions, and perlocutionary effects of language communication and communication systems in postcolonial contexts are welcome as well. Papers dealing with natural discourse and issues of cultural displacement, migration, hybridity, diaspora, and the role of public and government media in shaping perceptions of postcolonial history, politics, and regional, ethnic, and social identities will also be considered. With its emphasis on communication and issues of identity, agency, understanding, and empowerment in different postcolonial contexts, this panel wishes to provide a common platform for interdisciplinary cooperation between scholars of different persuasions with interests in language, communication, and postcolonial questions.

Adjusting to communication in new contexts: the use of compliments by Burundians in the Diaspora

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Theories of communication acknowledge that communication is a complex phenomenon within the boundaries of universalism and relativism (Meunier & Peraya, 2004:31). Communication is achieved by means of languages that are held to be vital factors for social cohesion and social integration and each language has its own specificities that distinguish it from others and that are characteristic of the people who use it. Thus, Levinson (1983:45) rightly observes that interaction between members of a given linguistic community is subject to ritual constraints, both social and cultural. In addition to these social and cultural constraints that are peculiar to each language, there are language universals that are common to most cultures if not all. In this respect, Levinson (1983:45-46) upholds that “there are pan-cultural principles governing the production of polite or socially appropriate interaction, and these can be shown to have systematic effects on the linguistic structure of many languages.”

The present paper analyses the attitude of Burundians of the Diaspora living in Belgium vis-à-vis compliments. The aim is to see if their attitude to compliments has changed given that they now live in a foreign country (Belgium) and speak a new variety of the colonial language French, different from the one spoken in Burundi. Burundians generally are repulsive to compliments. Western cultures on the other hand are quite receptive to compliments. Burundians in Belgium are faced with several cultural tensions between their indigenous attitudes built on the African culture and their present experience in Europe. My assumption here is that Burundians’ negative attitude to compliments is a preservation of their tradition, but the more years they spend in Belgium, the more they become receptive to the compliments. The second assumption that is corollary to the first is that Burundians tend to praise others and generally stay away from self praise.

This study was conducted on four different groups of Burundians following the number of years they have lived in Belgium. The preliminary tests revealed that those who have spent over ten years are more receptive to compliments. This shows a process of cultural adaptation.

Politeness and requests in Xhosa drama

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Brown and Levinson (1978) explain that People at times engage in actions, which threaten face, and they make three assumptions about how actions threaten face:

- a. Face threats arise from individual speech acts and can be understood without analysing larger discourse units.
- b. Classes of speech acts threaten only one type of face. There are acts that threaten only negative face and those that threaten positive face.
- c. Any actions are intrinsic face-threatening acts which run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and /or the speaker. To justify this assumption they rely on the analysis of Searle (1969) of how speech acts are defined and created through constitutive rules, such as sincerity conditions.

This paper examines how politeness may be employed in requests in Xhosa drama. It has been established that various meanings play a role in the understanding of indirect requests. This finding is based on the theory of Brown and Levinson's (1987) face work of politeness. Chunk et al (1980) maintain that the politeness of response is governed by the attentiveness hypothesis which states that the more attentive the hearer is to all aspects of the speaker's requests, the more polite he is. Request is one of the most common motivations for politeness. Brown and Levinson (1987) define politeness as the manifestation of respect for and recognition of another's face. They depict face into two components: negative face and positive face. Positive face is the way a person wants to be regarded, admired, or approved by others and to be treated as a friend. Negative face is the person's desire not to be imposed on by other people.

The ten negative politeness strategies of Brown and Levinson (1987) do not apply to Xhosa because they have been developed for a Western language. In the place of these strategies, it has been found that negative politeness may be expressed in Xhosa through certain pragmatic functions by means of which negative politeness may be applied to avert a face-threatening act.

Brown and Levinson (1987) list fifteen positive strategies. The most regular strategies are: seek agreement, give or ask for reasons and address forms. In the case of Xhosa dramas analysed, few strategies for positive politeness were found. These strategies can be divided into two groups :high frequency and negligible. An explanation for the high frequency of these strategies is to be found within positive politeness. Positive politeness forms describe closeness between speaker and hearer and people see it as a solidarity strategy. A face saving act is concerned with the person's positive face and it shows solidarity.

Two ways of thanking in Cypriot Greek

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Cyprus has been in the periphery of the Greek world since antiquity. As a result, the Greek language spoken on the island has been in successive contact with the languages of several peoples, including, but not limited to, Arabic, Old French, Venetian, Ottoman Turkish, and most recently English. The island was under British administration for just under a century, between 1878 and 1960.

Although the newly founded Republic has two official languages, Greek and Turkish, English remains an unofficial third language. Use of English was until recently pervasive in the administrative sector, where statistical reports and agricultural instructions were normally compiled in English, while the policies of semi-governmental organisations often reflect the corresponding British ones (including use of imperial measures). This situation continues in the legal and medical professions, as well as in education, where English-speaking private schools exist at all levels. The use of English in Cyprus today could be put pretty much down to historical reasons were it confined to the professional settings cited above—indeed, its use in these settings is arguably subsiding.

However, use of English in spoken Cypriot Greek is boosted by the numbers of returning Cypriots from the UK and the US, as well as recent immigrants to the island, predominantly from Southeast Asia and Eastern Europe. Such use of English takes the form of either borrowing of individual words or phrases, or situational code-switching to achieve particular rhetorical effects. Spoken corpus data suggest that, in the former case, English words tend to co-occur with features of Cypriot—rather than Standard—Greek, are used by all social classes alike, and are largely absent from formal settings such as discussions on radio/TV.

This pattern is also followed by English *θencju*, which is often used in lieu of Greek *(e)fxaristo* ('(I) thank you'). In addition to being restricted by register, the distribution of these two variants in the spoken corpus data reveals differences in their politeness import. *θencju* typically occurs at the closing of transactional exchanges, often alongside other greeting formulae such as *pa pai* ('bye bye'), and seems to function more as an appropriate slot filler largely bleached of its thanking semantics. *(e)fxaristo*, on the other hand, appears to have retained its thanking potential and is reserved for genuine expressions of thanks, for instance when the person being thanked has gone out of his/her way to help the speaker. This accords with the fact that *(e)fxaristo* is often accompanied by the intensifier *poli/pol:a* ('a lot'), a possibility not attested for *θencju* (*very much/a lot). The situational distribution of the two variants thus suggests that, when a choice between them is possible (i.e. only in informal settings), acts that fall within the normal rights and obligations of interlocutors tend to receive only token acknowledgement in the form of borrowed *θencju*, while acts that go beyond interlocutors' normal rights and obligations can only be acknowledged by inherited *(e)fxaristo*.

It is possible to account for the politeness import of these two variants within Brown and Levinson's theory, if we take *(e)fxaristo* to be the negative politeness marker, reserved for acts of greater Weightiness—prompted by either formality (=high Distance+Power), or a high Ranking—compared to *θencju*, which should be considered the positive politeness marker. However, native speakers comment that, when used in informal settings, *(e)fxaristo* is more sincere, and therefore more highly valued than *θencju*. Seen from the native speaker's perspective, to consider *(e)fxaristo* a negative politeness marker in these settings seems somewhat misguided: the essence of *(e)fxaristo* is not to respect the hearer's "peace and self-determination" (B&L:74), but rather to function as an "expression of [the speaker's] regard" (ibid.). Conversely, in these same settings, it is *θencju* that serves to acknowledge the hearer's "peace and self-determination." Their situational distribution thus appears to square badly with Brown & Levinson's prediction that acts of increased Ranking are universally performed by addressing negative politeness concerns. The fact that *positive* politeness concerns motivate the use of *(e)fxaristo* with acts of *high R* in informal settings in Cypriot Greek suggests that either aspect of face may take priority in context. Moreover, only close investigation into the culture- and situation-specific determinants of face can reveal which aspect of face is addressed each time, excluding a 1:1 correspondence between linguistic expressions and their face-constituting potential.

Criteria of language choice as face-saving strategies in a multilingual society: the case of Dakar (Senegal)

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In this abstract I will describe some of the linguistic strategies and attitudes belonging to a group of young inhabitants of Dakar (Senegal). The findings are based on two periods of ethnolinguistic fieldwork in 2004 and 2006, conducted in Yoff, a suburban neighbourhood of Dakar. 14 young inhabitants of the neighbourhood, between the age of 18 and 30, constituted the main group of informants. In performing a detailed case study, based on participant observation, informal talks, individual interviews and group discussions, I have tried to examine how young urban dwellers construct language attitudes and how this relates to their composed identities, which are characteristic of urban and postcolonial life.

As in many other postcolonial cities, the sociolinguistic situation of Dakar is characterised by extended multilingualism. Extremely rapid urbanization causes a range of quick social changes, making Dakar into a bustling urban centre with various interacting cultural spheres.

Beside the indigenous Wolof culture, there are many other influences which play an important role in the city's life : rural immigrants, the ex-colonial French power, other African citizens and the Arab and Anglo-Saxon presence. In Yoff, multilingualism has evolved around three poles: the official language French, the mixed code French-Wolof, also called Urban Wolof (Swigart, 1992) and the local dialect Lebou. The Yoffois make daily choices between these elements of their linguistic repertoire.

One series of attitudes I've tried to examine is precisely the one concerning language choice. My informants revealed to be having clear ideas of which languages represented the appropriate choice in defined conversational situations. The appropriateness of the language choice here is intimately linked with the face-saving character of the speech act. Especially with regard to the use of the former colonial language, both in its pure form and in its mixing with the indigenous language, informants had some outspoken ideas about its appropriate use. What strikes here is the distinction my informants make between the pragmatic use of French, and the more 'sentimental' use of it, that is for identity marking. (For theories on sentimental and instrumental language use, see Hofman & Cais, 1984; van Hout & Münstermann, 1988.) The latter is identified by features such as pronunciation or the amount of French words used in the Urban Wolof code. Whereas the pragmatic function of French is accepted as a general fact in Senegalese society (see Versluys, forthcoming) the 'marked' use of French is judged negatively and associated with charged concepts such as '*assimilé*', '*complexé*' and '*intellectuel*'. We see thus that the evaluation of appropriateness and of face-saving characteristics not only depends on the language choice itself, but also on the way in which the chosen language is spoken. Or, as one informant puts it: « Je n'ai rien contre quelqu'un qui parle français par habitude, mais si contre quelqu'un qui parle français pour se donner un air de *toubab*. » (*toubab* being the term to indicate a white or Western individual.)

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**Workshop 3 (Cor):
The encoding of evidentiality in
European written and spoken discourse**

**Cornillie, Bert (Antwerp) / Diewald, Gabriele (Hanover) /
Mortelmans, Tanja (Antwerp)
Conference room: GW1 C1070**

Thursday, August 31, 2006	
10:00–10:30	Nuyts, Jan (University of Antwerp) The evidential space: A conceptual analysis
10:30–11:00	Plungian, Vladimir A. (Vilnius University) Evidentials outside of (?)Grammar: the case of Russian
Coffee break	
11:30–12:00	Usonienė, Aurelija (Vilnius University) Realizations of indirect evidence and probability in English and Lithuanian
12:00–12:30	Guentchéva, Zlatka (CNRS – LACITO) La notion de médiativité et son expression en bulgare et en français
12:30–13:00	Ammann, Andreas (University of Bremen) <i>Anscheinend</i> ‘apparently, seemingly’ vs. <i>scheinbar</i> ‘seemingly, at first sight’ in German: apparently only some people care
Lunch break	
15:00–15:30	Squartini, Mario (Università di Torino) Reports and quotatives in the diachronic evolution of the Italian <i>pare / sembra</i> evidential pair
15:30–16:00	Cornillie, Bert (Universities of Antwerp and Leuven) The distribution of lexical and grammatical evidentiality in spoken and written Spanish.
16:00–16:30	Mortelmans, Tanja (University of Antwerp) Indirect speech in German and Dutch: The use of mood and modal verbs in a contrastive perspective
Coffee break	
17:00–17:30	Diewald, Gabriele (University of Hanover) / Smirnova, Elena (University of Hanover) Semantic and functional distinctions between German evidential constructions with <i>drohen</i> ‘threaten’ and <i>versprechen</i> ‘promise’

***Anscheinend* ‘apparently, seemingly’ vs. *scheinbar* ‘seemingly,
at first sight’ in German:
apparently only some people care**

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The German verb *scheinen* ‘seem’ has been placed into the context of German modality by several linguists (e.g. Diewald 2001). My focus will be on two modal expressions derived from it: *anscheinend* and *scheinbar*. Conservative descriptions of German grammar assign slightly distinct meanings to these modal adverbs. While both express that something seems to be the case, *scheinbar* carries an additional counterfactual element: in reality it is not the case (Zifonun *et al.* 1997: 1133). I argue that it is most feasible to paraphrase the textbook definition of *anscheinend* as in (1a) and that of *scheinbar* as in (1b):

(1a) it seems that *p* holds

(1b) it only seems that *p* holds

The counterfactual reading of *scheinbar* is entailed in (1b), but not part of the encoded meaning.

It is well known that the distinction between (1a) and (1b) is not consistently observed in the spoken language, but the details are controversial. Some sources state that *anscheinend* and *scheinbar* alternate freely (e.g. Scholze-Stubenrecht *et al.* 1997). A more precise claim is made e.g. by Bierwisch *et al.* (s.d.), an online dictionary based on contemporary spoken and written data. It ascribes both the meanings in (1a) and (1b) to *anscheinend*, and to *scheinbar* as well, but in its case only for the spoken register. The entry suggests that *scheinbar* is still restricted to (1b) in written German.

My paper tackles the following questions:

- What can we say about the distribution of the two adverbs in journalistic texts? How does this compare to the use in online message boards – a genre that is written, but comes very close to colloquial speech in terms of informality?
- Assuming that the adverbs, as well as *scheinen*, can be interpreted as inferential (=indirect evidential) or epistemic qualifications (=not stated as factual by the speaker): are there contexts in which evidential meaning components are prominent, or epistemic ones?
- What is the place of expressions of (1a) on an epistemic scale between weak possibility and strong probability?
- *appear to /seem to* and *apparently/seemingly* in English?

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The distribution of lexical and grammatical evidentiality in spoken and written Spanish.

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This paper deals with the distribution of grammatical and lexical evidential expressions in Spanish. It combines functional analysis with extensive corpus research. By emphasizing the variety of expression types, my approach differs from Aikhenvald's (2004) strong claim that evidentiality should refer to an exclusively (obligatory) grammatical category. The latter view implies that most European languages do not have an evidential category and, hence, also entails that evidentiality should not be considered from a functional perspective, that is, as a meaning category similar to other categories, such as epistemic or deontic modality. The alternative, functional approach to the linguistic expression of the evidential category should take into account the degree of grammaticalization of the expressions.

In this paper, I will examine how, in Spanish, evidential types, i.e. sources of information (e.g. inference from reasoning, inference from direct evidence, hearsay), are expressed by means of different expression types, which include (semi-)auxiliaries (e.g. *deber* 'must', *parecer* 'seem' and *resultar* 'turn out to'), mental state predicates (e.g. *suponer* 'to suppose'), adverbs (e.g. *evidentemente* 'evidently') and adjectives (e.g. *claro* 'clear'). The paper is mainly concerned with three questions: (i) why do some lexical items give rise to various evidential expression types, while other ones are restricted to only one type? (ii) does the number of evidential expression types of a lexical item also reflect the number of evidential types (sources of information)? (iii) is there a different distribution of the evidential expressions in terms of spoken or written discourse?

With regard to the first question on the expression types (i), it is a case in point that the evidential meaning of the verb *parecer* 'to seem' is expressed through many different constructions: these can be verbal, e.g. *parece que* 'it seems that', *parecer* + infinitive 'seem to', *por lo que parece* 'seemingly', *según parece* 'seemingly', *al parecer* 'seemingly', but can also be adverbial, e.g. *aparentemente* 'seemingly'. By contrast, the evidential auxiliary *deber* 'must' has no other equivalents (*debidamente* expresses a moral appreciation, no evidential qualification) and *resultar* 'to turn out to' is usually followed by a *que*-clause. I will check the hypothesis that the conceptual link with the origin (of the force or the result) blocks the proliferation of the forms.

The second question about the evidential types can be answered affirmatively. It is common knowledge that the reading of perception verbs such as *oír* 'hear' and *ver* 'to see' differs in a *que*-clause construction – when they have a direct evidence or hearsay reading – and in an infinitive construction – with a direct evidence reading. In the same line, *parecer* expresses both inferential and hearsay readings: both of them are found in *parece que*, while *parecer* + inf limits itself to inferential readings. The adverb *aparentemente* has an extra dimension of contrast with the speaker's knowledge. *Deber*, by contrast, only has an inferential reading, while *resulta que* favors a hearsay reading. A mental state verb in the first person such as *supongo* 'I suppose' conveys an inferential reading, but its adverbial counterpart *supuestamente* 'supposedly/allegedly' refers to a hearsay reading. These examples suggest that the broader the network of constructions, the more evidential types a lexical item has.

As for the last question concerning the spoken and written discourse, the distribution varies from one lexeme to another. Evidential verbs + infinitive are far more frequent in written texts than in oral speech, whereas *que*-complementation shows the reverse distribution. The adverbs *aparentemente* and *supuestamente* show up more often in spoken resp. written

discourse. They indicate that the expressions should be analyzed against the background of the other constructions that derive from the same lexical basis. The approach proposed focuses on a functional distribution of the variety of expressions and yields new insights into the organization of parts of speech that express evidential meanings. Despite their so-called lexical nature, they present a continuum of grammaticalization and evidential types, which can explain their varying frequency distribution in spoken and written language.

Semantic and functional distinctions between German evidential constructions with *drohen* ‘threaten’ and *versprechen* ‘promise’

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The German verbs *drohen* ‘threaten’ and *versprechen* ‘promise’ occur in two functional variants. On the one hand, these verbs function as full lexical verbs and express a threat (1) or a promise (2):

1. Karl *droht*, seinen Chef zu verklagen.
Karl *threatens* to sue his chief.’
2. Veronika *versprach*, noch vor Mitternacht zu Hause zu sein.
,Veronica *promised* to be at home before.’

On the other hand, in constructions with *zu* & infinitive complements they approach an auxiliary status and exhibit a strong evidential value, cf. (3)-(4):

3. In Ungarn *drohen* die Dämme *zu brechen*.
,In Hungary the dams *threaten to break*.’
4. Der Abend *verspricht* ein Erfolg *zu werden*.
,The evening *promises to be* a success.’

These two functional variants of *drohen* and *versprechen* differ with regard to their semantic, syntactic, distributive and categorical features (cf. Askedal 1997, Diewald 2004, Heine/Miyashita 2004), which is due to the fact that the evidential readings of these verbs have developed from the lexical verbs via a process of grammaticalization.

In this paper, we investigate the differences between the evidential infinitival constructions with *drohen* and *versprechen* which reflect different degrees of grammaticalization for each verb. The focus will be on the frequency of usage, the preference of co-occurrence with particular infinitive and subject types, and the distinctive evidential values, with *versprechen* evaluating the event as ‘positive’ or ‘desired’ from the speaker’s point of view, while *drohen* presenting it as ‘negative’ or ‘undesired’.

Using corpus data of modern written and spoken German, we show how the different evidential value of *drohen* and *versprechen*, which are due to persistence of their original lexical readings (cf. Cornillie 2004 for the Spanish verbs *prometer* and *amenazar*), are reinterpreted into new paradigmatic oppositions of a developing system of evidential markers.

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La notion de médiativité et son expression en bulgare et en français

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Nous nous proposons de présenter et d'analyser les procédés linguistiques dont disposent les locuteurs bulgares et les locuteurs français pour transmettre des informations d'une part et les conditions dans lesquelles ces procédés sont mis en œuvre, d'autre part. Le bulgare (langue slave du sud) possède un dispositif de formes verbales dérivées du parfait (construit au moyen de l'auxiliaire *сам* « être » et le participe passé actif du verbe) qui s'organisent en registres et qui, dans la tradition anglo-saxonne, relèvent de la catégorie de l'evidentiality. Nous les désignons par le terme de médiatifs et la catégorie par celui de médiativité. Chaque registre a pour fonction de spécifier la position de l'énonciateur par rapport au contenu informationnel de la prédication :

Le *registre narratif médiatif* qui se réduit à la 3^{ème} personne et l'absence de l'auxiliaire, est caractéristique des récits historiques, des contes, des mythes... ; le registre narratif des faits inférés ou reconstruits suite à un raisonnement abductif ; le registre discursif médiatisé (où toutes les formes et à toutes les personnes sont admises), confère à l'énonciateur une position qui, en s'effaçant en tant que garant du contenu informationnel, peut renvoyer suivant le contexte à une tierce instance énonciative (discours d'autrui ou oui-dire), à un fait reconstruit, à un jugement de rejet, de mépris ou d'ironie... Parallèlement, le bulgare peut recourir à des procédés lexicaux tels que *kaj* (issu du verbe « dire »), *kazvat* ou *dumat* 'dit-on', *ču se* 'on a entendu (que)'... Il est bien connu que le français qui peut exprimer toutes ces valeurs sémantiques, ne les grammaticalise pas et recourt généralement à des expressions telles que 'apparemment', 'dit-on', 'paraît-il', 'à ce que je vois', 'à ce que j'entends'..., ce qui ne veut pas dire que certaines formes verbales comme le conditionnel français ne puissent pas s'en charger. Nous procéderons à quelques comparaisons entre certaines valeurs des formes médiatives bulgares et celles convoyées par le conditionnel en spécifiant les conditions de leurs emplois. Les exemples seront extraits de la presse et de langue orale.

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Indirect speech in German and Dutch: The use of mood and modal verbs in a contrastive perspective

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The coding of indirect speech can be regarded as one of the subdomains of evidentiality, as it refers to indirect reported evidence (see e.g. Willett 1988: 57). In German written language, a

rather intricate system of mood marking is generally associated with the coding of indirect speech (descriptions of this system can be found in the Dudengrammar or the IDS-grammar). This is, however, only part of the story, as the rendering of direct speech in a less direct way can take up many forms, some of which are more grammatical(ized) than others.

In my talk, I want to focus on the distribution and meaning of both mood and modal verbs from a contrastive point of view. More specifically, I want to look at indirect speech phenomena in German and Dutch. As only relicts of the original Dutch mood system can be found in present-day Dutch, mood distinctions are generally not used to mark indirect speech, at least not in the same way as in German. A somewhat hybrid status can be claimed to exist for *zou*, however, which – following De Haan (2000), is a subjunctive form expressing “indirect evidentiality”. More specifically, De Haan claims that *zou*, just like the present conjunctive in German, expresses unconfirmed events, whereas modals like German *sollen* and Dutch *moeten* are purely evidential, in that their function consists in showing “that the speaker has only indirect evidence for his or her statement”. An alternative position would be to view Dutch *zou* in its evidential use as the cognate of German *sollen* – what it shares with *sollen* is, for one thing, a clear preference for main-clause use. Other elements to be considered in this respect are the extent to which the information is presented from the point of view of the reporting speaker (or the reporting speaker, see e.g. ten Cate 1996) and the extent to which the source of information is explicitly presented with both *sollen* and *zou*. With German *sollen*, the source of information can be mentioned, but is usually absent; the situation of *zou* is unclear in this respect.

Corpus analysis of German and Dutch data (the corpus being restricted to journalistic prose) will reveal to what extent De Haan’s observations pertain.

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The evidential space: A conceptual analysis

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This paper will offer a ‘conceptual analysis’ of the status of evidentiality in the system of ‘tense-aspect-modality’ categories or ‘qualificational’ categories more in general, with special focus on its relation to the modal categories, and most specifically to epistemic modality. It will wonder whether evidentiality should really be treated as one coherent category, and whether it should not rather be dissolved and split into a number of independent subcategories, each with quite different semantic properties (e.g. presence or absence of a scale, effects of/on speaker commitment), and with a quite different conceptual status, viz. (at least) the categories of inferentiality, reasoning and related notions (which possibly belong under the umbrella of the ‘attitudinal categories’ quite like, among others, epistemic modality – even if they should not be included in or joined with the latter: they share several properties with epistemic modality, but are nevertheless semantically distinct), of hearsay, and of

experientiality (which are both probably quite distinct from the attitudinal categories, but which are also quite different from each other). In this connection also the status of evidentiality-related notions such as (inter)subjectivity/mirativity will be taken into consideration. The discussion will be framed in the context of current views on the hierarchical nature of qualifications of states of affairs. In the margins, also the ongoing debates about the demarcation of linguistic markers of evidential categories (only grammatical ones or not) will be addressed.

Evidentials outside of (?)Grammar: the case of Russian

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Russian is known as a language without grammaticalized evidential markers. Nevertheless, it possesses a plethora of lexical expressions conveying various evidential meanings, especially in the domain of what can be called “lower certainty”. These are markers mitigating (in one way or another) the speaker’s responsibility concerning the certainty or the reliability of the proposition. Thus, what we are dealing with is a border phenomenon of “modalized evidentials”.

In Modern Russian, the domain of the markers of indirect evidence and lower epistemic certainty is very mobile and instable. Some new markers arise, some others, in principle existing, change their combinability or increase their uses, showing a gradual movement towards initial stages of grammaticalization. Of special interest are two markers of this type: *kak by* ‘as if’ and *tipa* ‘kind of’, which can be used not only individually, but in informal style also in combination *kak by tipa*.

It is hypothesized that this process is the echo of current social, cultural and psychological changes affecting Russian society – or, to put it briefly, a kind of “epistemic confusion”, when one cannot trust any more traditional, “inherited” language for describing new reality. This assumption would explain an observed increase of hedges, lexical markers of irony, “Verfremdung”, intertextual borrowings and so on in current Russian discourse (in mass-media and in fiction, as well as in everyday communication), where the whole society is in search of an adequate language and thus, – when continuing to use the “old” one – it has to mark an improper character of such uses.

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Reports and quotatives in the diachronic evolution of the Italian *pare / sembra* evidential pair

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Aikhenvald (2004: 177-178) describes grammatical systems in which a general reportive marker coexists with a more specific quotative form, the latter specifying the exact source of the quoted report. Elaborating on Aikhenvald's distinction it will be argued that a formal opposition report / quotative is not only applicable to synchronic descriptions of grammatical systems but is also relevant in diachronic analyses of semi-grammatical items such as the Italian verb pair *pare / sembra* 'seem'.

In particular it will be demonstrated that the evidential meaning of *pare*, which is restricted to inferences and general reports in Modern Italian, also occurs in quotative contexts in Old Italian. The diachronic evolution of *pare*, as well as its only partially overlapping distribution with *sembra*, will be described in detail on the basis of corpus data and compared with the behaviour of corresponding forms in other Romance languages such as Spanish *parecer* (see Cornillie 2004). More generally, the data will be considered with respect to the following still heavily debated issues:

- the interplay between epistemicity and evidentiality (as noted by Aikhenvald 2004: 193 reportive evidentials “can develop an epistemic extension of unreliable information as a means of shifting responsibility”, which is the case with the Italian verbs *pare / sembra*);
- the role of lexical evidentiality and the continuum between lexical and (semi)grammatical forms (the two verbs involved, *pare* and *sembra*, both belong to the closed class of raising verbs but show different degrees of semantic bleaching, a possible clue of grammaticalization);
- the relationship among different evidential submeanings (like Spanish *parecer*, Italian *pare / sembra* cover not only reports but also other indirect modes of knowing such as inferences).

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Realizations of indirect evidence and probability in English and Lithuanian

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The paper is devoted to the analysis of quantitative and qualitative parameters of equivalence between the lexical expressions of epistemic qualification of evidentiality and probability in English and Lithuanian. The paper will look at realizations of the source of knowledge in terms of indirectness of evidence and whether/how it is related to probability. The focus will be on the meaning and function of the Lithuanian 'quotative' particle ESA ('participial_{be}'), the

so-called modal words MATYT (‘see~evidently’), GIRDI (‘hear’) and a probability verb ATRODYTI (‘seem/appear’).

Corpus-based contrastive methodology used in the given investigation seems to be a most efficient and reliable tool capable of diagnosing language-specific variation in conceptualization of the notions under study and allowing to reveal its varied linguistic realisations. The focus of the pilot study is on the following types of expressions in parallel:

English (original)	Lithuanian (translation)
<p><s>The driveling song <i>seemed to</i> havekeptits popularity.</s> (Parallel E-LT _{CCLL})	<p><s>Ši primityvi dainelė, <i>matyt</i> , yra populiari.</s>
1:30 “It certainly <i>seems so</i> ,” said Dumbledore. (Harry Potter _{E-LT})	1:30 – <i>Regis</i> , taip, – atsake Dumbldoras.
English (translation)	Lithuanian (original)
<...>everything <i>seems to</i> have been done in advance,<...>	<...>visa <i>esq</i> jau atlikta avansu <...> (Forest _{LT-E})

The data for the bidirectional translation corpus have been compiled from fiction (Rowling 2000: the Harry Potter_{E-LT} sub-corpus, Sruoga 2005: Forest_{LT-E} sub-corpus) and the online English-Lithuanian Parallel Corpus located at the Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language (the Parallel E-LT_{CCLL} sub-corpus). Use has been also made of the BNC, CCLL and monolingual/bilingual dictionaries.

The purpose of the analysis is to compare the semantic potential of modal verbs, probability verbs and modal adverbs/words in the two languages to express speaker’s source of knowledge and uncertainty regarding the states of affairs described.

Data sources

Parallel E-LT_{CCLL} – the Parallel Corpus at CCLL (<http://donelaitis.vdu.lt>)

Harry Potter_{E-LT} - Rowling J. K. 2000. *Haris Poteris ir išminties akmuo (Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone)*. Vilnius, Alma Litera.

Forest_{LT-E} - Sruoga, B. 2005. *Dievų miškas (Forest of the Gods)*. Vilnius, Versus aureus Publishers.

Workshop 4 (Fer): Multilingualism and Universal Principles of Linguistic Change

Ferraresi, Gisella (Hanover) / Rinke, Esther (Hamburg)

Conference room: GW1 B2130

Wednesday, August 30, 2006	
10:00–10:15	Ferraresi, Gisella (Hannover) / Rinke, Esther (Hamburg) Welcome/Introduction
10:15–11:00	Pietsch, Lukas (University of Hamburg) What has changed in Hiberno-English: Constructions, “usage patterns” and/or discourse preferences
Coffee break	
11:30–12:15	Kolmer, Agnes (University of Zurich) Cimbrian in Northern Italy: a case study into investigations of external motivated grammatical change at the Germanic-Romance language border
12:15–13:00	Johanson, Lars (University of Mainz) Language change in multilingual and multidialectal situations
Lunch break	
15:00–15:30	Rehbein, Jochen (University of Hamburg) On contact-induced language change of Turkish in Germany
15:30–16:15	Karakoç, Birsal (University of Hamburg) / Herkenrath, Annette (University of Hamburg) Linguistic connectivity in German-Turkish language contact
Thursday, August 31, 2006	
10:15–11:00	Benet, Ariadna (University of Hamburg) / Lleó, Conxita (University of Hamburg) / Cortés, Susana (University of Hamburg) Factors predicting phonological adaptations of the Spanish phonemes /x/ and /θ/ in Catalan
Coffee break	
11:30–12:15	Goglia, Francesco (University of Manchester) Language change in an Italian immigrant variety
12:15–13:00	Veenstra, Tonjes (University of Berlin) The role of bilinguals in rapid language change

Factors predicting phonological adaptations of the Spanish phonemes /x/ and /θ/ in Catalan

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The Catalan variety spoken in Barcelona is highly influenced by Spanish. Language transfer can be observed in many areas, but phonology is a specially vulnerable domain. One of the examples that shows this permeability is the introduction of the Spanish phonemes /x/ and /θ/, which do not exist in the Catalan phonological system. These phonemes can be heard in Catalan when speakers use Spanish words containing them in their Catalan speech. These can be either words that have different stems in Spanish and Catalan (e.g., Spanish [aθa'fata] vs Catalan [us'təsə], 'hostess') or words that share the same stem in both languages (e.g., Spanish [pi'xama] vs Catalan [pi'ʒamə], 'pyjama'). In this paper we present data collected from several groups of subjects, born in Barcelona, and classified according to their age and the district they live in. On the one hand, we observe that the Spanish phoneme /x/ is more widely used than /θ/ in Catalan speech. This fact can be accounted for by the distribution of phones in the sound system and the principle of feature economy. On the other hand, our data show that when the Catalan and Spanish words do not share the same stem, lexical (and phonological) transfer is favoured.

Language change in an Italian immigrant variety

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This paper reports on communicative strategies in the Italian of Igbo-Nigerian immigrants living in the city of Padova (North-Eastern Italy). It proposes a new approach to the analysis of communicative strategies in non-guided Second Language Acquisition. This approach treats immigrant speakers qua effective communication achievers. It focuses on the communicative interaction, and it regards individual linguistic strategies as language innovations potentially initiating language change. It also sees non-guided Second Language Acquisition as a contact phenomenon and adopts a unified contact approach which puts all contact phenomena under the same umbrella (Winford, 2003; Myers-Scotton, 2002).

The study of communicative strategies reveals that immigrant speakers can achieve effective communication by creating forms which deviate from the target language norm and are potentially contact-induced. These forms are likely to be replaced by more target-like forms as the speakers become more proficient in the target language, but they may also 'survive' longer in the speech of advanced speakers. Previously acquired languages may influence reanalysis by providing ready made form/function patterns as in the case of the multifunctional preposition *per* 'for' and the reanalysed form *c'è* 'there's' used to express possessiveness.

Language change in multilingual and multidialectal situations

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The paper will deal, mostly on the basis of materials from Turkic languages, with the considerable differences between multilingual and multidialectal situations with respect to language change and convergence. It will briefly discuss the particular preconditions for grammatical change in mutually intelligible varieties and the role of dialect contacts for glotto-genetics. The fundamental (and often ignored) difficulties involved in the analysis of older written sources will be stressed.

Linguistic connectivity in German-Turkish language contact

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In this talk we deal with some specific linguistic structures of Turkish in the data of children growing up Turkish-German bilinguals in Germany. We discuss the German influences and the innovative phenomena we investigated in our research project, in the following exemplary grammatical areas of Turkish: *Wh*-constructions and *wh*-elements, finite aspectual elements in their function to form discourse types, evidentiality, elements of discourse coordination and discourse particles, and possessive constructions. Our analysis is based on data gathered by the projects ENDFAS and SKOBI at the University of Hamburg, funded by the German Research Foundation and working within the theoretical framework of functional-pragmatic discourse theory.

Cimbrian in Northern Italy: a case study into investigations of external motivated grammatical change at the Germanic-Romance language border

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The Cimbrian language, which has been the first language to more than 30'000 people in the so called Sette comuni, Tredici comuni and the elevated plain of Folgaria and Lavarone in the 17th and 18th century, is almost extinct nowadays. All the settlements in the provinces of Veneto and Trentino were founded during the late middle ages in the 12th and 13th century. First of all, lexical and phonological correspondences and similarities of the Cimbrian language varieties with modern Bavarian varieties undoubtedly confirm the genetic affiliation of these speech island dialects as (south) Bavarian. Nowadays, after centuries of language maintenance in a romance speaking environment, one can find speakers still fluent in both the local Italian dialects and the German dialect called Cimbrio, only in Luserna, a small village near Trient. Luserna emerged last as a Cimbrian speech community in the 17th century as a secondary settlement of Lavarone. Full competence in Cimbrio is found especially among the old generation, which can be classified as bilingual.

The presentation will concentrate on the results of studies about external motivated grammatical change. The investigation is based on data from bilingual speakers of Luserna. Besides the "outer" German / Bavarian shape of Cimbrio the "inner" shape has undergone drastic

restructuring due to the intense contact with Standard Italian and the surrounding North Italian varieties. After discussing the reasons for the extreme prolongation of language shift in this speech community (particularly endogamy, geographical seclusion and agricultural basis of living) the focus of the talk shifts to the description of the use of subject and object clitics.

Both Bavarian and Northern Italian dialects show pronominal clitics, a special class or "second series" of pronominal elements in addition to stressed personal pronouns. These pronominal clitics (in Bavarian, Cimbri and Northern Italian dialects) are called special clitics with a different distributional behavior than their stressed counterparts. There are considerable differences between the properties of clitics and cliticization in Bavarian on the one side and the features of clitics and cliticization processes of the Northern Italian type on the other side (those differences mainly concern 1) the category of the syntactic basis for cliticization, 2) the internal sequence of clitics in a clitic cluster and 3) the position of the clitics before or after the syntactic basis). Pronominal clitics in Cimbri behave in some respects more like Italian / Romance clitics whereas in other respects more like Bavarian ones. For example, there is no evidence for a switch from encliticization to procliticization in Cimbri. This implies that it is especially difficult to adopt this feature of cliticization in processes of external motivated grammatical change even in very intense language contact situations. From a functional point of view, subject and object clitics in Cimbri have adopted agreement functions very similar to the regularities in Galloromance varieties. The altered function as agreement markers in Cimbri is intimately connected with the reduction of differences to the model language concerning word order and with the integration of focus strategies from the model language into patterns already and still existing in the replica language.

The picture drawn from the results of the investigation of pronominal clitics in Cimbri is best interpreted as a case of typological change at the morphosyntactic level, which is the consequence of a very long lasting phase of stable bilingualism.

What has changed in Hiberno-English: Constructions, "usage patterns" and/or discourse preferences

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Scholars of language contact have developed a large range of different terms to describe processes whereby a language takes over grammatical structures from a second language: "transfer", "borrowing", "replication", "interference", etc. Often, however, when these terms are used it is left open what exactly the status of the linguistic entities is that are the object of the change. In this way, studies of contact-induced grammatical change often make little contact with syntactic research and syntactic theory in a narrower sense. Any theoretically explicit account of contact-induced grammatical change will have to include some way in which bilingual speakers construct analogy relations between elements in their two respective language systems. Something in the donor language is perceived as functionally or structurally equivalent to an existent or emergent something in the receiving language. But what kinds of somethings ("rules", "structures", "patterns", "strategies") are these, and what is their status within each of the language systems?

It will be suggested in this talk that Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995, Croft 2001), with its emphasis on "constructions" as the dominant organising principle of grammars, and its natural affinity to usage-based models of language change – as employed, for instance, in grammaticalisation studies – is particularly suitable to describe and explain some of the properties observed in contact-induced change. Among these properties are its local,

piecemeal nature (changes often occurring in individual constructional environments rather than across the whole language system at once), as well as the elusive apparent slowness and gradualness of many of the changes (which make it difficult to determine the cutoff point between mere quantitative changes in discourse preferences and categorial changes in grammatical organisation, and which have rendered it notoriously difficult to pinpoint the occurrence of contact-induced change in real-time studies of bilingual individuals or communities.) Recently, Heine/Kuteva (2005) have proposed a model based on grammaticalisation theory, whereby the replication of grammatical structures proceeds through a sequence of “minor use patterns” through “major use patterns” until replicated linguistic structures become established as fully categorial constructions. This happens through mechanisms that are essentially identical to those of normal, language-internal grammaticalisation processes. This model is attractive insofar as it envisages a complex interaction of contact-related and language-internal factors in a novel and plausible way.

The talk will explore implications and applications of this approach to examples taken from Hiberno-English, the contact variety of English with Irish (Filppula 1999). This variety has long been recognised as a highly interesting test case of contact linguistics. Findings from a new corpus of historical Hiberno-English texts provide evidence for the historical development of various grammatical structures during the 18th and 19th centuries, among them clausal clefting, non-finite subordination strategies (Pietsch *fc.*), and tense-aspect constructions (Pietsch 2005).

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On contact-induced language change of Turkish in Germany

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The paper makes use of the data presented by Annette Herkenrath and Birsal Karakoç in their contribution of on "Linguistic connectivity in German-Turkish language contact". According to these data, a change of the Turkish used in Germany can be observed to such an extent that it is justified to speak of a new contact variety of Turkish. In this paper, an explanation of the development will be undertaken.

One of the hypotheses is that the steps of change in specific linguistic domains may be motivated by the catalysis of discourse practices. They can be conceptualized as successive re-interpretations of standard Turkish linguistic forms with linguistic functions based on spoken German. It will be argued that language change may be seen as a transposition of various linguistic fields (s. Bühler 1934) of standard Turkish forms.

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The role of bilinguals in rapid language change

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New languages tend to emerge in multilingual contact situations, creoles being one of the prime examples. Much of the recent literature seems to agree on the pivotal role that processes of second language acquisition play in rapid language change. In this paper I will discuss the role of the bilingual part of the population in the contact situation, arguing that they are the real instantiators of the shift to another variety, thereby creating and establishing a new emerging language. In this scenario the process of relexification finds its natural place. Evidence will be presented from Hawaiian Creole English, the creole languages of Surinam, and from computational modelling of multilingual contact situations.

**Workshop 5 (Gro):
Universalist Perspectives on Relative Properties:
Features vs. Constructions of the Clausal Left Periphery**

Grohmann, K.K. (Cyprus) / Tsimpli, I.-M. (Thessaloniki)

Conference room: GW1 B2130

Friday, September 1, 2006	
10:00–10:15	Grohmann, K. K. (University of Cyprus) / Tsimpli, I.-M. (University of Thessaloniki) Introductory Remarks
10:15–11:00	Struckmeier, Volker (University of Cologne) Constrained Relativism Is Nothing but Implicit Universalism
Coffee break	
11:30–12:15	Lahne, Antje (Leipzig) Local vs. Global Simplicity in the C-Domain
12:15–13:00	Roussou, Anna (Patras) Selecting Complementizers
Lunch break	
14:00–14:45	Etxepare, Ricardo (Bayonne) Nominal and Verbal Quotative Constructions in Iberian Spanish
14:45–15:30	Mylonaki, Agapi (Thessaloniki) / Papadopoulou, Despina (Thessaloniki) / Tsimpli, Ianthi-Maria (Thessaloniki) The role of syntax in the interpretation of temporal connectives
15:30–16:15	Panagiotidis, Phoevos (Nicosia) / Grohmann, Kleantes K. (Nicosia) C-Related Parts of Speech

Saturday, September 2, 2006	
10:15–11:00	Alexopoulou, Dora (Lille and Cambridge) On True and Intrusive Resumption and the Properties of the Left Periphery
Coffee break	
11:30–12:15	Cheng, Lisa (Leiden) / Demirdache, Hamida (Nantes) Covert Partial Wh-Movement in English
12:15–13:00	Remberger, Eva-Maria (Berlin) Left-Peripheral Interactions in Sardinian

Lunch break	
14:00–14:45	Agouraki, Yoryia (Nicosia) Clausal Left Periphery and the Construction of Syntactic Categories in the Derivation
14:45–15:30	González, Raquel (Madrid) Scope Effects in Exclamative Sentences
15:30–16:15	Kiss, Katalin É. (Budapest) Phasal Structure and Quantifier Scope

Clausal Left Periphery and the Construction of Syntactic Categories in the Derivation

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Clausal left periphery is commonly used in structures which involve an interface between syntax and semantics/pragmatics. The formalization of this interaction within the minimalist program is to assume that in each case a particular grammatical feature is made visible to the interpretative component as a discourse related feature. The paper looks at two constructions which, *prima facie* at least, fall under this schema, namely Standard Greek *wh*-clauses in DP-positions (as discussed in Agouraki 2005) and *it*-clefts as focalization in Cypriot Greek. The two constructions obviously involve an interface between syntax and semantics. The question is whether this is best analyzed along the lines indicated above, namely as a *wh*-feature and a focus feature, respectively, made visible through a movement operation. In particular, it is examined whether the syntax-semantics interaction in nominal *wh*-clauses and *it*-clefts in fact involves the construction of syntactic categories in the course of syntactic derivation.

On True and Intrusive Resumption and the Properties of the Left Periphery

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Since Chao & Sells (1983) a distinction is drawn between true and intrusive resumption. The former involves a true option a grammar may allow when a pronominal appears at the bottom of a long distance dependency (e.g. relative clause). The latter refers to a “last resort” strategy where a pronominal appears in place of an illicit gap typically to “save” an island violation. True resumption is standardly accounted for by grammar while processing explanations have been proposed for intrusive resumption. In this talk I discuss the relation between the two types of resumption.

In the first part of the talk I will explain how (true) resumption arises from the interaction of the interpretive properties of various elements that may appear at the left periphery, the formal properties of their C and the properties of pronominals, with particular reference to questions, relative clauses and Clitic Left Dislocation in Greek, Italian and Hebrew. I will also summarize results from some recent magnitude estimation studies investigating (intrusive) resumption in

island violating questions and relative clauses in English, Greek and German and present novel data from Italian and Hebrew, where the main finding is that resumption fails to “save” island violations in questions. I will present the basics of a processing account for these results.

In the second part of the talk I will focus on the relation between true and intrusive resumption. Based on evidence from resumption in Greek oblique relative clauses, a case which seems to lie between “true” and “intrusive” resumption, I will argue that while the distinction between the two types of resumption is indispensable, “true” and “intrusive” appear to be the ends of a continuum, the close investigation of which can possibly shed light to the interface between grammar and the human sentence processor.

Covert Partial Wh-Movement in English

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In this paper, we argue that there is partial *wh*-movement in English at LF based on the interpretations of multiple *wh*-questions in English.

Nominal and Verbal Quotative Constructions in Iberian Spanish

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In colloquial speech, main clauses in Iberian Spanish can be headed by an overt complementizer (see Spitzer 1942, Porroche Ballesteros 1995, García 1996, Etxepare 2002, forthcoming):

- (1) a. Juan/oye, el Liverpool ha ganado la Champions.
 Juan/hey, the Liverpool has won the Champions League
 b. Juan/oye, que el Liverpool ha ganado la Champions.
 Juan/hey that the Liverpool has won the Champions League

The apparent optionality of the complementizer masks an important semantic difference between the a- and b-sentences. As a typical declarative sentence, (1a) constitutes an assertion, whose propositional content is that a given soccer team (Liverpool) has won the Champions League. Compared to (1a), (1b), uttered with declarative intonation, contributes the additional meaning that someone else (who is not the speaker) said (1a), such that the (speaker’s) utterance of (1b) constitutes a report of what has been said. (1b) is thus reported speech (Coulmas 1986). The two sentences would be produced in quite different situations: (1a) could be uttered by an agent who has been to the finals match; in such a setting (1b) would definitely be odd. (1b), on the other hand, would be appropriate if I were listening to the radio and heard the news that Liverpool won the Champions League. In that case, I could choose to report on the news by using the root complementizer construction.

This paper is a preliminary analysis of root complementizer constructions in Iberian Spanish. I will defend the view that root complementizer constructions involve an underlying speech eventuality. This speech eventuality is syntactically represented in two different ways: (i) as a VP supporting (eventually overt) thematic material; and (ii) as a DP, contributing an existential quantification over variables referring to utterances (an analysis similar to Lahiri’s 2002 for double-Comp dependents in Spanish).

The proper analysis of what I will call “quotative constructions” in Spanish has, I think, important consequences for the cartography of the left periphery (Rizzi 1997 and subsequent work), as well as for the LF representation of some finite dependencies, such as the well studied double-complementizer structures in Spanish (Plann 1982, Uriagereka 1988, Bruccart 1992, Suñer 1993, Rivero 1995, Lahiri 1991, 2002).

Scope Effects in Exclamative Sentences

González, Raquel

Madrid

This talk deals with the (im)possibility of negating exclamative sentences in Spanish (cf. Masullo 2005, Villaba 2004): while quantitative exclamatives can be negated, qualitative exclamatives cannot. I show that the constraints on the presence of negation in exclamative sentences follow from scope relations established between the *wh*-phrase and negation. I provide evidence for the syntactic reconstruction approach to derive these scope relations.

My proposal is that negation can appear in exclamative sentences when it does not take scope over the *wh*-phrase; when the *wh*-phrase is within the scope of the negative operator, the sentence is ungrammatical because the degree quantifier is a Positive Polarity Item (PPI). One of the differences between qualitative and quantitative quantifiers is the scope relations these types of operators establish. Qualitative quantifiers always have narrow scope with respect to other operators (cf. Heim 2000, Kennedy 1997), and exclamative ones do not behave differently.

Finally, I explore how the scope relations established between two operators, such as negation and exclamative *wh*-phrases, are derived from the syntax (cf. Hornstein 1995, 1999, Szabolcsi 1997). The relation where the *wh*-phrase has wide scope is obtained by the surface linear order of these operators, but the situation is different when the *wh*-phrase has narrow scope. I argue that inverse scope is obtained through syntactic reconstruction of the *wh*-phrase (cf. Agüero-Bautista 2001, Fox 2000). Reconstruction consists of interpreting the lowest (or the intermediate) copy of the *wh*-phrase. When this operator has wide scope, the highest copy is interpreted by the semantic interface.

Introductory Remarks

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This workshop aims to address the question of form and function in linguistic phenomena which involve the left periphery of the clause, i.e. phenomena which typically subsume an interface level between syntax and discourse. Such phenomena readily lend themselves to functionalist approaches as they are heavily semantically and discoursally marked. Universalist accounts of the generative tradition, on the other hand, regard such phenomena as being driven by formal operations which are inherent properties of natural languages, such as agreement or movement relations which, when applied to the higher layer of clause structure (i.e. the left periphery), render the grammatical features involved ‘visible’ by the interpretive component as discourse-related features. (For a nice overview of both positions, see e.g. Hammond, Moravcsik & Wirth 1988.)

Universalism suggests that form and function interact at some level, but function does not determine form, and form is generated independently of function. On the other hand, relativism typically assumes a stronger interaction between form and function, with function

determining form to a large extent (depending on the type and strength of functionalism one adopts, e.g. Talmy 1985, Langacker 1987, Lakoff 1987, Croft 1995).

In the current mainstream generative framework of the minimalist program, which has been pursued since the early 1990s (e.g. Chomsky 1995, 2000), the distinction between core syntax on one hand, and interface levels on the other, have brought the issue of the relationship between (structural) form and (discourse) function closer to empirical research. Interfaces aim to ‘translate’ syntactic structure (derived on the basis of universal constraints and operations) into interpretable semantic/pragmatic representations which are also drawn from a restricted repertoire of possibilities. (Naturally, other interface components deal with a phonetic translation of the sound instructions, but these will not be relevant at the proposed workshop.)

The left periphery of the sentence thus includes semantic effects, such as quantification and scope, which are generally assumed to receive interpretations that involve lexical features of the quantifiers and structurally-defined domains of scope. Two of the papers of the proposed workshop will address scopal issues of interrogative *wh*-expressions in English (Cheng & Demirdache) and quantified expressions in Hungarian (Kiss). The contributions by Lohnstein & Stommel and Fotiou, respectively, deal with a related issue: focus. The latter investigates strategies of focalization in Cypriot Greek which, in contrast to Standard Mainland Greek, allows a clefting form to express identificational focus. The former will explore *verum focus* (as expressed on C elements, such as the second-position verb in German main clauses or the complementizer in subordinate clauses) and its relation to sentential force (clause-internal anchoring) and discourse restrictions (clause-external information). All four presentations will highlight one important function of the left periphery, namely, to identify, express, and determine scope in one way or another.

Within the domain of semantically related properties of the left periphery are included lexical features of C elements, and their interaction with structural properties of the clause they dominate. C elements include complementizers which are selected by a higher verb and introduce complement clauses, and connectives which are not selected by the main verb and introduce adjunct clauses. Roussou’s talk on the properties of complementizers follows a strong universalist approach which attempts to identify a restricted range of variation in the selection of complementizers across languages and a common way of deriving this variation on the basis of a small repertoire of formal features in C and structural restrictions on the selection of these features. Grohmann & Panagiotidis will provide a more general discussion of left-peripheral parts of speech (complementizers, modal particles, and so on) and how they connect to the relativism-vs-universalism issue, by unifying formal and functional insights. Lahne is going to critically inspect recent formalist extensions of the structure of the left periphery (Rizzi 1997, Cinque 1999), arguing explicitly against such proliferation of functional projections, thereby falling very much in line with many functionalist critiques that have been expressed over the years, and for a (structurally and functionally) unified simple CP-structure of the left periphery.

Connectives introducing adverbial clauses, not being formally selected by the main clause, are open to more discourse interpretations. Haegeman’s paper aims to distinguish between interpretive differences in conditionals on the basis of structural differences in their left periphery. Struckmeier’s talk will take attributive expressions in German as expressing (semantic) reference types and thus functioning as (morphosyntactic) clauses; in fact, correlating relativism and universalism, he goes further suggesting that such structures actually form a clause type proper. The empirically-driven research presented by Mylonaki, Papadopoulou & Tsimpli evaluates previous functionalist analyses of connectives which view ambiguities in the interpretation of connectives as being dictated through discourse and context, methodologically not too dissimilar to Alexopoulou’s talk. Instrumental for a fruitful exchange on the conference theme will also be Alexopoulou’s paper in which she will extend

the discussion to two domains. On the one hand, she will present quantitative research results highlighting gradient grammaticality, which will undoubtedly bridge one gap between formalist/universalist and functionalist/relativist persuasions. On the other hand, she will connect insights gained on left-peripheral phenomena with clause-internal observables, in this case, the phenomenon of resumption, where a clause-internal expression is (formally and functionally) related to a more complex left-peripheral linker or operator (from a syntactico-semantic perspective).

The presentations will be bundled in internally coherent ways (see preliminary schedule). Each of the presentations will address issues pertinent to relativist and universalist approaches to language. It is a defined goal of the proposed workshop to engage in lively discussions after each talk, and to collect a final appraisal of the ideas and arguments presented in a roundtable discussion concluding the event. Here issues such as the relevance of empirically-oriented work informing theoretical research (and vice versa) or bringing functional explanations closer to formal descriptions will be debated. How much of a reconciliation between universalist and relativist perspectives can be achieved, or even should be desired to be, will be left open for our final roundtable discussion, which will be expanded on in the published results; the organizers have already identified a major international academic publisher interested in the production of a collected volume.

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Phasal Structure and Quantifier Scope

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In Hungarian, a language with overt Q-Raising, quantifier scope interpretation displays an interesting asymmetry: preverbal quantifiers c-command and precede their scope, hence their surface order corresponds to their surface order; postverbal quantifiers, on the other hand, have identical scopes, i.e., they can be interpreted in any order. It will be shown that quantifier interpretation is linked to V-movement. For example, the very same TP-adjoined quantifiers that have a fixed relative scope if the V remains in T, become scopally ambiguous if the V is raised to a higher functional head:

- (1) [_{TopP} János [_{TP} minden bizottságot [_{TP} kétszer is [_{TP} össze hívott [_{VP}...]]]]] **every>2**
 John every committee twice called together
 ‘John called together every committee twice.’
- (2) [_{TopP} János [_{FocP} MÚLT HÉTEN hívott [_{TP} minden bizottságot kétszer is össze]]] **every>2**
 John last week called every committee twice together **2>every**
 ‘It was last week that John called together every committee twice.’

It will be argued that the extended V-chain created by V-raising acts as a new phase, with the postverbal internal domain of the V-chain functioning as the phasal domain. That is, scopal neutralization in TP takes place if TP is relegated to the domain of a higher phase.

The talk will also check if the correlation between phasal structure and scope interpretation also holds in other languages with overt Q-Raising, e.g. Chinese.

Local vs. Global Simplicity in the C-Domain

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The cartographic approach is based on the assumptions that a functional head is made up by exactly one “syntactically relevant feature”, i.e. that there are no originally complex heads (“local simplicity”; Rizzi 2004: 7), and, as a consequence, that there is exactly one structural specifier position. These assumptions then logically force us to assume the C domain being made up of a system of distinct heads. Rizzi (2004: 8):

“Natural languages favour local simplicity, and accept paying the price of ending up with global representations involving [...] very rich articulation of functional structures.”

An attempt to translate this idea into a minimalist framework was to say that the core category C may be “shorthand for referring to a more articulated structural zone” (again, Rizzi 2004).

In my talk I will show that this approach cannot, however, be implemented in a minimalist system. First of all, heads are always bundles of features. Secondly, there is evidence that we have to admit multiple specifiers into analysis. I propose an analysis of the C domain as a singular CP with multiple specifiers (as sketched in Chomsky 2005). Empirically detected ordering and compatibility constraints for functional categories are translated into a language-specific feature hierarchy in C_{min}. I discuss the exact implementation of this idea, as well as potential problems and their solutions.

The talk will promote an interesting discussion about relativism insofar as it touches the question of ‘good language design’. Chomsky (2001: 1-2):

“‘Good design’ conditions are in part a matter of empirical discovery, though within general guidelines of an aprioristic character, a familiar feature of rational inquiry [...]. Even the most extreme proponents of deductive reasoning from first principles, Descartes for example, held that experiment is critically necessary to discover which of the reasonable options was instantiated in the actual world”.

It can be argued that the general architecture is universal, but the hierarchy of features is language-specific and therefore subject to relativism.

The role of syntax in the interpretation of temporal connectives

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This paper begins with the standard observation that temporal connectives (*while, after*) can be ambiguous between a temporal and a non-temporal (causal, concessive, opposition) reading in languages like English and Greek. According to most analyses of Greek connectives, the ambiguity is a matter of semantic and/or pragmatic factors (Kalokerinos 2001, Kitis 2000, among others). Following Haegeman 2002, we argue that the temporal and the non-temporal readings of the connectives are constrained by syntactic properties of the internal structure of the adjunct clause as well as of the adjunction site (CP, vP) of the clause introduced by the connective. With respect to the Greek connectives, our aim is to analyze the morpho-syntactic properties which block the ambiguity of the connective and force the non-temporal reading. In particular, aspectual properties of the verb in the adjunct clause in the temporal reading seem to be subject to c-selection by the connective involved. Moreover, negation in the adjunct clause blocks the temporal reading; we argue that this is due to the ‘island’ effects that negation has in the aspectual dependency formed between the verb and the connective.

In order to show that aspect and negation constrain the ambiguous reading of temporal connectives in Greek, we will present results from an interpretation task administered to adult native Greek speakers which tested the availability of the temporal reading with aspectual changes on the embedded verb and with the negative vs. affirmative status of the adjunct clause.

C-Related Parts of Speech

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We will revisit so-called “mixed projections” (or categories) — which combine properties typically associated with two distinct grammatical categories — from a novel perspective and argue for *categorical switches* in the syntactic derivation. These are categories in the phrase-marker which instantiate the switch from one categorial sub-tree to another. The most straightforward implementation of this idea, we will argue, is to adopt Grohmann’s (2003) Prolific Domains. These are sub-parts of the derivation that encode specific contextual information (typically relating to thematic, agreement or discourse properties). Our suggestion is that a switch may only be merged at the edge of a Prolific Domain, giving rise to the phenomenon that has been ascribed to “mixed projections” without adopting the terminological difficulties borne by that term. This talk will concentrate on switches selecting the agreement (Φ -) and thematic (Θ -) Prolific Domains in languages like Dutch or Spanish, switching the category of the projection from clausal to nominal as we move up the tree.

Left-Peripheral Interactions in Sardinian

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Concerning the phenomena commonly attributed to the left periphery, Sardinian does not differ from Romance languages like Italian and Spanish with respect to clitic left dislocated topics, right dislocation, contrastive focus and *wh*-interrogatives. However, in Sardinian, there are some crucial differences in the organization of the left periphery compared to Italian or Spanish: First, whereas contrastive focus constructions in these languages show non-predicative, i.e. referential fronted constituents, Sardinian also allows fronted predicative elements, e.g. in auxiliary constructions. Second, a fronted element in Sardinian must not necessarily have contrastive focus, but can also be interpreted as having information focus. Third, these fronting phenomena are not only found in declarative sentences, but also in subordinate complement sentences. Furthermore, fronting of predicative and non-predicative elements is particularly common in *yes/no* questions. Forth, Sardinian disposes of an alternative strategy to mark *yes/no*-questions via the question particle *a*. Finally, neither focus fronting nor question-marking through the question particle are allowed in *wh*- and in negated contexts.

Thus, the main issue to be addressed in this talk is how the interaction between focus fronting, question-marking, negation and also topicalization can be formalized and explained in a given grammar model. I will interpret the data from Sardinian in the more static cartographic framework of Rizzi (1997) and, as an alternative, in the dynamic model of the mainly feature-driven minimalist probe-and-phase approach (Chomsky 1995ff.).

Selecting Complementizers

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The aim of this paper is to discuss local and non-local selection of complementizers (C). Typically, a verb like *know* is compatible with a *that*-complement, and excludes an *if*-complement (embedded interrogative) (e.g. I know *that*/**if* John left). In some cases though the same verb may allow for the presence of the C *if*, as long as there is a propositional operator in the matrix clause (e.g. I don't know *if* John left). This kind of restrictions and switching effects hold not only English, but also in Greek and Romance for example (Adger & Quer 2001, Roussou 2006). Romance allows for one further option, namely keeping the non-interrogative C *que* but changing the mood of the embedded clause from indicative to subjunctive (Adger & Quer 2001, Manzini 2002, among others). This option is not available in Greek given the absence of morphological subjunctive.

A more detailed investigation of the distribution of complementizers reveals that despite apparent differences, sentential complementation exhibits a uniform pattern. More precisely, in English, Greek, and Romance switching to a different C is a function of the matrix predicate (it belongs to a certain class) and the presence of a relevant operator in the matrix clause. In all cases local selection involves a dependency between matrix V and embedded C (or extending to I where relevant), while in non-local selection the dependency is extended to include an operator. Furthermore, switching effects of this type are indicative of the properties that characterize complementizers. For example, as has been argued in the literature cited above, operators like Negation or Question also license polarity items (indefinites). On this basis, the subjunctive that appears in the relevant Romance contexts is treated as a polarity item, i.e. an indefinite. Extending this approach to Cs which may also be affected, we can also

identify a class of indefinite Cs (typically interrogative ones), along with a class of definite Cs (typically declarative ones).

Complementizer selection then shows that, at least in subordinating languages, complementation is best characterized in terms of formal features which account for common patterns, despite apparent differences which can be restricted to the lexicon. At the same time it allows to draw on the similarities between Cs and determiner-like elements, such as pronouns, showing that there is a further cross-linguistic unification which can be best expressed in term of features.

Constrained Relativism Is Nothing but Implicit Universalism

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According to the crude version of relativism outlined in the conference proposal, languages should differ from one another because extralinguistic factors make them differ. However, this view may contain a conceptual fallacy. The discipline of linguistics has developed various models and theories that would seem to constrain the degree to which languages can actually differ for language-external reasons, namely quite simply the degree to which language-internal considerations force them to be similar to one another. It is immediately obvious, that any relativist theory that allows for restrictions (e.g. of the formalist or the functionalist type) on the variability of languages falls short of a complete description of language: While some portions of language can be shown to vary, others will unavoidably fall into the domain of universalist necessity.

I will show that the typology of sentence types can cover yet one more semantico-syntactic phenomenon, namely the possibility to express attribution. I will present a common morphosyntactic structure for attributes in German, which is in effect structurally parallel to a relative clause. Attributes in German, then, constitute nothing but yet one more sentence type. This sentence type is to be expected on formalist grounds, because it comprises no new machinery whatsoever and should thus arise from the free “tinkering” of a minimalist syntax left to play. My representation also allows for a semantic analysis that regards attribution as an expectable (if not necessary) kind of structure in so far as it completes a system of “reference types”. This semantic representation might, I suppose, just as well be reinterpreted as a piece of functionalist evidence to the effect that languages might differ in morpho-syntactic realizations for a given semantic operation, but not in the set of the semantic operations that these realizations serve to express. As the system of reference types also include predicative and referential structures, the major linguistic operations constitute conceptually necessary pieces of a system *ou tout se tient* from both a formalist and functionalist perspective.

It can be claimed, then, that attributive, predicative and referential structures constitute something we can expect from any and all languages. Typological investigations seem to support this assumption in that all languages cater for these necessities in some way. If this is indeed the case, the question of relativism vs. universalism boils down to a much more modest (if somewhat malevolent) question: Given that universalism seems to be a logical necessity for major linguistic operations, what is actually left for a relativist theory to decide? To put it the other way round: If the relativist position cannot provide a substantial set of phenomena that are actually variable in the languages of the world, it actually amounts to nothing more than a description of the periphery that surrounds the universalist grammar it then logically implies.

Workshop 6 (Had): La scalarité, concept éclaté ou outil explicatif performant?

Hadermann, Pascale (Ghent) / Pierrard, Michel (Brussels) / Van
Raemdonck, Dan (Brussels)

Conference room: GW1 C1070

Wednesday, August 30, 2006	
10:15–11:00	Inkova, Olga (Univ. de Genève) Scalarité et anaphore : sur quelques expressions scalaires en russe
Coffee break	
11:30–12:15	Adler, Silvia (Haifa University) / Asnes, Maria (Tel Aviv University, Bar Ilan University) Prépositions au service de la scalarité
12:15–13:00	Leroy, Sarah (Univ. de Paris X) Scalarité et comparaison. Le cas de <i>comme</i> et <i>tel (que)</i>
Lunch break	
15:00–15:45	Hadermann, Pascale (Univ. de Gand) / Pierrard, Michel (Univ. de Bruxelles – V.U.B) / Raemdonck, Dan Van (Univ. de Bruxelles – U.L.B. & V.U.B.) Quantification versus scalarité : l'exemple de la complémentarité de <i>tant</i> et <i>autant</i> .
15:45–16:15	Ferré, Gaëlle (Univ. de Paris III) Les gestes d'accentuation du discours en anglais oral
Coffee break	
17:00–17:45	Tovena, Lucia (Univ. de Paris VII) Polarity and the additive vs. scalar alternance

Prépositions au service de la scalarité

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Notre contribution portera sur deux prépositions spatio-temporelles françaises *jusqu'à* et *au-delà de* qui peuvent devenir têtes de PPs scalaires.

PP spatial:

1. *Pousser la voiture jusqu'au garage*
2. *La volonté d'expansion les a poussés au-delà des Pyrénées*

PP temporel:

3. *Prolonger la visite jusqu'au lendemain*
4. *Prolonger un séjour au-delà de cinq ans/2005*

PP scalaire:

5. *Pousser le courage jusqu'à la témérité*
6. *Pousser le courage au-delà du raisonnable*

Notre but est de rendre compte des différents types de scalarité dénotée par les PPs gouvernés par *jusqu'à* et *au-delà de*. Cette étude s'inscrit dans le cadre théorique de la sémantique de scalarité qui a connu un grand essor ces dernières années (Kennedy et McNally 1999, Piñón 2000, Kennedy 2001). La littérature existante décrit essentiellement les modifieurs de degré et les modifieurs comparatifs. Cependant, très peu a été dit de l'environnement prépositionnel, à savoir comment un groupe prépositionnel peut mesurer une propriété ou un événement selon une échelle de degré. On se propose de combler cette lacune théorique par une étude comparée des deux prépositions scalaires en question.

Les deux PPs fonctionnent comme des intensifieurs des prédicats, c'est-à-dire ils impliquent une borne de nature intensionnelle. Cependant, nous montrerons que cette borne a un statut différent: le DP dans la portée de *jusqu'à* dénote un point culminant ou une borne finale atteinte par le référent du prédicat, tandis que l'argument de *au-delà de* exprime un degré standard de la propriété dépassée. Dans le cas de *au-delà de*, le degré maximal/point culminant éventuellement atteint par le prédicat intensifié demeure indéterminé.

La juxtaposition des constructions scalaires contenant *jusqu'à* avec celles contenant *au-delà de* révèle un dénominateur commun qui concerne le type de relation entre les prédicats à gauche et à droite de ces prépositions: les prédicats peuvent entretenir une relation de symétrie ou asymétrie entre eux. En général, il y a symétrie quand le prédicat principal et l'argument de la préposition sont du même type dénotationnel: on peut avoir ainsi deux propriétés, deux états ou deux activités. En outre, les deux prédicats sont scalaires (ex. 5). En revanche, la relation d'asymétrie décrit une situation dans laquelle les deux prédicats ne sont pas du même type dénotationnel et où l'un d'entre eux n'est pas scalaire:

7. *Pousser l'argument jusqu'à l'absurde*
8. *Aimer au-delà de toute expression*

La différence capitale réside dans la nature de la limite. L'intensification est bornée dans le cas de *jusqu'à*; non-bornée dans le cas de *au-delà de*.

Références:

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Les gestes d'accentuation du discours en anglais oral

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Si la scalarité est une notion essentielle en analyse du discours, elle est aussi d'une grande utilité pour comprendre certains types de gestes co-verbaux. Sans que son analyse soit basée sur la scalarité, on trouve pourtant dans la description des gestes en français oral faite par Colletta (2000) des *amplifieurs*, "kinèmes méta-discursifs qui renforcent et donnent de l'ampleur à l'acte verbalisé" et des *intensifs*, "kinèmes syntaxiques qui soulignent et mettent en relief une unité phrastique", classification qui implique différents degrés dans l'expression orale : une expression avec le discours seul, et une expression plus "intense" lorsque le discours est accompagné d'un geste.

Cette proposition s'inscrit dans une analyse multi-modale, prenant en compte discours, intonation et gestualité. Elle est basée sur un enregistrement vidéo d'une conversation entre deux Anglaises. Contrairement aux précédentes études que j'ai menées, où je parlais de l'intensification en discours pour voir ce qui se passait aux niveaux prosodique et mimogestuel, je désire cette fois partir des gestes et montrer leur impact sur le discours. Il s'agit de deux types de gestes : le battement de la main (aussi appelé "geste bâton", "beat") et l'écartement des doigts de la main.

Le battement possède deux rôles en anglais oral : d'une part il est utilisé par les locutrices pour marquer l'emphase (qui est prosodiquement marquée par les traits [F0+, I+, - pause], d'autre part, il sert également à introduire une hiérarchisation syntaxique.

L'écartement des doigts de la main exprime quant à lui l'amplification du dire et peut aller jusqu'à rendre la notion de totalité. Ce type de geste coïncide généralement avec la syllabe tonique de l'énoncé et l'on constate dans le discours qu'il accompagne la présence fréquente d'un intensifieur.

On est donc bien en présence ici de deux niveaux discursifs distincts, à définir plus précisément, mais qui tous deux s'accompagnent, avec une certaine régularité d'un geste d'accentuation du dire.

Quantification versus scalarité : l'exemple de la complémentarité de *tant* et *autant*.

Hadermann, Pascale / Pierrard, Michel / Raemdonck, Dan Van

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1. Objectifs

Cette contribution vise à mieux appréhender les mécanismes de quantification et leurs rapports éventuels avec des phénomènes relevant de la scalarité à travers l'étude de deux adverbes de quantité, *tant* et *autant*, qui acceptent de multiples emplois liés plus ou moins intimement à la quantification :

- a. Pierre a autant de livres que son père.
- b. Il a tant de livres !

2. Cadre

2.1. La scalarité

Le concept de « scalarité » est utilisé pour référer à une *échelle* de grandeurs, de degrés, c'est-à-dire à une série, une suite continue ou progressive de niveaux constituant une hiérarchie dans un domaine donné. Il est de plus en plus exploité dans des études consacrées à des phénomènes de quantification, de gradation, de comparaison et d'intensification.

2.2. Rapport entre quantification et scalarité

La référence à une échelle de grandeurs ne peut se faire que lorsque les processus sous examen permettent d'être mesurés ou comptés. De même, la quantification, entendue comme l'attribution de la quantité à un phénomène *mesurable* ou *comptable* ou la déclaration de cette quantité (*trois livres* ; *beaucoup d'eau*), implique l'existence d'échelles. La projection du processus quantifié sur une échelle peut se faire de différentes manières :

- à travers une localisation précise sur l'échelle : cf. « trois livres » ;
- à travers une localisation / orientation vers un des pôles de l'échelle : cf. ex. b et « beaucoup d'eau » ;
- à travers une localisation d'un comparant et d'un comparé : cf. ex. a.

3. Les adverbess *tant* et *autant* : rapport entre scalarité et quantification

Autant, marqueur d'identité quantitative, apparaît essentiellement dans des structures corrélatives ou comparatives :

- c. Car il est sûr que, autant par lui vous êtes en plein rêve, autant par lui vous serez en plein cauchemar. (T.L.F., Montherlant)
- d. On y achète autant qu'on y boit. (T.L.F., Fargue)
- e. Je ne l'estime pas autant. (qu'auparavant)

Dans (e.), *autant*, au lieu de renvoyer à une position sur l'échelle, réfère à une orientation vers le pôle [+] de l'échelle, ce qui provoque l'intensification de l'énoncé.

Le mot *tant* marque également la quantité, mais la pousse plus souvent vers le haut degré (cf. ex. b). Pourtant, il se substitue parfois à *autant* pour marquer l'identité quantitative et ce le plus souvent dans des contextes négatifs :

- e. Les artistes du Moyen Age, qui passent pour des ingénus et qui ne travaillent pas tant d'après nature qu'on ne le croit. (T.L.F., Goncourt)
- f. De plus, il subit de nombreux glissements pour devenir un marqueur de conséquence, d'addition, ... :
- g. Georges aimait tant de choses qu'il n'avait pas le loisir d'aimer longtemps la même. (T.L.F., Rolland)
- h. Tant la police que la gendarmerie sont concernées par cette affaire.

À partir d'un corpus écrit d'occurrences littéraires et journalistiques, nous observerons les particularités de *tant* et de *autant*. Le dépouillement du corpus ne permettra pas seulement de révéler les convergences et les divergences de ces deux marqueurs, mais aussi de voir statistiquement dans quels domaines ils tendent à se spécialiser.

4. Conclusion

A travers l'étude de *tant* et de *autant*, nous examinerons si la représentation scalaire peut être posée comme sous-jacente à des phénomènes de quantification et d'intensification. Notre objectif est de mieux préciser les rapports entre ces notions en prenant en compte des paramètres aussi bien sémantiques – valeurs des comparants et comparés, impact de la

négation – que discursifs – importance du co(n)texte dans l’interprétation de l’adverbe, possibilité de restitution du comparant.

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Scalarité et anaphore : sur quelques expressions scalaires en russe

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Les expressions anaphoriques russes *do takoj stepeni*, *do togo* et *tak* qui feront l’objet de notre analyse présentent un intérêt particulier pour l’étude des phénomènes scalaires. En effet, la description du fonctionnement de ces expressions amène un questionnement d’ordre général sur l’emploi des anaphoriques dans des structures scalaires, emploi connu dans nombre de langues : cf. le français (*tel, tellement ; à ce point vs. à tel point*) , l’italien (*così, tale*), l’allemand (*so*) ... Nous nous appliquerons dans notre communication à décrire les trois expressions russes, ce qui nous permettra, notamment à travers la traduction des exemples, de montrer leur spécificité, mais aussi d’ouvrir des pistes de réflexion sur ce type d’expressions dans d’autres langues.

Comme nous l’avons déjà suggéré, les expressions *do takoj stepeni*, *do togo* et *tak* ont en commun, d’une part, leur caractère anaphorique dû à la présence dans leur structure des démonstratifs (adjectif *takoj*, adverbe *tak*, pronom *to*), et de l’autre, la possibilité de créer des structures scalaires. La ‘scalarité’ de ces expressions n’a toutefois pas la même origine. La locution *do takoj stepeni* est, si l’on peut dire, ‘lexicalement’ scalaire : c’est un SP qui se compose du nom *stepen’*, ‘degré’, ‘mesure’, de l’adjectif *takoj*, ‘tel, même’, et de la préposition *do*, ‘jusqu’à’. Cette expression sert à modifier une propriété ou une action, en lui attribuant un degré (*stepen’*) caractérisé, à l’aide de l’adjectif démonstratif *takoj*, à travers la comparaison – cf. (1), la conséquence – cf. (2), et le renvoi anaphorique – cf. (3) :

- (1) On sebjja bol'she ne čuvstvoval *do takoj stepeni* odinokim, *kak* prežde [Il ne se sentait plus *do takoj stepeni* (\approx *aussi*) seul qu'avant]
- (2) On *do takoj stepeni* izmenilsja, čto ja ego ne uznala [Il avait *do takoj stepeni* (\approx *tellement*) changé que je ne l'ai pas reconnu]
- (3) On begal, smejalsja, prygal do potolka... Ja nikogda ego ne videla *do takoj stepeni* sčastlivym [Il courait, riait, sautait jusq'au plafond... Je ne l'avais jamais vu *do takoj stepeni* (\gg *à ce point*) heureux]

Dans l'expression *do togo* (litt. *do* 'jusqu'à' et *togo* 'cela'), la valeur scalaire 'intrinsèque' est déjà moins présente. Cette expression se compose du pronom démonstratif *to* 'cela' (*togo* au Gén.) et de la préposition *do* qui exprime l'idée d'une limite spatio-temporelle ou bien l'idée de limite que le procès atteint dans son déroulement. C'est avec cette dernière acception qu'une lecture scalaire de l'énoncé avec *do togo* devient accessible ; cf. (4) :

- (4) Ona byla *do togo* rastrogana, čto ne mogla govorit' [Elle était *do togo* émue (\approx *à tel point*) qu'elle n'arrivait pas à parler],

où *do togo* – avec la subordonnée qu'il introduit – exprime une limite d'augmentation du degré de la propriété « être émue ». Cette limite, en l'occurrence « ne pas pouvoir parler », est par ailleurs présentée comme la conséquence de cette augmentation. Du coup, le nombre des contextes où peut apparaître *do togo* se voit réduire par rapport à ceux avec *do takoj stepeni* : le degré attribué par *do togo* ne peut être caractérisé ni à travers la comparaison, ni à travers le renvoi anaphorique.

Enfin, la troisième expression qui nous intéresse est l'adverbe anaphorique *tak* 'ainsi', 'de cette façon'. Etant donné que le contenu lexical de cet adverbe est purement instructionnel, son interprétation scalaire est la plus tributaire du contexte. En effet, si pour *do takoj stepeni* et *do togo*, à cause de leur valeur scalaire plus ou moins lexicalisée, le caractère graduable du terme qu'ils modifient constitue la condition *sine qua non* de leur présence dans l'énoncé, l'adverbe *tak* est, de ce point de vue, moins sélectif. La graduabilité du terme auquel il est associé ne fait qu'assurer sa lecture scalaire, sans être une condition nécessaire pour l'emploi de *tak* ; cf. (5) avec un prédicat non graduable où *tak* remplit sa fonction 'standard' d'adverbe de manière et (6) avec un prédicat graduable et une lecture scalaire :

- (5) Dom postroen *tak*, čto k nemu ne pod''edeš [La maison est construite *tak* (\approx *de telle façon*) qu'on ne peut pas s'en approcher]
- (6) On *tak* izmenilsja, čto ja ego ne uznala [Il avait *tak* (\approx *tellement*) changé que je ne l'ai pas reconnu] – exemple (2) modifié.

Les trois expressions manifestent des différences également dans des contextes scalaires, en particulier dans la façon d'attribuer un degré, ce qui détermine la structure sémantique de l'énoncé susceptible de les accueillir. Ainsi, dans les subordonnées de conséquence, pour employer *do takoj stepeni* et *do togo*, on doit avoir la possibilité d'interpréter la subordonnée comme le résultat de l'augmentation progressive du degré, alors que, pour *tak*, la subordonnée doit s'interpréter comme la conséquence de la manière d'effectuer une action ou de posséder une propriété, d'où l'inacceptabilité de *tak* en (7) :

- (7) Ona *do togo* / *do takoj stepeni* / **tak* poterjala vsjakuju nadeždu, čto ne chotela bol'she žit' [Elle a perdu tout espoir *do togo* / *do takoj stepeni* / **tak* (\approx *à tel point*) qu'elle ne voulait plus vivre]

Malgré ces quelques divergences fonctionnelles, les expressions russes *do takoj stepeni*, *do togo* et *tak* révèlent un trait sémantique commun (serait-ce un trait commun à tous les modifieurs anaphoriques ?) : elles mettent en jeu une échelle inhérente à la propriété qu'elles modifient, en opérant une gradation au niveau lexico-morphologique. Même si, pour leur

interprétation, il est souvent nécessaire de franchir les limites d'un énoncé et de mettre en place des stratégies interprétatives beaucoup plus complexes.

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Scalarité et comparaison. Le cas de *comme* et *tel (que)*

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Si la scalarité est souvent abordée et présentée à travers des énoncés comparatifs (cf. présentation générale), comparaison et scalarité ne se recouvrent pas totalement. Non seulement la scalarité peut s'observer dans bien d'autres domaines (le domaine lexical par exemple), mais de plus elle ne concerne pas l'ensemble des structures dites comparatives.

Ces dernières, en effet, se laissent communément répartir en deux grandes catégories : les comparaisons scalaires, en relation avec la quantité (Ex. 1) et les comparaisons non scalaires, en relation avec la qualité (Ex. 2). Alors que les premières indiquent la commensurabilité de deux éléments, les secondes en expriment la similitude.

Ex. 2 Il m'a traitée comme une princesse (fort bien).

Certaines formes semblent liées à l'un ou l'autre type de comparaison. Expriment la comparaison scalaire les adverbes comparatifs d'inégalité bien sûr (infériorité (*moins, pire*) ou supériorité (*plus, mieux*)) mais aussi d'égalité (*aussi, autant*) ; on classe généralement du côté de la comparaison non scalaire des adverbes ou des adjectifs suivis de *que* (*autrement, ainsi, autre, tel*) ou d'une préposition (*différemment, identique, pareil*), ainsi que la forme *comme*, toutes pouvant avoir des fonctions autres que l'expression de la comparaison.

Or il arrive que les formes considérées comme scalaires construisent une comparaison qui ne l'est pas (Ex. 3) ou qui expriment le plus haut degré (au-delà du sommet de l'échelle) (Ex. 4) et qu'inversement les comparaisons considérées comme non scalaires construisent une comparaison qui l'est (Ex. 5).

Ex. 4 Il est plus blanc que blanc avec la lessive X.

Ex. 6 [...] elle trouvait Vallantin trônant comme un roi sur le sofa, Alexis à ses côtés, et Mignon à leurs pieds, assis sur ses talons, les épaules enveloppées d'une couverture, *tel [comme]* un Iroquois en réduction qui chercherait sous le parquet son calumet de la paix [...]. (Chandernagor, *L'Enfant des Lumières*, 1995)

Ex. 8 [...] de petits iris qui s'élèvent à peine à deux pouces du sol ; des tulipes jaunes panachées de rouge, grandes à peu près *comme [*tel(les) (que)]* l'ongle, des giroflées lilliputiennes et de microscopiques œillets. (Loti, *Le Désert*, 1895)

La notion de scalarité nous fournira donc des éléments pour avancer dans la description et le classement de certaines structures comparatives du français.

Polarity and the additive vs. scalar alternance

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Italian, like several other languages (König 1991), is characterised by the clustering of S(calar)-additive and P(ure)-additive readings in single lexical forms. Where in English we find the dedicated S-additive particle *even* and P-additive *also*, in Italian we find forms like *neanche* and *neppure* that have both readings, are specialised for negative contexts and derive from positive forms, *anche* and *pure* respectively. For instance, *anche* corresponds to *also* (1a), but merger with a negative component yields *neanche* that works as P-additive *n/either* (1b) as well as S-additive (1c), in which case it corresponds to many uses of *even* in negative clauses. Uses of *even* in positive clauses mostly correspond to the dedicated Italian positive S-additive particle *perfino* (1d).

The data in (1) prompt the question whether the two readings of *neanche* are available also for positive *anche*. The answer is no, i.e. *anche* is only P-additive.¹ In this paper we tackle the issue of this uneven distribution of readings between positive and negative forms. On the one hand, the observation that the forms differ just in the presence of a negative component, whose merger has consolidated no longer than a century ago, suggests that this component could be held responsible for the availability of the scalar reading. On the other hand, negation typically expresses a complementation function, thus is not expected to bring in scalarity. Our analysis takes into consideration the particular nature of the negative component at hand. It is not just any prefix but the negative conjunction *né* (nor), from Latin *nec*. Merger cancels its syntactic function as conjunction and (1e) would be illformed were *e* (and) missing. But it does not affect the fact that its presence is justified by the function of connecting two entities. Thus, merged *né* warrants the existence of preceding alternatives but does not require them to be overt. Hence, it paves the way to satisfaction of the existential presupposition (Karttunen and Peters 1979)— typical of additive particles in general — via accommodation, a crucial factor in making available the scalar reading (Tovena 2005, 2006).

- (1) a. Maria a comprato dei cioccolatini e anche dei fiori. (Maria bought chocolates and also some flowers)
 b. Maria non a comprato dei cioccolatini. E neanche dei fiori. (Maria didn't buy chocolates and didn't buy flowers either)
 c. Maria non a comprato neanche dei fiori. (Maria didn't even buy flowers)
 d. Maria a comprato persino dei fiori. (Maria even bought some flowers)
 e. Maria non ha studiato l'articolo e neanche l'ha letto. (Maria didn't study the paper and didn't even read it)

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Workshop 7 (Ron): Irregularity in inflectional and derivational morphology

Ronneberger-Sibold, Elke (Eichstädt) / Stolz, Thomas (Bremen)

Conference room: GW1 B2070

Thursday, August 31, 2006	
10:15–11:00	Ronneberger-Sibold, Elke (Eichstädt) On defining <i>irregular</i> and <i>extragrammatic</i> in inflection and word formation
Coffee break	
11:30–12:15	Stolz, Thomas (Bremen) Quantifying irregularity: a guide through the misty landscape of weak suppletion
12:15–13:00	Bittner, Andreas (Münster) / Köpcke, Klaus-Michael (Münster) Überlegungen zur Skalarität 'irregulärer' Formen in der Flexion
Lunch break	
15:00–15:45	Dammel, Antje (Mainz) No borderlines? Irregularity and suppletion as gradual notions: a discussion based on nominal and verbal paradigms of Faroese, West Frisian, and Luxembourgish
15:45–16:15	Klenk, Marion (University of Heidelberg) Linguistic change in inflectional morphology and its causes: processes of irregularization in German varieties

Friday, September 1, 2006	
10:15–11:00	Ortmann, Albert (Düsseldorf) (Ir)regular valency alternations in possessive contexts
Coffee break	
11:30–12:15	Dressler, Wolfgang U. (Wien) / Kilani-Schoch, Marianne (Lausanne) Irregular regularities in extragrammatic morphology
12:15–13:00	Lappe, Sabine (Siegen) Prominence and transparency in prosodic morphology

Überlegungen zur Skalarität 'irregulärer' Formen in der Flexion

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'Irregularität' soll vor allem auf der Grundlage einer Pilotstudie zum Entwicklungsstand grammatischen Wissens (und zum Verlauf des späten Flexionserwerbs) von Kindern im Vorschul- und Primarstufenalter mit Deutsch als Muttersprache diskutiert werden, die das Ziel verfolgt, intuitive (unbewusste) Strategien im Lern- und Repräsentationsprozess komplexer morphologischer Systeme zu ermitteln.

Erste Ergebnisse zeigen, dass bei der mentalen Repräsentation linguistischer Phänomene eine nicht zufällige Verknüpfung symbolverarbeitender/regelkonstituierender und assoziativer/schematabasierter Strukturierungsprinzipien vorgenommen wird. Wörter und -formen sind demnach im mentalen Lexikon des Sprechers nicht als sprachliche Einzeltatsachen abgelegt und ggf. als Ausnahmen zu Regeln markiert, sondern werden gebrauchsbasiert zu Gruppen mit Prototypenstruktur zusammengeschlossen.

Dabei korrelieren Schemata mit spezifischem Flexionsverhalten, die Repräsentation von Flexionswissen erfolgt in implikativen Strukturkombinationen bzw. Paradigmen organisierenden Strukturbedingungen, die spezifische 'Reihenfolgen' paradigmatischer Formen fixieren und Resultat und Rahmen diachronischer Prozesse sind, basierend auf einzelsprachlich-typologischen Strukturmöglichkeiten.

Aus dieser Sicht ist nicht nur interessant, wie diese Eigenschaften und Verknüpfungen mental repräsentiert sind, besonders wenn sie sich nicht direkt aus dem jeweiligen Schema ableiten lassen, sondern auch zwingend, dass bei der Bewertung von Strukturen/Formen 'Irregularität' nicht als grobes und willkürliches Raster fungiert, sondern generell (in den jeweiligen Teilbereichen) als Kontinuum von max. regulär bis max. irregulär auszusehen ist, das durch den Zusammenhang von Schema und implikativen Strukturbedingungen charakterisiert wird. Kriterien, Bedingungen und gemeinsame Bezugseigenschaften solcher Formrelationen (Kontinua) in flexionsmorphologischen Teilsystemen sollen näher beschrieben werden.

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No borderlines? Irregularity and suppletion as gradual notions: a discussion based on nominal and verbal paradigms of Faroese, West Frisian, and Luxembourgish

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In this paper the widely accepted view of irregularity and suppletion as gradual notions is taken as a starting point for the further investigation into methodical questions and problems in determining degrees of inflectional irregularity and suppletion. Several criteria are tested, such as uniqueness of alternations (e.g. Mel'čuk 2000:513f.), degree of stem affectedness, and position in paradigm (how many and which category bundles show suppletive/irregular forms?) (e.g. Nübling 2000:Ch. 3.4).

The discussion is based on nominal and verbal paradigms of three minor Germanic languages: Faroese, West Frisian, and Luxembourgish. These languages have several extra- and intralinguistic parameters in common: They are spoken (less written) by small language communities, are generally acquired by child native learners and are not affected by imperfect adult learning. All three are notorious for having undergone heavy context-dependent phonological change.

Languages such as these provide a complex testing ground for drawing borderlines between phonological and morphological alternations and – considering the latter – between regular and irregular/suppletive relations. Their inflectional systems, which show a rich variety of irregularities, lend themselves to fine-grained grading of irregularity and suppletion.

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Irregular regularities in extragrammatical morphology

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In this contribution we want to defend, and expand on, our view of extragrammatical morphology, as exposed in Kilani-Schoch & Dressler (2005: 92-103) and Dressler (2000), focusing on French. We want to show to which extent extragrammatical operations are irregular, i.e. ungrammatical in terms of violating general or prototypical regularities of morphological grammar. Within these irregularities there may be recurring patterns («regularities», so to say), but these recurring patterns are different from grammatical regularities and even subregularities.

We will deal with both sophisticated and unsophisticated extragrammatical operations ranging from various abbreviatory devices and blends to reduplications. We will also analyse child language (incl. rhyme words, cf. also Dressler et al. 2005) and child-directed speech and expand into transitory domains of onomastics, such as into trade-names denoting objects (and thus liable to turn into object names) and hypocoristics. Our point is that extragrammatical operations of premorphology which are prevailing in this phase of language development, nonetheless have specific regularities and irregularities differing from other and later extragrammatical operations, which themselves vary to a great extent. In other words, the area of extragrammatical morphology and their operations are more heterogeneous than any grammatical domain of morphology.

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Linguistic change in inflectional morphology and its causes: processes of irregularization in German varieties

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This paper focuses on irregularity in inflectional morphology on the basis of empirical studies on German dialects. The dialectological approach to the topic offers several advantages: Dialects are subjected to less normative restrictions than standard languages, therefore, it is easier for irregular forms to emerge and, above all, to survive. This is why dialects provide sufficient material for linguistic research. Apart from this, dialects accommodate the needs of the users more easily than codified languages. It does not take centuries for language change to become apparent, a few generations of speakers will suffice.

My reflections on irregularity in inflectional morphology are based on the sociolinguistic research which I carried out in two different areas of Central Western Germany (*Eifel/Moselfränkisch* and *Pfalz/Rheinfränkisch*). In each area, I interviewed three generations of speakers with regard to their linguistic competence, their social backgrounds, and their linguistic attitudes. It turned out that many of the existing irregularities in verbal inflection were maintained instead of being adapted to the more regular standard norm, and new irregularities were even established by the younger generations. This paper discusses the possible extralinguistic and intralinguistic factors, mechanisms, and processes which are responsible for these unexpected results. One main issue of this discussion will be the question of whether typological constraints determine certain types of irregularity; my results seem to support this assumption and provide evidence that irregularity is not arbitrary.

Prominence and transparency in prosodic morphology

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Truncatory processes are traditionally held to lack transparency (both semantic and morphological). The chief reason for the lack of semantic transparency is that the base form is taken to be not easily or unambiguously recoverable from the truncated form. Thus, for example, the English truncated personal name *Will* may be derived from *Wilbert* or *William*; similarly, English *mag* may be derived either from *magazine* or from *magnet*. This lack of recoverability has provided one of the major arguments to distinguish between processes like truncation as instances of word-creation or extragrammatical morphology on the one hand and word-formation proper or grammatical word-formation on the other hand.

In this paper I will look at recoverability of base words in truncatory processes from an empirical perspective. It will be shown that from this perspective, recoverability - and, hence, transparency - is much less a problem for the interpretation of truncated words than hitherto assumed. The main bulk of data will come from English (Lappe 2005), where truncatory processes - especially personal name truncation - are highly productive. The truncatory patterns to be considered will be simple name truncation (e.g. *Will* < *William*), hypocoristic formation (e.g. *Willy* < *William*), and clipping of other words, both unsuffixed (e.g. *mag* < *magnet*, *celeb* < *celebrity*) and suffixed (e.g. *chrissie* < *chrysanthemum*).

On the basis of a corpus comprising more than 3,000 base-derivative pairs, we will first of all see that, in practice, truncated forms posing recoverability problems are the exception rather than the rule. Specifically, the assumption that truncation produces homophonous truncated forms whose bases are unclear is true for only a very small minority of cases in the corpus. Secondly, we will see that truncation processes systematically incorporate mechanisms that facilitate recoverability of base forms, and, hence, transparency. These mechanisms crucially involve the phonological prominence structure of the base form. For example, English truncated names systematically vary between two options in terms of the segmental material which they preserve from their bases. More than 90% of the pertinent data preserve either the first or the main-stressed syllable of the base. Preservation of nonprominent material, which is attested for highly frequent names like *Elisabeth* (truncated form: *Beth*), is very rare in the corpus. Interestingly, the systematic patterns observed in truncation mirror what has been found in psycholinguistic studies to be important for word recognition. Truncated forms systematically preserve those parts of their bases that play a key role in lexical access.

In the second part of the paper the empirical findings from English will be compared to findings that have emerged from studies of truncatory patterns in other languages. We will see that English does not constitute an isolated case, but that, whenever systematic empirical studies are available, these studies bring out the prominence structure of base forms as an important factor that systematically determines which part of their bases truncated forms will retain. The data will come from Spanish (PiZeros 1998), French (Ronneberger-Sibold 1992, Scullen 1997, Nelson 2003), and Italian (Alber 2006, to appear).

With respect to the topic of the workshop, the findings to be presented in this paper raise important theoretical issues. These not only concern the relation between transparency and formal compositionality; they also crucially concern the question of what should count as irregularity in morphology.

(Ir)regular valency alternations in possessive contexts

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This paper highlights the different extents of irregularity in valence-changing processes with nouns. Although valence-changing morphological operations are typologically more common, and accordingly have previously received more attention, with verbs (e.g., passive, causative, applicative), they are also found with nouns. Thus, there are languages in which a possessor of a non-relational noun must be licensed by a morphological operation on the possessee ('possessor extension'). Occasionally, we also encounter the converse, i.e., the absence of a possessor requires a derelative suffix.

In the first part of my talk, I provide an overview of the various morphological strategies of possessor extension. These comprise regular affixation (as in the case of the Persian *ezafe* construction), prosodic and subsegmental manifestation such as vowel lengthening or change (as in Mam *ptz'on* 'sugarcane' – *n-paatz'an=a* 'my sugarcane'; England 1983:44), and various idiosyncrasies including total suppletion (for example, Tzutujil *jaay* 'house' – *wochooj* 'my house'; Dayley 1985:145).

I will then develop the claim that many alternations that at first sight seem to involve high irregularity are in fact largely determined by general phonological processes of reduction, the application of which crucially depends on the location of word stress. By presenting case studies of Mam as well as of Modern Hebrew, I demonstrate how such processes may conspire to yield weak suppletive forms which in spite of their shortness still exhibit a high degree of transparency.

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On defining *irregular* and *extragrammatical* in inflection and word formation

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As an introduction to our workshop, I will attempt to clarify the differences and interrelations between synchronically regular, irregular, and extragrammatical morphological operations. My aim is an overall picture, in which every topic addressed in the workshop will find its place.

This picture is based on the fundamental difference between inflection and word formation, for this distinction is crucial for the respective possibilities of retaining irregular forms having arisen by linguistic change in linguistic paradigms, and hence indirectly for extragrammatical morphological operations. In inflection, the strictly defined grammatical meanings of the forms combined in a paradigm guarantee their synchronic cohesion, even if they are very irregular. E.g., strongly irregular G. (*ich*) *darf* '(I) may' and (*ich*) *durfte* '(I) might, was allowed to' are considered by language users as forms of the same paradigm, because their semantic relation is exactly the same as between regular (*ich*) *kaufe* '(I) buy' and (*Ich*) *kaufte* '(I) bought'. Contrary to this, the semantic cohesion between lexemes related to each other by word formation can be easily disrupted, when they become synchronically irregular, resulting

in new synchronic roots (*Hahn* 'cock' and *Henne* 'hen'), which are considered by language users at most as members of the same lexical field, but no longer as members of the same word-formational paradigm. As a result, scales of morphological irregularity are normally longer and more refined in inflection than in word-formation.

Extragrammatical morphological operations as defined by Dressler (2000) can be divided into two groups, one which mirrors existing morphological operations, and another which does not. The first group comprises extragrammatical inflection and extragrammatical word formation. Extragrammatical inflection normally makes use of the existing irregular forms of the system to create even more irregular ones, implying various kinds of analogy (G. *kaufen* - *kief* after *laufen* 'to run'- *lief*'ran').

As, for the reasons outlined above, in word formation, irregular forms are less firmly integrated into the morphological system, they do not serve as models or as material for extragrammatical operations to the same degree. Instead, the latter proceed from regular operations, applying them in an irregular way, or even modifying them. E.g., in extragrammatical derivation, there are extensions of regular patterns to new bases (G. *unkaputtbar* 'unkaputable' with an adjectival basis) and, especially in brand names, formally regular, but semantically deviant derivations (*Veronal* which, semantically, never was an adjective derived from *Verona*). In extragrammatical compounding, i.e., blending, the regular operations are themselves formally and partly even semantically modified in various ways, reaching from so-called telescope blends such as G. *Kamelefant* < *Kamel* x *Elefant* to so-called fragment blends such as *Persil* < *Perborat* x *Wasserstoffperoxyd*.

Extragrammatical operations not mirroring existing morphological operations are shortenings and alienations, which merely modify the sound shape of previously existing words or phrases, and all kinds of sound-symbolic creations.

All extragrammatical operations reduce the transparency of their input to various degrees. In fact, their input stands in an etymological rather than in a regular grammatical relation to their output, and, as any etymology, it can be guessed more or less easily, from case to case. Therefore, even if certain extragrammatical operations have acquired a high degree of usualness, I prefer not to consider them on a par with regular morphological operations. This will probably be an interesting issue in our workshop.

Quantifying irregularity: a guide through the misty landscape of weak suppletion

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Irregularity is a matter of degree. Normally, word forms are classified as either regular or irregular. However, this common practice is a simplification of the morphological facts as two word forms which pass as irregular do not necessarily display identical properties (of irregularity). I assume that irregularity can be quantified. For the purpose of determining the degree of irregularity of a given word form, I postulate three types of relations within whose bounds word forms may be understood as more or less regular/irregular, viz. vertical (or properly paradigm-based), domerial (or lemma-based) and horizontal (or category-based). In my talk, I will focus on vertical relations which hold between the fillers of paradigmatic slots. With a view to quantifying irregularity, I introduce the concept of virtual regular form (= VRF), i.e., a non-existing word form which comes in the shape of a regularly formed one. The segments of the VRF are compared one-by-one to the realised irregular form (= RIF). The number of cases of divergence between the segmental chains of VRF and RIF is divided by

the number of segments of the VRF. This arithmetic operation yields the irregularity ratio of a given RIF. Consider two forms of the paradigm of the Italian verb *potere* ‘can’, viz. the 1st and 2nd singular present indicative:

VRF	<i>p</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>o</i>
RIF	<i>p</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ss</i>	<i>o</i>
divergence			X	
ratio	1 : 4 = 0.25			

VRF	<i>p</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>i</i>
RIF	<i>p</i>	<i>uo</i>	<i>θ</i>	<i>i</i>
divergence		X	X	
ratio	2 : 4 = 0.5			

The irregularity ratio is indicative of a higher degree of irregularity of *puoi* as compared to *posso*. I will show how far one can get with this method of quantification.

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