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**Book of Abstracts**



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## **Book of Abstracts**

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DP or NP? Functional Heads in the Nominal projection of article-less Czech



# Keynote speakers

**Joseph E. Emonds**

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## **The derived nominal hypothesis for Indo-European adjectival agreement**

Adjectives in many Indo-European languages morphologically agree with the nouns they modify in gender, number and case (if the language's nouns can differ in case). These agreeing items seem to undermine several otherwise broad generalizations about morphology, word order and phrasal stress. Mysteriously, agreement in Germanic languages is limited to pre-nominal attributes, while all adjectives agree in Romance and Slavic languages.

This study proposes to analyze adjectival agreement in terms of a "Derived Nominal Hypothesis," which assigns agreeing adjectives a word-internal nominal structure whose head is the agreement suffix itself. Consequently, these "adjectives" are actually Nouns (by R. Lieber's Right Hand Head Rule), and so qualify as unexceptional heads of NPs. This supports Abney's controversial conjecture for pre-nominal attributive adjectives (that they are heads of NPs). The Derived Nominal Hypothesis additionally succeeds in making several traditional observations on the behavior of agreeing adjectives fully compatible with current explanatory grammatical theory. It also accounts for many previously puzzling morphological properties of agreement and its syntactic distribution in those languages on which the study primarily focuses, namely Dutch, German, Latin and Czech. To a lesser extent, I touch on the word order of English adjectives.

## Liliane Haegeman

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### The Syntax of Adverbial Clauses

A well-known property of English temporal and conditional adverbial clauses is that they are incompatible with syntactic operations usually labelled 'Main Clause Phenomena' (abbreviated as 'MCP') 'Root transformations' (Emonds 1970, 1976, 2004) or Main Clause Phenomena (Hooper and Thompson 1973). For instance, argument fronting, which is possible in root clauses and in a subset of complement clauses, is unacceptable in temporal and conditional adverbial clauses (1).

- (1)
- a. Her regular column, she began to write again in the autumn.
  - b. When she began to write her regular column again in the autumn, I thought she would be OK.
  - c. \*When her regular column she began to write in the autumn, I thought she would be OK.
  - d. \*If these exams you don't pass, you won't get the degree.

H&T (1973) claim (1973: 495) there is no syntactic analysis for the phenomena, and that, indeed, even a syntactic analysis could not account for the semantic/pragmatic restrictions observed. The presentation will take up the challenge that H&T's paper raises for the syntactician and assess the viability of a syntactic account, which form it could take, and how it can capture the relation of MCP and assertion.

## Geoffrey Leech

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### The English Noun Phrase: Aspects of its recent history

This presentation examines frequency patterns in the English noun phrase as revealed in corpora of written English over the last 100 years. Some rather remarkable changes have been taking place. First, the noun phrase has been growing more ‘compact’, with a steep increase in the use of Noun + Noun sequences and of genitives Noun’s + Noun, rather than constructions involving prepositions and other closed-class words. Second, the use of relativizers has been changing: there has been a big increase in the use of relative *that*, at the expense of *wh*- relativization. The reasons for these changes are bound to be speculative, but it appears that social factors have been playing a major role. Among the explanatory trends, two – *densification* and *colloquialization* – seem to be at cross-purposes. Densification is the process of compressing information into a smaller number of words; colloquialization is the process whereby written language acquires the habits of speech. A third factor – prescriptivism – has also been playing a role.

# Oral presentations

**Anna Almeida**

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## On the wh-phrases and word order in Czech and Portuguese

In our paper we will address some questions of constituency and distribution of wh-phrases in Czech and Portuguese sentences and we will carry out their comparison. The comparison should emphasize the difficulties of Portuguese students of Czech language in learning these structures.

The starting point of our analysis will be the classification of the Czech interrogative sentences (Meyer 2003, 2004 and 2006) in the groups of interrogative sentences with whphrase in the initial position, pre-verbal wh-phrase different from initial position, post-verbal wh-phrase, wh-in-situ, multiple wh-fronting, wh-clustering, d-linking and wh-phrases conjunction (Škrábalová 2007). During the comparison of the Czech wh-structures and the Portuguese ones we will verify if the theory formulated by Ambar (1999) that it is a regular behavior across the languages to have non-inverted wh-structures whenever wh-in situ is preferred to fronted wh-questions and vice-versa applies equally to both compared languages.

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### Yes-no questions, adverbs and left periphery - new evidence from Portuguese

It is traditionally assumed that the underlying structure of yes-no questions in E(uropean)P(ortuguese) is similar to the one underlying declaratives, the interrogative status being assigned through intonation. Contrasting with French or English, the *est-ce que* (French) or inversion (French, English) strategies do not license EP yes-no questions, except when they are *Future* (where inversion occurs). Both strategies are however required in wh-questions, as described in the literature. According to C(heng) & R(ooryck) 2000 yes-no questions are licensed by an intonation morpheme (+Q: ) in C°, which also licenses wh-in-situ. We will present *new* EP data, which provide evidence for another approach to yes-no questions, even in a language that *apparently* lacks V-movement (Emonds 1976, Pollock 1989) in these structures. First, pre-verbal quantified subjects are odd in yes-no, as in topic positions, whereas floating quantifier structures are good. Second, depending on their positions, different adverbs acquire different readings (Ambar, Negrão and Gonzaga 2004 for *sempre* ‘always’ in EP vs. B(razilian) P(ortuguese)). We’ll concentrate on *lá* ‘there’. Post verbal *lá* receives its locative reading or a negation reading, pre-verbal *lá* either the locative reading or a focus-like interpretation. In its neg reading, *lá* cannot enter yes-no questions. In terms of C&R one could suggest that *lá* somehow conflicts with the intonation morpheme, a fact that could not be due to the negation status of *lá* - other negation operators do not induce ungrammaticality. Third, contrary to yes-no, *lá* can occur in wh-in-situ. Thus, if *lá* blocks yes-no questions formation it should also block wh-in-situ, acting as an intervener between the C° intonation morpheme and the Q-feature moved to C° to value the underspecified (Q: ). These until now unknown EP facts suggest then that licensing of yes-no and wh-in-situ questions are dissociated and that the structure of yes-no questions doesn’t parallel declaratives. Besides, comparing Portuguese to other languages (Bulgarian, Chinese, Japanese a.o.), where given particles license yes-no, we will reinforce our view that constituents that don’t move in declaratives move in yes-no questions. Other restrictions (on person, on quantified subjects, on other adverbs and lexical restrictions on verbs) are some other pieces of empirical evidence. We will review the literature on yes-no and wh-in-situ, and will argue for an analysis much in terms of wh-questions, considering a left periphery, where speaker-hearer projections play a role (discussing LP conceptions by Rizzi 1997, Ambar 1996, 2003 with

revision by Speas & Tenny 2003, Haegeman & Hill 2011, Miyagawa 2012, a.o., in line of Emonds' 1969 seminal work on Root, Emonds' 2012 discourse shells). We claim that *lá* has two features: neg and evaluative (these structures have an exclamative flavor). *Lá* is first merged in negP (PolP) and the verb adjoins to it, *lá* checks the neg feature, V plausibly event features, further V<sub>lá</sub> to EvaluativeP (a label for a speaker's projection in Ambar 1996, 1999, 2003) checks the eval feature – this movement is blocked in yes-no questions, due the intervention of the Q-operator (interpreted as an effect of Rizzi's relativized minimality). The clause typing of neg<sub>lá</sub> structures will be exclamative, not interrogative. In wh-in-situ V<sub>lá</sub> does not raise to evaluative, rather remnant IP movement is at stake, voiding intervention effects. We extend the analysis to BP, accounting for unexpected EP vs. BP variation, the effect of a general ban on V-to-LP in BP, which we derive from deeper properties whose locus is Tense. Finally we will explain why inversion is the unmarked option in Future yes-no questions, conjecturing on what Future is (Giannakidou 2013) and arguing they are not true yes-no questions. Finally, we'll turn to why *é que* (est-ce que) is unavailable in EP yes-no questions, with new data on the topic.

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### **Listen: Funktionale Aspekte einer kommunikativen Praktik in seminatürlichen Texten.**

Der vorliegende Text versteht sich als Beitrag zur Gesprächsanalyse und widmet sich der kommunikativen Praktik Liste, bzw. der Drei-Komponenten-Struktur mit einer Liste in seminatürlichen dialogischen Texten. Ich gehe von der Beschreibung der Drei-Komponenten-Struktur aus, deren zentraler Punkt die Liste eingerahmt von der Projektions-Komponente und der Gestaltschließung ist, wie sie Margret Selting (Selting 2003) darstellt.

Der Beitrag stellt insgesamt die Frage, welche Typen von Listen sich erkennen lassen und welche Funktionen sie in dem gegebenen Kontext vermitteln können, wobei als besonders aufschlussreich die Konzentration auf Listen mit steigender und mit fallender Intonation verstanden werden.

Es wird mit Videoaufnahmen und Aufzeichnungen von Talkshows gearbeitet. Auf der Grundlage einer detaillierten Analyse der Listen in 8 Folgen von Talkshows (4 Folgen der deutschen Talkshow *Der Talk um Eins* und 4 Folgen der tschechischen Talkshow *Trní*) wird die Liste selbst, wie auch ihre Einbettung in ihre sequentielle Struktur in deutschen und in tschechischen Texten behandelt. Besonderes Interesse wird dabei dem Zusammenspiel von Syntax, Semantik und Prosodie gewidmet, die konstitutiv sind für die Herstellung, Erkennbarkeit und Interpretation der Liste.

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## Phonological structure and articulatory phonetic realization of syllabic liquids

Syllabic liquids, such as /l/ or /r/ in Slovak words *vlk* ‘wolf’ or *krb* ‘fireplace’, are not cross-linguistically particularly rare. However, in many languages they seem to be significantly restricted to occur predictably in certain phonotactic contexts and prosodically weak (unstressed) syllables (Bell 1978). In languages like Slovak, however, syllabic liquids are restricted minimally and behave phonologically like vowels. This can be shown in several morpho-phonological alternations, including so called Rhythmic Law (e.g. (Kenstowicz & Rubach 1987)), in which syllabic nuclei change their phonemic length either by shortening or lengthening. These phonological processes take place irrespective of the nature of the syllabic nuclei and target vowels and liquids alike. Moreover, syllabic liquids in Slovak occur freely in stressed positions and with complex onsets. The question is how a phonetic consonant with a significant obstruction in the vocal tract may function phonologically fully as a vowel, and why is the syllabicity of liquids, as in Slovak, cross-linguistically more marked than syllabicity of vowels. In other words, we ask how structural properties of syllables and their constituents relate to the phonetic realization and thus to the practical use of language.

Poupplier & Benus (2011) tested the hypothesis that when liquids are in the nucleus position, they resemble vowels articulatorily more than when they are in the onset or the coda position. They did not find any systematic evidence to support this hypothesis and proposed that syllabicity of liquids relates to the coordination patterns of liquids with the gestures of the consonantal onsets and syllables: liquids in the nucleus position require so called ‘open transition’ described in Catford (1977), that allows for some acoustic release of the consonants before and after the syllabic liquid.

In this paper we examine another potential explanation for the syllabicity of liquids, and sonorants in general. Sonorants commonly consist of two articulatory gestures: one of these gestures is more ‘vocalic’ and another is more ‘consonantal’. For example, the difference between so called ‘dark’ and ‘clear’ /l/ in English has been described as a difference in coordination between a tongue-tip raising and tongue-dorsum retracting gestures of /l/ (Sproat & Fujimura 1993). Other sonorants like nasals or glides have been shown to also have two gestures and the timing of these gestures matters for their syllabic affiliation (Krakow 1999). We used electromagnetometry



(Hoole & Zierdt 2010) and collected articulatory data from 5 Slovak subjects for the non-sense CNCa words in which C = {p,t,k}, and N corresponds to all nuclei in Slovak, including short and long /l/ and /r/ and 10 vowels.

Figure 1 shows a sample of CrCa data from one subject. Several qualitative and quantitative observations will be made. First, both syllabic liquids display both a gesture of the tongue tip raising and a gesture of the tongue dorsum retraction. The former consistently follows the latter. Long liquids show greater displacements but similar temporal coordination to short liquids. Moreover, the coordination of the tongue tip gesture of the liquids with the syllabic onset is quite different from the coordination of the vowel gestures. Importantly, the tongue-dorsum retraction gesture for the liquids in CLCa words coordinated to the onsets in a surprising similar way to the coordination of the onsets and vowels in CVCa words.

Hence our data support the proposal that the syllabicity of liquids relates to the articulatory coordination patterns in Pouplier and Benus (2011) but that the important component includes also the coordination of the vocalic liquid gesture (tongue dorsum retraction) with the consonantal onset gesture.

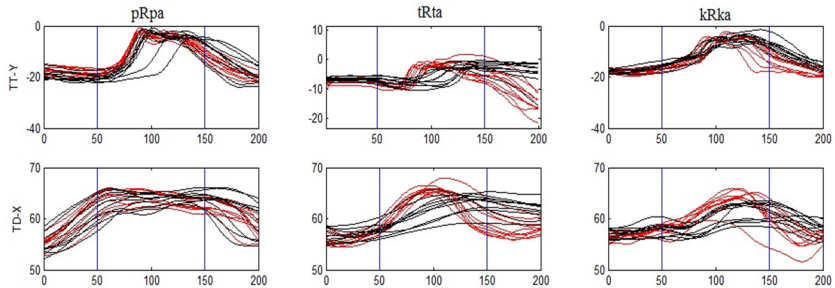


Figure 1 Trajectories of two sensors: vertical movement of the sensor placed on the tongue tip in the top row (TT-y, up means tongue is moving up) and horizontal movement of the sensor placed on the tongue dorsum (TD-x, up means tongue dorsum is moving back). All trajectories are time-normalized with respect to the acoustic release of the C1 (left blue vertical line at 50) and acoustic closure of C2 (the right blue vertical line at 150). Red lines represent long rhotics  $\acute{r}$  [r:], and black ones the short counterpart. Data are from a single subject, 8 repetitions in each condition.

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## **A corpus based study of bridge verbs in long distance dependencies in French: a specific construction**

Bérard (2012) presents a corpus based study of long distance dependencies phenomena in “extraction” contexts in French. Here are the main findings for structures involving a complementizer. The corpus consists of 12 M words, with 3 M of spontaneous speech, part of which is tagged. Although we apply a systematic semi automatic procedure, only 229 examples have been extracted:

Host construction	Interrogative clause	Relative clause	Cleft or pseudo-cleft
Number of occurrences	108	95	26

As regards the structure of the “bridge template”, a relevant observation is that it is mainly reduced to a “Pronoun subject–verb–Complementizer” form: “*qu’est-ce que [tu veux que] je fasse*” (*what do you want me to do*). We notice very few variations from

the basic pattern: even insertions of discourse particles or disfluencies markers are very rare in the sequence: bridge+“subordinate verb”. The only attested developments are intensifying adverbs (7 examples), clitic complements (7) and negation (3). From the point of view of meaning, these extensions do not contribute the descriptive content of the whole utterance, but are involved in the construction of an intersubjective frame for it in domains like evidentiality or epistemicity.

As shown in the following table, displaying the most frequent bridge verbs:

Relative clause		Interrogative clause	
vouloir	14	vouloir	73
falloir	13	falloir	16
savoir	12	penser	8
penser	10	dire	5

These findings undermine a description of the template based on the embedding of an IP structure in a “main” IP projected by the bridge verb. Such a description would indeed largely overgenerate. It is not clear at all how to constraint the output of such an underlying structure. We will show that the proposed syntactic or semantic island constraints in the literature (Ross 1967, Erteschik-Shir 1973, Dabrowska 2008, Ambridge & Goldberg 2008, Hofmeister & Sag 2010) are not totally met in our data. Lexical constraints are to be stated in a probabilistic way, especially if we take in account further verifications on the web corpus. The best solution seems to be a constructional one: we define a “bridge construction” in which a form: Pronoun subject-verb-Complementizer is associated to a “non-descriptive” semantic feature. This construction merges with a verb to build a clause. The semantic feature excludes the only verbs with *que*\_complements that have not been found in the extended corpus: *faire que*, *provoquer que*, *vouloir dire que*. Further pragmatic restrictions are brought by the host construction (interrogative versus relative clause for instance). As far as formal representation is concerned, we propose to build on the proposal of Kahane (1997, 2000), consisting in representing the template [bridge construction+main verb] by a formal object called a “bubble”. The bubble, which can be composed of one or more verbs, acts as a single node in a regular tree, reducing the “long distance dependency” to a local dependency. Instead of introducing constraints on a general mechanism (island), we start modeling extraction with a single verb and we extend our model by allowing complex verb strings occupying a position of a single verb.

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## Sociolinguistic Contexts of Using Diminutives in Child's Speech in Polish

This paper is aimed at analysing and presenting the most frequent situations, in which children use diminutive forms, excluding the reference to the smallness of an object being pointed at. The examples of the usage of diminutives, collected by the author of this paper for the purposes of this presentation, are taken from everyday conversations of Polish parents with their children aged 2-10.

While analysing Polish child language, it may be noted that the usage of diminutives is its most characteristic feature. Nevertheless, children use diminutive forms more often not to denote smallness of a given object, but to express their

attitude towards it. Some scholars are even of the opinion that this emotional meaning of diminutives is of greater importance than the pure denotative one. When discussing first-language acquisition of diminutives, Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 51-53) notice that diminutive forms are used initially without any reference to smallness but rather to fictiveness and emotive meanings. Jurafsky (1996: 543) is even of the opinion that diminutives originate from semantic or pragmatic links with children.

Nevertheless, before diminutives enter child's vocabulary, they must be firstly introduced by adults. Stankiewicz (1954: 458) states that each diminutive form has a "concomitant affectionate or pejorative meaning, which may become the prevailing one in a given linguistic context or situation". Conversation with a small child serves as a good example here. The use of diminutives and hypocorisms in this particular context seems to be most obvious and natural. The mood of adults keeping company with a child, is reflected in their speech through the use of diminutives, since adults unintentionally express their affection for the child's trust and helplessness. It is them who inspire children to use diminutive forms in order to express various states of mind, emotions, and feelings, each presented and discussed in this paper.

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## **Is There a Correlation between the Boundedness of the Noun and the Boundedness of the Verb in Noun-incorporating Verbs? Insight from Romanian.**

The aim of this paper is to test whether there is a correlation between the boundedness of the incorporated noun and the boundedness of the verb in noun-incorporating verbs in Romanian. With this thought in mind, we have looked at all the noun-incorporating verbs from a bilingual Romanian-Norwegian dictionary. The results seem to indicate that the correlation between the properties of the root and of the verb does not seem to be as tight as suggested by Harley (2005).

Since roots may differ in inherent countness and massness, and unincorporated measuring-out arguments are known to affect the Aktionstart of VP predicates, different denominal verbs are expected to have different Aktionsart properties (Harley, 2005). This supports Hale and Keyser's (2002) I-syntactic approach, since identical structures in overt syntax and I-syntax seem to show parallel semantic effects, as seen in *The mare foaled/ bore a foal in 2 hours/#for 2 hours*. In short, when the incorporated Root is a bounded Thing, as in *John saddled the horse #for 5 minutes.*, the location/locatum verb must be telic, while, when it is an unbounded Thing, as in *Susan watered the garden for an hour.*, the verb is atelic. However, instrument verbs like *hammer* seem to escape this generalization, Location & Locatum verbs present a problematic interfering preposition, and there are counterexamples like the verb *to oil*, which can be telic, although the incorporated noun is mass.

So as to see whether there is an noun-to-verb boundedness effect, we created a database of noun-incorporating verbs starting from a bilingual Romanian-Norwegian dictionary, and, after eliminating the verbs resulting from backformation, we ended up with 240 verbs that we have classified with respect to: the count/ mass nature of the incorporated noun, the concrete/ abstract nature of the incorporated noun, the theta-role of the incorporated noun, and the telic/ atelic behavior of the noun-incorporating verb. Telicity has been treated not as something inherent to the verb, but as something contextual, and the *in*-phrases (*in* )/ *for*-phrases (*timp de*) test was used to distinguish between telic and atelic uses (Dowty, 1979, Hay, Kennedy & Levin, 1999). The results reveal that 186 out of 240 verbs contain count nouns, out of which 105 are telic (e.g. *a bandaja* 'to bandage',

*a condimenta* 'to spice'). However, many verbs incorporating mass nouns, display telic behaviour, verbs such as *a astâmpăra*, 'to calm sb down', *a echilibra* 'to balance', *a neliniști* 'to worry', *a nenoroci*, 'to bring misfortune to sb', *a vrăji* 'to charm', *a tapeta* 'to wallpaper'. As far as concrete nouns are concerned, 156 verbs out of 240 incorporate such nouns, most of which are telic. However, there are also count noun verbs that are atelic like *a dansa* 'to dance' or *a colinda* 'to carol'. A similar situation occurs in the case of verbs containing abstract nouns, where the majority are telic verbs incorporating abstract nouns, such as *a necăji* 'to bother/ grieve/ pester', *a ofensa* 'to offend', *a pedepsi* 'to punish', *a schimba* 'to change', *a secționa*, 'to section', *a sfătui*, 'to advise', *a exila* 'to exile' a.o. As for the relation between thematic roles and telicity, out of the 52 verbs that incorporate Themes and are telic, 47 incorporate count nouns (*a masacra* 'to massacre', *a mărgini*

'to border/ edge', *a naufragia* 'to shipwreck' a. o.) Out of the 39 verbs that incorporate Themes and are atelic (*a glumi* 'to joke', *a imagina* 'to imagine', *a lăcrima* 'to tear/ weep'), only 6 are verbs incorporating mass nouns (e.g. *a huzuri* 'to wanton', *a sângea*, 'to bleed'). Therefore, the non- boundedness of the verb is not dependent upon the non-boundedness of the noun. In the case of Location verbs, all Location verbs, be they telic or atelic, are the result of incorporating count nouns. According to Harley, we would expect the incorporation of count nouns to give rise only to telic verbs. However, the existence of a verb like *a pășuna* (lit. 'to pasture', 'to graze'), an atelic verb, gives proof to the contrary. All Instrument-incorporating verbs, which are atelic, are the result of incorporating nouns that are count (e.g. *a ciomăgi* 'to club').

In conclusion, there seem to exist tendencies in Romanian: verbs incorporating nouns that are count tend to be telic, and verbs that Incorporate Instruments are activities. These two claims are in line with Harley's observations. However, these are only tendencies, and there are verbs incorporating mass nouns that display telic behaviour, as well as count noun verbs that are atelic.

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### Aspects of Swedish Sign Language Reduplication

Previous work on Swedish Sign Language (SSL) has shown that reduplication can express a range of meanings (Bergman 1983; Bergman & Dahl 1994). Unfortunately, the use of reduplication with stative predicates was always disregarded, as was the interaction between the manual and oral components in signs when reduplicated. Also, the combination of reduplication and negation had been said to be impossible, a claim that needs to be revised after this investigation.

This study investigated *reduplication* of predicative signs in SSL by using a small purpose-built corpus, based on existing corpus data and other data. Also, a native signer was consulted to discuss the corpus data as well as for producing additional data. The corpus data came from previously recorded material for the *Swedish Sign Language Corpus Project* (Mesch 2011), the *ECHO project* (Bergman & Mesch 2004), and other pre-recorded material used in education. It consisted of narrative texts, interviews, and spontaneous dialogue texts.

The general findings of reduplication with dynamic predicates mirror previous findings quite well—that reduplication, in spoken and signed language, is generally quite iconic and expresses plurality, repetition, quantity, etc. An interesting addition is that there is a strong tendency for lexically monosyllabic signs to be associated with pluractional readings of reduplication, whereas lexically bisyllabic signs are associated with ongoing events or generic activities. This is an interesting aspect, since it means that some semantics of SSL is encoded in the phonology, something that has been argued for in e.g. American Sign Language (cf. Wilbur 2009). With stative predicates, reduplication usually combines only with temporary state statives, expressing one reoccurring state (see Example 1), or with one state—temporary or inherent—being associated with several referents at the same time (see Example 2).

Investigating the use of the oral component with reduplication showed that oral reduplication is more often associated with pluractional meanings than with non-pluractional meanings. Previous studies have mentioned that oral components are



Although previous studies claimed that SSL would not negate reduplicated signs (cf. Bergman & Dahl 1994), this study found a few occurrences of a reduplicated sign being negated. However, this was done with different strategies than the regular negation strategies, i.e. by putting the negator outside the intonational phrase containing the reduplication (see Example 3).

FRIDAY            EXCITED            PRO-1            **FREE-FROM-WORK+++**            FRIDAY>    PERFECT

THEME-BUOY-----

**Example 2:**

GROW-UP PRO-1 ALONE DEAF POSS-1 SIBLING INDEX-CIRCULAR  
HEARING+++ INDEX-CIRCULAR

**Example 3:**

		<u>neg</u>	
VARY	ALWAYS HUG++	/	NOT g-NO

'It varies. We don't always hug.' (lit. 'Always hug is not the case.') (SSLCo1\_006 01:50)

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### Spanish high front vowel in Czech bilinguals

Following Flege (1995), second language performance can be negatively influenced by the *mechanism of equivalence classification*, i.e. a L2 sound is not produced perfectly, given, among others, the small perceptual difference between it and its nearest counterpart in L1 phonology.

This is particularly relevant for Czech learners of Spanish as SLA, since the vocalic systems of both languages consist of five vowels, similarly distributed within the vowel space. The spectral differences between corresponding vowels, small but existent, thus might represent a challenge for those Czech bilinguals who aspire to the level of excellence in Spanish. In order to explore the possible danger of transferring Czech spectral characteristics into L2 Spanish, high front vowel /i/ was chosen and its pronunciation in ten carefully selected native Czech subjects was analysed, being elicited in the same environment in L1 Czech and L2 Spanish. The speakers, showing a high degree of homogeneity with respect to social and extra-linguistic factors (sex, age, area of residence, proficiency level, time spent in Spanish speaking countries) were recorded in laboratory conditions and subsequently analysed in Praat, independent variables being language (Czech, Spanish), style (nonsense words, real words in carrier sentence, text) and phonological context (voiceless bilabials, dentals/alveolars, velars). Formant frequencies (dependent variable) were converted to ERB values and then compared.

In spite of the acoustic similarity of high front vowel in both languages, the results of the study indicate significant differences in F1 between L1 and L2 Spanish /i/ in case of style-variation and context-variation ( $p < 0.05$ ;  $\alpha = 0.01$ ), where lower values were associated with the first formant of L2 Spanish /i/ in the text-style and in the environments of consonants *p* (difference 0.7 ERB) and *k* (0.3 ERB), respectively. On the other hand, no significant difference was found as far as F2 was concerned.

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## The Topic Phrase within a Determiner Phrase: Fronting adnominal genitives in Polish

The present paper considers the left periphery of Determiner Phrases on the basis of selected data from Polish. It provides justification for the recognition of a Topic Phrase (TP) within a Determiner Phrase (DP) in Polish, as proposed, among others, for Romanian noun phrases in Giusti (2005) and cross-linguistically in Aboh et al. (2010).

The Polish data considered as evidence for the Topic Phrase include instances of movement of the adnominal genitive, which follows the head noun in the unmarked word order (as in 1a), to the pre-head position (in 1b), which is interpreted here as the specifier of the Topic Phrase. The fronted genitive DP in (1b) does not receive a contrastive interpretation but is a discourse-active noun. Examples of adnominal genitive fronting considered in the paper come mainly from Internet fora and blogs (thus representing a colloquial variety of Polish). The assumption is made that the additional motivation for this phenomenon is the scarcity of possessive (genitival) adjectives in Polish (terminating in the suffixes *-ow-* or *-in-*), most of which sound old-fashioned or dialectal (as in 1c). Polish differs in this respect from other Slavonic languages, where possessive adjectives sound more felicitous and are derived on a more regular basis (cf. Babyonyshev 1998 for Russian, Veselovska 1998 for Czech).

- (1) a. *Torebka*    *Zosi*    *leży*    *na*    *stole*    *w*    *kuchni.*  
handbag    Zosia.Gen    lie.Pres.3SG    on    table    in    kitchen  
‘Zosia’s (Sophie.Dim) handbag is lying on the table in the kitchen.’
- b.        *Zosi*        *torebka*    *leży*        *na*        *stole*        *w*        *kuchni.*  
Zosia.Gen    handbag    lie.Pres.3SG    on        table        in        kitchen
- c.        *?\*Zosina*    *torebka*    *leży*        *na*        *stole*        *w*        *kuchni.*  
Zosia.PossAdj    handbag    lie.Pres.3SG    on        table        in        kitchen

The thematic role of the fronted genitive DP is a Possessor or an Agent. The movement of the adnominal genitive can be observed in the case of object-denoting nominals (such as *torebka* ‘handbag’), and in simple event nominals (e.g. *przyjazd* ‘arrival’). It is unlikely in the case of complex event nominals (cf. Grimshaw 1990), since the adnominal genitive calls here for an object-type reading, as in *czytanie książek* ‘reading books.Gen’. Fronting the genitive DP in such process nominals results in a highly marked word order, possible only in a literary (poetic) style, e.g. *?\*książek czytanie* ‘books.Gen reading’.

It can be argued that the Topic Phrase precedes the Focus Phrase (cf. Aboh et al. 2010, Rizzi 1997) inside the DP, since the adjective *poprzedni* ‘former’ in (2), bearing a contrastive intonation and marked as contrastive focus, follows the fronted adnominal genitive.

- (2)        *To*        *był*        *Marii*        *POPRZEDNI*    *mąż,*        *a*        *nie*        *obecny.*  
it        was        Mary.Gen    former    husband    and    not        current  
‘It was Mary’s FORMER husband, and not the current one’

Examples will be considered of marked and less common orders of attributive adjectives in Polish (including both descriptive and classifying modifiers), since the occurrence of such linearization patterns as those in (3b) and (4b) seems to support the need for recognizing the Topic Phrase inside the Determiner Phrase.

- (3)        a. *piękne*    *tanie*        *tipsy*        b. *tanie*        *piękne*        *tipsy*  
beautiful    cheap        (nail) tips    cheap        beautiful        (nail) tips
- (4)        a. *Proszę*    *bilet*        *na*        *pociąg*        *pośpieszny*    *do*        *Lublina.*  
please        ticket        on        train        fast        to        Lublin  
‘A ticket for a fast train to Lublin, please.’
- b. *Na*        *pośpieszny*    *pociąg*        *nie*        *ma*        *już*        *miejscówek.*  
on        fast        train        not        have.3SG    already    seat-reservations  
‘There are no seat reservations (left) for the fast train.’

The analysis proposed here will be compared to earlier accounts of word order variation in Polish noun phrases (e.g. Rozwadowska 1997, Willim 2000, Rappaport 1995,

2004). While Rozwadowska (1997: 55) regards Polish phrases with fronted genitive DPs as resulting from some surface reordering, Rappaport (2004) suggests that the fronted genitive is merged in the same position as possessive adjectives (i.e. as the specifier of the Possessive Phrase).

Moreover, criticism of the cartographic approach to noun phrase structure will be mentioned (e.g. Alexiadou, Haegeman and Stavrou 2007, Georgi and Müller 2010) and some alternatives to such an account will be discussed (e.g. Bouchard 2002).

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## **Pre-attentive processing of speech sounds reveals native phonological structure: tracing phonological length across languages**

The extent to which phonetic vowel duration is used as a cue to vowel identity varies largely across languages. In quantity languages such as Finnish or Czech, vowel duration serves as a cue to abstract vowel length categories. On the other hand, languages such as Russian or Spanish do not contrast phonologically short and long vowels. In other languages, such as Dutch or English, duration cues the identity of *some* vowels and often *in combination* with other cues such as vowel quality differences. Thus, the phonological status of vowel length in these languages is debatable. In the present project we investigated the phonological status of vowel length in Dutch by studying neural auditory responses to duration changes in native and non-native vowels.

Phonological analyses of Dutch provide conflicting evidence with respect to the length feature in Dutch vowels. For instance, according to Booij (1995) vowel length is a structural feature in Dutch phonology, while Van Oostendorp (1995) argues for a theory based on the laxness feature. Recent phonetic descriptions of Dutch vowels (Adank et al. 2004, Van Leussen et al. 2011) show that vowel duration is used to distinguish only few vowels. Nootboom and Doodeman (1980) found that Dutch listeners rely on vowel duration to distinguish /man/ ‘man’ and /ma:n/ ‘moon’, while Escudero et al. (2009) showed that they rely on spectral cues to a much larger extent than on duration for the same vowel contrast. Thus, the status of vowel length is unclear in Dutch.

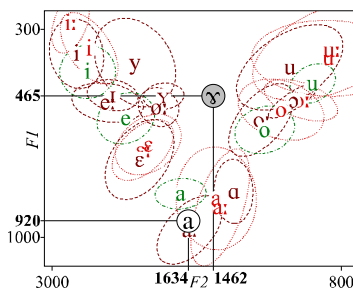
In the present study, we measured and compared listeners’ pre-attentive evoked auditory responses to duration changes across three language backgrounds: Czech, Spanish, and Dutch, for native and non-native vowels using electroencephalography (EEG). Specifically, we used the amplitude of the mismatch negativity (MMN) as a measure of pre-attentive, linguistically modulated sensitivity to vowel duration changes (Nenonen et al. 2003, Ylinen et al. 2006). Czech, Spanish, and Dutch participants listened passively to short and long tokens of [a], which had spectral quality properties that approximated those of a native vowel for all three languages. Furthermore, they listened passively to short and long tokens of [ɪ], which had vowel

quality properties that did not approximate any native vowel for all three languages (see Figure 1).

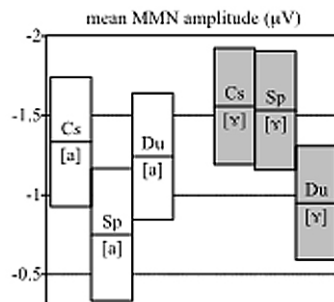
Figure 2 shows that the MMN was larger for the native-like vowel [a] for Czech and Dutch listeners than for Spanish listeners. The lack of differences in the MMN response to duration changes in [a] between Czech and Dutch participants suggests that Dutch listeners' pre-attentive sensitivity to vowel duration is similar to that of Czech listeners. However, in the non-native vowel condition [ɤ], Dutch listeners had a smaller MMN than both Czech and Spanish listeners. This result indicates that Dutch listeners do not perceive unfamiliar vowel sounds into discrete duration-cued categories. We conclude that the Dutch phonology does *not* encode "short" and "long" as linguistic units, i.e. the abstract length feature is not part of Dutch phonology. Rather, the Dutch use of duration is vowel-specific, i.e. it is used for some native vowels and always together with spectral cues.

We thus demonstrate that thorough cross-linguistic and cross-stimulus comparisons of pre-attentive auditory processing of vowel duration can reveal the phonological status of vowel length in a specific language. The Spanish results on the non-native condition will be discussed in line with their implications for second language acquisition.

**Figure 1.** F1 and F2 values for the native (white circle) and the non-native (grey circle) stimulus together with the average values of Czech (red), Spanish (green) and Dutch (brown) vowels (values from Šimáčková et al. 2012; Chládková et al. 2011; and Van Leussen et al. 2011). Ellipses represent 2 standard deviations of the mean; axes are scaled in Erb.



**Figure 2.** The mean MMN amplitude per group (Czech = Cs, Spanish = Sp, Dutch = Du) and condition (native = white, non-native = grey) pooled across 9 sites (Fz, FCz, Cz, F3, F4, FC3, FC4, C3, C4). The bars indicate 95% confidence intervals, thick lines represent the mean



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## Obligatorily possessed gerunds in Old Hungarian

**Aims:** The aim of this talk is to account for the syntax of the Old Hungarian gerund employing the non-finite ending *-t*. As characteristic of gerunds, it has both verbal and nominal properties: it preserves the argument structure of the base verb, and it can be modified by adverbs and negation but it distributes in the clause as a noun, and bears case marking according to the grammatical role it fulfills in the sentence. Interestingly, the *-t* gerund obligatorily bears possessive morphology. Compare the possessive agreement followed by the Accusative marker on nouns: *lelk-ed-et* soul-



poss.2sg-acc ‘your soul’ (1492-1494, Festetics Codex 123), and on -t gerunds (1). Unlike ordinary nouns, (1) has no non-possessed variant.

- (1)           haramzër                   taga-č-meg                   [èngem-èt esmër-t-**ed**-èt]  
           three.times               deny-2sg-perf           I-acc       know-gerund-poss.2sg-acc  
           you deny (your) knowing me three times (1466, Munich Codex 81 va)

Gerunds with -t can have a controlled PRO subject (1). They can also co-occur with an overt DP that supplies a subject with independent reference. These are either Nominative or Dative.

- (2)           meg-akar-ia       nomoreita-ni   [**èn**       ièlèn       vol-t-om-ban]  
           perf-want-3sg   cripple-inf       I.nom       present   be-gerund-poss.1sg-inessive  
           He wants to cripple him in my presence (mid 15th century, Vienna Codex 64)
- (3)           hall-ott-ac               [**q-nèki**   è       ièlènseg       te-t-è-t ]  
           hear-past-3pl       he-dat   this       phenomenon do-gerund-poss.3sg-acc  
           they heard of his doing this deed (1466, Munich Codex 98 vb)

**Previous analysis:** Tóth (2011) argues that gerunds involve a nominalizing head (Nom), which takes an extended verbal projection as its complement, nominalizes it, and thus allows it to be embedded under nominal functional projections: [*Nomp* -t [*clause* ... ]]. I will adopt this idea.

Tóth argues that the bolded DPs in (2) and (3) are in the subject position of the nominalized clause: [*Nomp* -t [*TP* DP [*VP* ... ]]]. However, it remains a mystery why such nominalized clauses must be possessed: there are other types of nominalized clauses, too, and they can be unpossessed (and so can ordinary nouns). Further, Old Hungarian has both non-finite (infinitival) clauses with Dative subjects and non-finite (participial) clauses with Nominative subjects, but there are no (other) non-finites with an optional Dative or Nominative case on the subject.

**Proposal:** There is, however, a type of nominal that may routinely bear either Nominative or Dative case: the possessor. Given the possessive case marking on the DPs above and the obligatory possessive morphology on the nominalized clause, I argue that the bolded DPs are represented in the structure as possessors rather than as genuine subjects of the gerund. The gerund’s subject is, in fact, always PRO; it is controlled by the overt or *pro*-dropped possessor.

I shall assume with Den Dikken (1999, 2006) that possession involves a predication structure, represented in the tree by a Rel(ator)P. Rel<sup>0</sup> has 2 arguments: the predicate and the subject of predication. Den Dikken argues that both [*RelP* subject [*Rel'* Rel predicate ]] and [*RelP* predicate [*Rel'* Rel subject ]] are attested. I propose that the

-*t* nominalizing head is a Relator. The 2 arguments of the -*t* Relator are the clause to be nominalized and the possessor DP. Since arguments are obligatory, this derives that in the context of -*t* gerunds not only the extended verbal projection, but the possessor is obligatory, too. (The possessive agreement in (1)-(3) routinely accompanies pronominal possessors.) The structure of -*t* gerunds is thus [<sub>RelP</sub> possessor [<sub>Rel'</sub> -*t* clause ]], where -*t* both nominalizes its clausal complement and includes it into a predicative relation with the possessor. Other nominalizing heads in Old Hungarian are not Relators, thus they simply nominalize their complement without introducing the predicative relationship and the possessor.

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### **Two flavours of exhaustivity: Aspect and Intervention Effects in weak islands**

We argue that while ungrammaticality of negative manner questions (MAN) in English (*weak islands*) could be explained by the structure of manners being inherently incompatible with a strongly exhaustive interpretation of *wh*-questions (Beck & Rullmann, 1999, B&R), such an explanation does not extend to negative degree questions (DEG). We present new data from Czech showing that if strong exhaustivity is introduced by Aspect, MAN behave distinctly from DEG. We argue that the observed

pattern can be explained if *MAN* and *DEG* are understood as an instance of focus-induced intervention effects (IE) (Beck, 2006).

**Puzzle:** English *MAN* and *DEG* are ungrammatical (unless d-linked). Other languages, e.g., Czech, don't exhibit this weak island behaviour (Dočekal & Kučerová 2012; D&K). Interestingly, the Czech data are more complex than previously reported: As (1)–(2) show, while *DEG* are insensitive to the aspect of the main verb, *MAN* are grammatical only in imperfective.

**Proposal:** D&K observed that weak islands in English can be reduced to a scope interaction with negation: A *wh*-word cannot be interpreted in the scope of negation unless it is d-linked. *MAN* are ungrammatical since manner *wh*-words cannot be felicitously interpreted in their surface position (CP). In contrast, *DEG* can be grammatical as degree questions are systematically ambiguous between a high scope and a low scope reading (Obenauer, 1984/1985): high scope is always available. In contrast, Czech *wh*-manners and *wh*-degrees are interpretable in the scope of negation (with the Karttunen's question denotations as in (3) for *MAN* and (4) for *DEG*). Crucially, the attested reading is not an exhaustive reading of positive questions (strongly or weakly exhaustive; answer<sub>1</sub>, (6-a) and answer<sub>2</sub>, (6-b), of Heim 1994) but it is a some-mention reading (answer<sub>3</sub> in B&R, (6-c)), where answer<sub>1</sub>/answer<sub>2</sub>/answer<sub>3</sub> denote different types of answers operating on Karttunen's denotation for questions (set of propositions *p*) and they represent exhaustive (answer<sub>1</sub>/answer<sub>2</sub>) and non-exhaustive (answer<sub>3</sub>) successors of the former maximal operator (5) from Rullmann (1995).

We argue that these facts follow if weak islands are understood as an instance of Beck's IE. According to Beck (2006), a *wh*-word must be in the immediate scope of an operator which resets its focus semantic value to the ordinary semantic value (typically, *Q*). If, however, another focus sensitive element, such as negation, intervenes between the *wh*-word and *Q*, the structure is uninterpretable. We argue that the ungrammaticality can be obviated only if there is another operator in the structure capable of resetting the focus value of the *wh*-word, (7), such as  $\exists$  in d-linked questions. Crucially, Czech, unlike English, may have a contrastive focus operator lower in the structure which not only resets the focus value but also yields the some-mention interpretation typically associated with focus, instead of the exhaustive interpretation of the *Q*-operator (cf. Sharvit 2002).

**Consequences:** The semantics of manners is intrinsically incompatible with the exhaustive interpretation of *Q* as manners lack a maximal group-atom element (Landman 2000; see also Szabolcsi & Zwarts 1993; Abrusán 2007, among others). Thus we predict that if another operator, such as the perfective maximization operator of Filip (2008), were to enforce the maximally informative answer of Heim's answer<sub>1</sub>,

Czech *MAN* should be ungrammatical as their English counterparts. This prediction is borne out, as seen in (1). In contrast, no such problem arises with *DEG* as degree always have a computable maximum, (2), contra Fox & Hackl (2006). Instead, we argue that the ungrammaticality of English *DEG* is solely a result of IE, i.e., the impossibility of the *wh*-word in the scope of negation to have its focus value reset to the ordinary semantic value.

- (1) Jak Karel neopravoval/\*neopravil kolo?  
 how Karel NEG-fixed.IMPERF/NEG-fixed.PERF bike  
 ‘\*How didn’t Karel fix his bike?’ *carelessly, quickly, carefully...*
- (2) Kolik kol neopravil/neopravoval Karel?  
 how many bikes NEG-fixed.PERT/NEG-fixed.IMPERF Karel  
 ‘%How many bikes didn’t Karel fix?’ ✓ *how many* > neg, ✓ *neg* > *how many*
- (3)  $\lambda p \exists m[p(w) \wedge p = \lambda w'[m = \max(\lambda m'[Karel \text{ didn't fix his bike in the manner } m' \text{ in } w')]]]$
- (4)  $\lambda p \exists n[p(w) \wedge p = \lambda w'[n = \max(\lambda n'[Karel \text{ didn't fix } n' \text{ bikes in } w')]]]$
- (5) Definition of the Maximality Operator *max*: Let *DEG* be a set of degrees ordered by the relation  $\leq$ , then  $\max(DEG) = \{d \in DEG \wedge \forall d' \in DEG[d' \leq d]\}$
- (6) a.  $\text{answer1}(w)(Q) = \cap \{p: Q(w)(p) \wedge p(w)\}$   
 b.  $\text{answer2}(w)(Q) = \lambda w'[\text{answer1}(w')(Q) = \text{answer1}(w)(Q)]$   
 c.  $\text{answer3}(w)(Q) = \lambda p[\exists p[P(w)(p) \wedge Q(w)(p) \wedge p(w)]]$
- (7) a. \*  $Q > \text{neg} > \text{wh}$  ✓  $Q > \text{neg} > \text{OP} > \text{wh}$

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### Dick Whittington and His Cat (A case study in FSP potentiality)

This contribution to the colloquium deals with the phenomenon of potentiality in Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP) as suggested by Jan Firbas in a number of places in his 1992 monograph, and also in his 1999 study whose title served as an inspiration for the title of the present contribution. In an ideal case, the co-operation or interplay of factors of FSP in written language, i.e. actual linear arrangement of sentence elements, context, and semantics, should be such as to result in unequivocal perspectivisation of information basis and information core, in other words, the theme and the rheme of the message. Nevertheless, language is not a perfect organism and at times this interplay may lead “to more than one interpretation” (Firbas, 1992: 11) of the message.

The present contribution is based on an example of FSP analysis carried out by Jan Firbas himself (Firbas, 1981), a short stretch of an English folk tale called “Dick Whittington and His Cat”. The very same segment of the tale was recently subjected to a rough parallel FSP analysis in a group of doctoral students of English linguistics who were made familiar with the basic notions of the Firbasian approach to the analysis of the information structure (IS) of language. In this contribution the author will attempt to present the results of the parallel FSP analysis which clearly show some deviations from the functional perspective of the individual clauses as determined by Jan Firbas, thus revealing places of FSP potentiality in the message of this folk tale.

To the knowledge of the author of the present paper, no such parallel reconstruction of functional perspective of the message in a text has been carried out so far within the Firbasian framework, although the topic has recently gained some attention in connection with translation from German into English (Jung, 2012) and is of utmost importance for correct assignment of IS values in electronic corpora (cf. Veselá-Havelka-Hajičová, 2004; Hajičová 2012).

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## **Loanwords and foreign proper names in Czech: a phonologist's view**

Phonologically non-integrated loanwords and proper names constitute a peripheral, yet dynamic and fairly conspicuous area of the Czech lexicon; they are characterised by a number of specific features including (i) semantic and formal markedness; (ii) less transparent relation between pronunciation and spelling; (iii) variable usage; (iv) sociolinguistic implications like prestige/stigmatisation or socioprofessional stratification. These linguistic items are mostly approached from the lexical perspective, while their phonetic and phonological characteristics are currently understudied. The objective of the present paper is to analyse phonological aspects of this lexical class on a non-normative basis, using explicative concepts proposed by Loanword Phonology (Calabrese & Wetzels, 2009), and to examine the adaptation processes in a sample of anglicisms taken from a recently published dictionary (*Slovník současné češtiny*, 2011). Additionally, the pronunciation suggested for each of these lexical items in five other works was analysed (*Výslovnost spisovné češtiny II – Výslovnost slov přejatých*, 1978; *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost*, 2003; *Pravidla českého pravopisu*, 2004; *Nový akademický slovník cizích slov*, 2005; *Nová slova v češtině I. Slovník neologizmů*, 1998; *Nová slova v češtině II. Slovník neologizmů*, 2004).

In Czech, non-integrated lexical items of foreign descent maintain their original spelling, while their pronunciation is adapted to the domestic phonology in one of the following ways:

(i) by replacing foreign speech sounds with their nearest counterparts and applying Czech prosodic, phonotactic and morphological rules, e.g. *Windows* ['windəʊz] → ['vindoʊs];

(ii) by applying Czech pronunciation rules to the foreign spelling form, e.g. *Superman* ['superman];

(iii) by using Czech phonemes without applying either of the first two principles, e.g. the well-established pronunciation of *Deep Purple* ['di:p 'pa:rp], with the ill-motivated sound [a:];

(iv) by keeping the phonological and phonetic rules of the donor language; this option leads to code mixing, and, in inflected forms, to phonetic hybridisation;

(v) by combining any of the first four principles, e.g. (i) and (ii) in *Charleston* ['ʃa:rlstɒn], or (i) and (iii) in the common pronunciation of the English name *Robert* ['roubrɛt].

The construction of the phonological representation in the speaker's mind depends on the nature of the input, which may be acoustic (adapted, or – less frequently – original pronunciation), or orthographic. Furthermore, it may be affected by the speaker's knowledge of the donor language, by the domestic lexicon or a dominant third language (often English).

The phonological identity of an adapted loanword or a foreign proper name may differ from that of domestic words in the following respects:

a) Presence of phonemes or combinations of phonemes that have a marginal status in the phonological system precisely because they are connotated with loanwords (/f/, /g/, /ɔ:/, /ɛu/, /au/; word-initial /a/, /ɪ/, /ɛ/); or foreign stress patterns, e.g. *pardon* (gallicism with variable stress position);

b) Different morphophonological processes occurring near the end of the word, cf. palatalisation blocking in *Christopher* ['krɪstɒfr̩], vocative case *Christophere* ['krɪstɒfr̩ɐ̯]. Spelling-based adaptation is much more likely to occur at the end of a foreign word due to the necessity to fit it into a morphological paradigm, e.g. *San Francisco*, pronounced with a final [o] instead of an [oʊ].

c) Intrinsic instability of the phonological form due to the lack of fixation by orthography or by other words from the same derivational family, cf. the many attested pronunciation forms of the gallicism *croissant* (Říhová, 2004).

d) Extrinsic instability of the phonological form, which may be subject to influences from socioprofessional groups (academic bodies, media, business) exhibiting a variable degree of erudition or pragmatism, cf. the recent decision of the

Hyundai Group to present their car brand as [ˈɦjɔndɛ:] in the Czech media, despite the well-established form [ˈɦjundaj].

Further phonological issues relevant for the system of loanwords and foreign proper names include homophony induced by phonological adaptation (*blok* and *blog*, both pronounced as [ˈblok]) and parallel adaptation resulting into two different lexical items (*apartmá* “suite” vs. *apartmán* “apartment”) or two stylistic variants (*bufet*: [ˈbufet] vs. [bɪfɛ:]).

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### Discourse particles, speech acts, and common ground management

I present an account of the German discourse particle *doch*, as a blueprint of an analysis of these particles. They have a wide range of uses, e.g., *doch* is used in declarative utterances that react to a preceding declarative utterance. *Doch*-utterances



may react to non-declarative utterances as in (2), or be non-declarative themselves, like in (3), sometimes they are discourse-initial, as (3) and (4).

- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
| (1) | A: <i>Peter kommt auch mit in die Disco.</i><br>'A: Peter will come along to the discotheque.' | B: <i>Er ist doch krank.</i><br>B: But he is ill.'                                       |
| (2) | A: <i>Seit wann hast du dieses Buch?</i><br>'A: Since when have you owned this book?'          | B: <i>Das hast du mir doch neulich geschenkt.</i><br>B: But you gave it to me recently.' |
| (3) | <i>Fang mich doch!</i>   | 'Catch me if you can.'   |
| (4) | <i>Sie sind doch Paul Meier.'</i>  | You must be Paul Meier.'   |

I will argue that in all these uses the semantic contribution of *doch* is the same, but that the semantic arguments of *doch* may vary. In (1), they coincide with the interpretations of the *doch*-utterance and an utterance it is a reaction to. Here *doch p* as B's reaction to A's statement *q* expresses that *p* (Peter's illness) is a potential counterargument to *q* (his coming along to the disco). I.e., B does not explicitly deny *q*, but presents it as unexpected (in the light of the non-disputable *p*) though compatible with *p*:

- (5)  $[[\text{doch}]] \langle p \rangle \langle q \rangle$  iff  $p \succ \neg q$  is part of the common ground, and *p* is non-disputable information

*Doch* refers to defeasible (Asher & Lascarides 2003) *inference patterns*  $a \succ b$  in the common ground (CG), e.g., in (1), to 'if someone is ill, he usually does not go out'. (1) illustrates the default nature of the inference, because even ill people can go out in principle. The notion of 'non-disputable information' is heavily disputed (Grosz 2010, Kaufmann & Kaufmann 2012). I will define it as being part of the CG.

In (2), a *doch*-utterance reacts to a non-declarative utterance. B expresses amazement at A's question: A gave the book to B and hence should know the answer. I.e., the *doch*-utterance suggests that A's speech act is infelicitous because it presents a potential counterargument for a *felicity condition* of the utterance (Searle 1969). In (2), the 1st preparatory condition of A's question (A as the speaker does not know the answer to his question) is at stake. This condition provides the second semantic argument *q* of *doch*, its first argument is interpretation of the *doch*-utterance. The relevant implicature from the CG states that if A gave the book to B (= *p*), he should know the answer to his question (=  $\neg q$ ).

Non-declarative *doch*-utterances also react to felicity conditions of utterances, in this case, of the utterances themselves. E.g., in (3), *doch* expresses the negation of the 1st preparatory condition of a request (the speaker believes that the

hearer can carry out the request), even though this condition follows defeasibly from his making the request (= *p*). In other words, the speaker of (3) suggests that he does not believe that the hearer is able to catch him, which gives (3) its provocative undertone. This explanation carries over to cases like (4). Here *doch* also expresses that a felicity condition of the utterance does not hold (for (4), the 2nd preparatory condition for statements, that it is not obvious to the speaker that his information is already known to the hearer), even though the utterance occurred.

Finally, we integrate the analysis of the uses of *doch*. First, we unify cases like (1) and (2) by assuming that *doch* targets a felicity condition of the preceding utterance in either case. For declarative preceding utterances, the relevant condition is the 1st preparatory one (that the speaker has evidence for the truth of his statement). For (1), then, the relevant inference would state that Peter's illness is a potential counterargument to A's having evidence for the claim that he will come along to the disco. Second, due to the general assumption that interlocutors are cooperative, performing a speech act *presupposes* its felicity conditions (or assigns CG status to them; Stalnaker 2002). Typically, these conditions are automatically accommodated into the CG. But such an accommodation can be halted by a *doch*-utterance.

Reference of discourse particles to presuppositions is not restricted to felicity conditions, however. E.g., in (7), B refutes the presupposition of A's statement (that B lived in Potsdam previously; triggered by *immer noch* 'still'). Thus, we conclude that the semantics of *doch* can be generalised as reference to presuppositions to be accommodated into the common ground.

- (7)            A: *Wohnst du immer noch in Potsdam?*            B: *Ich habe da doch nie gewohnt.*  
               'A: Do you still live in Potsdam?'                B: But I have never lived there.'

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## Collocation analysis as a means of measuring the grammaticalization of aspectual prefixes in Polish

Aspect in Slavic languages has been a subject of linguistic debate for a long time (Agrel 1908, Isacenko 1962, Bogusławski 1963, Comrie 1976, Piernikarski 1975, Śmiech 1986). One of the issues raised in the debate was the contribution of the aspectual prefixes to the meaning of the verb (Przybylska 2001, Tabakowska 2003, Dickey 2000). As Comrie (1976: 89-90) notes, Slavic prefixes were first semantically 'heavy', but later developed their aspectual function of perfectivity. The most grammaticalized prefixes are considered 'light'. Several different tests have been proposed to check whether the prefix should be treated as a purely categorical grammatical marker of Aspect, such as the blocking of secondary imperfectivization (Karcevski 1927); frequency as the means for identifying the most productive, and hence the most grammaticalized prefixes and the ability to combine with other prefixes (Łazinski 2011). In the present paper we want to propose another corpus based method – collocation analysis – for determining the degree of prefix grammaticalization. We assume that it is correlated with the ratio of shared verb complements of the transitive verbs. That is, if a light aspectual prefix does not change the meaning of the verb base it attaches to, the Imperfective prefix-less verb and its Perfective prefixed counterpart should share a range of Direct Objects. The ratio is calculated by dividing the number of verb complements shared with the Imperfective prefix-less form by the number of automatically identified and manually checked complements of the prefixed Perfective form. It differs from the collocation analysis by Stefanowitsch and Gries (2003) in that it takes the lexeme, not the construction, as the starting point of the analysis. Our claim is that the degree of grammaticalisation can be ascertained only with respect to a specific combination with a particular verb, so that our analysis is conducted at a lower level of granularity and does not ask the more general questions of which collexemes are most typical for which collocation.

So far we have tested this method on the Polish mental verb *myśleć* 'to think', which shows a strong prefix variation (cf. Janda and Lyshevskaya 2011) and can take as many as ten different prefixes. Out of these two: *po-* and *u-* do not undergo secondary imperfectivisation, as evidenced in the Corpus of the Polish language, and *u-* is relatively infrequent. The top three highest frequency prefixes are *po-*, *wy-*, and *prze-*. The collocation analysis of shared verb complements of these three prefixes

showed that *po-* is the most grammaticalized one with the ratio of 0.48, *prze-* ranks second with the ratio 0.21, while *wy-* is semantically heavy with the ratio of 0.09. This result for *wy-* is further supported by the translation equivalents: Polish *myśleć* can be translated into English as 'to think' while *wymyśleć* as 'to invent'.

It could be suggested that what we consider light prefixes correspond to Svenonius's (2004) superlexical or VP-external, while the heavy prefixes correspond to the lexical or VP-internal prefixes. However, we argue that the 'lightness' of the prefixes forms a continuum rather than a dichotomous division suggested by the generative model.

In the present paper we want to test the method further with verbs from other lexical fields such as verbs of damage, verbs of object manipulation and change of state verbs. The latter group will allow us to extend collocation analysis to the Verb Subjects as they can be used as intransitive verbs as well. The data for the analysis come from the National Corpus of the Polish Language (Przepiórkowski et al. 2012) and the collocation analysis will implement the PELCRA collocation search engine (Pęzik 2012). The results of the analysis are expected to show that the aspectual prefixes can be arranged along the degree of grammaticalization scale with the help of the collocation analysis.

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## Logical and pragmatic meaning in the interpretation of connectives: Scalar implicatures and 'shallow' processing

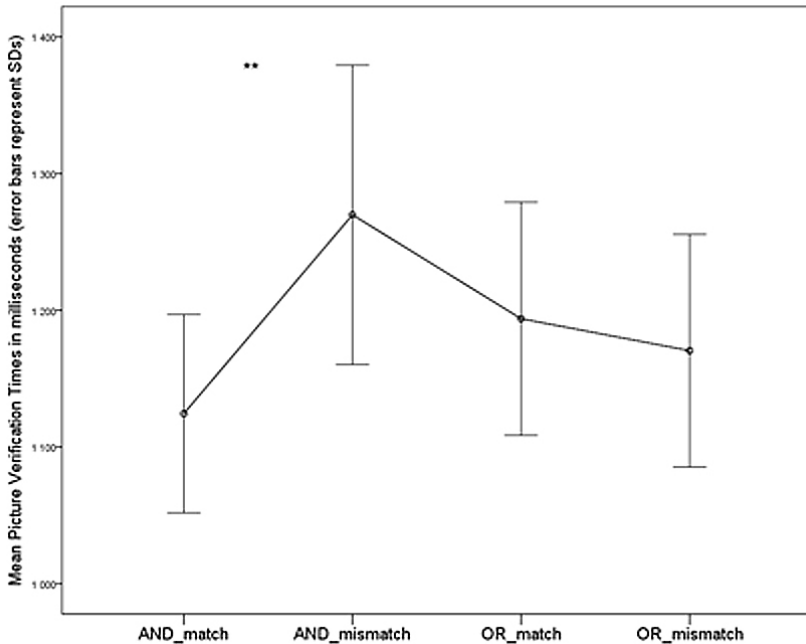
On one prominent view, common in neo-Gricean approaches (e.g., Levinson 2000, Horn 2006), scalar implicatures like "but not both" in the exclusive interpretation of the conjunction or "A or B but not both", are generated automatically by default. On another, equally influential view, advocated by Relevance Theory (RT), scalar implicatures are generated only in contexts in which they are Relevant, viz. they yield a significant cognitive effect at a reasonable processing cost (Sperber and Wilson 1987/1995, Wilson and Sperber 2012). Although some recent psycholinguistic experiments, performed to assess the opposing predictions of these two major theories of the way scalar implicatures arise, apparently disfavor the neo-Gricean view (Bott and Noveck 2004, Breheny et al. 2006, Huang and Snedeker 2009), the results have been contested (Feeney et al. 2004, Grodner et al. 2010).

We have addressed this debate by performing an experiment based on a form of ‘shallow’ processing (cf. the concepts of “good-enough”, or “shallow” cognitive representations in experimental work by Ferreira et al. 2002, and Louwerse and Jeuniaux 2010, respectively). We tested the processing of two connectives in Hungarian: *and* and *or*, in a sentence-picture verification task similar to those used in the mental simulation literature (e.g., Stanfield and Zwaan, 2001; Zwaan et al., 2002). Each picture was preceded by a sentence describing a scenario with two objects, appearing as NPs conjoined either by *and* or by *or* (Connective Type), e.g., *John peeled the orange and/or the banana*. The state of the two objects either matched or mismatched (Congruence) the scenario explicitly described in the previous sentence. For example, in the mismatching condition of *and*-sentences only one of the two objects was peeled (incongruently with *and*’s entailment). In the case of *or*-sentences, both objects were peeled in the mismatching condition (incongruently with *or*’s implicature). Participants’ task was unrelated to both Connective Type and Congruence: they had to decide if both of the two objects have been mentioned in the previous sentence or not (without considering the states of the objects depicted). Crucially, this task only requires ‘shallow’ processing of the sentences, which the Relevance of the potential scalar implicature cannot enter. The dependent measure was response time to picture stimuli. As the implicature associated with *or* would not yield any effect in terms of the task itself, on Relevance Theoretic assumptions it should not arise.

We have found that a significant interaction between Connective Type (*and/or*) and Picture Congruence (matching/mismatching),  $F(1, 65)=12.224$ ,  $p<0.001$ . The main effect of Congruence is significant,  $F(1, 65)=6.825$ ,  $p=0.011$ . Connective Type does not reveal a significant main effect,  $F(1, 65)=0.358$ ,  $p=0.552$ . Importantly, mismatching pictures were verified significantly slower than matching pictures only in the case of sentences with *and*-connectives,  $T(65)=-3.628$ ,  $p=0.001$ , while such a Congruence effect was not produced after the *or*-sentences,  $T(67)=0.897$ ,  $p=0.373$ . AND-sentences ( $M$ : 1980.29 ms,  $SD$ : 608.22 ms) were not read differently from OR-sentences ( $M$ : 2046.22 ms,  $SD$ : 601.77 ms),  $T(67) = -1.324$ ,  $p = 0.190$ .

Our results indicate that in this task the entailment of the connective *and* was computed automatically, whereas the implicature of *or* was not activated. Assuming that Relevance of the potential scalar implicature (in the technical sense of RT, the ratio of the cognitive effect that it can achieve and the processing cost it incurs) cannot enter the computation in ‘shallow’ processing tasks, this finding provides new experimental evidence that favours the Relevance Theoretic approach to scalar implicatures over neo-Gricean accounts. In a broader perspective, the results suggest that ‘shallow’ processing tasks are a promising experimental tool for psycholinguistic experimental research at the semantics/pragmatics interface more generally.

**Mean Verification Times of Picture Stimuli in the two Connective Type Conditions as a Function of Picture Congruence (matching versus mismatching)**



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## The Exhaustivity Effect in Focus

**1. The issue** Exhaustivity in the interpretation of focus has been commonly treated in terms of pragmatic (Q-)implicatures. This pragmatic exhaustivity effect is characteristic of both syntactically marked and syntactically unmarked focus across a large number of languages, including syntactically unmarked focus (SUF) in Hungarian. On the other hand, some (syntactically marked) focus constructions, among them immediately pre-verbal focus in Hungarian (PVF) (possibly also fronted foci followed by *to* in Czech, Simik 2009), have been described as associated with a stronger, more marked interpretation, involving e.g., a stronger notion of contrast, or a stronger degree of exhaustivity. Of these, strong exhaustivity is often analyzed as a truth-conditional, semantic effect, arising in the same way as it does for the focus of clefts (and specificational pseudoclefts). For Hungarian PVF, this has been argued forcefully by Szabolcsi (1981, 1994), Kenesei (1986, 2006), and É-Kiss (1998). Recently, this view of PVF has been both challenged (Wedgwood 2005, 2007, Onea 2007, 2008, Onea & Beaver 2011) and defended (É-Kiss 2010, Horvath 2005, 2007) in theoretical work, leaving the issue still unsettled.



**2. The experiment** We address this debate by presenting novel empirical results from a sentence-picture matching experiment, which involved a multiple choice task that allowed for multiple responses. Each test sentence, describing the culprit of a crime, contained one of four types of focus: PVF, SUF, (specificational) cleft, and *only*-focus. Simultaneously, subjects were presented with a picture containing four human figures, the potential suspects: Suspect<sub>1</sub> corresponding to an exhaustive interpretation, Suspect<sub>2</sub> corresponding to an unambiguously non-exhaustive interpretation, and two distractors. Subjects had to choose which suspect or suspects may possibly be the actual offender. We measured the rate of exhaustive responses (=just Suspect<sub>1</sub>) and non-exhaustive responses (=Suspect<sub>1</sub> & Suspect<sub>2</sub>). As an outstanding advantage of this method, the task remains implicit, not involving a more or less direct meta-judgment whether some sentence is 'true'/'false', which in itself introduces a potential confound in much experimental work on related topics.

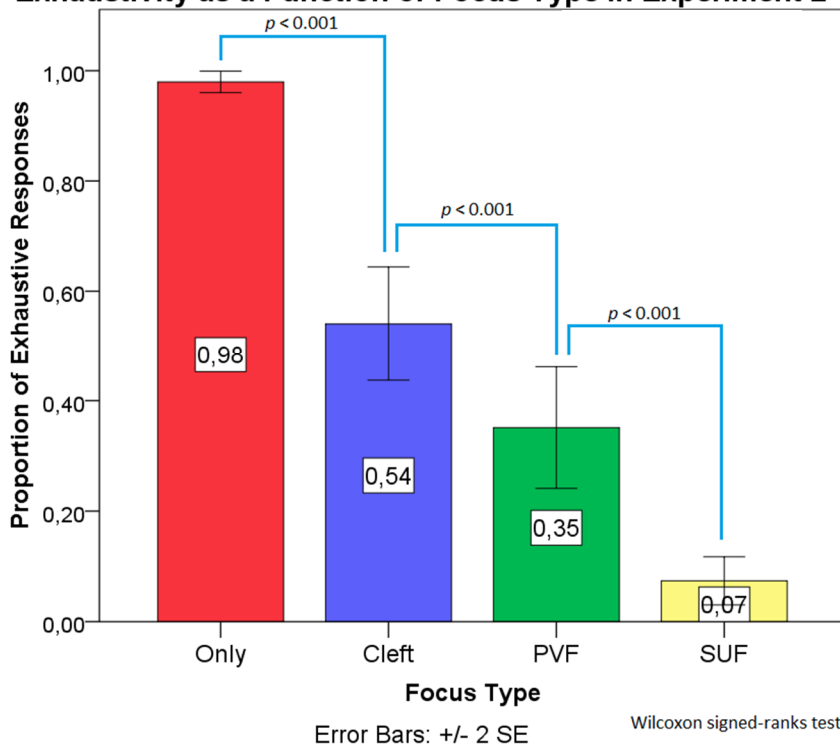
**3. Results and discussion** Focus Type yielded a significant main effect. Pairwise comparisons revealed that significant differences are found between any two of the four examined Focus Types (in each comparison,  $p < 0.001$ ). The rates of exhaustive responses were: SUF: 7%, PVF: 35%, clefts: 54%, *only*-focus: 98%.

The difference between *only*-focus and clefts is expected, since exhaustivity is asserted by the former (Horn 1981, 2002), whereas it is simply (Strawson-)entailed by the latter (cf. Szabolcsi 1994). The significant difference found between clefts and PVF argues against treating the exhaustivity of PVF as arising semantically in the same way as in clefts, and supports a pragmatic account of the exhaustivity of PVF.

We draw on Onea (2007, 2008) in assuming that the word order associated with PVF sentences is *grammaticalized* as a form expressing an answer to the Question Under Discussion (QUD, Roberts 1998). By default, answers to the QUD are pragmatically interpreted exhaustively (e.g., van Rooij & Schulz 2004). Given the availability of this grammaticalized form for answers to the QUD, SUF is *not* interpreted as an answer to the QUD proper (see Szendrői 2003). The non-exhaustivity of SUF then is a manifestation of the more general fact that answers not directly addressing the QUD are not interpreted exhaustively (Uegaki 2012).

In a cross-linguistic perspective, this account can be extended to any focus marked by word order and associated with relatively high levels of exhaustivity in those languages where the 'focus word order' is the ordinary word order used in answers to *wh*-questions, signaling their status as a direct answer to the QUD.

## Exhaustivity as a Function of Focus Type in Experiment 2



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### La jerga estudiantil en el *Diccionario de Autoridades*

La jerga estudiantil, como todas las jergas, es utilizada por un colectivo concreto de la sociedad; si bien, se distingue de ellas por su carácter temporal, que se refleja en dos aspectos: por un lado, la naturaleza cambiante del grupo y, por otro, el carácter innovador y efímero del lenguaje estudiantil.

El contenido de esta ponencia se basa en el material que ofrece la obra primeriza de la Real Academia Española, el *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1726-1739), de la que se ha realizado un vaciado completo. Las voces pertenecientes a esta jerga han sido identificadas a partir de marcas o anotaciones contenidas en el propio artículo lexicográfico. Si bien la jerga estudiantil generalmente se sitúa en un marco informal y sobre todo oral, esta obra ofrece no sólo su documentación lexicográfica, sino también la literaria, al presentar citas de autores que recogen palabras y expresiones usadas en las Universidades de Alcalá, Salamanca, Valladolid, en colegios mayores, etc.

La jerga estudiantil se presta a ser analizada desde diferentes puntos de vista: diacrónico (neologismos, desaparición y pervivencia), diatópico (en cuanto está vinculado a centros concretos de provincias concretas), diastrático y diafásico (en el

que se enmarca de por sí la jerga, unida a situaciones y clases sociales concretas), además del punto de vista lexicográfico.

No faltan en español los estudios y publicaciones (con frecuencia diccionarios) que se ocupan de las jergas, en el sentido amplio de la palabra. Menos abundantes son aquellos que se dedican al lenguaje de los estudiantes, en el que se suelen incluir a escolares y universitarios. Estos últimos se ocupan de los siglos XX y XXI, sin prestar atención a épocas anteriores. La bibliografía al respecto es llamativamente escasa.

En este sentido, nuestro trabajo desea cubrir este déficit y colocar una primera piedra en la reconstrucción de una jerga que cuenta ya con más de cinco siglos.

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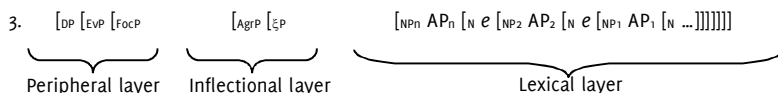
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### Nominal Syntactic Structure, Interpretation and Left Periphery

The aim of this paper is to discuss the different positions adjectives may occupy inside DP/NP in European Portuguese (EP) and relate them to the distinct readings obtained. Moreover we will argue that some ambiguities presented by adjectives in English, as discussed in Larson (1995), result from different positions occupied by the adjective. We will present data where distinct orders in EP correspond to distinct readings; the ones suggested by Larson (*op. cit.*) for English.

1. Olga is a beautiful dancer. (example from Larson (1995))
  - a. Olga is a beautiful woman and she is a dancer.
  - b. Olga is a very good dancer.
2. *Professor*, 'teacher', *marido*, 'husband', with adjectives in pre and in post-N
  - a. o professor bom, 'the professor good'
  - b. o bom professor, 'the good professor' (meaning good as professor)
  - c. o marido rico, 'the husband rich/wealthy'
  - d. o rico marido, 'the valuable husband'

Assuming with Cornilescu (1993), Zamparelli (1995/2000), Giusti (2005), Aboh, *et al.* 2010, *a.o.*, the existence of three distinctive layers on the DP structure (lexical, inflectional and peripheral) (cf. 2), we will discuss if adjectives are merged in the lexical/core layer or in the peripheral one.



As far as word order in the DP/NP is concerned, we will argue that there are four types of adjectives.

4.    Classes of adjectives considering the order in the NP/DP
- (i)      *azul*, ‘blue’, *alemão*, ‘German’, *sintático*, ‘syntactic’, etc.)
  - (ii)     (*mero*, ‘mere’, *suposto*, ‘supposed’, etc.)
  - (iii)    (*verdadeiro*, ‘true’, *interessante*, ‘interesting’, etc.)
  - (iv)     (*bom*, ‘good’, *belo*, ‘beautiful’, *simpático*, ‘nice’, etc.)

(i) adjectives always occurring in post-nominal position; (ii) adjectives always occurring in pre-nominal position; (iii) adjectives that may occur either in pre or in post-N position producing the same meaning; (iv) adjectives that may occur in pre and in post-N position but with different meanings in each position. Those merged inside the NP may appear either pre or post-nominally.

Moreover, assuming Beyssade & Dobrovie-Sorin (2005) about the existence of two types of semantic entities (nouns are individuals, members of a set of individuals; adjectives are properties instantiated in individuals) and Cornilescu & Nicolae (2011) about the existence of two nominal peripheries, we will argue that adjectives merged inside NP either appear in post-N position or in a pre-N position different from the one occupied by adjectives producing an evaluative meaning.

Thus, based on EP, we will show that there are two pre-N positions available for adjectives. One position at the extended DP that is the target for adjectives moved from NP, obtaining an evaluative reading, and (possibly) the merge position for a small class of evaluative (only) adjectives (cf. 4. (ii)). The other position, located in the periphery of NP, is occupied by adjectives that modify nouns denoting a specific kind of individuals, namely professions, titles, functions, etc. (Beyssade & Dobrovie-Sorin (2005)).

Furthermore, we will argue that the position above NP, to where adjectives move, is also present in the structure of deverbal nominals, specifically those exhibiting an individual reading (Grimshaw (1990)). Data from EP will be presented to show the three possible interpretations deverbal nominals display, and the similarity adjectives have in DP/NP structure with adverbs in CP/IP.

Finally, a comparative analysis will be drawn between adjectives modifying deverbal nominals and adverbs modifying the corresponding verbs in the sentence.

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## Functional Shift in Contemporary English Modal Auxiliaries

The paper discusses the development of certain English modal auxiliaries (*should, may, might, can, could*) focusing in particular on the semantic change and the change in frequency they display in literary texts.

There exists a general consensus on the change in progress: *can* and *could* are consistently replacing *may* and *might* in many of their functions. The dimensions

and the mechanism of this change can be demonstrated by analysing the data culled from spoken and written English data, including electronic corpora and literary texts of different time periods.

The paper examines the semantic functions of *may* and *might* that have been adopted by *can* and *could*, among them the expression of possibility and permission, contributing to the more extensive use of the latter ones. It also discusses formal factors (the ability of *can* and *could* to participate in negative contracted forms) that may be viewed as contribution to the overall decline of the role of *may* and *might* on the semantic map of English modal auxiliaries.

The steady decline in the use of *may* and *might* is regarded as a reflection of the systematic process of semantic change that has been taking place for several centuries, usually following the spatial-temporal-existential path of development. The paper provides a brief overview of this change starting from the Old English texts, where modals function as proper verbs, through their grammaticalization and subsequent semantic change (Middle English texts) to merger of their functions (contemporary texts). I will attempt to explain the direction of the observed semantic change.

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### Passive and object fronting in Polish – two topicalising strategies

Likewise several other languages, Polish makes use of, *inter alia*, two strategies of adjusting the syntactic structure to the information structure, namely passivisation and object fronting.

As well known, the default candidate for a topic of a sentence is an Agent; if a different constituent plays this role the Agent is demoted. In case of a by-phrase passive it results in a demotion of the Agent both in terms of constituent structure – the Agent is placed in a Prepositional Phrase, and word order – it is removed from the privileged sentence-initial position. As an alternative, the demotion may be restricted to the word order: the removed Agent preserves its privileged status in terms of constituent structure, but is deprived of the sentence-initial position. Thus object fronting could be treated as a “lighter” version of Agent demotion.

Several questions arise in this context. First of all why does the language have at its disposal two constructions serving for the same aim? Are these constructions mutually interchangeable? Why does the language make use of a complicated construction (full Passive) having at its disposal at the same time a much less complicated one (Object Fronting)? One answer is given by Bogusławski (2001).

In this paper we prove that the two constructions have different motivations. Whereas the main motivation for passive is the promotion of the Patient, Object Fronting serves apart from this for the demotion of the Agent only. Of course this is not a rule but a noticeable tendency.

We adopt Givón's (1983) method of estimating the degree of being a candidate for a topic of a sentence, namely the Referential Distance (RD) which is roughly speaking a measure how recently the referent has been mentioned. Of two referents the one with the lower RD shows a higher degree of topicality.

The study is based on the balanced subcorpus of the IPIPAN Corpus (the corpus of the Institute of Computer Science, PAS, cf. Przepiórkowski 2004). A random selection of 100 transitive verbs was done. All examples of by-phrase passives and of object fronting containing one of these verbs were retrieved. Neither agentless passives nor active clauses with no overt Agent were taken into account, we took into consideration only clauses with overt Agents. For each clause the RD of the Agent and Patient was compared. If the RD of the Patient is lower than the RD of the Agent we



consider that the markedness of the clause (passive or inverted word order) is motivated by the Information Structure.

The results show that a considerable number of full passives are motivated by the topicalisation of the Patient. In contrast, in case of object fronting, often the fronted Patient is discourse new as well. Thus the data should be interpreted as follows: there is a strong tendency to use the by-phrase passive to both: promote the Patient and demote the Agent, whereas Object Fronting serves rather for the latter, i.e. Agent demotion. This is in line with the interpretation of the constituent structure of the clause: only in passive sentences the object is moved to the most prominent position of the clause namely to the position of the Subject. In case of inverted clauses the patient holds a slightly less prominent position (sentence initial, but not showing agreement with the verb); this position seems to be rather a “by-product” of the demotion of the Agent.

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### Sufijación española y metonimia

Esta comunicación pretende presentar las conclusiones de un análisis sistemático de las relaciones de carácter semántico y naturaleza metonímica que tienen lugar en la formación de palabras en español mediante sufijación.

El trabajo se basa en las publicaciones de la autora norteamericana Laura Janda (2010; 2011) en las que presenta su diseño de un modelo que –siempre en el marco de los principios teóricos desarrollados por la lingüística cognitiva– estudia los

patrones metonímicos asociados a la formación de palabras en tres lenguas europeas: ruso, noruego y checo.

A su vez, Janda parte para su estudio de las publicaciones en las que Peirsman y Geeraerts (2006) desarrollan un estudio en profundidad de corte cognitivo de la metonimia *clásica* o léxica y que Janda lleva al terreno, hasta entonces nunca explorado sistemáticamente, del estudio de la formación de palabras como proceso metonímico.

Si bien en investigaciones pasadas nos dedicamos exclusivamente al estudio de las posibilidades teóricas de la derivación sufijal en el léxico común o estándar del español peninsular –de acuerdo a los datos extraídos de la *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* de la Real Academia Española y la Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española–, en esta comunicación presentaremos los resultados del análisis de un corpus extenso, es decir, se trata por primera vez de un estudio de frecuencias de uso que nos ha de mostrar qué patrones metonímicos son los más comunes en los procesos de sufijación del español peninsular contemporáneo.

Otro objeto de estudio será dilucidar qué combinación de clases de palabras son las más comunes en español, así como la distribución de los patrones metonímicos por sufijo o la direccionabilidad de los procesos metonímicos

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### Worst case scenario with tonic beats: Beats-and-Binding topics in the phonology of {con-} and {ex-}

This paper aims to examine selected aspects of word-medial lenitions in the Latinate prefixes ({con-} and {ex-}) in English and Spanish, in particular those involving [ŋ/n] in {con-} and [s/z] in {ex-}. The discussion is couched in the paradigm of Beats-and-

Binding phonology (cf. e.g. Dziubalska-Kořaczyk 1995, 2002, 2009), which is a syllable-less model in the paradigm of Natural Phonology. B&B's account of rhythmic typology is what makes this a particularly good model for analyzing my data. To recall briefly, in B&B a suggested scenario for the structuring of phonology is four-layered, with the stipulation that "rhythm comes first" (Dziubalska-Kořaczyk 1995: 66). It practically means that the type of isochrony obtaining in a language is hard-wired in the phonology.

I explore this possibility proposing that the tonic beat in Prototypical Stress Timed languages contains a stress concentrator ( $\Sigma$ ), which can either propagate onto an  $n \rightarrow B$  binding to the pre-tonic consonant (as  $n^2 \rightarrow B$ , as in the case of {ex-}) or onto a  $B \leftarrow n$  binding (as  $B \leftarrow n^2$ , as in the case of {con-}), inducing its lenition. This type of lenition, which is caused purely by level o (rhythmic preferences), is called the 'worst-case scenario' here. The basis for the analysis is a corpus of lexical entries, collected from several English and Spanish pronouncing dictionaries. The database for the study involved also recordings by the author of native speakers as a collateral corpus. The first step for the part one that is the analysis of  $n / \eta$  alteration was to establish a list of English Latinate and Greek prefixes ending in  $/n/$  or  $/m/$ :

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| (1) | a. {an- (a-)} 'without, not'             | h. {phon-} 'sound'                        |
|     | b. {circum-} 'around'                    | i. {in, im-} 'not'                        |
|     | c. {idem-} 'the same'                    | j. {rhin-} 'nose',                        |
|     | d. {desm-}, 'bind'                       | k. {sin-/ sys/ sym/syn-} 'with, together' |
|     | e. {quin-} 'fifth',                      | l. {gyn-} 'female'                        |
|     | f. {un-} (an OE prefix) 'not, opposite', | m. {pan-} 'all, whole'.                   |
|     | g. {uran-/ urano-} 'heaven' or 'roof'.   | n. {xen-} 'strange'                       |

For example, with respect to  $/-ng-/$  clusters involving {in-}, I was able to single out 23 different lexical entries, which is much fewer than in the correspondent voiceless version. In parallel to  $/-nk-/$  clusters, specimens according to stress patterns are categorized in (2)

- |     |    |  |
|-----|----|--|
| (2) | a. | <i>ingrowing</i> /,ɪn'grəʊnɪŋ/   |
|     | b. | <i>ingress</i> (v.) /ɪn'gres/, <i>ingratiatory</i> /ɪn'greɪʃjə,tərɪ/, <i>ingurgitate</i> /ɪn'gɜːdʒə,tet/, <i>ingulf</i> /ɪn'gʌlf/ <sup>1</sup> |
|     | c. | <i>ingress</i> (n.) /'ɪngres/, <i>ingoing</i> /'ɪn ,goɪŋ/, <i>ingrate</i> /'ɪngreit/, <i>ingathering</i> /'ɪŋgæðərɪŋ/                          |

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<sup>1</sup> There are two possible stress patterns with *ingulf*, one with the stress falling on the {in-}. There is no assimilation in either case. Yet, with the common male name *Ingulf* as verified with the native speaker, the velar assimilation proceeds without any obstacle.

- d.        *inguinal* /'ɪŋɡwɪnəl/, *Inge*, /ɪŋ/, *Ingraham*, /'ɪŋɡrɪəm/, *Ingham*, /'ɪŋəm/,  
*ingot* /'ɪŋɡət/,  
*Ingoldsbys* /'ɪŋɡlzbɪ/, *ingle* /'ɪŋɡl/.

A number of phonological algorithms are proposed to account for this type of phenomenon; these also provide an explanation for other phonological issues in English. Additionally, the analysis seems to have captured a process in *statu nascenti*, that is the gradual erasing of the morphological boundary, in generative terms, the passing of a non-cohering boundary to a cohering one in the case of {con-}.

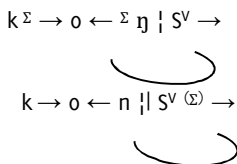


Fig. 1. A visual representation of the  $\Sigma$  dynamics for the {con-}.

As far as the ‘worst case’ scenario with {ex-} is concerned, the first step of the analysis was compiling a list of Greek and Latinate prefixes in English which end in /s/. Then a database of vocabulary involving these prefixes was created. In this case the analytical criterion was the presence of the voicing of /s/ in an intervocalic position (or a final prefixal obstruent cluster involving /s/). The data categorized into seven types were further collapsed into four algorithms, taking into account also a phonological reaction to /h/.

In my interpretation what happens in the “worst case” realization with *con* is a natural phonological process of lenition. When a morphological boundary ceases to be perceived by the phonology of the language, it is free to start operating. Assuming the reason for the phenomenon discussed is the elimination of a morpheme boundary, which is fostered by the stress, the assimilations and lenitions operate as if morpheme internally: that is, a natural phonological process is free to unfurl. To compare, {dis-} and {mis-} behave just like {ex-}<sub>2</sub> and {co-}: there is no communication at all between the morphemes they concatenate with. On the other hand, something has happened in the case of {ex-} and {con-} and possibly, the process of transformation has started with {in-}, hence the ambiguity between the lack of communication and the assimilations. Possibly, in the future, {in-} will pattern exactly like {con-}: obligatory assimilations with the tonic beat, regardless of the voice status of the following stop.

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## Evidentiality in Czech (and other European languages) – a category, or a semantic-pragmatic domain?

In about a quarter of world's languages indicative verbal forms contain /include a morpheme telling the way in which the information conveyed by the predicate was acquired (specificating it as a result of a direct perception, speaker's assumption, hearsay etc.). In those languages forms of indicative mood simultaneously express one's information source (evidence for speaker's assertion). In such languages, a grammatical category called "evidentiality" can be distinguished.

Evidentiality is not identical with (epistemic) modality, but it overlaps with it and sometimes the difference is only context-bound, i.e. pragmatic. In Czech it is true esp. about the verb *mít* (have/presume, Germ. *sollen*): *Minulý čtvrték měl navštívit N. v jeho kanceláři*/Last Thursday he ("měl") visited N. in his office can be read as a/ "he was told/asked to visit N. ...", i.e. with the verb *mít* expressing deontic meaning, or as b/ "he may have visited N. ...", where *mít* expresses epistemic meaning ("I do not know for sure"), or c/ "he allegedly/reportedly visited N. ...", i.e. hearsay (reported information as a source).

In European languages (incl. Czech), similar meanings are expressed by lexical items (adverbs *viditelně/visibly*, *slyšitelně/audibly*, *zdánlivě/seemingly*, *údajně/reportedly*; adverbial case forms *podle mě/in my opinion*, *podle předpovědi/according to the forecast*; particles *prý/"allegedly"*, verbs *zdá se/it seems*, *vypadá to/it looks*, *jeví se/it shows*) or syntactic constructions, mostly matrix sentences

– vidím /viděl jsem, slyším/I can see/hear, soudím/I think, domnívám se/I assume, že/that ... etc. All the means of expression conveying evidences are sometimes considered one group called evidential markers.

The diversity of forms expressing the source of information brings up a question about their status. While the adverbs, particle *prý* and adverbial case forms can function as “markers” (they are not parts of a sentence proposition and work as sentence adverbs/modifiers), this cannot be said about verbal constructions (*Pavel se zdá unavený/P. seems to be tired*) and matrix sentences (*Zdá se/vypadá to/vidím/soudím, že je P. unavený – It seems/looks, I can see/I assume that P. is tired*) where the evidential element is a proposition predicate. (This applies also to related adjectives – *viditelný/visible, slyšitelný/audible, zdánlivý/apparent* etc. which can occur both in an attributive position or be a part of a predicate.)

If a language does not express evidences as a grameme, this semantic element, the embodiment of which can occur in almost any sentence position, is difficult to place into any kind of systematic description. Expressing evidences overlaps with expressing other speaker’s attitudes towards the utterance content, i.e. with pragmatic modifications. It is also close to communicative strategies described as arguing, reasoning, explanation (subsidiary illocutions) which belong to the pragmatic dimension entirely. As for bringing forward an evidence (as a communicative strategy), the sentences (a) *Nevěřím mu, on viditelně lže/I do not trust him, he is visibly lying*; (b) *Vidím/je vidět, že lže/I can see that he is lying*; (c) *Nevěřím mu, protože vidím, že lže/ I do not trust him, because I can see that he is lying*; (d) *To jeho lhaní je viditelné/ Those lies of his are visible*; can be considered approximate pragmatic equivalents; however, their formal properties are dissimilar to that point that (a) – (d) cannot be comprised into a unified category.

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## Discourse wh-fragments containing a complementiser or a demonstrative pronoun

Discourse wh-fragments are utterances consisting of an interrogative phrase with a propositional meaning. The propositional meaning of the wh-fragment is usually reconstructed from the preceding utterance through ellipsis (cf. Merchant 2004 and

(1a) Somebody lighted a fire in the garden.  
(1b) Who? (1c) I don't know who.

(2a)	<i>Immen</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>in fjurke</i>	<i>oanstutsen</i>	<i>yn</i>	<i>'e</i>	<i>tún.</i>
	somebody	has	a fire	lighted	in	the	garden
	'Somebody lighted a fire in the garden.'						
(2b)	<i>Wa</i>	<i>dat?</i>					
	who	COMP / DEM					
	'Who?'						
(2c) *	<i>Ik</i>	<i>wit</i>	<i>net</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>dat.</i>		
	I	know	not	who	COMP / DEM		
	'I don't know who?'						

The elided AgrSP is claimed to consist of the trace of the subject demonstrative and an empty copula. The resulting empty copula analysis of wh-fragments will be shown to be independently supported by a series of tests from Craenenbroeck (2010).

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### Analyticity and Syntheticty: What the mistakes in DPs of L2 learners reveal about the structure of Chinese and Czech

The talk will focus on mistakes in forming DPs that beginner and lower intermediate native Chinese speakers make while acquiring Czech. An example of this sort of mistakes is given in (1).

- (1)      *\*Jsem      změna                      studentka                      z                      Číny.*  
             *be<sub>1.SG.PRES</sub>   exchange<sub>N</sub>                      student                      from                      China*  
             *"I'm an exchange student from China."*

The sentence in (1) is ungrammatical in Czech because of the use of a nominal attribute instead of an adjectival one. The correct Czech sentence is given in (2).

- (2)      *Jsem      výměnná                      studentka                      z                      Číny.*  
             *be<sub>1.SG.PRES</sub>   exchange<sub>A</sub>                      student                      from                      China*

The source of the mistake in (1) is the structure of corresponding Chinese DPs, shown in (3).

- (3)      *Meiguo      de                      chengshi*  
             *America<sub>N</sub>   DE                      town*  
             *"American town"*

In Chinese, any lexical category (noun, adjective, verb) or even a whole clause are attached to the modified noun by the particle *de*, which allows the preceeding phrase to function as an attribute. Zhang (1999) argues that *de* in this type



of construction is a functional category systematically heading the nP projection within the DP. On the other hand, in Czech the attribute has to be adjectival in order for the DP to be well formed, which is the source of difficulties in the process of L2 acquisition.

The problem lies in the typological difference between the two languages: high analyticity of Chinese in contrast to the syntheticity of Czech. As claimed by Huang (Huang, 2010), Chinese is a language that spells out light verbs and nouns, thus overtly reflecting the presumed universal phrasal structure. Due to the presence of lexical items overtly spelling out the functional categories, lexical movement to the latter is blocked in Chinese. On the contrary, synthetic languages as Czech are based on head and phrasal movement driven by the need to check uninterpretable and strong features on abstract, non-lexicalized functional heads.

On the basis of examples from Czech, Chinese and Czech learner corpus (CzeSL), I will infer that the interlanguage data shown in (1) point to the conclusion that it is not the general phrasal structure that is subject to redefinition in the process of L2 acquisition but rather such abstract values as interpretability and strength of syntactic features, which have to be reset by language learners.

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Based on the strategy of discourse-feature inheritance (Miyagawa 2010), the crosslinguistic distinction detected in focus fronting and negative preposing can be explained by proposing that the focus feature under C is lowered in Spanish, whereas it is retained in English. If this is around the right track, focused constituents move to the CP area in English, but to the TP domain in Spanish (see Haegeman & Ürögdi 2010 for the latter possibility in Hungarian). Evidence for positing that some types of focus undergo movement to spec-TP in Spanish comes from the syntax of bare quantifiers, Binding effects and Montalbetti's effects.

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### Semantik der Phraseme in den Leitartikeln des *Mährischen Tagblatts*

Im Beitrag wird die Aufmerksamkeit der semantischen Seite der Phraseme gewidmet, d. h. der sprachlichen Einheiten, die sich durch die Merkmale der Polylexikalität, der strukturellen, psycholinguistischen und pragmatischen Festigkeit und durch einen bestimmten Grad von Idiomatizität auszeichnen (vgl. Burger, 2007, 14-32). Konkret wird mit Berücksichtigung einschlägiger Arbeiten (Hessky/Ettinger, 1997; Schemann, 1991; Dobrovol'skij, 1995) die onomasiologische bzw. ideographische Gliederung eines phraseologischen Teilkorpus vorgestellt, dessen Basis eine Auswahl von Leitartikeln der Regionalzeitung *Mährisches Tagblatt* (1880-1945) bilden, welche die Zeit der Regierung des Grafen Eduard von Taaffe (1879-1893) kommentieren.

Wie es bereits durch mehrere Untersuchungen bewiesen wurde, stellen Leitartikel als eine meinungsbildende Textsorte, deren Ziel die Übernahme der Meinungen des Verfassers (des Chefredakteurs oder eines Redaktionsmitglieds) durch den Empfänger ist, eine reiche Quelle von Phrasemen dar (vgl. Lüger, 1995, S. 69, 126 ff.; Čermák, 1996; Skog-Södersved, 2007). Das liberale *Mährische Tagblatt* (dessen Chefredakteur der Rechtsanwalt Dr. Jakob Eben war) hielt es für seine Aufgabe, die deutsche Bevölkerung, Kultur und Sprache in der Habsburger Monarchie zu verteidigen und zu fördern. Die Deutschliberalen bewerteten nämlich die immer stärkeren föderalistischen Bestrebungen der nicht-deutschen Nationalitäten der Monarchie als Gefahr für das Weiterbestehen des Staates und für die Vorrangstellung der deutschen Bevölkerung und stellten sich deshalb auch negativ zu der konservativen Regierung und ihrem Programm der Versöhnung und Verständigung zwischen den Nationalitäten.

Im Beitrag wird also präsentiert, welche Konzepte in den betreffenden Texten phraseologisch ausgedrückt werden und welche Zusammenhänge zwischen den dominanten, mehrmals besetzten semantischen Feldern und der Thematik bzw. der thematischen Struktur der Texte bestehen.

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## **The Structure of Language Use: findings from Danish Talk in Interaction**

Traditionally, descriptive work on Danish has used the written language as its point of departure. Considering how written Danish on various parameters is different from spoken Danish, this line of work has implications in the sense that current grammars on Danish have a clear written-language bias.

As a part of the DanTIN group (Danish Talk in Interaction) we try to avoid this written-language bias by having another empirical take on describing the Danish language. Using naturally occurring recordings as the empirical basis for our research, we have spent the last couple of years investigating the spoken Danish language. This has been done through the analytical framework of conversation analysis (see Hamann et al. 2010; Mikkelsen 2010; Brøcker et al. 2012; Hamann et al. 2012). The advantage of this approach is that it enables us to find and investigate phenomena that do not occur in the written language and have thus not yet been described.

At OLINCO 2013 we will present the results of two of our recent investigations - copula drop and exaggerated pitch in reported speech. We find that the copula in Danish can take four different forms on a continuum from being prosodically emphasised to fully dropped. We will demonstrate how the four different forms serve different interactional means. Likewise, we find that exaggerated pitch in reported speech can mark the climax of a narrative thus serving as a story-ending device (Jefferson 1978). Both are phenomena which have not previously been described in Danish.

One disadvantage of our method is that it yields a number of rather incoherent descriptions, the systematic use of which is difficult. We will therefore demonstrate how our findings can be fitted into an organised system, namely a homepage. The homepage will have a structure-based entry called *forms* and a functional one called *actions*. Thus the homepage will be accessible from two paths forming a matrix system. This will allow us to enter the phenomena that we are describing under different approaches, and gradually construct a more systematic description of a grammar for Danish interaction.

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### Sprachliche Strategien des offensiven Argumentierens

Das offensive Argumentieren stellt im Rahmen des Kommunikationsmodells eine sehr häufige und relevante kommunikative Situation im medialen Raum dar. Der Beitrag konzentriert sich auf die Analyse der sprachlichen Strategien in dem offensiven Typ der Kommunikation. Als Grundlage für die Analyse werden dabei ausgewählte, in deutscher Sprache geführte Debatten aus dem Bereich der Politik und des Sports

dienen. Diese Diskursfelder wurden in erster Linie aus dem Grunde untersucht, weil hier der offensive Argumentationstyp überwiegt und sie daher ein breites Spektrum an Beispielen für offensive Argumentationsstrategien bieten.

Auf der theoretischen Ebene stützt sich der Beitrag auf die Studien der französischen Linguisten Jean-Claude Anscombe und Oswald Ducrot, die sich auf eine detaillierte Analyse der einzelnen sprachlichen Mittel auf der Ebene der Äußerung konzentrierten. Ihr Ansatz hat auch im deutschsprachigen Raum Aufmerksamkeit erweckt und wird bei der praktischen Analyse des Argumentationsverfahrens angewendet.

Im ersten Schritt werden anhand der Korpusdaten die pragmatisch motivierten Strategien des offensiven Argumentierens definiert und beschrieben. Es handelt sich etwa um die Disqualifizierung des Kommunikationspartners, die Hervorhebung der eigenen Kompetenz, Ironisierung der Aussagen des Kommunikationspartners, bewusster Themenwechsel, Zeitgewinn usw. Die Diskussionen werden in genau beschriebene Argumentationssequenzen zerlegt, sodass die grundlegende Struktur in einzelnen Schritten offen gelegt wird. In den Sequenztabelle wird in Anlehnung an Paul-Ludwig Völzing Handlungstyp, Strategie, Thema, Grund und Zweck (Intention) behandelt. Anhand dieser Gesamtstruktur wird folglich der überwiegende Argumentationstyp bestimmt (etwa strategische oder kooperative Argumentation).

Dabei wird in erster Linie darauf Akzent gelegt, mit welchen sprachlichen Mitteln die jeweiligen Strategien realisiert werden. Die Annahme ist, dass sich die offensive Haltung innerhalb der Argumentation bereits auf der Ebene der einzelnen Äußerungen, nicht erst im Kontext der gesamten Debatte offenbart. Es werden daher verschiedene sprachliche Indikatoren des offensiven Argumentierens analysiert, wie etwa spezifischer Gebrauch der Negation (*in keinsten Weise, keineswegs*), Pronomen (z. B. der manipulative Gebrauch von *wir*), Partikel – vor allem Ausweichpartikel (*eigentlich, schließlich, prinzipiell*), Modalwörter, Konnektoren, Satzgliedstellung usw.

Der Beitrag verfolgt die These, dass bereits der Gebrauch bestimmter sprachlichen Mittel in einzelnen Äußerungen den offensiven Charakter des Argumentierens prägt. Das Ziel ist zu beschreiben, mit welchen Mitteln dies in deutscher Sprache zustande kommt.

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## Frequency and Declensional Morphology in Spoken Czech

A relationship among frequency, morphology of nouns and phonetics is observed. Particularly, it is assumed that frequency has an impact on the number of morphonetic changes in a particular word form. We hypothesize that the greater the magnitude of a morphonetic change, the lower the frequency of word forms with the magnitude – the number of changes with respect to the nominative is considered. Specifically, two approaches are examined: 1) nominative singular as the basic form of a noun regardless of its grammatical number, 2) nominative singular as the basic form of a noun in the singular and nominative plural as the basic form of a noun in the plural.

The presented approach is theoretically based on two sources: a) synergetic linguistics (Köhler, 2005) and b) usage-based cognitive approach (Bybee, 2010). As for a), we preliminarily suppose that the relationship could be viewed as a result of a mutual interaction of so-called requirements, namely “Minimisation of producing effort”, “Minimisation of encoding”, and “Minimisation of memory effort” for a speaker, and “Minimisation of decoding”, “Minimisation of memory effort”, and “Minimisation of inventories” for a hearer. As for 2), the hypothesis can be viewed as a consequence of so called the “Conserving Effect of token frequency”.



For the testing of a hypothesis a Czech spoken corpus is used, namely, *Frekvenční slovník mluvené češtiny* (Frequency Dictionary of Spoken Czech) (Čermák, 2007), which is based on *Pražský mluvený korpus* (Prague Spoken Corpus) (Český národní korpus – PMK, 2001). The corpus is morphologically tagged and lemmatized.

It should be noticed that the hypothesis was already tested by Mačutek and Čech (2012) who used for the testing Czech written texts (namely, they analysed two novels, each novel separately); the hypothesis was not falsified and, moreover, a preliminary mathematical model for the relationship between observed language properties was proposed. So, the presented analysis should reveal a) the validity or non-validity of the hypothesis in spoken language, b) if the hypothesis is not to be rejected, the results will be compared with the model proposed by Mačutek and Čech (2012).

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### The role of partitive construction in generating scalar implicatures

The sentence *Some apples are on the table*. can have either a cardinal reading – an undetermined number of apples is on the table, or a quantificational reading – given a set of apples, some members of this set (and not others) are on the table (Milsark 1977), implicating the difference in the logical forms of these two readings (Diesing 1992). In addition, this sentence, although logically true, should be rejected as under-informative in the context where 5 out of 5 apples are on the table, based on the scalar

implicature *Not all apples are on the table*, typically inferred while interpreting sentences with logical words such as quantifiers (Horn 2006).

Previous empirical studies in the domain of scalar implicatures were focused on the developmental problems, on the assumption that adults universally have a high performance, and children universally show significantly weaker results. However, preliminary studies have shown that Serbian adult speakers often interpret scalar term *neki* (*some*) logically, without generating the implicatures. The aim of this paper is to investigate the potential language-specific properties that affect the process of generating scalar implicatures. We hypothesize that the scalar implicature of the quantifier *some* in adults fails due to a failure in the establishment of the right reference domain restriction. In particular, the subject interprets the noun in a generic fashion, thus leading to a cardinal reading of the quantifier. This predicts that the quantificational reading, and the scalar implicature, would be facilitated if the proper reference domain is provided by linguistic means. This can be achieved by the partitive construction (*some of the apples*).

To test this prediction, we conducted an experiment with 56 adult participants native in Serbian. We tested the partitivity condition: partitive construction – *some of the apples* vs. non-partitive construction – *some apples*. We have also controlled for the word order (initial vs. final position of the quantifier phrase) and the information structure (by an equal distribution of neutral information structure, contrastive focus on the quantifier and contrastive focus on the predicative phrase); the quantified expression was invariably in the subject position. In a modified version of the Truth-value judgment task, participants were shown a set of visual stimuli followed by a sentence containing the quantifier *some* (e.g. *Some apples are on the table*). They were asked to evaluate whether the sentence was right or wrong for a visually represented situation. For each level of the partitivity condition participants received 4 critical trials, 4 control trials and 4 filler sentences administered in a pseudo-random order. In the critical trials, where the use of the quantifier *all* was more informative for the given situations, we expected the participants to reject the sentence based on the scalar implicature.

The proportions of ‘No’ responses were entered into the analysis of variance (ANOVA). The analysis revealed a main effect of partitivity ( $F=33.921$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<0.0001$ ), and a reliable interaction between partitivity and contrastive focus ( $F=4.116$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $p<0.05$ ). The overall percentage of SIs is: 59% for partitive and 27% for non-partitive construction. The proportion of scalar implicatures (Charts 1 and 2) is lower than in previous studies. These results suggest that the interpretation of Serbian quantifier *some* is not scalar by default, but contextually restrained.

The use of partitive construction significantly gave rise to scalar implicatures, indicating that partitives dissolve the ambiguity between a cardinal and a

quantificational reading of *some*. A pragmatic strengthening of a cardinal interpretation of the non-partitively used *some* is implied. In addition, the effect of partitivity is stronger when the quantifier is under focus. We explain this by the effect of generating an alternative set to the quantifier used triggered by the contrastive focus. We offer an analysis of the presented effects and discuss its consequences for both the theory of syntax and semantics and the developmental studies of scalar implicatures.

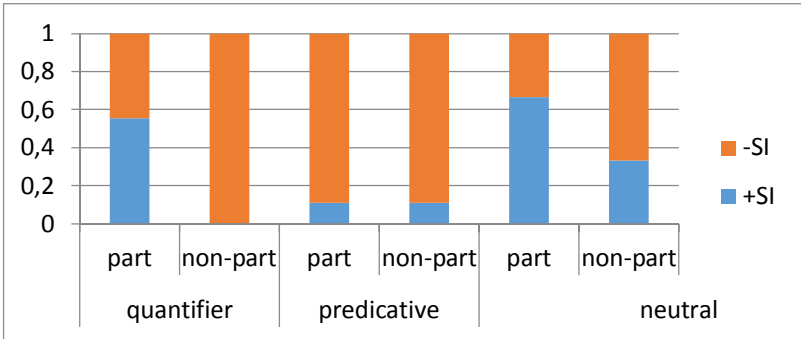


Chart 1: The proportion of scalar implicatures (SI) with regard to contrastive focus and partitivity QP in the initial position, e.g. *Some apples are on table.*)  
The overall percentage of SIs: 49% for partitive, 16.6% for non-partitive construction

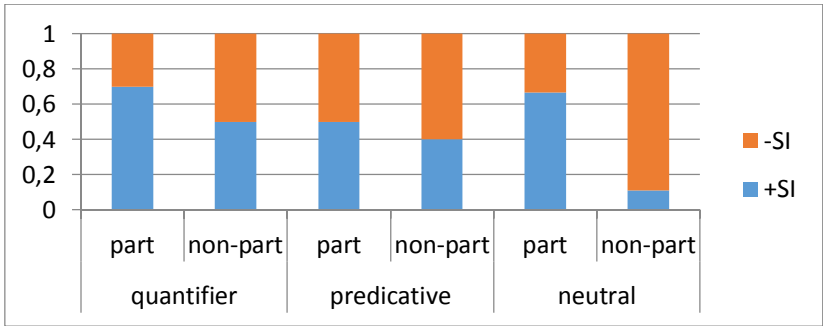


Chart 2: The proportion of scalar implicatures (SI) with regard to contrastive focus and partitivity (QP in the final position, e.g. *On the table are some apples.*)  
The overall percentage of SIs: 68% for partitive, 37% for non-partitive construction

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## Estudio preliminar del uso de los sufijos apreciativos en el habla de jóvenes universitarios de Caracas

La lengua española tiene varios recursos para expresar emociones, sentimientos y apreciaciones sobre el mundo. Según Lázaro Mora (1999), estos recursos pueden ser: fonológicos, morfológicos, léxicos y sintácticos. Sin embargo, en esta investigación, solo analizaré los referentes al nivel morfológico. En este nivel, los hablantes cuentan con un conjunto de morfemas (prefijos y sufijos) que les permite expresar afectividad (Lázaro Mora 1999), los cuales están agrupados bajo la etiqueta de prefijos y sufijos apreciativos. Las gramáticas (González Araña y Herrero, 1997; Seco, 2001; RAE, 2009; Sedano, 2011, entre otras) organizan los morfemas apreciativos en tres grandes subgrupos: i) los diminutivos (-ito, -ico, -illo, etc.), ii) los aumentativos o superlativos (-ón, -ote, -oso, etc.) y iii) los peyorativos o despectivos (-aco, -ángano, -ucha, etc.) En el habla de la ciudad de Caracas se han hecho algunos estudios sobre la afijación (De Stefano, Iuliano y Ganesin, 1979; Chumaceiro, 1987 y 1998; Tejera, 1996a y b, entre otros), basados en corpus sociolingüísticos, pero ninguno se ha centrado solamente en los sufijos apreciativos y, mucho menos, en el habla juvenil. En virtud de esto, el objetivo que me propongo en esta investigación es describir los sufijos apreciativos en el habla de jóvenes, masculinos y femeninos, estudiantes de la Universidad Central de Venezuela (UCV), sede de Caracas, con el fin de conocer su frecuencia de uso y el valor que le asignan este grupo en las interacciones. Para el análisis, me he basado en un corpus de habla de jóvenes estudiantes de la UCV, el cual está compuesto por seis conversaciones naturales y espontáneas, distribuidas en tres grupos: i) grupo mixtos, conversaciones entre hombres y mujeres; ii) grupo femenino, conversaciones de solo mujeres y iii) grupo masculino, conversaciones de solo hombres. Los resultados

preliminares indican que los sufijos apreciativos más frecuentes en el corpus son: -ito/-ita, -ica, -ón y -ota; también hay casos con los sufijos: -ona y -azo. Estos resultados concuerdan con los de otras investigaciones en las que se indica que hay una diferencia en la frecuencia de uso de sufijos apreciativos como -ito/a, y su variante -ico/a; y -azo, entre el español de Venezuela y el español general (Tejera, 1996 a y b; Chumaceiro 1998). Sin embargo, habría que hacer un estudio más exhaustivo, en un corpus más amplio, en el que se pueda observar qué factores, más íntimamente ligados a los procesos morfológicos de la lengua, influyen en el uso de unos sufijos apreciativos frente a otro en el habla de Venezuela de manera que puedan compararse con el de otras variedades del español. Por último, los resultados indican que los usos que estos sufijos tienen en las conversaciones del corpus son: atenuativo, apelativo, peyorativo e intensificativo.

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### Numeralization of Nominal Numerals in Polish

In this paper, I present a proposal accounting for the diachronic changes that affected Polish numeral nouns ( $\geq 5$ ), which led to their reanalysis as *numerals* on the example of three numeric bases 10-*dziesięć*, 100-*sto*, and 1000-*tysiąc*. These were chosen for three reasons: (i) they function as simple numerals, (ii) they function as parts of complex numerals, and (iii) due to (i) and (ii) they are the most numerous. The changes under consideration were both paradigmatic and syntactic and amounted to the *grammaticalization* of the numeral nouns (Roberts & Roussou 1999, 2003), and because they resulted in a separate category of *numerals*, I refer to this process as *numeralization* (cf. Schabowska 1962). The solution I propose is syntactic and shows that the paradigmatic changes in the declension of numeral nouns result directly from their changing syntax, however, these alterations were triggered by a (different) paradigmatic change, one that did not target numeral nouns themselves, but rather masculine personal nouns (so-called viriles) in their complement, and affected the numeral nouns only indirectly. It will thus be shown that *numeralization of numeral nouns* results from two related historical changes that directly concerned nouns denoting masculine persons: (i) the development of a new category of virility in the plural (singling out virile nouns, opposed to literally the rest), and (ii) the spread of its hallmark *Acc/Gen* syncretism. The newly established virile gender did not have any specialized morphological realization on the nouns themselves, which was resolved by the introduction of the *Acc/Gen* syncretism into the paradigms of these nouns; however, the use of the new syncretism was licensed by the presence of a proxy (modifier) which had the capacity to morphologically realize the new gender – without such an element, the nouns reverted to the old *Nom/Acc* syncretism. It has been reported that the first contexts in which this was allowed were adnumeral contexts, first in the dual and later in the plural (Kucała 1972, 1978; Łoś & Szober 1928; Janda 1999), where it was the numeral which was the exponent of the new gender. Noting that numeral nouns were themselves nouns with a full  $\varphi$ -set, the situation under discussion is highly unusual. I argued elsewhere that it was this pressure to expose the new gender morphologically that triggered the category change; here, I concentrate on how it proceeded. To support my proposal, I present and discuss historical data drawn from numerous primary and secondary sources, spanning the period between 15<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> c. The collected data constitute a mini-corpus of sentences including

numerals either represented by or containing the aforementioned numeric bases in six different case-contexts (Nom, Acc, Gen, Dat, Instr, Loc), and initially also in three different numbers (sg, du, pl). After Ritter (1993), De Vicenzi (1999), and De Vicenzi & Di Domenico (1999), I propose *gender* to be parasitic on an existing functional head, in this case *number*, projecting its own phrase (NumP). The reason why *numerals* become exponents of the new gender distinctions in the plural shedding their own  $\varphi$ -features in the process, is because via *numeralization* they become lexicalizations of the functional head Num<sup>0</sup>. Seeing as they realize the gender of the counted noun (and not their own gender), it is argued that it must be the Num<sup>0</sup> of the counted noun that they lexicalize. It will be thus shown that the once biphrasal structure in which both nouns (the numeral noun and its complement) projected their respective noun phrases is reduced to a monophrasal structure once *numerals* become lexicalizations of the Num<sup>0</sup> head in the extended projection of the counted noun (Grimshaw 1991), as shown by Figures 1 and 2 below. The proposal is based on vast empirical evidence which points to a close connection between: number and gender, on the one hand, as they are realized together as portmanteau affixes in Polish, and numerals and gender, on the other, as the novel gender distinctions introduced in the plural made numerals their category of choice for spell out. *Numeralization* is thus argued to have involved reanalysis of the numeral nouns as functional heads – to be precise, lexicalizations of the counted noun’s Num<sup>0</sup>, which brought about the paradigmatic changes in the numeral declension, and was the direct cause of the loss of the numerals’ own nominal features.

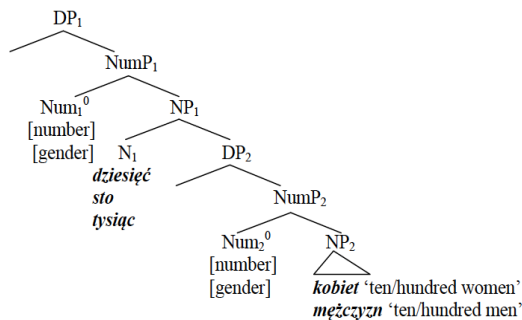


Figure 1





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## Auxiliaries as Dummies: a late vocabulary insertion approach

This paper will argue that auxiliary verbs are all dummies, in much the same way that English *do* is. A late vocabulary insertion perspective is taken in which a dummy is a vocabulary item selected to realise functional material, disregarding its associated root content. This idea is related to Grimshaw's treatment of *do*-support (1997, 2012). The approach also sides with the Nanosyntax position on vocabulary insertion in that it demands the adoption of the Superset Principle (Starke, 2009) in determining which vocabulary item will be selected out of a number of compatible choices: this entails that material present in the syntactic representation must be spelled out, but material associated with vocabulary items may be ignored. This approach to dummies is problematic from the perspective of the Subset Principle, typically assumed in Distributed Morphology (Marantz, 1997) and therefore in so far as the analysis presented here is successful it amounts to an argument against the standard DM position.

The framework of the analysis is a limited version of Optimality Theory which operates only with constraints which evaluate the linear relations of precedence and adjacency. As a result the syntactic expressions into which vocabulary items are inserted are unstructured. This eliminates a redundancy present in most late vocabulary insertion theories whereby vocabulary items are defined as bundles of features which replace sets of features which are structurally bundled in the syntax. In the current framework, features are only bundled in the vocabulary and it is the process of vocabulary insertion itself which serves to define words.

The main issue addressed is how the various auxiliary verbs are selected. Clearly they do not all spell out the same underlying material as otherwise we would expect only one auxiliary. Based on the common claim that *have* is *be* with some added material (Hoekstra, 1995, den Dikken 2006 and McFadden and Alexiadou 2010), it is argued that the latter is selected when only functional material is needed to be spelled out. *Have*, on the other hand, in its dummy use, spells out functional material plus something extra. Similarly, *do* spells out more than *be* and hence *be* is taken as the default dummy. Questions which arise are: why are *be*, *have* and *do* used as dummies and not other vocabulary items and what is it that distinguishes between them – what extra do *have* and *do* spell out?

The claim is that what unifies the dummy auxiliaries is that they all have undefined root content. With *be* this is fairly obvious as it is difficult to identify any root content for this vocabulary item in any of its uses. For *have* and *do* their lack of root content is indicated by the fact that their non-auxiliary uses are characterized as being context dependent: the meaning of *have* and *do* differ depending on what is ‘had’ or ‘done’ – *John had his dinner/a cigarette* and *John did the crossword/the housework*.

The analysis assumes that the syntax organizes a set of sub-morphemic elements, such as roots, aspect and tense. When these are contiguous they are spelled out by verbal elements when they are not, they are spelled out by more than one vocabulary item. Our analysis claims that *do* is selected to spell out tense in situations where the [v] feature which identifies a root as verbal cannot be spelled out by the verb and *have* is used specifically in perfect contexts due to an extra feature that the perfect introduces relating its aspectual nature to its temporal meaning. *Be* is associated with neither of these features and hence is selected in situations where only tense and aspectual features alone are to be spelled out.

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### Von den Sprechakten zu den Bildakten: Übersicht der Bildakttheorie mit Schwerpunkt auf die deutschsprachigen Ansätze

Der Begriff *pictorial speech act* wurde bereits in den 1970er Jahren von Søren KJØRUP geprägt, der über die Möglichkeiten der Anwendung der Sprechakttheorie auf die Bilder nachgedacht hatte (vgl. KJØRUP 1978). Eine intensivere Bildakt-Debatte hat sich erst am Anfang des 21. Jhs. herausgebildet; interessanterweise erfolgt sie vor allem in der deutschsprachigen Forschung, trotzdem weisen die einschlägigen Ansätze keine methodologische Kontinuität innerhalb der Bildforschung auf. Im vorliegenden Beitrag werden insbesondere die Arbeiten von Klaus SACHS-HOMBACH (2003), Ulrich SCHMITZ (2007) und Horst BREDEKAMP (2010) vorgestellt und diskutiert, die ganz unterschiedliche Wege der Anwendung der sprechakttheoretischen Perspektive auf die Bilder zeigen.

Die Diskussion kann aus mehreren Gründen für die Linguisten interessant sein: Diese intermediale Anwendung macht auf diverse, bisher wenig beachtete Facetten der Sprechakttheorie aufmerksam; zudem bietet sie Wege zur Analyse von multimodalen Texten.

Im Beitrag werden zwei Herangehensweisen konfrontiert: *direkte Anwendung der sprechaktbezogenen Theoreme auf die Bilder*, unter Berücksichtigung der Spezifika des Mediums (vgl. KJØRUP 1978 oder SCHMITZ 2007) vs. *allgemeine semiotische Erweiterung der Sprechakttheorie*, die eigene Theoreme ins Spiel bringt. Die letztgenannte Richtung vertritt der Semiotiker Roland POSNER, der sich zwar nicht explizit auf die Bildakttheorie beruft, sein pragmatisch orientierter Ansatz vermag aber viele Probleme der aktuellen Bildaktdiskussion zu lösen.

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### The use of pluperfect construction in Nanai<sup>2</sup>

The Nanai (Altaic, Tungusic) pluperfect construction is analytical and consists of the main predicate in past form and the auxiliary verb *bi-* ‘be’ also in past form:

- (1) *paačela-xam-bi*      *bi-čin*  
hit-PST-P.1SG      be-PST  
‘I had hit’

The personal marker on the main predicate is optional. When the person-number marker is omitted, the subject can be understood only from the context. The auxiliary verb *bičin* actually doesn’t change its form: it never acquires person-number markers. So the word *bičin* in the pluperfect construction functions as a particle.

The pluperfect construction is close to other analytical constructions with the verb *bi-*, that also refer to past. They are presented in (2) and (3):

- (2) *təəsi-məəri*      *bi-či-ni*  
sit-CVB.SIM.PL      be-PST-P.3SG  
‘he was sitting’

- (3) *tawəŋki*    *naj-wa*      *baa-pii*      *un-ži*    *bi-čin*  
further    man-OBL      find-CVB.COND.SG    say-NPST    be-PST  
‘Later, when he met people, he used to tell them...’

The construction (2) consists of a converb and the verb *bi-* in past or present form and expresses progressive action. The construction (3) consists of the non-past form of main predicate and the verb *bi-* in past form, the main predicate may optionally

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have a person-number marker, the verb *bi-* doesn't acquire person-number marker. This construction expresses habitual action in past that is not actual at the moment of utterance.

Although these constructions differ in formal features and in meaning on the whole, there is a number of contexts where it is possible to use two types of the constructions (e.g., pluperfect or habitual). At the same time, there are contexts where it is possible to use only one type of construction. For instance, the pluperfect construction is used in the direct speech which is inserted into narrative in past:

- (4)      *laočan-ži-i*                      *əm modan naa-wa*      *paačela-xam-bi*                      *bi-čin*  
tail-INS-P.REFL.SG                      one time    land-OBL    hit-PST-P.1SG                      be-PST  
{I met a tiger who told me:} '⟨...⟩ I struck (lit. had stricken) the ground with my tail once.'

In example (4) the pluperfect construction is used because it describes an action that preceded an action expressed in the main text (first, the tiger struck the ground, and then he told the narrator about it).

In the talk I am going to discuss types of contexts in which only the pluperfect construction can be used and to compare the use of pluperfect construction with the use of other related analytical constructions with *bi-*. The research is based both on the material collected during the field trips in the last six years and on the material of the scholars who worked with the Nanai language in the middle and last half of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### Abbreviations

1 - 1<sup>st</sup> person; 3 - 3<sup>rd</sup> person; COND - conditional; CVB - converb; INS - instrumental case; NPST - non-past; OBL - oblique case; P - possessive; PL - plural; PST - past; REFL - reflexive; SG - singular; SIM - simultaneous.

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### Wh-clitic-doubling, Wh-Cliticisation and Indexing

This paper outlines supporting evidence for Cliticisation as a mechanism of deriving antecedent-dependent links, part the project to eliminate Indexing from Grammar (Chomsky 1986, 1995). The project was initiated in Lebeaux (1983) in the form of a derivational analysis of antecedent-anaphors links of the type found in English,

whereby the *self*-constituent of the anaphor undergoes covert Cliticisation to the head position associated with the antecedent (2). The derivation mimics the one seen overtly in the French pattern (1), thereby achieving a uniform derivational analysis of antecedent-anaphors links. Chomsky (1995) uses the terms Cliticisation<sub>LF</sub> and Cliticisation<sub>SYN</sub> to refer to these two instances of Cliticisation (see also Pica 1987).

- (1) Jean se regarde dans le miroir. (Kayne 1975:348)
- (2) a. John<sub>i</sub> saw himself<sub>i</sub> in the mirror. (S-structure)  
 b. John<sub>i</sub> self<sub>i</sub> saw e<sub>i</sub> in the mirror. (LF) (Lebeaux 1983:726)

The supporting evidence for Cliticisation as an interpretive mechanism outlined here concerns operator-variable links in contexts where the operator is base-generated in its scope position. It includes the phenomenon of *wh*-clitic-doubling found in Berber, whereby operator-variable constructions involving dative constituents show two occurrences of *wh* (3a&b) (El Hankari & Ouhalla 2012). One is Caseless and functions as an operator base-generated in its scope position (Spec,C). The other is a *wh*-clitic in the dative form, which is base-generated in the variable position and undergoes *wh*-Cliticisation to C (4a&b). *Wh*-Cliticisation of the dative clitic has the function of linking the operator in Spec,C to the variable it binds. *Wh*-Cliticisation differs from *wh*-Movement, which applies in contexts where the operator is base-generated in the variable position and derives the operator-variable link by moving the operator to its scope position.

- (3) a. **m-ad=mi** t-fka ijign? (Tashelhiyt Berber)  
 wh-Comp=wh<sub>DAT</sub> she-gave flowers  
 ‘To whom did she offer flowers?’  
 b. **m-a(d)=mi** i-ḥsa [tanddamt]?  
 wh-Comp=wh<sub>DAT</sub> he-know poetry  
 ‘Whose poetry does he know?’
- (4) Wh-clitic-doubling and wh-Cliticisation  
 a. [CP [op] [C' C=**wh<sub>DAT</sub>**] [TP T [VP V... [**wh<sub>DAT</sub>**] ...  
 b. [CP [op] [C' C=**wh<sub>DAT</sub>**] [TP T [VP V [DP D [NP N [**wh<sub>DAT</sub>**]]] ...

Underlying the attempt to extend Cliticisation to operator-variable links is a well-motivated distinction between A-clitics and A'-clitics (El Hankari & Ouhalla 2012). A-clitics undergo A-Cliticisation to the T-domain, which yields an A-binding relation (antecedent-anaphor links) in contexts such as (1). A'-clitics undergo A'-Cliticisation to the C-domain, which yields an A'-binding relation (operator-variable links) in contexts such as (3a&b). The need to eliminate Indexing from Grammar necessarily implies a unified theory of Binding of the type sought in Aoun (1985, 1986), though one that

operates on the basis of the derivational process of A/A'-Cliticisation rather than the representational principles of Binding Theory.

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### The Monophthongization of Pre-Tap /aɪ/ in Southern American English

This study examines the production of /aɪ/ in pre-tap [r] environments in order to determine whether the monophthongization of /aɪ/ to /a/ in the Southern American English Dialect (SoAE) occurs at a phonological or phonetic level. This research adds generally to previous work on variation in regional dialects and specifically to an understanding of the level at which regional linguistic variables function.

The monophthongization of /aɪ/ to /a/ is a linguistic trait considered characteristic of SoAE, conditioned on both the speaker's social identity and the phonetic traits of the segment following the /aɪ/ token (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006). Typically, non-working class European-American SoAE speakers fully produce the

diphthong /aɪ/ only when it is followed by a voiceless segment; in all other environments, they monophthongize /aɪ/ to /a/. At the same time, North American English speakers—including SoAE speakers—generally equalize intervocalic /t/ and /d/ to [r] when the second vowel is unstressed (e.g., Ladefoged & Johnson 2010). This study considers whether SoAE speakers apply the /aɪ/ monophthongization rule before or after the alveolar plosive equalization rule. This question can be stated in terms of rule ordering as illustrated in Scenarios A and B, below.

	Example	
	writer	rider
Underlying form	/ˈ.aɪ.tə/	/ˈ.aɪ.də/
1) /t/ and /d/ → [r] / V <sub>[+stress]</sub> ____V <sub>[-stress]</sub>	[ˈ.aɪ.rə]	[ˈ.aɪ.rə]
2) /aɪ/ → [aɪ] / ____C <sub>[-voice]</sub> ; otherwise [a]	[ˈ.a.rə]	[ˈ.a.rə]
Surface realization	[ˈ.a.rə]	= [ˈ.a.rə]
1) /aɪ/ → [aɪ] / ____C <sub>[-voice]</sub> ; otherwise [a]	[ˈ.aɪ.tə]	[ˈ.aɪ.də]
2) /t/ and /d/ → [r] / V <sub>[+stress]</sub> ____V <sub>[-stress]</sub>	[ˈ.aɪ.rə]	[ˈ.a.rə]
Surface realization	[ˈ.aɪ.rə]	≠ [ˈ.a.rə]

Based on similar research conducted on Canadian Raising (e.g., Hayes 2009), **Scenario B** was hypothesized to be the more accurate rule order. This hypothesis was confirmed by the results of the present study in which 21 native SoAE speakers were recorded while reading a series of 15 sentences that contained /aɪ/ tokens in a variety of phonetic environments. The voice recordings were acoustically analyzed using Praat™, measuring second formant frequencies of the /aɪ/ tokens at 1/3 and 2/3 of the way through production. Pursuant to standards established in previous studies (e.g., Fridland 2003), diphthongization was determined based on two levels of differences between the measurements analyzed: minimum differences of 300 Hz and 200 Hz. Of the 21 total participants, 13 participants either did not monophthongize /aɪ/ at all or monophthongized /aɪ/ in all environments. The 9 participants who selectively monophthongized were three times more likely (33% versus 11%) under the 300 Hz standard to produce /aɪ/ as a diphthong preceding underlying voiceless segments versus voiced segments or word-finally. Similar results were found under the 200 Hz standard (59% versus 28%). These results suggest that the monophthongization of /aɪ/ occurs on a phonological rather than a phonetic level and thus help to clarify the interaction between phonetic variations and phonological rule ordering in dialect variation. As such, this study’s findings have implications for the fields of both phonology and sociolinguistics.



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### Language Attrition in Ch'orti' (Mayan)

A comparative and historical study of Ch'orti' reveals that, in contrast to most other Mayan languages, Ch'orti' shows language reduction on all levels of structure. Sarah Thomason, in her article *Contact as a Source of Language Change* (2003), claims that such structural reduction can be caused by language mixing and may be an indication of slow language death, although she gives no specific examples of languages that are dying in this manner. Ch'orti' is clearly a case of language contact since most Mayan adults in the area, both men and women, are bilingual in Ch'orti' and Spanish, a situation that has been in effect since at least the 1930's (Wisdom 1940). In addition, the only significant influence on Ch'orti' since the Conquest has been Spanish; Ch'orti' is spoken in an isolated area — eastern Guatemala and western Honduras — where outsiders rarely travel, but where Ladinos (mixed race, culturally non-Indian, Spanish speakers) have also been living since the 1600's. It is thus logical that language mixing between Ch'orti' and Spanish has been a significant factor in the structural reduction of Ch'orti'. Interestingly, the resultant reduced structure is reminiscent of a language creole, having simplified morphology, serial verbs, and analytic structures. If language mixing can result in language reduction, as Thomason claims, then a creole-like structure would be a natural consequence, assuming the existence of some kind of unmarked universal structures (Givón 1979) or bioprogram features (Bickerton 1981).

Although Ch'orti' is highly reduced, it is historically and structurally a Mayan language. It has syntactic features common to the family: ergative person marking on the verbs, positionals, antipassive constructions, relational nouns, noun classifiers,

glottalized consonants, and a common basic vocabulary. The morphology in most of these constructions is phonologically related to the morphology in other Mayan languages, yet many of these constructions have been marginalized in Ch'orti', such that they occur in fewer types of grammatical structures and in limited sociolinguistic situations.

Most studies of language contact focus on lexical and structural borrowings, and in the case of Ch'orti', there are numerous Spanish loan words and some structural borrowing from Spanish. The most significant changes in the language are not borrowings, however, but reductions in language structure that appear to be unrelated to *specific* influence from Spanish structure. This paper claims that these changes are due to language attrition in bilingual speakers of Ch'orti'. Most studies of language attrition have focused on language loss in individual speakers, or at most, in current communities of speakers. The present study is instead an investigation of language attrition over time, starting with a comparative perspective between Ch'orti' and other languages of the Mayan family and looking at historical and present-day texts to show the latest trends. Mayan language reconstruction data has been taken from Campbell and Kaufman; comparative data comes from Dayley, Craig, and England; and Ch'orti' data come from texts recorded by Wisdom (1930's), Fought (1950's), Perez (1996), and research by Quizar (1975-present). One issue under investigation is how much of the language reduction in Ch'orti' is a result of attrition within the community of speakers, as opposed to being the result of normal language change. Another important question is the radical change to unmarked structures in Ch'orti'.

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### Tackling "Legalese": How linguistics can simplify legal language and increase access to justice

You are a juror in Massachusetts, USA. Before you and the other jurors go off to reach a verdict, the judge reads you the "jury instructions" that explain the laws that apply to the case. One instruction concerns your own memories:

- (1) *Failure of recollection is common. Innocent misrecollection is not uncommon.*

But if you were a juror in California instead of Massachusetts, you would hear, instead,

- (2) *People often forget things or make mistakes in what they remember.*

California is one of a small number of states that have overcome substantial hurdles (Marder 1996) and succeeded in rewriting its jury instructions in "Plain English," recognizing that confused jurors cannot deliver well-reasoned or just verdicts. Research has shown that the language of the instructions is obscure and complex, syntactically and semantically challenging, and confusing to even the most highly educated jurors, never mind jurors with less education or non-native English skills (Charrow & Charrow 1979; Elwork, et. al. 1982; Diamond & Levi 1996; Diamond 2003;

Tiersma 1999, 2001, 2009). A critical feature of California's project was that it included linguists, a move that other states are now following.

In Massachusetts, the *Plain English Jury Instruction Project*, a joint effort of lawyers, judges and linguists, is currently running studies showing (1) the difficulty of current jury instructions and (2) the possibility to improve comprehension by rewriting them. The first of 8 planned studies used 6 sample instructions read by a judge, with college student subjects answering true/false questions after hearing each instruction. Our results (Table 1, Original) showed that only 23 of the 72 questions ( $\approx 1/3$ ) were answered correctly by at least 90% of the subjects. The difficulty came from several linguistic factors: stacked negatives, presupposed knowledge, multiply-embedded clauses, confusing information structure, formal register, low-frequency words, multiple passives, and a host of Gricean violations. Targeting these in Study 2, our rewritten versions significantly improved subjects' performance for all 72 questions (Table 1, Plain English) and even more so for 64 questions, eliminating 8 questions whose answers were inadvertently omitted in the rewritten instruction (Tables 2 & 3). Our next 6 studies will compare (a) college students with actual jurors, who may perform worse, given lower language and educational levels, and (b) our listening-only task with a listening + reading task, which we predict will improve scores. This paper will report on the results of Studies 1 and 2 as well as the results of the other studies completed to date.

Opportunities for linguists to have an impact on social change are rare, but we are well-equipped to do so here because of our ability to pinpoint linguistic problems, test them in psycholinguistic studies and propose and test remedies (Solan 1999; Solan & Tiersma 2005). Though legal language is entrenched and reform is difficult, California – and now Massachusetts – offer models for collaboration between linguistics and legal practitioners. Linguistic research will provide the justification needed for Massachusetts to take on a rewriting project and the outcomes are promising: to make courtroom verdicts more reliable and to make the judicial system more accessible and, ultimately, more fair.

## Data Tables

Table 1: How many questions were answered correctly by at least 90% of the subjects?				
	Original	Plain English	Difference	p-value
out of 72 Q's	23 (32%)	33 (46%)	10 (14%)	p = 0.042
out of 64 Q's	19 (30%)	33 (52%)	14 (22%)	p = 0.0049

Table 2: % of 29 subjects who answered correctly (72 questions)							
Instruction #	1	2	3	4	5	6	Overall
Original	87.93%	89.37%	74.42%	80.69%	68.68%	63.79%	78%
Plain English	87.07%	88.79%	80.46%	82.24%	73.28%	72.84%	81%
difference			6.04%		4.60%	9.05%	3%
p-value	0.3897	0.4041	0.0285	0.2484	0.091	0.0181	0.0078

Table 3: % of 29 subjects who answered correctly (64 questions)							
Instruction #	1	2	3	4	5	6	Overall
Original	87.93%	89.34%	73.45%	76.51%	68.68%	61.08%	77%
Plain English	87.07%	90.91%	87.24%	83.84%	73.28%	81.77%	84%
difference			13.79%	7.33%	4.60%	20.69%	7%
p-value	0.3897	0.2539	0	0.0025	0.091	0	0

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### **Una reconsideración de la estructura de la flexión verbal en el quechua cuzqueño: tiempo, modo y persona**

En la flexión verbal quechua se distinguen las categorías de persona (sujeto y objeto), número, y tiempo y modo o subordinación. En cuanto al tiempo y modo, tradicionalmente se habla del indicativo, que comprende todos los tiempos incluyendo el futuro, del potencial o condicional, que tiene dos tiempos (presente y pasado), y del imperativo. La morfología quechua es aglutinante (no flexiva concatenativa) con predominancia de formativos separativos (sufijos). Los pocos formativos cumulativos se dan en la flexión verbal: los sufijos de persona indican a la vez el tiempo y el modo, desde el punto de vista tradicional.

Sin embargo, según la morfología de los formativos verbales en el quechua y sus significados parece ser más adecuado excluir el futuro de la categoría de tiempo y considerarlo un tipo de modalidad. Así el quechua tendría cuatro modos verbales, y no tres, expresados cumulativamente junto con la persona: “realis” (situaciones reales, pues por consiguiente sólo presentes o pasadas), que por conveniencia podría seguir llamándose “indicativo”, y tres modos irreales (realidad (todavía) no existente), es decir “futuro” (modo prospectivo, futuritivo, futuro), “imperativo” y “condicional/potencial” (tiene las dos funciones). La categoría de tiempo (presente, no futuro o simple, y los pasados) se marcaría entonces en todas las formas separativamente por medio de otros sufijos agregados a las formas del indicativo (el potencial/condicional pasado es una forma compuesta de su forma en el presente más verbo auxiliar en el pasado).

En la presentación quisiera justificar este punto de vista poniendo las formas verbales del quechua cuzqueño y sus significados en un contexto más amplio de la tipología de las categorías de tiempo, modalidad y modo, aludiendo ocasionalmente también a otras variedades del quechua y al aymara.

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### Determining semantics through collocations. The interplay with specific constructions based on the example of participial adjectives in Czech, English and German corpora

When a word form changes its POS category, it signifies a certain meaning change as well as a change in its syntactic distribution. Nevertheless, it is of course impossible to access meaning through POS category only. Moreover, it is sometimes not easy to access the meaning of a word form at all.

The paper is based on two hypotheses. The first one puts emphasis on the notion of construction (the term is understood in line with the definition found in Fried and Östman, 2004)<sup>1</sup>, stating that individual constructions can be indicative of a specific meaning. The second one posits that collocational analysis (see e.g. Baker et al. 2007) provides access to meaning.

The paper investigates participial adjectives (PAs), forms derived from verbs with the help of a characteristic ending (*-ící/oucí* in Czech, *-end* in German, *-ing* in English)<sup>2</sup>. Given the fundamental differences between spoken and written language

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<sup>1</sup> “Grammatical constructions are symbolic signs and represent the basic building blocks of a linguistic analysis. (...) A construction is an *abstract*, representational entity, (...) the actually occurring linguistic expressions, such as sentences and phrases, are not constructions, but constructs,” see Fried and Östman 2004.

<sup>2</sup> For more details on the diachronic development of Czech participial adjectives, see Fried 2008.

(see e.g. Biber et al. 1999), a comparison of these two registers will be carried out for these three languages, while also differentiating certain individual genres. The data will mostly come from the 100-million BNC and SYN2010, as well as from the much larger DeReKo for German. For Czech, various corpora of spoken language will be investigated (ORAL2008 and 2006 with 2 million tokens of non-formal conversation and the unique SCHOLA2010 with 0.8 million words).

Speaking of findings, it seems to emerge that one syntactic position, namely that following a copular verb, attracts a special semantic group of participial adjectives. In a special construction, they seem to realize the language function of evaluation<sup>3</sup>.

Furthermore, in German and English, some PAs have become grammar words (*während - during; concerning, regarding*) and others could be identified as candidates for categorial change (Richterová 2011). In Czech, however, the situation is less unambiguous (e.g. *týkající se, související s – concerning, relating*).

Collocational analysis using both a new proximity-based tool P-collocations (Cvrček, Vondříčka – forthcoming) and the well-established frequency-based measures incorporated in the corpora used will help to reveal the meaning of individual participial adjectives. Based on the identification of certain reoccurring constructions, it will be possible to identify, to which extent meaning is co-determined by them.

<b>-ing forms in BNC</b>	<b>Fq</b>	<b>i.p.m.</b>
<i>interesting</i>	19	0.17
<i>surprising</i>	14	0.13
<i>misleading</i>	6	0.05
<i>disgusting</i>	6	0.05
<i>tempting</i>	5	0.04
<i>striking</i>	5	0.04
<i>frightening</i>	4	0.04
<i>exciting</i>	4	0.04
<i>embarrassing</i>	4	0.04
<i>disappointing</i>	4	0.04

Table 1: *It is* + English PAs preceding punctuation. An evaluative construction.

<sup>3</sup> Evaluation: “the subjective presence of writers/speakers in texts as they adopt stances towards both the material they present and those with whom they communicate,” see Martin, J. R. and White P. R. R. 2005.



<b>-ící/oucí forms in SYN2010</b>	<b>Fq</b>	<b>i.p.m.</b>
<i>vedoucí</i> (the leader)	14976	123
<i>následující</i> (following)	13290	109
<i>budoucí</i> (future – adj.)	8225	67.6
<i>cestující</i> (traveller)	5457	44.8
<i>vynikající</i> (outstanding)	5437	44.7
<i>rozhodující</i> (decisive)	4993	41
<i>rostoucí</i> (rising, growing)	4731	38.9
<i>odpovídající</i> (respective, answering)	4244	34.9
<i>stávající</i> (current)	4180	34.4
<i>žijící</i> (living)	3714	30.5

Table 2: 10 most frequent *-ící/oucí* forms in written Czech

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### Syntactic properties of the Korean floating quantifier-type classifier construction – formal syntactic or information structure account?

The structure of the CLASS(ifier) construction in an argument position with a postnominal classifier (as one constituent) is (1); the Floating Quantifier (FQ) construction's (illustrated in (3)-(5)) commonly accepted structure is (2) [Cho 2003; Kim S.-Y. 2004; Kim Ch. 2005 and others]. In (1)-(2), the lexical noun (NP<sub>LEX</sub>) is Logical Subject, and the FQ(=[*sey kwen(-ul)*]) is predicated over NP<sub>LEX</sub>. In (2), the FQ is a secondary predicate that is a Small Clause (SC) with a PRO subject controlled by NP<sub>LEX</sub>.

Consider the NP<sub>LEX</sub>'s subject-to-object raising and topicalization (3)-(4) in terms of generative syntax [Ko 2005] and of information structure [Kwon, Zribi-Hertz 2008; Kim J.-B. 2011]. In (3)-(4), we see that presence or absence of Case-marking on CLASS affects the grammaticality of A/A' -movement of the lexical noun NP<sub>LEX</sub> *haksayng-ul*. A-movement in (3) is possible if CLASS has no Case-marker, and A' -movement in (4) is possible if CLASS does have a Case-marker. Syntactic movement seems to be dependent on CLASS's Case marking. What are the mechanisms of Case-assignment/ checking and/or Case drop in Korean that result in the paradigm in (3)-(4)? (5) breaks the dependency outlined above: A' -movement (of NP<sub>LEX</sub>) is grammatical in (5b), while *myeng* has no Case marker in both (5a-b).

Compare the formal syntactic account and the Information structure account of (3)-(5). Based on the first account, in \*(3a), if (as in (2)) NP<sub>LEX</sub> controls PRO, and CLASS agrees with PRO in Case, then NP<sub>LEX</sub> is assigned Nominative inside the embedded clause. Subject-to object raising in (3a) is impossible since NP<sub>LEX</sub> cannot get two Cases. (3b) (unlike (3a)) is tentatively a raising structure: in <sup>v</sup>(3b), *myeng* has no Case. The Subject position of the embedded clause in (3b) is a non-Cased position; FQ=[Num + CLASS] stays in this position.

[Ko 2005] proposes that a subject FQ=[Num+CLASS] with a Case-marked 'adverbial' FQ ((4a), *myeng-i*), does not form a constituent with NP<sub>LEX</sub>: the FQ is inside an adjunct SC (cf. (2)) adjoined to V'. A Caseless 'nominal' FQ ((4b), *myeng*) forms a constituent with NP<sub>LEX</sub>. [Ko 2007] uses [Fox, Pesetsky's 2005] cyclic linearization to rule \*(4b) out. If vP is the minimal linearization domain in Korean, and NP<sub>LEX</sub> is base-generated in Spec vP, the NP<sub>LEX</sub>>Obj>FQ order can only be achieved if Obj (*wain-ul*) moves to the left periphery of vP: this is impossible in \*(4b), in which NP<sub>LEX</sub> and FQ are one constituent in Spec vp. In <sup>v</sup>(4a), NP<sub>LEX</sub> and FQ are not one constituent, so Obj can move to a position between them.

In terms of Information structure, the Case marker on CLASS (*myeng-i/-ka/-(l)ul*) does not change CLASS's category (nominal/ adverbial) but focalizes CLASS; a bare NP/ DP usually represents irrelevant/ background [Kwon, Zribi-Hertz 2008], or rhematic/ predicative but not specially focused [Kim J.-B. 2011: 43] information. NOM/ ACC markers *-(l)ul* and *-ka* are regarded as both Case-markers and focalizers [Schütze 2001].

Examples (3)-(5) would then be explained as follows. For (3a-b), if, in the Altaic subject-to-object raising sentence, the raised NPLEX is “focus of empathy” [Serdobol'skaya 2012], CLASS is supposed to be background (Caseless), as in (3b).

In \*(4b), the drop of NOM in Cases of subject-FQ is ungrammatical because the FQ=SC with a Caseless CLASS (*myeng*) has a predicative function, as it is inside the SC – Logical Predicate to the Logical Subject NPLEX. FQ would neutrally be just after the topicalized NPLEX. The focused direct object (*wain-ul*) intervenes, so *myeng* must be specially focused by adding the NOM marker (a focus particle can also be added to CLASS instead of the NOM marker, which supports the focalizing function of NOM,).

In (5a-b) ((5b) is not discussed by [Ko 2005; 2007]), insertion of additional adverbials that are foregrounded makes it easier to treat the FQ=[Num + CLASS] phrase as background, i.e without any Case-marker, in <sup>√</sup>(5b) than in <sup>√</sup>\*(5a).

- (1) [chayk-(ul) [sey kwen(-ul)]] = [CLASSP NPLEX [FQ Num + CLASS]]  
book-ACC three CLASS-ACC “Three books”

- (2) NPLEX ... [SC PRO [QP=FQ Num + CLASS]]

- (3) a. \**Ku kulwup-eyse Kim kyoswu-nun haksayng-ul*  
this class-LOC.STAT Kim professor-TOP student-ACC  
*sey myeng-i yunungha-ta-ko sayngkaha-n-ta.*  
three CLASS-NOM smart-DECL-QUOT believe-PRS-DECL  
b. ? *Ku kulwup-eyse Kim kyoswu-nun haksayng-ul*  
this class-LOC.STAT Kim professor-TOP student-ACC  
*sey myeng yunungha-ta-ko sayngkaha-n-ta.*  
three CLASS smart-DECL-QUOT believe-PRS-DECL  
“In his class, professor Kim believes three students to be smart”

- (4) a. *Haksayng-i ecey wain-ul* [subject CLASS, Cased]  
student-NOM yesterdaywine-ACC [S.-Y. Kim 2004: 59-60]  
*sey myeng-i masi-ess-ta*  
sey CLASS-NOM drink-PST-DECL

- b. \***Haksayng-i** ecey wain-ul **sey myeng** masi-ess-ta [subject CLASS, Caseless]  
 “Three students had wine yesterday”

- (5) a. ? \***Haksayng-tul-i** caki-uy ton-ulo [J.-B. Kim 2011: 41]  
 student-PL-NOM self-GEN money-INSTR  
**twu myeng** cenhwahay-ss-ta  
 two CLASS phone-PST-DECL  
 “Two students made a phone call with their own money”

- b. **Haksayng-tul-i** caki ton-ulo cikcep Seoul-ey  
 student-PL-NOM self money-with without.help Seoul-LOC  
**twu myeng** cenhwahay-ss-ta  
 two CLASS phone-PST-DECL  
 “Two students made a phone call to Seoul with their own money without any help”

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### Italian polarity fragments as elliptical structures

Approaches to nonsententials or fragments differ as to whether the seemingly absent syntactic structure is indeed present at some level of representation or not. Merchant (2004) adopts a deletion approach to simple XP fragments according to which subsentential utterances are the result of constituents moving to a left peripheral position (namely a Focus position), with an [E](llipsis) feature on a functional head triggering non-pronunciation of its complement. Evidence for this analysis is twofold: connectivity effects support full sentential structure and island effects support movement. Both kinds of evidence for Merchant's original examples have been contested (Casielles 2006, Valmala 2007, Barros 2012). Here I discuss the class of Italian fragments in (1), that I argue to support an analysis *à la* Merchant:

- (1) a. Gianni sì.  
Gianni yes.  
b. Il libro sì.  
The book yes  
c. A casa no.  
At home no  
d. Andare al mare no.  
Go to the beach no

The interpretation is as expected under the assumption of a theory of Contrastive Topics (CTop) like Büring (2003). A sentence with a CTop addresses a question that belongs to a set of questions that are part of a strategy to answer a superquestion currently under discussion. In the relevant cases, the set includes polar questions such that alternatives for the CTop substitutes for it:

- (2) a. I dottorandi sono venuti alla cena sociale?  
'Did the grad students come to the social dinner?'  
b. Gianni Sì (= Gianni<sub>CT</sub> è venuto alla cena sociale).  
'Gianni did' (= Gianni<sub>CT</sub> came to the social dinner)  
c. Gianni Sì (= Gianni<sub>CT</sub> è venuto alla cena sociale)] <sup>CT</sup> = {{ Gianni è venuto alla cena sociale] Gianni non è venuto alla cena sociale}}, { Maria è venuta alla cena sociale] Maria non è venuta alla cena sociale}}, { Luca è venuto alla cena sociale] Luca non è venuto alla cena sociale}} ... }

In analogous contexts, on the other hand, a simple fragment (interpreted as an information focus for Merchant 2004 and Brunetti 2004) is infelicitous:

- (3)
- a. I dottorandi sono venuti alla cena sociale?  
'Did the grad students come to the social dinner?'
  - b. #Gianni.  
'Gianni.'
  - c. Gianni sì.  
'Gianni came.'

Here the subquestions are not *wh*-questions on a constituent, but polar questions (Cf. Büring 2003, p. 532 for a comparable English example). To the extent that one can regard answers with *sì* and *no* as expressing polarity focus (Krifka 2001) the two cases can be assimilated.

The syntax of the Spanish equivalents of these fragments have been studied by Depiante (1999) and Vicente (2006) (fragments of the *no XP* type, also discussed by these authors, have no direct equivalent in Italian). Unlike the former, I argue that the *XP* is a Contrastive Topic rather than in a Focus position. Unlike the latter, I propose that *no* is in a Focus position, encoding the nature of answer to a polar subquestion kind (Cf. Poletto 2010 on Italian for a proposal close to mine):

- (4) [<sub>Top</sub> Gianni [ Top [<sub>FocP</sub> no [ Foc [<sub>TP</sub> ~~Gianni~~ è venuto ]]]]]]

The fragments are degraded when extracted out of strong islands, which is evidence for the view that this class of fragments is derived via movement and deletion (Merchant-style):

- (5) RELATIVE CLAUSES
- i. a. Conosci gli amici che hanno fatto un regalo a ognuno dei ragazzi?  
'Do you know the friends that gave a present to each of the kids?'
  - b. #A Gianni no.
  - ii. a. Alfredo ha votato il candidato che hanno votato i suoi colleghi?  
'Did Alfredo vote for the candidate his colleagues voted for?'
  - b. #Manfredi no.
- (6) ADJUNCTS
- i. a. Avverti tua madre prima di andare da qualche parte?  
'Do you tell your mother before you go somewhere?'
  - b. #In palestra no.  
To the gym no
  - ii. a. Gloria piange sempre quando qualcuno la rimprovera?  
'Does Gloria always cries when somebody scolds her?'
  - b. #La zia no.  
Her aunt no

(7) COMPLEX DPS

- a. Sta circolando la voce che i ragazzi vogliono lasciare la scuola?  
'Is there a rumour around that the kids wants to leave school?'
- b. #Gianni no

(8) SENTENTIAL SUBJECTS

- a. Che i ragazzi vogliono lasciare la scuola ti sorprenderebbe?  
'Would that the kids wanted to leave school surprise you?'
- b. #Gianni no

I propose that the offending movement step in (b) examples is the topicalization of CTop across island boundaries (clitic left dislocation is known to be island-sensitive, see Cinque 1990, see Cecchetto 1999 for an analysis that involve movement). Notice also that, like simpler fragments (Brunetti 2004), preposition stranding makes polarity fragments degraded:

- (9) a. Sei riuscito a parlare con i dottorandi?  
'Did you manage to talk to the grad students?'
- b. #Gianni no.
- c. Con Gianni no.  
'Not to Gianni.'

My analysis is consistent with cartographic studies that assume that in the left periphery a CTop is rigidly ordered before a Foc (Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007):

- (10) [ShiftP Aboutness-Topic [ContrP Contrastive-Topic [FocP [FamP\* Givenness-Topic [FinP [IP ... ]]]]]]

On the other hand, for approaches that do not posit sentential structure in fragments (à la Valmala 2007) the ordering restriction is unexpected.

Opinions diverge as to whether FocP in the left periphery is bound to be contrastive (Rizzi 1997) or not (Brunetti 2004), or different Foc positions exist in Italian or in related languages (Cruschina 2011). I will argue that this turns out to be immaterial to my analysis, since the domain of polarities trivially satisfies the properties attributed to contrastive focus: membership in a finite set, saliency, exhaustivity (Molnár 2002).

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### **Imagine that: Imageability affects the acquisition of noun and verb inflections**

Semantic properties of words, such as imageability or concreteness, affect their acquisition (Morrison, Chappell, & Ellis, 1997). However, the effects of semantic factors may also be related to the acquisition of grammatical language elements; it has been suggested that the acquisition of grammatical morphemes is affected by the properties of the open-class morphemes they combine with (cf. Bloom, Merkin, & Wooten, 1982). At the same time, recent research shows that semantic properties of words, such as imageability, can facilitate the retrieval and recognition of inflected forms in adults (Prado, Ullman, 2009). There is thus both theoretical and empirical motivation for examining the effects of semantic factors on the acquisition of grammatical morphemes. The present study addressed the issues by testing whether imageability, i.e. a semantic property of word stems, affects the acquisition of inflected forms of these stems.

The study used longitudinal data from the Manchester corpus (Theakston, Lieven, & Rowland, 2001) in CHILDES (12 children observed over 1 year). Cox proportional hazard regression was used to examine the effects of imageability and other predictors on the acquisition of inflected forms. Imageability ratings from the MRC psycholinguistic database (Wilson, 1988) were used (score range from 100 to 700). Further predictors were the age of acquisition of the bare stem, and maternal input frequency of the inflected form. All nouns that occurred in each child in the uninflected form were used in the analysis (total of 3560 observational units). Of these nouns, 1202 occurred in plural.

There was a strong effect of imageability on the chance of observing the plural form ( $p < 0.001$ ), even after accounting for the effects of input frequency and age of stem acquisition. A 100-point increase in imageability was associated with 1.51 to 1.81 increase in the chance of observing the plural form. A subsequent analysis using linear mixed models excluded words for which no plural was observed, and used the age of the first plural occurrence as the dependent variable. This analysis also found a significant effect of imageability, after accounting for maternal frequency and age of the first occurrence of the singular form. In verbs, the effect of imageability was significant for past tense forms only, but not for progressives and third person singular forms.

The study suggests a new perspective on the role of semantic factors in morphological acquisition. Major proposals assumed that the first open class elements that appear in combination with grammatical morphemes are semantically general (cf. Bloom et al., 1982; Pinker, 1984). The present results suggest the opposite, because highly imageable words tend to be semantically specific. At the same time, the study confirms that linguistic elements that are easy to process semantically play a special role in grammatical development. The effect is present in nouns, and to a lesser extent in verbs. Overall, the results show that semantic properties of stems affect grammatical development.

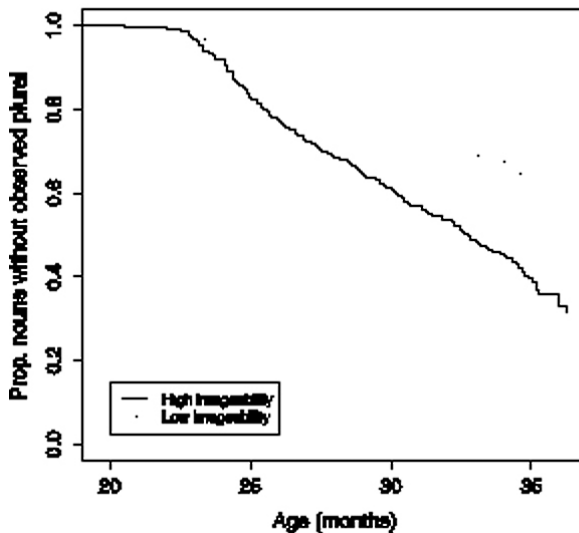


Figure 1: Estimated proportion of nouns for which plural has not yet occurred. Remaining predictors are set to the mean values: uninflected form age of acquisition...24 months, maternal frequency of plural...1. Solid line: 90th percentile on imageability. Dotted line: 10th percentile on imageability.

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### The use of gender information in lexical processing in Czech 23-month-olds: an eyetracking study

Adults use the information from determiners to guide the interpretation of content words (e. g. Dahan, Swingley, Tanenhaus & Magnuson, 2000). Children are sensitive to the presence of function words soon in the development (e. g. Shipley, Smith, Gleitman, 1969; Gerken, McIntosh, 1993), but it is not known in detail when they begin to use different aspects of grammatical information encoded in these words. Recently, it was demonstrated that children learning gender-marking languages use the gender form of articles to constrain the processing of subsequent nouns (e. g. Johnson, 2005; Lew-Williams & Fernald, 2007). The available research shows that Dutch, Spanish and French children identify words faster if they are preceded by articles in the appropriate gender form, compared to words presented after gender-mismatched articles. Such effects were demonstrated as early as 25 months in French-learning children (van Heugten, Shi, 2009).

The existing research used articles as the elements introducing gender. Some languages do not mark gender using the free articles, but use bound affixes on pronouns or adjectives that precede nouns. This raises the question of whether children in these languages use the information encoded in affixes in a similar manner to children who acquire languages with articles. Related is the question of whether children show early sensitivity to gender if the affixes encode a complex set of grammatical categories such as case, gender and number. To address this question,

the present experiment examined the effects of gender-marking suffixes on noun identification in Czech.

Thirty-three children from 21 to 24 months of age participated in the experiment. Children saw four pairs of pictures, and heard the name of one of the pictures in each pair. The name was introduced by a three-syllable demonstrative pronoun and a three-syllable adjective. Both the pronoun and the adjective included a suffix that had to agree with the subsequent noun in gender, number and case. In a half of the trials, the gender of the demonstrative and adjective matched that of the noun, in the other half, it was inappropriate.

Takový velký míč / \*taková \*velká míč.  
 Such<sub>masc</sub> big<sub>masc</sub> ball / \*such<sub>fem</sub> \*big<sub>fem</sub> ball<sub>masc</sub>

Gaze direction in children was followed using a desktop-mount eyetracker. The data were evaluated using mixed logistic models with polynomials of time as the predictor, testing the slope of the increase in looks towards the referent picture after the onset of the stimulus noun. Overall, the effect of gender match was not strong. However, when children were split according to an offline test of grammatical comprehension, the high-performing group showed faster increase in fixations to the target noun when the pronoun and adjective had the appropriate gender suffix. The results suggest that children are sensitive not only to gender in articles, but also to the gender properties of bound suffix inflections. This happens even in a language with a complex system of affixes that encodes for gender, case and number. The age of the children suggests that sensitivity to gender agreement emerges before 2 years of age for some but not all children.

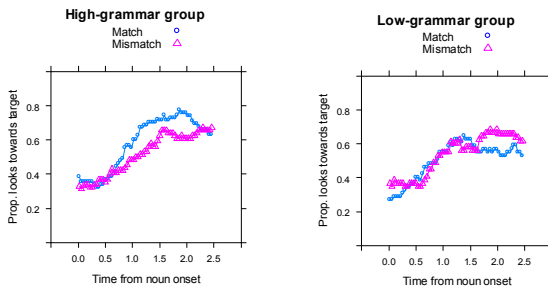


Figure 1: Proportions of looks towards the target noun in the gender-match and gender-mismatch condition. The proportion is the proportion of looks towards target over the total of looks towards target, towards the distractor, and away from the stimuli.

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### **Word order and information structure in a case-marked language: lexically advanced Czech 3-year-olds comprehend OVS sentences**

It was proposed that children's comprehension of transitive sentences is initially mediated through verb-specific patterns, i. e. that the order of agent and patient roles is represented separately for each verb (e.g. Tomasello, 1992). According to this approach, children first learn for each transitive verb whether the agent is represented sentence-initially or sentence-finally, and only later abstract a general rule. However, this approach is problematic for the acquisition of languages with case marking and variable word order. In Czech or German, for instance, subject-verb-object (SVO) is the dominant word order, but OVS sentences are possible, even though pragmatically marked.

If children show early comprehension of the transitive sentences based on case morphology, they must possess some knowledge that goes beyond verb-specific patterns. Otherwise, they would have to represent for each verb-noun combination separately which morphological form codes for the agent/subject and which for the patient/object. This “doubly item-specific” representation, however, would be in conflict with existing evidence that children can freely substitute nouns in their very early productions (e.g. Tomasello & Olguin, 1993).

The word order in transitive sentences may also be affected by information structure. Most languages express the old information sentence-initially, and the new information towards the sentence end. It is possible that children’s initial comprehension is affected by information structure more than by the agent/patient status of nouns. The present study examined the effects of word order and information structure on the comprehension of transitive sentences with case-marked nouns in Czech children.

The study examined 107 children acquiring Czech (aged 2;9 to 4;5). Children heard 12 sentences and saw two pictures with the same participants performing the same action but in the opposite roles; they were asked to point to the referent picture. Half of the sentences had SVO and half had the OVS word order, with the presentation counterbalanced so that each sentence appeared as SVO and OVS for a half of the children. Information structure was manipulated so that each sentence was preceded by context that introduced the sentence-initial or the sentence-final noun as given. Children were also presented a receptive vocabulary task.

Results were evaluated separately in children with lower and higher receptive vocabulary. Logistic mixed model analysis found significantly better performance in SVO than in OVS sentences in both groups, and no effect of information structure in either group (cf. Fig. 1). In the high-vocabulary group (mean age 3;10), the performance was above chance even in OVS sentences. Lower-vocabulary children (mean age 3;6) showed above-chance performance only in SVO sentences. The results show that Czech 3-year-olds understand transitive SVO sentences on the basis of case forms, and the 3-year-olds with high lexicon also understand noncanonical OVS sentences. The study thus provides evidence that Czech children have some lexically independent knowledge of the rules for agent/patient interpretation by 3 years of age, but that the development continues to extend to noncanonical sentences. Information structure is not major a factor in early comprehension.

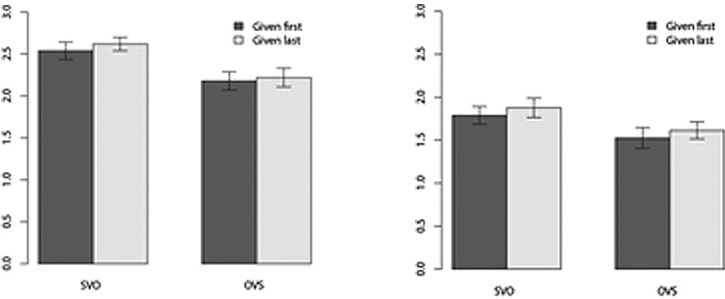


Figure 1: Numbers of correct responses in each combination of conditions separately for children with higher and lower vocabulary scores.

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## Arguments for DP-Analyses of Serbo-Croatian Nominal Expressions

Two different approaches towards the interpretation of nominal expressions in Serbo-Croatian (SC), a language without articles, are offered in linguistic literature, one of which postulates a Determiner Phrase (DP) (Progovac 1998, Leko 1999, Aljović 2002, Caruso 2011), in which SC demonstratives / anaphoric pronouns occupy DP, while the other argues for a bare nominal phrase (NP). The latter type of analyses draws support from morphological and syntactic similarities between Serbian demonstratives / anaphoric pronouns and adjectives (Žlatic 1998), typological differences between SC and languages with articles (Bosković 2008) and types of mistakes made by SC natives when in the L2 acquisition of English (Trenkić 2004). This paper offers empirical arguments in favor of the (phonologically null) DP-analyses. Firstly, SC spatial, temporal and possessive adjectives (STPA) in post-cardinal position are ambiguous between the specific and the non-specific reading, (1), whereas STPAs in pre-cardinal position have the specific reading only, (2):

- 1) **Pet sutrašnjih / njihovih prezentacija se otkazuje.**  
 (ambiguous)  
 five tomorrow's.GenPl / their.GenPl presentations. GenPl Refl cancel.Pres3Sg  
 'Five of tomorrow's / their presentations will be canceled'  
 'Tomorrow's / Their five presentations will be canceled'
- 2) **Sutrašnjih / Njihovih pet prezentacija se otkazuje.**  
 (specific)  
 tomorrow's.GenPl / their.GenPl five presentations.GenPl Refl cancel.Pres3Sg  
 'Tomorrow's / Their five presentations will be canceled'

We argue that the specific reading in (2) is obtained by the movement of the adjective to the Spec of DP:

3) [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>sutrašnjih/njihovih</sub>]<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>D'</sub> [<sub>CardP</sub> [<sub>Card'</sub> [<sub>pet</sub>] [<sub>AP</sub> [<sub>A'</sub> [<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>] [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>N'</sub> [<sub>prezentacija</sub>]]]]]]]]].

On the other hand, the bare NP analyses doesn't offer a satisfactory explanation for this phenomenon. Further, some discourse-linked (D-linked) adjectives, like ordinal numbers/adjectives (ONA) and adjectives like *isti* (the same) or *pomenuti/navedeni* (the mentioned), always precede the noun, (4), whereas the reverse order is ungrammatical, (5):

4) **drugi / naredni / isti sastanak**  
 second.NomSg next.NomSg same.NomSg meeting.NomSg  
 'the second / next / same meeting'

5) \***sastanak drugi / naredni / isti**  
 meeting.NomSg second.NomSg next.NomSg same.NomSg

In our analyses, ONAs and adjectives like *isti* and *pomenuti/navedeni* occupy the Spec of DP: [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>drugi/naredni/isti</sub>]<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>D'</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>N'</sub> *sastanak*]]]]. This interpretation predicts that the word order in (5) will be ungrammatical, uniformly with the ungrammaticality of \**meeting the* in English. Once again, the bare NP analyses lacks for adequate explanation of (5). Finally, Bošković 2008 states that left-branch extractions (LB), (6), and adjunct extractions (AE), (7), are allowed only in languages without articles:

6) **Skupa<sub>i</sub> / ta<sub>i</sub> je vidio [t<sub>i</sub> kola].**  
 Expensive / that is see car  
 'He saw an/the expensive / that car'

7) **Iz kojeg grada<sub>i</sub> je Ivan sreo [djevojke t<sub>i</sub>]?**  
 From which city is Ivan met girls  
 'Ivan met girls from which city?'

Nevertheless, we point out that some D-linked adjectives, like a STPA, or *isti* (*the same*) and *pomenuti/navedeni* (*the mentioned*), cannot be extracted from the rest of the nominal expression, (8):

8) \***Pomenuta<sub>i</sub> / \*Prošlogodišnja<sub>i</sub> je kupio [t<sub>i</sub> skupa kola].**  
 Mentioned / Last year's is bought expensive car  
 'He bought the mentioned / last year's expensive car'



Similarly, adjuncts can't be extracted from a nominal expression when any of these D-linked adjectives is present:

- 9) \*Iz kojeg grada<sub>i</sub> je Ivan upoznao [ pomenute / Markove kolege t<sub>i</sub>]  
From which city is Ivan met mentioned Marko's colleagues  
'Ivan met the mentioned / Marko's colleagues from which city'

We argue that the D-linked adjectives in (8) and (9) (*pomenute*, *Markove*) occupy the Spec of the DP, which disallows LBE and AE, similarly to languages with articles. On the basis of all the presented data and analyses, it is concluded that SC nominal expressions project a phonologically null DP, which can be occupied by D-linked elements, thus obtaining a specific reading, (2), more restricted word order, (5), and disallowing LB and AE, (8) and (9).

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### Pragmatic aspects of comment clauses in judicial discourse

While discourse markers have been addressed in numerous scholarly publications, pragmatic markers of a clausal nature seem to have received less attention, especially in the context of specialist discourse. Yet, falling under the broad category of parentheticals, comment clauses or clausal pragmatic markers (Brinton, 2008) might be of interest not only to syntactic theorists, but also discourse analysts.

Therefore, in the paper various views on the notion of *comment* will be presented, including that of Quirk *et al.* (1985), Biber *et al.* (1999) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002). More specifically, the study will focus on various realisations of comment clauses in courtroom discourse based on the transcripts of a high profile libel case. Central to the analysis will be the inventory of clauses used by the trial participants as well as their pragmatic interpretation.

Also, taking into account contextual grounding, an attempt will be made to find linkage between the most frequent *I*- and *you*-oriented comment clauses and their pragmatic functions. Consequently, the study will show that comment clauses can be approached as a discourse (performance) phenomenon and, further, that their examination in the context of courtroom interaction may provide insights into how pragmatic meanings are created in institutional settings.

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### Polysemy of verbal prefixes in Russian: conceptual structure versus syntax

I address the problem of widespread polysemy of Russian verbal prefixes and argue that different uses of a single prefix share a core meaning, specified in the lexicon. Syntax may combine the prefix with the verb in a variety of configurations. Then the conceptual meaning combines with the structural meaning component, which is a function of the syntactic position of the prefix and its structural relation with the verbal arguments.

I adopt a ‘neo-constructivist’ viewpoint where the meaning rests partly on what is brought from the lexicon and partly on the syntactic structure (cf. Borer (2005) and Ramchand (2008)). Ramchand’s ‘first phase syntax’ approach is used, where a verb may contain initiation, process and result projections, which host the corresponding thematic arguments. The lexical/superlexical distinction (Isačenko (1960), Romanova (2007), Svenonius (2004), Babko-Malaya (1999), Schoorlemmer (1995)) is crucial, where the lexical prefixes are located in the *res* (result) projection, while the superlexical prefixes are above aspect. I suggest that the prefixes are range assigners in terms of Borer (2005), attaching between the head and its complement and establishing a mapping relationship between the event and its complement (rheme).

Table (1) illustrates how the conceptual prefix meaning combines with the structure. The conceptual meaning of *do-* introduces an ordering of subevents, which then interacts with the maximality operator, *pro-* involves covering an interval on a scale, *pere-* refers to the event extending beyond the maximal point on the scale. The scale is provided by the complement selected by the verb, and can be temporal, spatial or a change of state, depending on the syntactic configuration. *Za-* refers to entering a certain location, state, or activity; while *ot-* is the reverse transition, out of a place, state, or activity.

An unprefixed, atelic, verb contains initiation and process projections, but no result. The rheme may be path, scale of change (Rappaport-Hovav, 2008), or conflated material (e.g. non-directional Z-path in Romanova (2007)). When a path or a scale is the complement, a result phrase may be formed, where the figure is the external argument traveling along the path/scale specified by the internal argument. When the rheme contains conflated material, no result projection may be formed, and the prefix is superlexical and refers to temporal dimension.

The meaning variation is determined by the inner structure of the verb. If the verb is a result verb, the prefix is in *res*, if it is a manner verb, incompatible with result, the prefix must be above aspect. For lower prefixes, the syntactic configuration is determined by the rheme type: if the verb root selects for path, the configuration is directional, if the verb lexicalizes a scale of change, the configuration is scalar. If neither, a spatial configuration, where direct object itself provides the scale, is possible for *pro-* and *pere-*.

Many verbs are flexible, compatible with either directional or scalar rheme (c.f. ‘load the hay’ / ‘load the wagon’ alternation), which results in deviations from the pattern (table 2). E.g. ‘exceed’ meaning of *pere-* is only compatible with scales that extend beyond the goal point (such as ‘warm’) and allow ‘overdo’ interpretation. Creation or cleanliness scales stop at the goal, and thus are incompatible with scale of change configuration with *pere-* while allow such configuration with other prefixes. The prefix ‘*za-*’ is only compatible with bounded location and this requirement results

in a change of state configuration with alternating roots. ‘Ot-’, on the other hand, posits stricter requirements on the state out of which the transition happens (which is generally an undesirable state), and thus directional configuration turns out preferable.

Thus the domain measured by the prefix is determined by syntax, which results in a clear correlation of the semantic distinctions with the syntactic properties.

(1) Meaning differences correlate with structural differences:

	pere-	pro-	do-	ot-	za-
	‘exceeding’	‘through’	‘up to’	‘off’ (+ -)	‘into’ (- +)
I. R(e, ground)	pere-bežatj run across	pro-bežatj run through	do-bežatj run up to	ot-bežatj run away	za-bežatj run into
II. R(e, theme)	pere-goroditj block	pro-bitj break through			
III. R(e, norm)	pere-varitj over-cook	pro-varitj cook through	do-varitj complete cooking	ot-varitj cook completely	za-varitj brew (tea)
IV. R(e, time)	pere-tancevatj over-dance	pro-tancevatj dance for a time	do-tancevatj complete dancing	ot-tancevatj stop dancing	za-tancevatj start dancing

(2) Meaning predictable from verb structure:

	pere-	pro-	do-	ot-	za-
	‘exceeding’	‘through’	‘up to’	‘off’ (+ -)	‘into’ (- +)
path	directional	directional	directional	directional	directional
lexicalized scale	change of state	change of state	change of state	change of state	change of state
conflated material	superlexical	superlexical	superlexical	superlexical	superlexical
consumption <i>eat, drink</i>	scalar amount	amount lost	scalar amount	directional	directional
alternating figure/ground	spatial	directional/ spatial	directional change of state	directional	change of state
creation	redo directional	directional	change of state	change of state directional	change of state
clean, wash dirt removal	distributive	change of state	change of state	change of state directional	change of state

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## Grammar and Pragmatics interrelations, and stylistic preferences in science popularization books for children

The study of scientific popularization for children has been enriched, in the last two decades, with a variety of works from different perspectives, among them, the research programmes from systemic-functional linguistics on the features of Scientific English in textbooks at primary and secondary schools (Christie & Martin, 2000; Martin & Veel, 1998; Halliday & Martin, 1993).

The present work consists in a comparative study of the stylistic preferences in popularization books for children written in English. It assumes a relational concept of style that refers to the correlation between characteristics of language use and a given extralinguistic context - a speaker or writer, an addressee, a specific purpose, a given period, and so on. Each context determines a different corpus of texts with a common set of linguistic options.

As befits its comparative purpose, the study focuses on young readers with different levels of the decoding skills needed to perform the passage from common

sense to scientific knowledge. On account of this, the corpus is composed of a series of books designed for children aged from five to twelve and covers different subjects of natural and social sciences.

The aim is to identify different grammatical and rhetorical options as resources out of which the authors construct, for the purpose of popularizing scientific subjects, textually “well-behaved” utterances (Leech, 1986) that facilitate the readers’ task of making sense of the texts. It analyses the interplay between choices in the grammatical level and the Principles of Textual Rhetoric (PTR) (ibid) that determines the stylistic form of the texts. In connection with this interplay, the study will describe the ways in which grammatical structures serve as means for the performance of the PTR in the exercise of stylistic choices suitable to communicate young readers the challenging subjects of science in an easier way to understand.

This work will be complemented with a study of the Interpersonal Rhetoric and the way it operates to produce effects such as arousing the interest of the addressees, calling their attention, changing their attitudes towards scientific knowledge, etc.

Finally, the results of this paper will be contrasted with those pertaining to previous studies carried on in Argentina related to scientific popularization books for children within the same range of ages.

This contribution is part of a research project called “Aspectos de la textualización de los saberes científicos” and funded by the Universidad Nacional del Sur. Likewise, it belongs to a personal research referred to different genres of scientific communication for the Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET) (Vallejos, 2004; Vallejos & Palmucci, 2012; Vallejos, & D. Palmucci, 2010).

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### On Linguistic Structure of Evaluative Meaning

This paper is based on the assumption that there is a distinction between descriptive and evaluative meanings of language structures (Hare, 1952). Whereas descriptive meanings express objective facts (*Black Ivory coffee is made from elephant dung.*), evaluative meanings convey attitudes instead (*I find Black Ivory coffee disgusting.*). This classification gained much attention over the past decade again with the rise of Web 2.0 (see Wiebe et al., 2004) and with the newly-emerged evaluative data obtained from weblogs or social networks which serve as a basis for numerous natural language processing applications, including information extraction and text categorization (see Liu, 2009).

Although there are some relevant linguistic theories dealing with evaluative meaning, e.g. appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005) or stance triangle (Du Bois, 2007), we are not aware of any systematic description of evaluative structures by means of the currently available grammatical formalisms. In the present contribution, we will use the construction grammar framework (see Fried and Östman, 2004) to describe evaluative sentences and to explore the relationship between structure, meaning and use of evaluative expressions in language, joining the growing body of constructional research concerning the expressions of subjective judgment, broadly defined (e.g. Matsumoto, 2008, Fried and Östman, 2009, Terkourafi, 2010).

The core of the study lies in the analysis of:

- polar elements, i.e. words or phrases inherently bearing a positive or negative value,
- the source, i.e. the person or entity that expresses or experiences the private state,
- the evaluated target.

Moreover, we will take into account some further aspects including the intensity of the private state or the type of the attitude expressed (see Wilson, 2008).

In this talk we pursue several goals. (i) We will explore and formalize a constructional analysis for common evaluative sentences like *I think Gandhi was a great man*. (ii) We will address a new type of construction, the Subjective Construction, and integrate it with the CxG formalism, proposing relevant attributes. A subjective frame bears the form of a common attribute value matrix. The new AVM contains not only well examined attributes (e.g. 'cat') but also new attributes assigned especially for evaluation. (iii) Finally, we will point out some commonalities and differences

between Czech and English evaluative constructions, with the emphasis on grammatical patterning of negation and evaluative idioms.

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## Boys, girls, and scissors. Semantic analysis of the Polish numeral *dwoje*

**The issue:** It has been shown that Slavic derivationally complex numerals display in their morphology shifting operators postulated in theories of Landman, 1989 a.o. and Chierchia, 1998 a.o. (Dočekal, 2012, 2013). In Polish there are several different classes of numerals counting objects: i) basic cardinal numerals (e.g. *dwaj* 'two'), ii) numerals with the suffix *-e* (e.g. *dwoje* 'two'), iii) numerals with the suffix *-k-* (e.g. *dwójka* '(a



group of) two'), iv) numerals with the suffix *-ak-* (e.g. *dwojaki* 'twosome'). Interestingly, in contrast to basic cardinal numerals, numerals with the suffix *-e* show some significant constraints in their distribution – they can combine only with pluralia tantum: (1) *dwoje nożyczek* ('two pairs of scissors'), NPs denoting immature creatures: (2) *dwoje dzieci* ('two children') or with NPs denoting collections (sums or groups) of creatures consisting of both male and female individuals: (3) *dwoje studentów* ('two students'). Thus, NPs (4) *dwaj studenci/dwie studentki* denote respectively male/female students only, while (3) denotes both male and female students. Moreover *-e* numerals cannot occur within NPs denoting collections of mature individuals of the same gender: (5) *#dwoje mężczyzn/kobiet* ('two men/women'). In all cases NPs with the *-e* numeral can have either distributive or collective interpretation: (6) *Dwoje studentów upiekło dwa ciasta* ('Two students baked two cakes') could mean either that there was a total of 4 cakes baked (distributive reading) or that there were only 2 cakes baked (collective reading).

**The framework:** The framework adopted in this paper is Landman's theory of plurality (Landman, 1989, 2000 a.o.) and it provides means for a unified analysis of all classes of Polish numerals. In this paper, however, I focus mainly on the numerals with the suffix *-e*. Building on Landman's theory I present a semantic analysis that explains their limited distribution that is complementary to basic cardinal numerals and allows for formal interpretation of both distributive and collective reading.

**The proposal:** The morphological make-up of *-e* numerals (e.g. *dw-*o*-*j*-*e**) is the following one: root-non\_cardinal\_stem-derivational\_suffix. In all classes of Polish numerals it is always the root that determines the cardinality of counted entities; different suffixes, however, specify what exactly is counted. For example, in (3) the root defines the total number of counted entities, but it is the suffix *-e* that determines that the counted atoms have to be the elements of two different sets being the intersections of the set denoting the type of counted individuals and sets denoting all male or female mature creatures. Moreover, it requires the cardinality of these two intersections to be at least 1:

- (7)  $\llbracket \text{dwoje studentów} \rrbracket = \lambda P. \exists xy : x \in *(\text{STUDENT} \cap \text{MATURE} \cap \text{MALE}) \wedge$   
 $y \in *(\text{STUDENT} \cap \text{MATURE} \cap \text{FEMALE}) \wedge |x| > 0 \wedge |y| > 0 \wedge |x \sqcup y| \geq 2 \wedge P(x \sqcup y)$   
 (8)  $\llbracket \text{dwoje studentów} \rrbracket = \lambda P. \exists xy : x \in *(\text{STUDENT} \cap \text{MATURE} \cap \text{MALE}) \wedge$   
 $y \in *(\text{STUDENT} \cap \text{MATURE} \cap \text{FEMALE}) \wedge |x| > 0 \wedge |y| > 0 \wedge |x \sqcup y| \geq 2 \wedge P(\uparrow(x \sqcup y))$   
 $\sqcup$  – a typical join or sum operator;  $\uparrow$  – a group-forming operator (Landman, 1989 a.o.)

In this analysis (7) denotes a set of properties that a sum of elements has (distributive reading), while (8) denotes a set of properties of a group of elements (collective reading). Moreover, it is now clear why (5) is awkward – one of the

intersections is an empty set, so the requirement that the cardinality of both intersections has to be at least 1 cannot be fulfilled. This would lead to the tautological truth-conditions of the whole sentences (the predicate P in the formulas would be applied to the empty set which would always result in the truth value True) that can be linked with ungrammaticality (Gajewski, 2002).

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### On cross-linguistic predictability of functionally equivalent linguistic structures: Decausativization in English, German and French as a test case for formal and functional grammars

Even in genetically closely related languages as English, German and French, there are remarkable differences in the form of certain linguistic structures denoting more or less the same state of affairs in the world. A case at hand is decausativization (cf. Schäfer, 2009, for a recent overview). (1) – (3) show that while the English examples consistently lack formal marking on the inchoative verb, the French and German equivalents behave in each case differently: (1) shows obligatory reflexive marking both in French and German, while the contexts in (2) and (3) disallow for a reflexive in German. For French, the reflexive is facultative in (2) but obligatory in (3), at least in the *passé composé*.

- (1) The door opens. / La porte s'ouvre. [Melis 1990: 27] / Die Tür öffnet *\*(sich)*.
- (2) The branch broke. / La branche s'est cassée (a cassé). [Ruwet 1972: 130] / Der Ast ist *\*(hat sich)* gebrochen.
- (3) The boat sunk. / Le bateau s'est enfoncé. [Internet] / Das Schiff ist *\*(hat sich)* gesunken.

To make matters worse, we find instances of reflexive marking paralleling (2) in French even in English, (4), while in German, a reflexive in a similar construction is strictly excluded:

- (4) [...] the point [of the spear] passed the Egyptian's head and broke itself against a stone wall. [Geniušienė 1987: 204]

It is tempting to search for general rules which would predict the structural differences and similarities surfacing in examples as (1) – (4), especially the presence or absence of the reflexive, by referring to linguistic universals in conjunction with certain specific properties of the languages involved. This is more or the less the research program followed within generative grammar e. g. by Kayne (2000), who tries to derive differences between very closely related dialects from differences in parametrical settings. Within the European structuralist tradition, on the other hand, it

has been claimed (e.g. Heger, 1990) that the only way to map structures of one language onto structures of another language is via conceptual representations, commonly termed *tertium comparationis*.

In the presentation, I will review several more or less recent studies on decausativization in order to determine if they facilitate cross-linguistic predictions concerning the appearance of a reflexive in a target language structure. The aim is to verify, if we fare better on a “universals and parameters” approach in the style of generative grammar or if a functional grammar style analysis referring to conceptual structures and markedness-conditions is needed. The findings will be that the reviewed generative studies either are based on extremely abstract structures which grossly overgenerate concrete language structures (e.g. Aboiu, Barrie & Frigeni, 2004; Reinhart & Siloni, 2005; Labelle & Doron, 2010), or make reference to arbitrary lexical features which cannot be predicted from other properties of the languages under scrutiny (e.g. Everaert, 1986; Chierchia, 2004). In both cases, no cross-linguistic predictions whatsoever can be formulated. “Functionalism” approaches, on the other hand, rely on scalar concepts without sharp boundaries (Nedjalkov, 1969; Haspelmath, 1993; 2008; Nedjalkov 2011) or grammaticalization paths (König & Siemund, 2000; Siemund, 2010), which may not have led to consistent patterns in a given language. Even though no precise predictions concerning concrete cases of decausativization can be formulated within such frameworks either, they at least allow statistically relevant prognoses.

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## Language acquisition as a vantage point

The contextual setting of language acquisition is fundamental in studying grammatical structures of all languages. It entails a verbally experienced interlocutor (mother or caretaker) and an unexperienced interlocutor, the child, who has limited memory capacity and productive skills (Tomasello 2003).

This intitial pragmatically reduced complexity of the child's utterances reveals core structures worth investigating since they can be conceived as layers of the adult speaker's grammatical system full of highly complex and nearly intangible interrelations.

In my presentation I am going to prove the above mentioned finding with corpus-driven data from the Hungarian language acquisition process. In the synchronic view of the two Hungarian conjugations (which do not base on the phonological character of the verb stem as in most Indo-European languages but have functions to refer either to indefinite objects or to definite objects) the distribution of indefinte and definite objects seems to be illogical: first and second person objects (the most salient

and graspable speech participants) belong to the first, the indefinite conjugation (Lyons 1999). Third person objects (*him/her, them*, reflexive pronouns and the *Vous*-form) accordingly belong to the definite conjugation as a result the following questions (only to choose a few) may arise: why the speech participants as objects are taken indefinite in the synchronic view? Why third person *Vous*-form (entailing distance, politeness and respect to denote the interlocutor other than the speaker) is thus viewed as definite compared to the more familiar (indefinite) *Tu*-form?

My presentation is aimed at demonstrating that the basic functions that the Hungarian conjugations grammaticalized is *not* agreement with object-definiteness as seen synchronically but rather a common view of the world's entities shared by the interlocutors: a vehicle to profile certain entities (objects) in the foreground of the common understanding of a situation (Hopper–Thompson 1985).

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## **Variability in phonetic realization of the demonstrative *ten* in terms of its informational relevance in the sentence**

Functional words are commonly reduced in spontaneous speech, often in a rather drastic manner. Moreover, some reduced variants do not resemble their full forms but in a single vowel, and still we can understand them. Reduced forms of functional words are thus a very valuable source of knowledge both about speech variation and language development (frequently used words generally become shorter and phonetically “less salient” in time [1]).

Among functional words in Czech, the pronoun *ten* (*this/that*, possibly *the*) is to be given special attention, particularly because of its ambiguous word-class status. Traditionally described as a demonstrative pronoun, some of its aspects imply that considering it a definite article might be a reasonable option as well: it is widely used in contexts where typical demonstratives are not, it is deprived of the ability to convey deictic meaning and it is mainly used textually [2]. Moreover, from the history of languages which possess articles we know that definite articles mostly derive from adnominal demonstratives. Formally, this development is almost regularly accompanied by the reduction in phonetic material and the lost of the potential to bear stress [3, 4].

Zíková & Skarnitzl, 2010 [5] analyzed some of the prosodic aspects of *ten* and found a correlation between the degree of prosodic salience (expressed mainly as a

pitch step from the first syllable of the demonstrative to the first syllable of the subsequent word) and the position of *ten* in the informational structure of the sentence: the pitch difference was greater when the demonstrative was placed in the rhematic part of the sentence than when it stood in the thematic part of the sentence. These findings actually correspond to our knowledge about contextual origins of definite articles – at least in some languages they are claimed to occur in thematic position first [3].

The present study further develops this line of research, focusing on segmental reduction (segment weakening, segment elision etc.) of the word *ten* in formal semi-spontaneous dialogues. Segmental reductions are analyzed by means of articulatorily, perceptually and acoustically based phonetic features [6] which might but need not be present in the realization of the given segment (e.g. [tẽ] or [tɛn] instead of canonical pronunciation [tɛn]). The study aims at presenting a typology of reduced forms of the demonstrative and relating the types and degrees of its reduction to its informational relevance in the sentence.

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### Templates in Czech? Evidence from Diminutives

The goal of this paper is to show that templates which are traditionally assumed to be a characteristic feature of the Afro-Asiatic languages are active in Czech as well. Templatic activity in Czech, which controls distribution of vowel length in certain morphosyntactic categories, has been already identified by Scheer (2001, 2003) and



Bethin (2003). In this paper I focus on vowel lengthening in diminutives and argue that it is also of templatic nature. Masculine diminutives are derived by two suffixes which differ in vowel length: a short *-ek* and a long *-i:k*. (1a) shows that *ek*-suffixation is accompanied by lengthening of the preceding vowel. In *i:k*-diminutives, on the other hand, neither lengthening nor shortening occurs (1b).

- (1) a. bera:n-ek (< beran), kli:p-ek (< klep), debi:l-ek (< debil), obchu:d-ek (< obchod)  
 b. obličej-i:k (< obličej), bič-i:k (< bič); olta:ř-i:k (< olta:ř), še:f-i:k (< še:f)

Although Czech grammars claim that lengthening in diminutives is unpredictable, in fact three phonologically well-defined patterns can be identified. Bases which end in a singleton consonant lengthen rather regularly (2a). Lengthening of bases ending in consonant clusters, on the other hand, depends on their phonotactics. Vowels followed by clusters with falling sonority (RT) do not lengthen at all (2b). By contrast, bases whose final clusters are of increasing sonority (TR) do lengthen but differently from bases in (2a): it is not the last vowel of the base that lengthens, but an epenthetic vowel which is inserted inside the TR (2c).

- (2) a. VC > VVC-ek      kli:d-ek (< klid), modi:l-ek (< model), župa:n-ek (< župan)  
 b. VRT > VRT-ek      flirt-ek, koncert-ek, diamant-ek  
 c. VTR > VTVVR-ek      cukl:r-ek (< cukr), hadi:r-ek, (< hadr), kufi:r-ek (< kufr)

Since quantity is distributed freely in Czech and lengthening before the suffix *-ek* is restricted just to diminutives, I claim that in this case lengthening is controlled by the template which is generally defined as a rigid connection between a certain portion of the morphosyntactic structure and a certain portion of the prosodic structure (McCarthy, 1979).

The analysis of the phonological structure of diminutives that I propose is based on two main assumptions: 1. final consonants are onsets of empty nuclei (cf. Kaye 1990), 2. affixes fall in a cyclic and a non-cyclic group (cf. Halle & Vergnaud, 1987). I argue that the diminutive template scopes over two syllables at the suffix boundary from which at least one must be heavy. This explains why the suffix *-i:k* has no impact on the preceding vowel: its long vowel constitutes the heavy syllable, short vowels thus have no reason to lengthen and long vowels could be preserved. On the contrary, the suffix *-ek* differs from the *-i:k* in two ways. First, its vowel appears in the light syllable because its final consonant is an onset of the final empty nucleus: /-e.kø/. Second, the *-ek*, but not *-i:k* is a cyclic affix which means that the phonological structure of *ek*-diminutives is derived in two cycles: [[base]-ek] vs. [base-i:k]; see also Ziková (2009). In the VC- or VRT-base cycle, nothing happens phonologically: both VC and VRT are legitimate word final strings in Czech. In the next, i.e. diminutive cycle,

the template is activated which requires at least one heavy syllable. The short vowel in a VRT-base is followed by a coda, hence its syllable is heavy: [(VR.Te).kø]. This is the reason why VRT-bases never lengthen. By contrast, the syllable of the short vowel in VC-bases is light; the vowel thus lengthens in order to meet the heavy-syllable restriction: [(V.Ce).kø] > (VV.Ce).kø]. Finally, VTR-bases differ from the previous two types in the fact that TRs, i.e. branching onsets, are ungrammatical word-finally. Czech employs two repair strategies to eliminate such final branching onsets: either the final sonorant becomes syllabic or an epenthetic *e* breaks down the cluster. In the base cycle of *ek*-diminutives, the latter process, i.e. epenthesis, is always applied: [V.TR] > [V.TeR]. In the next cycle the epenthetic vowel then lengthens in order to create a heavy syllable, i.e. it behaves in the same way as short vowels in VC-bases do: [(Te.Re).kø] > [(Ti:.Re).kø].

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# Posters

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## Creativity and Innovation in Word Formation by Japanese Youth

The language used by young speakers, in English variously referred to as *youth language*, *teenage talk* or *adolescent speech*, started drawing the attention of linguists as well as the wider public in the 1980s. Young people (at least in modern, post-industrial societies) have been proven to often initiate and propagate language changes, and numerous studies indicate that various youth languages share a number of characteristic features (e.g. Radtke, 1992; Albrecht, 1993; Zimmermann, 1993). These include a creative and innovative approach to language, playfulness and originality, the tendency to create short, brisk, semantically rich expressions, the frequent use of a limited number of favourite evaluative adjectives, exaggeration and semantic intensification, overuse of vague expressions, high expressivity, simplified syntax, and collaborative interaction.

Characterised by rich diversity and rapid development, young people's vocabulary has received most careful attention. Youth language strongly features lexical innovations utilizing word-formation and morphophonological processes, and also the creation of neologisms, new metaphors and meaning shifts (e.g. Walter, 1993; Yonekawa, 1994–95, 1998, 2009; Eble, 1996; Androutsopoulos, 1998a, b; Barešová – Zawiszová, 2012). Much vocabulary used either in standard language or colloquially by older generations is perceived by younger generations as old-fashioned and inexpressive. Therefore, in order to enhance communication they do not limit themselves to existing language norms and create new expressions that are fresh, unconventional, and interesting. While the particular expressions generally change very quickly, the processes by which they are created are of much longer duration.

This poster presents several productive word-formation processes typical of contemporary Japanese youth language. These include both innovative uses of traditional word-formation processes (such as blending Japanese and English adjectives of the same meaning, clipping adjectives and phrases, and derivation of verbs from proper nouns) as well as new methods, such as, for example, substitution of part of a Japanese word or phrase with an English word or morpheme. New

expressions often result from a combination of several word-formation processes and a particularly popular expression tends to inspire numerous other expressions based on the same formation method. The processes will be described in respect to motivations and effects, showing how young Japanese speakers can create fresh, original and often more expressive words that are generally short but semantically rich.

The data and examples used herein are from the corpus collected in 2011 for the purpose of analysing contemporary Japanese youth language (see Barešová – Zawiszová, 2012). The data collection methods included audio recordings of young Japanese speakers' spontaneous face-to-face conversations, their textual conversational interactions on selected social networking sites and blogs, and their assessment of word lists created on the bases of Japanese youth language dictionaries and secondary literature on the subject.

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### **Humor in Eigennamen**

Die Eigennamen als wesentlicher Bestandteil des Wortschatzes werden gelegentlich zum Medium der Komik. Ihre Autoren nutzen dabei verschiedene Prinzipien: am häufigsten spielen sie mit der „Bedeutung“ der Eigennamen und behandeln sie als Appellative, oder nutzen wenigstens den Sinn ihrer Vorbilder aus dem Bereich der Appellative (literarische Namen). Daneben entsteht unbeabsichtigte Komik, die auf Kompetenzmangel oder sprachliche Fehlleistungen zurückzuführen ist. Die Namen werden verwechselt, verballhornt, falsch übersetzt, desinterpretiert (mondegreen, soramimi), durch Interferenz fehlerhaft gebildet. Ausser Personennamen im weitesten Sinne (Pseudonyme, Spitznamen, Kombinationen von Ruf- und Familiennamen) und Ortsnamen (Übernamen, Verwechslung) unterliegen solcher sprachlichen Behandlung auch Chrematonyme, Markennamen u.a. Diesem Aspekt der Eigennamen wurde bisher wenig Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Im Beitrag werden konkrete Beispiele für einzelne Typen von Namenwitz angeführt. Da das Phänomen Humor in Eigennamen marginal vorkommt, entspringt das Sprachmaterial einer langzeitigen Lese (Beobachtung, Umfragen) und beschränkt sich nicht auf eine Sprache, zumal das „Umschalten“ zwischen zwei Sprachen eine der Quellen komischer Wirkung darstellt.

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### **Pre-vocalic glottalization vs resyllabification in regional varieties of Czech (work in progress)**

Word-initial vowels in Czech continuous speech can optionally be delimited from the preceding segment by glottalization (Palková, 1997). The form of this delimitation can range from full glottal stops [ʔ] to various kinds of non-modal phonation (creaky voice, aperiodicity, etc.) (Skarnitzl in Palková, 2004), and its frequency, as an alternative to hiatus and resyllabification, can vary significantly in actual speech. Volín (2012) found

that the combined factors of speech style (read vs semi-spontaneous) and gender can produce differences in glottalization rates as big as 41% (male, unprepared dialogue) vs 97% (female, read speech). However, the research of glottalization phenomena in other languages has presented conflicting results as to the role of gender (see Redi and Shattuck-Hufnagel (2001) for an overview), and other factors have been found important, most notably phrasal position and prominence (Dilley, Shattuck-Hufnagel, and Ostendorf, 1996; Garellek, 2012), segmental context (preceding segment and target vowel), speech rate (Pompino-Marschall, and Žygis 2010), and word frequency (Umeda 1978). Some of these factors have also been examined for Czech (e.g. Pavelková, 2001), others remain yet to be evaluated.

One aspect, however, has often been assumed to play a significant role in the frequency of glottalization in Czech, without actually being experimentally tested, and that is the aspect of dialect (cf. Volín, 2012). Speakers from Bohemia have by some been said to glottalize word-initial vowels much more often than speakers from Moravia (e.g. Hála, 1962; Vachek, 1968), however, others (e.g. Bělič, 1972) consider the regional differences to be far less significant than the differences caused by speech rate and style.

The impression of higher resyllabification rates in Moravia can possibly be supported by the fact that Moravian speakers of Czech are also said to use voice assimilation patterns different from those of Bohemian and Common Czech speakers. The voiced production of final obstruents (e.g. *pět oken* [pjɛd\_ɔkɛn]), which is considered Moravian dialect (Palková, 1997), could be more easily recognized as not glottalized, as opposed to the potential resyllabification of a voiceless final obstruent in Bohemian Czech (e.g. *pět oken* [pjɛt\_ɔkɛn]), even though the actual rate of glottalization might be the same.

The present research examines the differences in the rates and temporal characteristics of glottalization vs resyllabification in the speech of Bohemian and Moravian speakers, while controlling some of the factors mentioned above, namely the speech style (read speech), segmental and lexical context (back vowels are more frequent at the beginnings of common Czech words than front vowels (Volín, 2012)), and strength of phrasal boundary.

Preliminary observations show that certain syntactic constituents (clause boundaries) cause the production of pauses before target vowels, which usually leads to automatic insertion of full glottal stops (Palková, 1997), so that the stimuli have to be carefully adjusted as to produce continuous speech with the opportunity for resyllabification. However, the voice onset in vowels after pause is not without interest, since for other languages, the insertion of glottal stops in front of these vowels has been observed to be far from automatic (e.g. only 64% of word-initial vowels were glottalized after pause in English (Dilley, Shattuck-Hufnagel, and Ostendorf, 1996)),

which should not be overlooked in the interpretation of glottalization in continuous speech.

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## Developing a longitudinal corpus of learners' native and non-native speech

The aim of this poster is to describe the initial stages of developing a longitudinal bilingual corpus of learners' native and non-native speech. Speech production and/or perception data are often collected for a single purpose, which makes it possible to adjust the data elicitation to the research question. However, precisely because such

probes are designed for a single particular purpose, they cannot be used more universally.

Similarly, longitudinal corpora are less common because their creation is demanding, but they help make stronger conclusions about language experience effects. Moreover, when the corpus is bilingual it is possible to study bidirectional interactions between the first language (L1) and the second language (L2) for one individual over time. There is ample evidence of L1 interference in L2, and a growing body of research (earlier studies include Flege & Eiting 1987 and Sancier & Fowler 1997), inspired by Flege's (1995) Speech Learning Model, documents influence of L2 on L1 (see also Pavlenko 2000 for a review). To understand interrelations of an individual's L1 and L2 sound system development, a longitudinal bilingual corpus is invaluable.

To make it possible to study the relationship between perception and production at different stages of L2 acquisition, our database will include data about perception. Listerri (1995) reviews studies examining the relation between perception and production; the mainstream view is that in L2 acquisition, perception precedes production, in other words that second language learners are not able to produce as distinct sounds what they are not able to distinguish perceptually.

Admittedly, the desired universality of the corpus is difficult to achieve. This is why we intend to use different elicitation procedures covering L2 as thoroughly as possible while establishing L1 baseline. Wordlist reading will ensure eliciting all major consonantal allophones as well as vowels in both stressed and unstressed syllables and in different consonantal contexts. To study suprasegmentals such as rhythmical or melodic properties of speech, it is necessary to include also reading of a short standardized passage. Both wordlist and passage reading require prior familiarization to lower the risk of speech disfluencies. Finally, the production data will be supplemented by recordings of spontaneous speech, as an irreplaceable source of natural production. Recordings will be transcribed and annotated in the EMU interface (Cassidy & Harrington 2001) adhering strictly to the segmentation rules defined by Machač & Skarnitzl (2009).

It is even more challenging to obtain multi-purpose perception data. To map L2 learners' vowel categories in both L1 and L2, identification tasks of the whole vowel space will be used, involving both vowel spectrum and duration as variables. Tests of perception of consonants need to be designed more specifically: perception of syllable-onset voicing (Voice Onset Time) as well as coda voicing (vowel duration) is especially of interest because of the differences between English and Czech.

Participants will be recruited among university students receiving scholarships for short-term study in English-speaking countries (3 months to 1 year). Testing will take place before departure, after return, and after a longer period back in the L1 environment. Participants will complete online questionnaires at regular



intervals mapping their L2 and L1 use, motivation, and other potentially relevant factors (see Piske et al. 2000).

The longitudinal bilingual corpus will allow us to make acoustic measurements of selected phenomena both in the temporal and the frequency domain. The non-native speech can also be presented to native English listeners for foreign-accent ratings.

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### Deutsch als eine plurizentrische, plurinationale oder pluriareale Sprache Europas

Die deutsche Sprache ist eine plurizentrische/plurinationale Sprache, weil sie mehrere nationale Sprachzentren aufweist. Insgesamt umfasst Deutsch drei nationale Zentren: ein Zentrum bildet Deutschland und zwei weitere stellen Österreich und die deutschsprachige Schweiz dar. Außerdem gibt es noch die sogenannten Halbzentren der deutschen Sprache in Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Bozen-Südtirol und Ostbelgien.

Die Problematik der plurizentrischen/plurinationalen Auffassung der deutschen Sprache blieb jahrelang sowohl von der breiten Öffentlichkeit als auch von der Sprachwissenschaft wenig beachtet. Hand in Hand mit der politischen Umstellung Europas und mit dem Beitritt Deutschlands und Österreichs zu der Europäischen Union steht dieses Thema immer häufiger im Mittelpunkt wissenschaftlicher Diskussionen.

Das vorgestellte Poster beschäftigt sich mit der heutigen Auffassung der deutschen Sprache. Es werden einzelne Etappen dieser Entwicklung beschrieben, d. h. von einer monozentrischen bis zu einer pluriarealen Auffassung des Deutschen. Am Beispiel der deutschen Sprache in Österreich wird auch die Einstellung der Österreicher zu ihrer Muttersprache behandelt.

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#### **Contemporary Distribution of Verbs *start* and *begin***

Origins of the verbs *start* and *begin* vary; however, today they are used as synonyms and they occur with comparable frequency. Moreover they can be both followed by either infinitive or gerund. As Randolph Quirk (1974: 66-67) said “there ought to be a big award for anyone who can describe exactly what makes him say 'I started to work' on one occasion and 'I started working' on another”. The situation is even more complex, because we can also use 'I began to work' and 'I began working'. Since absolute synonymy in language does not exist, it is crucial to define the differences that delimit and specify these two verbs and their complementation.

This topic has been already approached from both diachronic (Mair, 2004) and synchronic point of view (Duffley, 1999) and even the semantics of the verbs themselves has been taken into consideration (Schmid, 1996), however, far too little attention has been paid to the semantics of the subject and of the following verb. In my pilot study I am going to examine these through corpora COCA and BNC. Apart from this I am also going to apply the following criteria. The first criterion will be the type of register in which these verbs occur, i.e. spoken versus written language, but also genres spanning from academic English, English of news magazines or fiction. And the second distinction will be made between two varieties of English, British and American.

All these findings combined together shall serve to foreshadow the direction of the future distribution of these two verbs. It may also help to predict the winner of this three-hundred-year-long language competition, if there is any; or rather predict the functional specialization of these two verbs.

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### **Indirectness as a creative skill in pragmatic research: Corpus-based analysis of the language of American television series**

In the process of communication, speakers make linguistic choices that either directly or indirectly reflect their goals. The hearer consequently interprets such choices and makes sense of them. The use of indirectness is one of the factors that play a decisive role in how easy or difficult the interpretation is.

Built on a hypothesis that the degree of indirectness is genre-specific and should be interpreted as such, this paper puts forward a claim that, in the chosen genre of fictional television comedy series, it is the wish to elicit humor and to entertain the viewers that governs linguistic choices, including the use of indirectness.

To support the claim, the paper first discusses the notion of indirectness as such. A brief commentary is then provided on the general pragmatic particularities of the text under discussion, followed by a more in-depth analysis of the cases of indirectness. An attempt is made to classify these cases into categories based on the degree of indirectness in order to define the motivations for their use.

The paper reaches the conclusion that the main motivation for the use of indirectness in the given genre is the production of humor, entertainment, novelty and interestingness – features that should attract the audience and invite it to actively participate in the co-creation of meaning, which, if successful, becomes an immense source of pleasure and reward for the hearer. Indirectness is, however, rightly considered costly and risky in the sense that if the other person is not able to interpret what is indirectly said, the process of communication fails.

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## Entre redes y quienes anda el juego

Las Tecnologías de la Información y la Comunicación (TICs) han propiciado cambios en las formas de comunicarnos y relacionarnos en la sociedad. El lenguaje se amolda a estos nuevos medios para producir nuevas formas de interrelación, nuevos usos teniendo en cuenta la influencia electrónica del medio, lo que ha provocado que los usuarios exploten todas sus posibilidades de expresión modificando la conducta lingüística previa y poniendo en tela de juicio algunas cuestiones tan importantes como el equilibrio entre el lenguaje escrito y el lenguaje oral.

Internet, el teléfono móvil, los chats, el Messenger, Tuenti, Twitter o Facebook constituyen el corpus de comunicación de los jóvenes y ya no tan jóvenes, a tenor de los últimos estudios, al que recurren a diario con total naturalidad para buscar información, estudiar, investigar, mantener contactos y crear redes sociales en el espacio virtual.

Por otra parte, la velocidad con la que se transmite y se recibe la información, ha alterado sustancialmente nuestra percepción cultural del tiempo y el espacio y, ha cambiado totalmente, el propio concepto de “comunicación” hasta el

punto de que más que intercambios de contenidos, la comunicación ha pasado a concebirse como una toma de contacto, efímera y contingente como el medio en que se desenvuelve.

Internet posibilita el uso de varias herramientas de comunicación en tiempo real (sincrónicas) y en tiempo diferido (asincrónicas) que pueden estar provocando que el proceso natural del lenguaje en las sociedades se esté acelerando cada vez más. El lenguaje se amolda a los nuevos medios para producir nuevas formas de interrelación, nuevos usos de llamada comunicación mediada por ordenador y nuevos códigos lingüísticos que les sirvan.

Este estudio trata de dar cuenta de ello y analiza el lenguaje empleado en esos medios de comunicación, en concreto, en los programas informáticos y páginas web más utilizados en Internet: El *Messenger*, foros y redes sociales. Se pretende mostrar con ello las características y procedimientos lingüísticos propios de este lenguaje en los diferentes idiomas de la Romania, incidiendo en las diferencias, pero sobre todo en las semejanzas que muestran que se están produciendo fenómenos casi universales en este *lenguaje online*.

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### **Embodied simulations or entries in the mental lexicon? Abstract concepts in the language and gesture of blind and visually impaired children.**

Despite a plethora of research on the subject, the human capacity for abstract thought remains a mystery. We may know brain activation patterns evoked by the word love, but we are far from understanding how it is conceptualized. Research demonstrates that a vast majority of abstract concepts in language and gesture is represented in concrete terms (Cienki & Müller, 2008; Lakens, 2010; Lakoff, 1987), and many abstract subjects, including communication, are commonly described as sensorimotor experiences (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Szwedek, 2002). We speak about *hurtful* words and *force* of argumentation, as if speech had a physical effect; communication is defined as *exchange* of information, as if meaning was an object handed over to an interlocutor. In general, everyday metaphorical language suggests that abstract

concepts are understood in terms of concrete experience. However, there are two competing explanations regarding the possible conceptualization mechanism.

Casasanto (2010) suggests that we speak about abstract concepts in concrete terms because humans use brain circuits designed to deal with the physical world to understand both physical and non-physical concepts via a process called exaptation (Gould & Vrba, 1982). Understanding abstract concepts would be, therefore, based on the existing mental representations of concrete concepts and exhibited in metaphorical language. On the other hand, mirror neuron theories claim that language and thought depend on sensorimotor simulations, so that the same circuits are activated when we perform an action and when we think (or speak) about it (Arbib, 2006; Fogassi & Ferrari, 2007; Rizzolatti & Craighero, 2004). Evidence for this theory can be sought in correspondences between language and gesture. To compare both theories we looked at the representation of abstract and concrete concepts in the language and gesture of blind and severely visually impaired children. We searched for correspondences between their descriptions of different concepts: both in terms of metaphorical language used and exhibited gesture. Results indicate abstract and concrete concepts are primarily explained using concrete, sensory based language, with participants using descriptors from a variety of sensorimotor domains, including hearing, touch, movement and, to a lesser extent, vision (with the notable absence of smell). The congenitally blind participants in their descriptions of abstract concepts relied on reenacting (simulations of) real life situations rather than metaphorical language. Our preliminary findings imply that understanding of abstract phenomena need not be based on a mental lexicon type network of concrete concepts. The presence of simulations in the descriptions of both types of concepts suggests an involvement of the sensorimotor cortex, in addition to or instead of a semantic network structure.

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## The role of information structure in Czech possessive constructions

The paper investigates the expression and functional properties of possessive constructions in Czech. The main target of the presentation is to compare semantics and pragmatics of two types of possessive constructions: the internal possessor (IP, attributive possessor) and the external possessor (EP) constructions. More specifically, I will examine the functional properties of the distinct possessor forms (IP vs. EP) in terms of frequency, semantic roles and information structure. Based on the data from the Czech National Corpus (Syn2000, Syn2005, Syn2010) I claim that the actual usage of one or the other possessor type in Czech is not only determined by specific semantic and pragmatic features of constructional elements, ie. the predicate, the PR and the PM (cf. Haspelmath 1999, Fried 2009), but it is also related to the information status of the PR.

The EP construction (terminology based on Payne & Barshi 1999) is a cross-linguistically attested type of construction in which the possessor (PR) and the possessum (PM, nominal possessed by the possessor) do not form a single noun phrase constituent (1a, 2a), opposed to the IP construction (1b, 2b) with the direct syntactic relation between the PR and the PM.

- (1) CZECH
- |    |  |              |                   |                   |
|----|--|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| a. | <i>Matka</i>   | <i>myje</i>  | <i>dítěti</i>     | <i>vlasý.</i>     |
|    | Mother:NOM:SG:FEM  | wash:PRS:3SG | child:DAT:SG:NEUT | hair:ACC:PL:MASC  |
|    | “The mother washes the child’s hair.” (lit. The mother washes hair on the child”). |              |                   |                   |
| b. | <i>Matka</i>   | <i>myje</i>  | <i>vlasý</i>      | <i>dítěte.</i>    |
|    | Mother:NOM:SG:FEM  | wash:PRS:3SG | hair:ACC:PL:MASC  | child:GEN:SG:NEUT |
|    | “The mother washes the child’s hair.”  |              |                   |                   |



(2) CZECH

- a. *Matka*                      *mu*                      *myje*                      *vlasý.*  
Mother:NOM:SG:FEM      3SG:DAT              wash:PRS:3SG      hair:ACC:PL:MASC  
“The mother washes his hair.” (lit. The mother washes hair on him.”.)
- b. *Matka*                      *myje*                      *jeho*                      *vlasý.*  
Mother:NOM:SG:FEM      wash:PRS:3SG      his                      hair:ACC:PL:MASC  
“The mother washes his hair.”

I will present an analysis and show how information status properties of the PR interact with other semantic and pragmatic properties of EP constructions in Czech. Principally, I will test the hypothesis whether the Czech external possessors tend to systematically avoid the most prominent (final) position of the information structure, ie. whether they tend to be frequently used in a non-focal position. If the empirical data support the hypothesis, functional explanations for the possessive expressions can finally be suggested, especially, for the form of the pronominal IP & EP possessive constructions (pronominal EPs are prototypically second position clitics (2a), pronominal IPs (2b) are prenominal).

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### Synchronic and Diachronic Analysis of Marginal Modals in English

The paper studies the English verbs *dare*, *need*, *ought to*, *have to*, *have got to* and *used to*, which are frequently referred to as marginal modals, quasi-modals or semi-auxiliaries. This rather vague group includes elements with different history, meaning and grammatical properties. Whereas some are descendants of preterite-presents, others originated as lexical verbs. The group is also heterogeneous in terms of semantics of the elements – for example *dare* or *used to*, in contrast to the other verbs, do not have modal meanings, and at the same time, other semantically synonymous elements exhibit different syntactic properties, such as *must*, *have to* and *have got to*. The paper explores grammatical behavior of these verbs with respect to their morphological and syntactic properties – i.e. the NICE properties (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002) in contemporary English, and furthermore, it analyzes their historical development. Despite the fact that various linguistic manuals tend to present these verbs as one group, the paper shows and stresses that each member of this set is highly idiosyncratic.

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### Research methods of thematic development in spoken discourse

This contribution deals with various methods suitable for the research of thematic development issue. The aim of this paper is to present options in the research of theme-rhematic line in spontaneous spoken dialogues.

Material for analysis consists of Czech and English dialogues based on authentic social interaction between at least two people. Participants of the dialogues are native speakers, so we are also able to compare the suitability of methods for thematic development research in two languages: Czech and English.

The analysis of thematic structure of dialogues will be realized by the means of three frameworks. The first method was introduced by Daneš (1968, 1974) and it has been known as the concept of thematic progressions (TPs). The methodology is based on defining the theme as 'what the speaker is talking about' and the rheme as 'what has been said about the theme'. Daneš classified five basic types of TPs, but this framework was formed primarily for prepared well-organized texts. We would like to verify the applicability of Daneš's concept to spontaneous dialogues.

As the second method to analyze thematic development Maynard's concept (1986) will be introduced. In her approach the themes and the thematic chunks are analyzed in order to account for the interactional aspects of conversation.

The author of the third framework for revealing thema-rhematic development is Leong (2005) who proposed a special apparatus for dialogues. His conception is based on the combination of Hallidayian (1976) approach to the theme as well as Danešian concept of TPs. The specificity of his approach consists in close attention paid to rhematic development of texts. Leong proposed to introduce a different typology of thematic development in spontaneous dialogues.

The results obtained from applying these three methods are compared and described in detail. The paper presents not only terminological and methodological differences, but, as mentioned above, the suitability of methods for thematic development research in Czech and English spoken language.

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### An argument for *wh*-fronting in DPs

The talk explores *wh*-fronting in DPs and argues that *wh*-words are not merged to SpecDP (see for example Adger, 2004), but that they are moved to the position. Using Slovenian data I will show that *wh*-words move to SpecDP to check the [+*wh*] feature (and not the [+*focus*] feature, as they do in Slovenian IPs (see Mišmaš, 2012)).

The talk builds on an assumption that Slovenian can have a DP layer (following Progovac, 1998, contra Bošković, 2008). The basic word order in Slovenian DPs is shown in (1) and (2), while (3) shows that different adjectives have different corresponding *wh*-words:

- |     |   |                    |             |               |             |   |
|-----|---|--------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---|
| (1) | <i>Tisti</i>                                    | <i>prvi Majin</i>  | <i>rdeč</i> | <i>nemški</i> | <i>avto</i> |   |
|     | That  | first Maja's       | red         | German        | car         |   |
| (2) | Dem>Num>A POSSESSOR>A COLOR>A ORIGIN/NATION > N |                    |             |               |             |   |
| (3) | <i>Čigav</i>                                    | <i>kakšen</i>      |             | <i>kateri</i> |             | N |
|     | whose POSSESSOR                                 | what-kind-of COLOR |             | which ORIGIN  |             | N |

Any of the *wh*-phrases can be fronted in the DP, shown below for *kakšen* 'what-kind-of', (4), and the numeral *wh*-word *kateri*, (5), but crucially: when a demonstrative is present in the DP, a *wh*-word cannot be fronted, as shown in (6).

- |     |                     |              |                     |                     |               |
|-----|---------------------|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| (4) | <i>Kakšen</i>       | <i>Majin</i> | <i>nemški</i>       | <i>avto?</i>        | <i>(Rdeč)</i> |
|     | what-kind-of        | Maja's       | German              | car                 | (Red)         |
| (5) | <i>Kateri Majin</i> | <i>rdeč</i>  | <i>nemški avto?</i> | <i>(Prvi)</i>       |               |
|     | Which Maja's        | red          | German car          | (First one)         |               |
| (6) | <i>*Kakšen</i>      | <i>tisti</i> | <i>prvi Majin</i>   | <i>nemški avto?</i> | <i>(Rdeč)</i> |
|     | What-kind-of        | that         | first Maja's        | German car          | (Red)         |

The ungrammaticality of (6) can be explained using Giusti's (1993, see Bernstein, 2001) proposal that demonstratives are generated in a position below DP and then universally move to SpecDP. (6) is then ungrammatical because SpecDP is unavailable for *wh*-movement because of movement of the demonstrative. This suggests that *wh*-words move to SpecDP.

In Slovenian IPs *wh*-phrases move to check the [+*focus*] feature (see Mišmaš, 2012) and we could assume that the same holds for DPs, given that IPs and DPs were

shown to be parallel structures (see Giusti, 1996; Ntelineos, 2002;...). I will show that this is not the case. Focus movement is available in DPs and the focused word can have an emphasis, (7), or not, (9). (7) and (9) also show that focused words move in a DP (compare the word order to (1)). Also, the focus words can never move across the demonstrative, (9a), or a *wh*-word, (8):

- |     |               |               |              |              |                                    |                           |
|-----|---------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (7) | <i>Kakšen</i> | <i>NEMŠKI</i> | <i>Majin</i> | <i>avto?</i> | (8) * <i>NEMŠKI</i>                | <i>kakšen Majin avto?</i> |
|     | what-kind-of  | German        | Maja's       | car          |                                    |                           |
| (9) | a.            | <i>Tisti</i>  | <i>rdeč</i>  | <i>Majin</i> | b. * <i>Rdeč tisti Majin avto.</i> |                           |
|     |               | That          | red          | Maja's       |                                    |                           |
|     |               |               |              | car          |                                    |                           |

This suggests that, as Giusti (1996) shows for Albanian, the focus position is below the demonstrative (in SpecDP). Despite the availability of a focus position in the DP in Slovenian *wh*-fronting in the DP does not proceed to it, but to SpecDP, see (7). From this we can conclude that *wh*-words do not front to check the [+focus] feature in the DP. But we can assume that in (5) a *wh*-word in the SpecDP is moved to check the [+wh] feature, as Giusti (1996) shows for Italian. But contrary to Italian where SpecDP can only be an escape hatch for a *wh*-element, the [+wh] feature is checked in SpecDP, as I will show in the talk.

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### Selling through True Stories: Rationality in Printed Ads

Storytelling is a widely used discourse strategy in communicative discourse. Senders often deliver their messages through stories. Advertising discourse is not an exception. Stories in ads, as in any other type of discourse, may contain characters engaged in a plot that develops at a location.

This article presents a corpus-based study of magazine advertisements which promote products through telling stories. More specifically, the analyzed ads contain true stories, i.e. accounts of what seem to be real and plausible events. These include the birth of promoted product, testing the product and using the product by a known person. Special cases of seemingly true stories are surveyed as well.

Even though the true accounts and their counterparts, the fictional stories, are represented rather equally in the ad corpus, they differ in formal characteristics as well as in their impact on the recipient. The major specification of the true stories is the use of reason-evoking persuasive strategy. True stories allow for a rational reasoning and leave smaller interpretive space for the recipient in comparison with the fictional stories.

The article maps the occurrence and features of true stories in printed ads and contrasts them with fictional ones, especially in the area of recipients' possible contribution to the story development.

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### Un enfoque etnolingüístico de los modismos rumanos y españoles que presentan la relación bidireccional hombre- demonio

A través del presente trabajo pretendemos comparar las unidades fraseológicas rumanas y españolas que hacen referencia a la figura del demonio en su relación con el hombre. Los hablantes utilizan metáforas que aluden a ella para expresar diferentes sentimientos o actitudes. Hemos recogido de los diccionarios bilingües, monolingües y fraseológicos las unidades que incluyen la figura del demonio y que aluden a su relación con el hombre. Hemos dividido el corpus según la dirección de la influencia de los dos seres porque el diablo aparece antropomorfizado y cada relación interhumana es bidireccional: *el impacto del diablo sobre el hombre* y *el impacto del hombre sobre el diablo*. La primera categoría tiene que ver con la esencia de tentador del diablo y con su objetivo de impedir la salvación del hombre. Hemos dividido esta categoría en siete subcategorías actitudinales según el efecto positivo o negativo de la acción del demonio: la posesión (ro. *a avea pe dracul în el*; es. *tener el demonio en el cuerpo*), la experiencia de vida (ro. *a fi înțârcat de Scaraoțchi*), la tentación (ro. *a fi Aghiuță*), la generación de desgracias (ro. *s-o suit dracu' pe casă*; es. *andar el diablo suelto*), la generación del miedo (ro. *a se uita la cineva ca la dracul*), la agrupación de personas (es. *yo como tú y tú como yo, el diablo nos juntó*), la ayuda (ro. *a trimite pe cineva la dracu'*; es. *mandar a alguien al demonio*).

La categoría del *impacto del hombre sobre el diablo* se realiza a través de las metáforas culturales que revelan una relación activa y variada (el hombre aparece como amigo o enemigo del diablo). Identificamos las siguientes subdivisiones: la exasperación (ro. *l-a albit până și pe dracul*; es. *las mujeres saben un punto más que el diablo*), la tortura (ro. *a face pe dracu' ghem*), la limosna (ro. *a da dracului de pomană*), la defensa (ro. *avocatul diavolului*; es. *abogado del diablo*), la búsqueda (ro. *pe dracul l-a căutat, pe dracul l-a aflat*; es. *sea milagro y hágalo el diablo*), la precaución (ro. *pe dracul nici să-l vezi, nici să te vadă*), el emparentamiento (ro. *a se face frate cu dracul*), cumplir con tareas (ro. *a tăia dracului bureți*), el pacto (ro. *a-și vinde sufletul diavolului*; es. *vender el alma al diablo*), la falta de obediencia (ro. *dracul știe, dracul joacă*).

El enfoque de nuestra investigación es interdisciplinario: en el análisis etnolingüístico vamos a englobar la perspectiva religiosa oficial de los dos pueblos (el



demonio- ángel caído) y la concepción popular (el demonio configurado como *no-hermano* del hombre, co-creador del mundo o espíritu lúdico). Vamos a trazar los ejes de convergencia entre las dos visiones y vamos a subrayar las diferencias conceptuales entre las unidades fraseológicas correspondientes. Además, vamos a destacar los fenómenos semánticos más representativos que surgen en la creación del significado y su valor simbólico.

Mencionamos algunos de los conceptos que nos ayudarán a la investigación: el nivel émico/ ético, el sistema actitudinal, la estructura, el focus cultural. Consideramos que la originalidad del trabajo reside en el análisis contrastivo del vocabulario y de la cultura de los dos pueblos y en el intento de ver cuáles son los motivos que generan las diferencias. Las dos lenguas organizan de una manera similar la figura del demonio, pero conocen variaciones en el número de fraseologismos, en la imagen mental o en la expresividad.

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## **Corpus-based Research on Three-dimensional Grammar**

Polish Sign Language (*polski język migowy*, usually abbreviated as PJM) is a natural visual-spatial language used by the Polish Deaf community. It emerged around 1817, with the foundation of the first school for the deaf in Poland. Up until recently, the hearing linguistic community in Poland devoted very little attention to PJM. The aim of this paper is to present a new large scale research project aimed at documenting PJM. Its main goal is to create an extensive and representative corpus of video material that will further form the basis of detailed grammatical and lexical analyses.

The PJM corpus project was launched in 2012 and its first phase will conclude in 2014. The underlying idea is to compile a collection of video clips showing Deaf

people using PJM in a variety of different contexts. The first phase of the project will involve approximately 100 informants. As of May 2013, more than 70 people have already been filmed. When the project is completed, some 700 hours of footage will be available for research purposes. The PJM corpus is diversified geographically, covering a representative number of Polish cities with significant Deaf populations. The group of signers participating in the project is well balanced in terms of age and gender. Data is collected exclusively from signers who either have deaf parents or have used PJM since early school age. They come from different social and educational backgrounds (respective sociological metadata is an integral part of the corpus).

Recording sessions always involve two signers and a Deaf moderator. The procedure of data collection is based on an extensive list of tasks to be performed by the two informants. Typically, the signers are asked to react to certain visual stimuli, e.g. by describing a scene, naming an object, (re-)telling a story, or explaining something to their partner. The elicitation materials include pictures, videos, graphs, comic strips etc., with as little reference to written Polish as possible. All the necessary instructions are given in sign language exclusively; they have been pre-recorded and, like the elicitation materials, are presented to the participants on computer screens. The participants are also requested to discuss a number of topics pertaining to the Deaf. Additionally, they are given some time for free conversation (they are aware of being filmed but no specific task is assigned to them). The latter two parts of the recording session scenario are aimed at collecting spontaneous and naturalistic data.

When designing the above procedures, we took into account the challenges and problems encountered in similar projects conducted for other languages, in particular for German Sign Language (DGS) and Sign Language of the Netherlands (NGT). For instance, we attempted to make use of elicitation materials that had proved successful in the other projects.

The raw material obtained in the recording sessions is further tokenized, lemmatized, annotated, glossed and translated using the iLex software developed at the University of Hamburg. The annotation conventions we employ have been designed especially for the purposes of PJM.

The aim of this poster is to give a detailed overview of the above procedures.

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### A Tool For Investigating The Semantic Structure Of A Linguistic Unit Through Its Usage, Or Once More On The Kruszewski - Kuryłowicz Rule

1. Some non-trivial findings that the paper sets forth will hopefully re-draw researchers' attention to the heuristic and explanatory power of the Kruszewski-Kuryłowicz rule.

Its most specific wording (among those available) runs as follows: "...The more generalized (poorer) the content of a sign, the wider its sphere of using by speakers; the more special (richer) the content, the narrower the sphere of its not only internal usage (=inside the system) but also external usage (=in the linguistic community)" [Kuryłowicz, 19].

2. We have applied the rule to investigate two Russian homonymous constructions *stat'+INF*.

2.1. One of them is synonymous with the construction *načat'+INF*. Cf., e.g., *On stal rabotat'* and *On načal rabotat'* (both sentences are translated as 'He started / began working / to work'). The other homonym cannot be substituted by *načat'+INF*. Cf., e.g., *On bol'she ne stal s nimi rabotat'* ('He did not work with them any more') and the correlative sentence *On bol'she ne načal s nimi rabotat'* ('He did not start / begin any more working / to work with them'). Let us label these units Construction 1 and Construction 2, respectively.

At the same time, these homonyms display obvious semantic resemblance, cf., e.g., the ambiguous sentence *On ne stal rabotat'*. It can be translated into English both as *He did not start / begin working / to work* and *He did not work*. However, its ambiguity does not impede effective communication.

2.2.1. To explain the similarity and difference, we have explored the **sphere of usage** of these homonyms (internal usage, as Je. Kuryłowicz puts it) and revealed the following fact. Affirmative sentences with Construction 1 always have negative sentences with Construction 2 as their correlate, cf. *On stal rabotat'* and *On (bol'she) ne stal s nimi rabotat'*. However, negative sentences with Construction 2 do not always have affirmative sentences with Construction 1 as their correlate, cf. *Ajna ne stala spat'*, *vyšla na noč pasti stado* (A. Platonov; 'Ayna did not sleep, she went to pasture cattle at night') and the incorrect sentence *Ajna stala spat'*, *ne vyšla na noč pasti stado* ('Ayna started / began to sleep, she did not go to pasture cattle at night').

Thus, Construction 2 has a wider sphere of usage. Hence, according to the Kruszewski - Kuryłowicz rule, the meaning of Construction 2 is simpler.

The comparative analysis of Construction 1 and *načat'+INF* has established that the meaning of the former contains two semantic elements, namely 'perfectivity' and 'process' (we ignore irrelevant details). Therefore, the meaning of Construction 2 can only include one semantic element. We can show that treating the element as 'perfectivity' encounters insurmountable difficulties (e.g., it cannot explain the fact that imperfectives are only able to occupy the INF position in the constructions at issue). So we conclude that the meaning of Construction 2 only consists of the same 'process'. Thus, the Kruszewski - Kuryłowicz rule enables us to qualify Construction 2 as imperfective, in contrast to Construction 1.

**2.2.2.** The Kruszewski - Kuryłowicz also allows us to deduce regularities in the **usage frequency** (external usage, according to Je. Kuryłowicz) of the homonyms under scrutiny.

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### Reflections on the challenging issues posed by highly-advanced scientific title nominal groups

That English is the language of science and that nominal groups are a recurrent structure in highly-advanced scientific discourse are both a general truth. In line with this, previous studies have confirmed that title nominal groups are also the most recurrent structure in research papers and review papers written in English and in Spanish in the fields of Biology, Biochemistry and Medicine and in the fields of Anthropology, Linguistics and Psychology (Soler, 2007, 2009, 2011a,b). Through their publications, scientists, whether native English speakers or non-native English speakers, demonstrate to have acquired proficiency in different scientific discourse genres which, in turn, involves an awareness of which grammatical structures are the

most appropriate to the communicative context and purpose of their research studies. Of these two groups, the one composed of non-native English speakers is particularly exposed to a series of linguistic difficulties to be able to have their papers published in high-impact factor journals. In many cases, translators are needed to cope with these difficulties. The purpose of this paper is therefore to present a series of reflections on the interesting issues and challenging difficulties derived from optimal writing and/or translating (from Spanish into English or vice-versa) title nominal groups in the light of a hallidayan approach (Halliday, 1994). These reflections are based on a reading of related literature (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Martin, Matthiessen & Pinter, 1997; among others) and, more importantly, on the authors' own title database composed of 1140 research and review paper titles published during 1996-2002 in two fields: biological sciences and social sciences. Reasons for choosing scientific titles in particular lie in the need to continue with our studies on this particular section of papers as part of the research project "Textual aspects of scientific knowledge" which is being currently carried out at the *Universidad Nacional del Sur*, Argentina. This work represents an attempt to bring these diverse reflections together to further provide a framework which will be of value to scientists and teachers and learners of English and Spanish for Scientific and Academic Purposes.

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### Somatische Phraseologie unter dem Blickwinkel der Prototypentheorie

Die moderne Phraseologieforschung ist dadurch charakteristisch, dass sie mit verschiedenen theoretischen Richtungen der Sprachwissenschaft kooperiert. Das Ziel dieses Beitrags ist zu überprüfen, wie man semantische Beziehungen zwischen den somatischen Phraseologismen mit Hilfe des Begriffsapparats der kognitiven Linguistik bestimmen kann. Die Beziehung der Phraseologie und der kognitiven Linguistik erläuterte schon D. Dobrovol'skij in seiner Studie "Kognitive Aspekte der Idiom-Semantik" (1995).

Nach Dobrovol'skij gibt es zwölf Irregularitätsmerkmale der Idiome:  
Kompositionalität vs. Non-Kompositionalität,  
Isomorphie vs. Allomorphie zwischen der formalen und semantischen Struktur,  
Semantische Komplexität vs. semantische Simplizität,  
Syntaktische Durchlässigkeit vs. Undurchlässigkeit,  
Variabilität vs. Fixiertheit des Konstituentenbestandes,  
Konnotativ-pragmatische Extension der Idiom-Bedeutung: neutral vs. markiert,  
Formale Spezifikation: neutral vs. markiert,  
Konstituentenbestand: konventionelle Lexikoneinheiten vs. unikale Konstituenten,  
Regularität vs. Defektivität des Paradigmas,  
Semantische Kompatibilität vs. Inkompatibilität der Konstituenten,  
Semantische Ambiguität: eine Lesart vs. zwei Lesarten,  
Motiviertheit vs. Opakheit.

Diese Merkmale charakterisieren die guten Vertreter der Idiom-Kategorie nach dem Prinzip: Je mehr Merkmale und (oder) je wertiger, desto besserer Vertreter der Kategorie.

Beispielsweise bei folgenden Phraseologismen **sein Herz auf der Zunge tragen, aus der Haut fahren, Haare auf den Zähnen haben** wird die Inkompatibilität ihrer Konstituenten festgestellt. Daraus geht hervor, dass der Grad ihrer Idiomatizität relativ hoch ist. Dagegen bei **j-m etwas auf die Hand geben** oder **j-m (mit etwas) unter die Arme greifen** ist der Grad der Idiomatizität niedriger, weil alle Komponenten des

jeweiligen Phraseologismus (Hand und geben, Arme und greifen) semantisch vereinbar sind.

Weitere ausgewählte somatische Phraseologismen werden unter Berücksichtigung oben genannter Irregularitätsmerkmale analysiert. Dadurch lässt es sich feststellen, welchen Status die Somatismen in der Gruppe aller Phraseologismen haben.

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### Czech indefinites *kdokoliv* and *cokoliv*: Semantic analysis of licensing contexts

Czech lexems containing the *-koliv* morpheme (*kdokoliv* ‘anyone’, *cokoliv* ‘anything’, *kterýkoliv* ‘any’, *kdekoliv* ‘anywhere’, etc.) are traditionally treated as indefinites (i.e. Komárek, 1986). We can find more or less the same semantic characteristic of them throughout the Czech literature: these items contain the semantic feature of generality (Kopečný, 1980) or generalization, reinforcement (Rejzek, 2001), arbitrariness, indifference and irrelevance (Komárek, 1980). But we are not aware of a study that would deal with the fact that the expressions with this specific morphology are excluded for instance from simple episodic past statements, see (1); in contrast with modal statements, see (2), imperatives, see (3), or future statements, see (4).

- (1) #Adam koupil jakékoliv víno.  
Adam buy: 3 sg, Past any wine: Acc  
(2) Adam mohl koupit jakékoliv víno.  
Adam can: 3 sg, Past buy: inf any wine: Acc  
‘Adam could buy any wine.’  
(3) Adame, kup jakékoliv víno!  
Adam: Voc buy: Imper, sg. any wine  
‘Adam, buy any wine!’  
(4) Zítra Adam koupí jakékoliv víno a vyrazíme k tobě.  
tomorrow Adam buy: 3 sg, Fut any wine and go: 1 pl, Fut to you: Dat  
‘Adam will buy any wine tomorrow and then we will go to your place.’

Non-Czech linguistic literature usually treats this type of items as so-called *free choice items* (FCI): expressions that are semantically sensitive to the polarity of the statement. Giannakidou (2011) examined the distribution of equivalent expressions cross-linguistically and defined the licensing semantic context as non-veridical environment, for both FCIs and NPIs. Veridicality is then defined as a property of the function that operates on the denotation of embedded sentence. A veridical function expresses a commitment of the speaker to the truth of the embedded sentence; see the main clause in (5). Non-veridical function doesn’t express that commitment. It contains some kind of speaker’s resignation to that commitment, it expresses doubt or uncertainty about the truth of the embedded sentence; see the main clause in (6).

- (5) I know that Carl was late.  
(6) I wished that Carl was late.

The difference in distribution of NPIs and FCIs is explained by the presence of non-deictic world variable in the semantics of FCIs which becomes licit only by being bounded by a Q-operator. (A variable is defined as non-deictic iff it cannot be interpreted as a free variable.) As an episodic context (even negative one) lack such operator, FCIs become illicit there (Giannakidou, 2011:1697).

Our task is to analyze the real data from the Czech National Corpus (CNC) and check the validity of Giannakidou's claims about FCIs distribution for Czech. Then we will evaluate her claims with respect to several other approaches (Vendler, 1967; Kadmon&Landman, 1993; Dayal, 1998; Horn, 2000; Aloni, 2007; Šimík 2008; Błaszczak 2008). Our main goal is the proper formal description of the meaning of Czech FCIs. The meaning determines the distribution; the latter enables us to describe all relevant components of the first. To achieve this goal we will classify and analyze 500 Czech sentences with *kdokoliv* 'anyone' and *cokoliv* 'anything', obtained from SYN2010 – the latest representative electronic corpus of contemporary written Czech, part of the CNC.

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### **List of abbreviations:**

1 - first verbal person; 3 - third verbal person; sg - singular; pl - plural; Past - past tense; Pres - present tense; Fut - future tense; Imper - imperative; inf - infinitive; Ptc - participle; Acc - accusative; Dat - dative; Voc - vocative; masc - masculine; NPI - negative polarity item

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## **The Linguistic Picture of the World in the Constructed Languages – a Research Project**

The main notion of this presentation is the concept of the Linguistic Picture/View of the World (henceforth LPW) created by the Polish linguist J. Bartmiński (Bartmiński, 1980, 2006). The goal of the author's research is to examine whether the LPW is a notion applicable to a wide variety of constructed languages.

The LPW, with its source in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis and Humboldt's ideas, might be quite appealing in the nowadays linguistics as it combines both the universalist and the relativist point of view. It is stated that phenomena culturally important for a given group will be reflected and retained in the group's language. The LPW is therefore a variously verbalised interpretation of reality, specific to a given culture but still possible to be transferred to other societies (Allwood, 1983, 2003; Grzegorzczkova, 1999).

The author is in search of such linguistic structures in the artificial languages (for the usage of "artificial languages", see Schubert, 1989). Obviously enough, there are different types of those with quite different purposes. The artistic languages are specifically created to suit the demands of worlds already in existence (e.g. Klingon, with a presupposed world and race). Therefore it is clear the LPW is an idea prior to the creation of the language in itself. A similar situation might concern researchers who reconstruct language historical stages. However, quite the opposite is true for such languages as international auxiliary languages (Esperanto, even Lojban) or programming languages. Is it possible to reconstruct their LPW or is there only a common natural conceptual system behind them? The author attempts to determine possible research directions into this matter by using the methodology described in Bartmiński 2006.

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## Word order and scope in finite embedded non-argument clauses

In my paper I contrast the scope properties of different types of finite adjunct clauses in Hungarian and (mainly) English.

(i) As observed in Lipták (2005), some English sentences containing temporal subordinate clauses can be ambiguous.

- (1) I will leave after you said that Peter left.  
high: ,I leave after the time t when you tell me that Peter has left.'  
low: ,I leave after time t. You tell me that Peter left at time t.

In the Hungarian equivalent only the high interpretation is available.

- (2) Azután indulok el [miután szólsz, [hogy Péter elindult]].  
 that-AFTER leave-1SG PV what-AFTER tell-1SG that Peter left-3SG  
 high: 'I leave after the time t when you tell me that Peter has left.'

(ii) In a number of languages quantificational arguments can take scope outside of temporal adjunct clauses (3). Hungarian, a language that has been claimed to wear its LF on its sleeve, temporal and non-temporal adjunct clauses pattern similarly with respect to scope taking: temporal adjunct clauses cannot override the clause boundedness of quantification (4).

- (3) A secretary cried before/after/when the board fired each executive.  
 executive: wide or narrow scope, both single time and dependent time reading possible

- (4) Sírt egy titkárnő, amikor/miután minden vezető-t kirúgtak.  
 cried-3SG a secretary when after every executive-ACC fired-3PL  
 no ambiguity, only single time interpretation

(iii) When a sentence containing a clause-modifying adjunct is negated, the resulting sentence is ambiguous in English ((5), Johnston 1993), not in Hungarian, where the different meanings are expressed by different constructions (6).

- (5) Marty didn't sell his bike because the gears were broken.  
 N(egated) A(djunct) reading:  
 Marty did sell his bike but not because the gears were broken.  
 N(egated) H(ead) reading:  
 Marty didn't sell his bike as the gears were broken.

- (6) a. Péter nem \*(azért) adta el a biciklijét, mert rossz a fék.  
 Peter not that-CAUS sold PV the his.bike because bad the brake  
 N(egated) A(djunct) reading  
 b. Péter (azért) nem adta el a biciklijét, mert rossz a fék.  
 Peter that-CAUS not sold PV the his.bike because bad the brake  
 N(egated) H(ead) reading

Kusumoto (2009), an account of German and Japanese, claims that the class of adjunct clauses that allow dependent time readings and long-distance dependencies (high/low readings) is the same. The Hungarian data that turn out to be the most problematic with respect to this proposal are free relative temporal adjunct clauses,

where long distance dependencies are allowed, but dependent time readings are not, suggesting that we are dealing with different types of locality violations.

The factors that play a role in how embedded finite clauses interact with their main clauses are argued to be the following: the type of (relative) construction; the possibility of operator movement depending on the presence/type of operator and/or the locality restrictions at work (Haegeman 2010), and overt or covert operator movement, the latter suggesting that it is actually the scope transparent property of Hungarian that makes it impossible for quantificational arguments to scope out of temporal clauses.

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### On Scrambling and Differential Object Marking in German and Romanian

A commonly held view in the literature on Scrambling and Clitic Doubling is that both constructions are sensitive to specificity (Abraham 1994, 1995, Adger 1993, Diesing 1992, de Hoop 1992 a.o.). In this paper we would like to substantiate the claim that clitic doubling (CD) is the counterpart of Germanic scrambling (in line with Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1997, Lopez 2012 for Spanish). As known from Beghelli & Stowell (1996), different quantifiers scope differently, function of their lexical nature. Thus, indefinite DPs are shown to have both a capacity for wide scope (on account of their ability to introduce group referents) and for narrow scope. This is why Beghelli & Stowell (1996) assign these DPs (which they label 'Group Quantifier Phrases') two positions: a high RefP position situated above CP (where they are interpreted with the widest scope) and a lower position, ShareP where they may acquire narrow scope.

Distributive-Universal QPs headed by ‘every’, ‘each’ occupy the specifier of the Distributive-Universal category DistP. When a DQP and a GQP co-occur in the same sentence, two readings may obtain: if the GQP occupies SpecShareP it will acquire a narrow scope interpretation because this position is in the scope of the DQP occupying SpecDistP. On the other hand, if the GQP fills SpecRefP, it will outscope the DQP in the SpecDistP. This is, indeed, what happens in example (1) below where the indefinite ‘a book’ is ambiguous between a wide scope and a narrow scope interpretation:

- (1) Every student in this class read a book on linguistics.

This analysis could handle Romanian unmarked direct objects (which are not PE marked and CD-ed) which behave in a similar way to English ones. In example (2) the indefinite ‘o carte’ may either acquire a narrow scope reading according to which ‘every student read a (possibly) different book on linguistics’, or a wide scope interpretation according to which ‘there is a certain book on linguistics such that all the students read.’

- (2) *Toți studenții de la engleză au citit o carte de lingvistică.*  
 ‘All the students learning English have read a book on linguistics.’

Configurational languages such as German, however, possess a way to override these lexical factors and to disambiguate between the two possible readings that indefinite DPs may acquire. More precisely, the scope of an indefinite direct object DP is largely determined by word order and movement: out of two potential scoping DPs, the leftmost one outscores the other. The leftmost DP ‘mindestens ein Student’ takes scope over the QP ‘jeden Roman’ in example (3) below borrowed from Krifka (1998):

- (3) *Mindestens ein Student hat jeden Roman gelesen.*  
 ‘At least one student read every novel.’ (Krifka (1998))

If it is not a wide scope reading, the scrambled indefinite is associated with strong/ specific interpretation (Adger 1993, Abraham 1995, Delfitto & Corver 1995, de Hoop 1992, Diesing 1994 a.o.). Unlike with German indefinites, Romanian does not rely on word order to differentiate between the wide scope and the narrow scope readings of indefinite DPs. Thus, even if we move an indefinite DP out of VP and to the left of another operator we will still obtain both a narrow scope interpretation and a wide scope one for this DP:

- (4) a. *Două cărți de lingvistică a citit fiecare student al acestei facultăți.*  
 ‘Every student of this faculty read two books on linguistics.’

The indefinite ‘două cărți’ may acquire a narrow scope reading according to which ‘each student read a (possibly) different set of (two) books’ as well as a wide scope reading, which reads as ‘there is a set of two books such that every student has read’.

Therefore, movement of the indefinite DP to the left of the universal-distributive QP, does not trigger the wide scope reading of this DP. The indefinite DP remains ambiguous between a wide scope reading and a narrow scope one in all the possible word orders: SVO, VSO, VOS, OVS, OSV, and SOV. This is in line with the lexical factors accounted for by Beghelli & Stowell (1996).

Nevertheless, we noticed a difference in behavior between unmarked direct objects (which go by the findings of Beghelli & Stowell 1996) on the one hand and PE marked + CD-ed direct objects on the other. Marked DPs seem to favor a wide scope reading irrespective of the position they occupy in the sentence.

- (5) a. *Pe câțiva moguli români îi vânează toate femeile.*  
 ‘All women are hunting for some Romanian moguls.’

Yet, PE marking+CD does not necessarily ensure a wide scope reading but rather *specificity* in the sense of Enç (1991) i.e., they function as covert partitives.

- (6) When the school year ends every summer our school principal gives prizes to the most diligent pupils who obtained the best marks. This year fifty pupils received such prizes.

- (7) a. *La serbarea din vara asta fiecare profesor i- a lăudat pe mulți elevi.*  
 At festivity from summer this every teacher them.cl has praised PE many pupils.  
 b. *La serbarea din vara asta fiecare profesor a lăudat mulți elevi.*  
 At festivity from summer this every teacher has praised many pupils.  
 ‘At this summer’s festivity every teacher praised many pupils.’

Example (7a) is a suitable continuation for the context in (6), whereas (7b) is not: Thus, (7a) states that the pupils that were congratulated by their teachers necessarily belong to the range of fifty pupils mentioned in the context (6) as opposed to (7b). In this paper we provide data showing that German scrambling and Romanian CD amount to the same interpretive effects. Furthermore, this comes as a sequence of the position (the edge of the vP phase) occupied by the scrambled DO in German or the CD-ed DO in Romanian (Lopez (2012)).



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## DP or NP? Functional Heads in the Nominal Projection of Article-less Czech

Assuming general cross-linguistic and cross-category parallelism, Abney (1987) proposed the (universal) existence of a DP projection above the NP. However, the existence of a DP layer above NP seems not be resolved yet for Slavic languages, most of which do not have an obvious (and/ or obligatory) lexical item to be classified as D. Most prominently, Željko Bošković and Larisa Zlatić have argued repeatedly in favor of a simple NP (or QP) analysis in some Slavic article-less languages, focusing on several correlations with the missing D layer in their systems, e.g. the contrast in left branch extractions illustrated in the contrasting (1) for Croatian, Czech and English.

- |     |       |  |
|-----|-------|--|
| (1) | a. CR | <i>Ovuñ / Lepujj sam pronašla [ ti/tj knjigu].</i>                   |
|     | b. CZ | <i>Takovou / Krásnouj jsem našla [ ti/tj knihu].</i>                 |
|     | c. EN | <i>*These<sub>i</sub> / Nice<sub>i</sub> I found [ ti/tj books].</i> |

On the other hand, other authors, like e.g. Durdica Caruso, Monika Bašić and Pavel Rutkowski, try to keep the DP domain universal and provide analyses of the left periphery of Slavic (Polish, Croatian) NPs in terms of a split DP hypothesis, i.e. using a DP structure containing multiple functional heads.

In my paper I will discuss the internal syntactic structure of nominal expressions in Czech, arguing in favor of its DP characteristics. I will provide data showing that Czech nominal expressions display both N- and D-semantics (i.e. they are able to express referentiality) irrespective of the presence or absence of specific D- and N-elements. I will compare in more detail (including some relevant corpus statistics for Czech) the word order inside English and Czech nominal complexes showing the overwhelming similarities which suggest non-distinct underlying structures.

Concentrating on the paradigms of Czech adjectives and determiners, I will demonstrate how different morphology appears in the D, Q, and N projections, which can host various quantifiers, determiners and (in)definiteness markers. Some of the functional heads, when lexicalized, systematically trigger a morphology which signals their presence, such as: (i) for Ds,  $\phi$ -feature agreement morphology with short vowels, and (ii) for Qs, the distinct Case and agreement patterns specific to Czech QPs as in Veselovská (2001), sampled here as (2a) contrasted with (2b).

- (2) a. *Pět chlapců/jich/\* $\emptyset$  přiš -lo/\*-li do kina pozdě.*  
 b. *Čtyři chlapci/\*jich/ $\emptyset$  přiš \*-lo/-li do kina pozdě.*  
 ‘Five/four boys/of them arrived to the cinema late.’

The lack of an overt D head in Czech is related to its typological characteristic, whereby it realizes most of its functional heads (including its verbal functional heads) using bound morphology. I will propose that even those Czech functional heads which are realized in their canonical positions can first enter the derivation as late as the morphological component - e.g. some Czech quantifiers.

I will also show that the left branch extraction phenomena as in (1a-b) can be explained in Czech using a remnant movement analysis as demonstrated in Veselovská (1995) or Bašić (2004). In this conception it is not a prenominal AP that is extracted from a nominal complex (as assumed in e.g. Corver, 1990). The proposed alternative analysis consists of two steps: first the NP leaves the DP (to avoid focus interpretation), then the remnant DP undergoes the contrastive focus movement to the left periphery of the clause.

The analysis and data provided in the poster will suggest that there is no reason in Czech to give up the parallelism between verbal and nominal projections and that the D above NPs in a DP projection can remain a universal property.

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