



Palacký University Olomouc Olomouc Linguistics Colloquium 2018: Book of Abstracts





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Book of Abstracts

Palacký University Olomouc

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Invited Speakers

The (ad/pro)nominal similative: ad hoc in discourse, less so in grammar

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The main function of words like English *such* or French *tel* is to introduce ad hoc categories. When somebody wants to buy *such a cat*, it will be an indefinite cat similar to a definite cat, but it is typically of a type for which the speaker has no ready-made category: the ad hoc category could be 'cat with green eyes and a great personality just like the one in front of the speaker'. Surprisingly, the grammarians' treatment of *such* and *tel* is also very much ad hoc and, more importantly, confusing. A comparison with Latin, the parent language of French, and Sanskrit, a coeval of Latin, makes us categorize *such* and *tel* as 'demonstrative similatives'. It also throws light on the diachronic grammar on French and on the difficulties that the grammarians of English and French have had: *such* and *tel* are the sole survivors of an old Indo-European 'correlative' set of similatives. The system is found in a basic shape in Latin. In Sanskrit the system got extended, thus raising the typological question as to how much variation we may expect.

Re-establishing the autonomy of syntax: Abstract morphemes build interpretable structures

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Contemporary generative syntacticians tend to endorse principles associated with generative semantics (related to UTAH but also to approaches associated with, e.g. Borer and Ramchand) such that argument structure can be read off of or can project underlying syntactic structure. I argue in opposition that principles of syntactic structure building are truly autonomous such that underlying syntactic structure is determined neither by "theta theory" nor by considerations of aspectual or argument structure. The resulting system of interpretive semantics and phonology better explains both cross-linguistic uniformity and cross-linguistic diversity in the expression of semantic relations, as well as providing insight into the relationship among the EPP, Dependent Case theory, Burzio's Generalization, ergative case-marking, differential object marking and causative clause union.

The early emergence of language via externalization

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Discussing the evolution of language, Chomsky & Berwick (2016) claim that "all recent relevant biological and evolutionary research leads to the conclusion that the process of externalization is secondary" to a purely internal language of thought. This internal language is claimed to have evolved without communication. Here, I argue against this thesis on the basis of the development of the lexicon. Chomsky & Berwick regard the emergence of lexical items as highly mysterious: "no one has any idea" (2016:86) how to account for them. Reversing our account of language evolution so that externalization comes first, I argue that lexical items emerge gradually via communication. Given this premise, we can elucidate the properties of words and the development of a storage and retrieval system devoted to them.

Presentations

A morphosyntactic account of verbal number in Mupun

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Nutshell Verbal number (Corbett 2000) is a grammatical category that may refer either to event number, to participant number or to both. Previous analyses consider it as lexical selection (Durie 1986) or semantic cooccurrence (Mithun 1988), but these interpretations cannot explain some mismatches between the number values on the verb and on its arguments. I propose an *agreement* relation between v and a constituent bearing a number (#) feature (DP: participant number, AdvP: event number). To the best of my knowledge, no other syntactic approach to verbal number has been proposed yet. The analysis is couched in Minimalist Syntax and Distributed Morphology.

Data Mupun (Frajzyngier 1993) is a West Chadic language from Nigeria. It shows verbal number as a productive category and it expresses it through several morphological devices.

(1)	a.	wu	nas	mo	(2)	a.	wu su see	et	
		3sg.m	hit.PST.P	l 3pl.m			3sg.m	run.PST.SG a	
		He hit them.					He ran a	He ran away.	
	b.	* wu	cit	mo		b.	mo su-e s	seet	
		3sg	.M hit.PS	T.SG 3PL.M			3pl.m	run.PST.PI	

- He hit them.
- c. wu cit wur 3SG.M hit.PST.SG 3SG.M He hit him.
- d. wu nas wiir 3SG.M hit.PST.PL 3SG.M He hit him many times.

away

L away They ran away.

Examples (1) show the two suppletive allomorphs for the root $\sqrt{\text{HIT}}$, /cit/ and /nas/, which only differ for the values of the #-feature. In (1a-b), a plural feature on the internal argument requires a plural feature on the verb. However, (1c-d) point out that a singular argument does not always require a singular verb. Note that in (1d) the verb is plural, but there is no overt constituent bearing a plural #. Moreover, what is quantified are events rather than participants. (2a-b) show that (i) verbal number can be encoded by morphology (suppletion is actually the exceptional case) and that (ii) for unergative verbs, the number marked on the verb depends on the number on the external argument.

Proposal I derive through *agreement* (i) the ambiguity between event and participant number (1a,d), (ii) the ungrammaticality of mismatches such as (1b) and (iii) the pattern of unergative verbs (2). I claim that v bears an uninterpretable feature for number [u#], which can be satisfied by an interpretable feature [i#] on a DP or on an AdvP (which may be a covert constituent). Verbs are not born with a #-feature, but rather the number is present either on the DP (participant #) or on the AdvP (event #). In the nominal domain, the values for # are [sg]/[pl], whereas adverbial phrases may either be underspecified for # or contain a plural value [pl] (adverbs may be plural in Mupun, since they can be derived from adjectives through reduplication, which is a strategy to inflect adjective for plural, too). Adv[pl] is merged as an adjunct to VP when the intended meaning is (x times)(VP). Since Mupun often drops the plural marker on plural DPs, the difference in meaning between sentences such as (1a,d) hints at a covert plural constituent in pluractional cases (1d).

Analysis I assume the following lexical entries for (1a-d).

(3)	a. $\sqrt{\text{HIT}} \leftrightarrow /\text{nas} / v[\text{pl}]_{-}$	(4)	a. $[Adv, pl] \leftrightarrow \emptyset$
	b. $\sqrt{\text{HIT}} \leftrightarrow /\text{cit}/$		b. $[3, m] \leftrightarrow /wu/$
	c. $v \leftrightarrow \emptyset$		c. $[3, m, pl] \leftrightarrow /mo/$
	d. $T \leftrightarrow \emptyset$		d. $[3, m, acc] \leftrightarrow /wur/$

In the derivation of (1a-c), v agrees with the internal argument DP_{obj}. If this is plural (5), v matches its #-feature with the value [pl] and, at vocabulary insertion, the complex head T + v + V is spelled out as /nas/ (3a). If the DP_{obj} bears a singular number, at the point of lexical insertion the default /cit/ (3b) is inserted, since no specific form is available.

(5) a. $[_{TP} T [_{vP} DP_{subj}^{[i\#: sg, i\pi: 3, i\gamma: m]} v^{[_u\#: \Box]} [_{VP} V DP_{obj}^{[_i\#: pl], i\pi: 3, i\gamma: m]}]]$

For (1d), a covert AdvP (4a) is merged as an adjunct to the VP. v matches its feature with the plural number on this adverbial phrase (6). At vocabulary insertion, the most specific exponent /nas/ (3a) wins the competition.

(6) a. $[_{\text{TP}} T [_{vP} DP_{\text{subj}}^{[i\#: sg, i\pi: 3, i\gamma: m]} v^{[\underline{u\#:\Box}]} [_{VP} Adv P^{[\underline{i\#: pl}]} V DP_{obj}^{[i\#: sg, i\pi: 3, i\gamma: m]}]]]$

Mupun does not seem to have the possibility to express plural participant number and plural event number at the same time (as it happens in Mwaghavul, a Chadic language that is close to Mupun). Thus, the sentence *wu nas mo* is ambiguous on the surface.

Discussion Under this account, the two functions (event number vs. participant number) are not due to different semantic interpretations of v. Instead, (i) the different goals for the probe v are responsible for these two meanings, (ii) v looks for a #-feature that is underspecified and refers to *many x*, *x* being either an event or a participant. It is the distribution of the number features in the structure that give rise to one meaning or to the other one.

More generally, the morphological realization (at PF) is independent from the interpretation (at LF). Also, the differences within languages and between languages are located in the morphology and phonology modules rather than in the syntax.

Conclusion I have proposed a morphosyntactic account of verbal number in Mupun (and in other Chadic languages, such as Mwaghavul). This analysis can explain problematic issues for previous approaches: (i) the realization of verbal number through morphology, (ii) the difference between event number and participant number, (iii) the external argument of unergative verbs as a goal for verbal number.

Keywords: Agreement; Verbal number; West-Chadic language

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World-relatives and their flavors

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Arguments have been provided that complement clauses (Arsenijević 2009a), conditional clauses (Arsenijević 2009b), as well as all other adverbial clauses (Arsenijević 2006) have an underlying structure of relative clauses: they are all derived by abstracting a constituent of the subordinate clause, thus turning it from a saturated expression into a one-place predicate, and all of them occur as restrictive or non-restrictive modifiers of a constituent in the matrix clause. Temporal clauses abstract over a temporal argument, spatial over a spatial, clauses of result/consequence over a degree, comparative clauses over a manner, property or degree. Four traditional classes of subordinate clauses on this approach all abstract away the set of worlds in which the subordinate clause is true, becoming thus a predicate over worlds, and modify the set of worlds in which the main clause is true.

(1) a. John stays late because he has a deadline.

(roughly: John stays late in the worlds in which he has a deadline, which include the actual world)

b. John will stay late if he has a deadline.

(roughly: John stays late in the worlds in which he has a deadline.)

c. John stayed late in order to meet the deadline.

(roughly: John stayed late in the actual world which desirably develops into a met-deadline-world.)

d. But he stayed late last week too, even though he had no deadline.

(roughly: He stayed late last week in the actual world which is a no-deadline world.)

This paper argues that indeed these 4 classes make one macro-class, based on English and Serbo-Croatian data. The arguments rely on the following facts: each 2 or these 4 clause types share at least one conjunction, all and only these clause-types can have an event- and a premise-interpretation (Declerck and Reed 2001) and there is a number of borderline (types of) examples between any two of these clause-types (see also König and Siemund 2000). I argue that the different flavors captured by the traditional division result from the interaction of a number of factors, including crucially: the item(s) occurring with(in) the conjunction (if any), the mood on the conjunction, the mood on the verb (i.e. subjunctive verb forms and even infinitive in some cases may introduce an additional level of modality), and the temporal ordering between the eventualities in the subordinate and the matrix clause. On this view, causal and purpose clauses are conditionals whose condition is not only necessary but also sufficient, causal and concessive clauses are factive conditionals in the sense that the condition is presupposed to be fulfilled, and purpose clauses are futurate and typically order worlds along the scale of desirability.

Keywords: adverbial clauses, generalized relativization, situation-relatives.

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Plural marking in German Turkish Code Switching

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I present data from Turkish German Code Switching: Plurals are marked twice, first using a German plural ending, then attaching the Turkish default plural. The analysis supports the analysis of German –s as default plural (Wiese 1999) while also showing that within the Code Switching context, the Turkish default plural checks for specificity, triggering the need for multiple plural marking.

Code Switching Data as the basis of grammatical analyses opens up a new and emerging research area, that can account for phenomena by visualizing constructions that remain unseen in a monolingual environment. There has been work on DP-phases (van Gelderen/MacSwan 2008) and linearization (Gonzalez-Vilbazo/Lopez 2012) using CS data. The research results already indicate broader consequences on our understanding of multilingualism and the architecture of the Language Faculty, supporting in a broad sense the notion of UG and in a narrower one the constraint-free approach to Code Switching in the sense of MacSwan 1999. Code Switching research also opens up new perspectives on the cognitive model of language, in line with recent neurolinguistic findings suggesting that early bilinguals use similar brain areas with their respective L1s. (Frenck-Mestre et al. 2005) This leads us to believe that there must be only one syntactic path, with different lexical items entering the derivation, especially because some sequences might be uttered following one pattern, but not the other (Linearization).

Turkish uses the default -ler/lar as a plural marker, whereas German consists of four different lexical markers (0, e, er, en), three of which can also undergo Umlaut and one marker -s which has been analyzed as default (Marcus et al. 1995, Wiese 2009). In Turkish German Code Switching, Plurals can be marked either by using the singular root and adding only the default plural as in

(1) (a) hareket- s (b) Buch- lar

move. Pl_{GE}. ('moves') book. Pl_{TR}. ('books')

or by adding both the German and the Turkish plural markers to the German root resulting in structures like the following:

(2) Wohnung- en- ler- i gör-dü-m.

flat. Pl_{GE} Pl_{TR} specificity see.past.1.SG. ('I saw the flats')

However, combining both default markers leads to ungrammatical constructions as in

(3) (a) *Park- s- lar- da oturduk.

park. Pl_{GE} . Pl_{TR} .LOC sit-past.3.PL ('We sat at the parks')

(b) *hareket- ler- s

move. Tr.Pl Ge.Pl ('moves')

Prohibited switches: *kitaplars ('books') *Pizzaslar ('pizzas') *pizzalars. Competition between two defaults leads to a crashed derivation, due to failure in selecting for a marked form, both plurals being underspecified.

root _{GE}	Pl _{GE}	Pl _{TR}	Multiply marked Plurals	CS result	meaning
Frau	-(e)n	-ler/-lar	(e)n + lAr	Frauenlar	women
Hund	-е	-ler	e + lAr	Hundeler	dogs
KÜh	-e + U	-ler	e + U + lAr	Küheler	cows
Kind	-er	-lar	er + lAr	Kinderlar	children
WÄld	-er + U	-lar	er + U + lAr	Wälderlar	forrests
Daumen	-Ø	-ler	Ø + lAr	Daumenler	thumbs
MÜtter	-Ø + U	-lar	$\varnothing + U + \mathbf{lAr}$	Mütterlar	mothers
Park	-5	-lar	*s + lAr	*Parkslar	*Parks

I assume, that the German plurals other than default –s exhibit a higher Markedness. The data also shows that the root must be merged with a marked plural before a default can be applied, resulting in this pattern: M D,*D M, *D D, M M :

(4) (a) M D		(b) *D M
BÜch-er-lar	('books')	*Frau-ler-en ('women')
(c) *D D		(d) M M
*Park-s-lar	('parks')	BÜch-er ('books')

When it comes to the difference between a i.e. Singular German root plus Turkish plural (NP bears plural meaning) ending *Buch-lar-i* [book-Pl_{TR}-ACC] and a German plural plus Turkish plural (also plural meaning) $B\ddot{U}ch$ -er-lar-i [book- Pl_{GE} - Pl_{TR} -ACC], prima facie, both utterances show no difference in plural.

They do, however, exhibit a difference in specificity. If combined with a determiner and ACC marking, an example like ?o Buchları (Det $Sg_{GE} + Pl_{TR}$) if not completely ungrammatical, is at least odd, triggering a need for specificity, whereas o Bücherları (Det $Pl_{GE} + Pl_{TR}$) seems to be completely well-formed. This seems to be, because the Turkish plural checks for some kind of semantic specificity, which the German non-default plural endings seem to carry.

Keywords: german; turkish; plural; code switching

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Pragmatic and syntactic recursion of a person suffering from schizoaffective disorder in his acute phase – a case study

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The presentation aims to demonstrate that the occurrences of recursion in narrative and dialogue discourse of a person with schizoaffective disorder, at both syntactic and pragmatic levels support known deficits of linguistic functions in an acute phase. Schizophrenia may show very characteristic symptoms and deficits in speech productions compared to healthy members of the population; these different linguistic differences also play an important role in clinical diagnostics (Garab 2007).

According to Crow's theory, language and psychosis have a common evolutionary origin (Crow 1997). Mitchell and Crow (2005) explain that language is linked to both hemispheres. The main linguistic symptoms of schizophrenia could be considered as the language's coordinating mistake between the two of them. Recursion (as an embedding) might be a specific feature of the most important area of language ability (Levinson 2014:6).

The present case study describes the language use of one patient. Analysis can be divided into three major parts. In the first, general cognitive abilities were studied. The second includes results of sentence-level tasks. In the third, the appearances of recursive structures were examined in spontaneous speech tasks and in an interview.

The subject of the case study was a right-handed male with schizoaffective disorder (bipolar type), in acute shub. At the time of the examination (July 4-13, 2017) his age was 30 years, education (in years) was 18.

Tests were taken and recorded in eight sessions at the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Szeged, Faculty of Medicine. Taken tests were the followings: Mini-Mental State Examination, clock drawing task, verbal fluency tasks (letter, semantic, action naming) non-word repetition task, forward and backward digit span, listening span, spontaneous speech task, theory of mind tasks, comprehension of irony and metaphor, syntactic recursion and discourse tasks.

Hypotheses were as follows: we sought to find out whether (1) spontaneous embedding in his speech production is present and, if it is, what pattern has it. We assumed that (2) the topic will be himself; his utterances will be characterized by syntactic recursion; while (3) pragmatic recursion will be less apparent. So, we might find a possible connection between discursive behavior and mental status.

The results of the research: the subject has well-maintained cognitive abilities, his pragmatic abilities and his insights in theory of mind abilities are intact at the basic level. He uses considerably more recursive structures than the control group, but in his dialogues, pragmatic recursion stops at the 3rd level. Therefore, we find it worthwhile to extend the examination of recursion to text-narrative-discourse levels for other patients to receive more information about connections between pragmatic and syntactic recursion and schizophrenia.

Present lecture's results link to Prevention of Mental Illnesses Interdisciplinary Research Group, which takes place at the Department of Psychiatry, University of Szeged, Faculty of Medicine. This research was supported by the EU-funded Hungarian grant EFOP-3.6.1-16-2016-00008.

Keywords: schizophrenia, schizoaffective disorder, language, recursion, embedding

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"Partial control" inflected infinitives are not obligatorily controlled

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In recent years, it has been proposed that there are languages in which there are two kinds of obligatory control (OC), the familiar type of control that is attested in non-inflected, Caseless infinitives, and a new type of control, found in infinitives in which the null subject has Case (Modesto 2010, Sheehan 2014). The evidence comes from Portuguese, a language with two types of infinitives, non-inflected (cf. (1a)) and inflected (cf. (1b)):

(1)	a. A the	mãe mother	convenceu convinced	as the	crianças _i children	a [—] _i to —	almoçar have.lunch	mais more	cedo. early
	b. A	mãe	convenceu	a	crianças _i	a [—] _i	almoçarem	mais ce	do].
	the	mother	convinced	the	children	to [—]	have.lunch.3PL	more ea	arly
	'The	eir mothe	er convinced the	children	to have lunch e	arlier.'			

Modesto (2010), on the basis of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and Sheehan (2014), based on European Portuguese (EP), argue that the (a) and (b) examples in (1) are instances of OC. The arguments given in favor of OC inflected-infinitives come from so-called *partial control* examples such as (2):

(2)	a. Eu _i I	preferia /pr would prefer/pr	ometi omised	[—] _{i+} reunirn to gath	10-nos er 1PL-ourse	mais tarde. lves more late	
	'I would prefer/promised to meet later'						
	b. Eu _i convenci a p		professora _k	a [—] _{i+k}	a [—] _{i+k} reunirmo-nos m		
	Ι	convinced.1SG	the	teacher	to	gather.1PL-ourselves	more late
	ʻI co	nvinced the teach	er to m	neet later'			

On the other hand, it has been known at least since Pires (2006) that non-inflected infinitives differ from inflected infinitives in crucial ways: while the latter may take split antecedents (cf. (3a)), non inflected infinitives cannot (cf. (3b):

(3)	a. O Pedro convenceu a	Maria a irem	morar juntos.
	the Pedro convinced the	Maria to go.3P	L live together
	b. *O Pedro convenceu a	Maria a ir n	norar juntos
	the Pedro convinced th	ne Maria to go l	ive together
	'Pedro convinced Mari	a to live togethe	er'

This contrast is expected under the assumption that (3b) is a case of OC while (3a) contains a *pro* subject and is not a case of OC. Under the proposal that (3a) is an instance of OC, the contrast between (3a) and (3b) is particularly puzzling, as it would entail that there are two distinct types of OC, a nontrivial conclusion. For this reason, we believe this claim should be carefully scrutinized. This talk will examine the arguments given in favor of the claim that examples such as (3a) are instances of OC and it will argue that there are no reasons to posit this new kind of OC, at least not on the basis of EP. The cases that fall under this new species of OC can all be explained as instances of (accidental) coreference.

Keywords: obligatory control; inflected infinitives; Portuguese

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Failure to undergo *wh* fronting in order to avoid overt 'who who' or 'what what' sequences

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This study discusses an issue raised in the 1990s: Bulgarian interrogatives in which the same question word—either 'who' or 'what'—is both the external argument and the direct object. If fronting all the *wh* elements would result in consecutive homophones, it's possible for one of these to remain unfronted.

The earliest reported data are listed in (1). In a colloquial register, where *koj* 'who' is used for both NOM and ACC, speakers prefer orders as in (1b). The consecutive-*wh* sequences in (1) are surprising, considering that in (2a) the sequence *kogo kogo* is unacceptable. Instead, only the order in (2b) is permitted, because in (2a) there are consecutive instances of *kogo*. Similar data in Bulgarian and other Slavic or Balkan languages have been reported. (Alas, to save space, this abstract lists only Bulgarian data.)

B&R assume that (2a-b) compete with each other, that they satisfy syntactic constraints equally but a phonological restriction against consecutive homophony rules out only (2a). From a different perspective, Bošković (2001) proposes that (2a-b) are separate derivations. Though the *wh* external argument *koj* 'who' moves first in both, in (2a) the indirect object *na kogo* 'to whom' fronts next, with the direct object *kogo* 'whom' moving last, whereas in (2b) the two internal arguments are fronted in the opposite order. Bošković assumes that movement chains entail leaving behind copies, with only one copy per chain ending up being pronounced. Occasionally, a lower copy in a chain can be pronounced, just in case pronouncing the highest one results in consecutive homophony, as in (2a). Particularly convincing is evidence that alongside (2) are their counterparts with only two *wh* phrases fronted in (3), with the only remaining internal-argument *wh* phrase in each pronounced *in situ*. Crucially, only (3a) is acceptable, because pronouncing the lower copy of the *wh* direct object is preferable to the order involving *kogo kogo* in (2a). By contrast, leaving the *wh* indirect object in (3b) *in situ* does not remedy any problem in (2b).

An additional twist occurs in a colloquial register of Bulgarian, where the *wh* indirect object is *na koj*, literally 'to who', whereas the *wh* direct object is still *kogo* 'whom'. In (4a–b) there is complete optionality because *kogo* occurs only once. Compare, however, (4c), unacceptable because no consecutive homophony need be avoided.

The literature also discusses ways to avoid saying 'what' twice in a row—to which (1a) is actually an exception—because the relevant languages attest syncretic NOM and ACC 'what'. As such, there is a wider range of structures in which to observe potential sequences. Next, (5a) shows prohibited consecutive, fronted instances of 'what'—i.e., as both external argument and direct object. The work-around is for one of the instances of 'what' to remain *in situ*, clause-finally, in (5b).

- (1) (a) **Kakvo kakvo** e udarilo? what what S_{PRS.3SG} hit_{PTCP.N.SG} 'What hit what?' [B&R 1996, 44]
 - (b) **Koj koj** trjabva da sluša? who who should_{PRS.3SG} to listen_{PRS.3SG} 'Who has to obey who?' [B&R 1996, 55, n. 10]

(2) (a) *Koj na kogo kogo e pokazal?

(b) Koj **kogo** na **kogo** e pokazal? who whom to whom S_{PRS.3SG} show_{PTCP.M.SG} 'Who showed whom to whom?' [both from Rudin 1988, 473]

(3) (a) Koj na kogo e pokazal kogo?

- (b) ^{??}Koj kogo e pokazal na kogo? [both from Bošković 2001, 105]
- (4) (a) Koj **kogo** na **koj** e pokazal? who whom to who S_{PRS.3SG} show_{PTCP.M.SG}
 - (b) Koj na koj kogo e pokazal?
 'Who showed whom to who?' [both from B&R 1996, 45]
 (c) *Koj na koj e pokazal kogo? [2017, 135]
- (5) (a) *Kakvo kakvo obuslavja?
 - (b) Kakvo obuslavja kakvo?
 what condition_{PRS.3SG} what
 'What conditions what?' [both from Bošković 2002, 364]

Keywords: interrogative; wh; Slavic; syntax; consecutive homophony

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What aspect tells us about idioms and what idioms tell us about aspect

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In early theoretical and psycholinguistic approaches, all idioms were viewed as noncompositional lexical units ([1],[2],[3],[4],[5],[6],[7]). This unitary view was later challenged by, e.g., [8], who postulated a division of idioms into those which are stored in the mental lexicon (kick the bucket) as syntactically frozen chunks and those which are syntactically flexible. Additionally, [8] state that we have access to the literal meanings of idiom constituents of syntactically flexible idioms only. In more recent experimental approaches to idioms, [9] and [10] argue that we always have access to the literal meanings of idiom constituents and that the syntactic behavior of a given idiom is idiosyncratic and such syntactic idiosyncrasies are part of the idiom's lexical representation. In this talk, we intend to provide new facts from Polish showing that idioms display a varying degree of syntactic flexibility (contra [8]) but that the syntactic behavior of idioms is not as idiosyncratic as suggested by [10]. More precisely, we want to ask two questions: (i) whether the syntactic behavior of idioms is predictable or idiosyncratic and (ii) to what extent the syntax of an idiom is encoded in its lexical representation? In order to answer these questions, we conducted a corpus-based study, in which we used 13 tests to determine the syntactic flexibility of 50 Polish VP idioms. We checked whether a given idiom could be found in the corpus (Araneum Polonicum Maius (Polish, 15.02)) in the modified form under question (e.g., negative form, passivized form, modal form, etc.) without losing its figurative meaning. Examples from outside the corpus were consulted with Polish native speakers. One important observation is that syntactic flexibility is a scalar property. Idioms' syntactic properties seem to reflect the hierarchy of projections proposed by major generative accounts (e.g., [11], [12], [13]), with less flexible idioms only allowing for most external modifications related to higher functional projections (i.e., those above AspP), and high flexible idioms also allowing for modifications related to lower functional projections (i.e., those including AspP and VoiceP/vP) as well as modifications of elements within the VP. This may suggest that only the VP is part of the lexical representation of idioms. To further support this conclusion, we will present the results of our aspect test, where we checked whether a given idiom can occur in a perfective and an imperfective form. Our new data show that we can use only purely grammatical aspectual morphemes but not the ones which carry an additional lexical content to modify the idioms' aspectual interpretation. More precisely, when the original idiomatic phrase has an irregular perfective form or when it contains a lexical perfective prefix, it is possible to change its aspectual value to imperfective by applying a purely grammatical imperfectivizing suffixation (see 1 and 2). However, when the original idiomatic phrase contains an imperfective verb, it is possible to modify it by means of a purely grammatical perfective prefix but not by means of a lexical perfectivizing prefix (see **3a** vs. **3b**). In addition, if the figurative meaning stored in the lexical representation of a given idiom is habitual, then even if the aspectual morpheme is purely grammatical but it makes an event episodic, such an aspectual modification is blocked (see 4). These observations allow us to hypothesize following [9] and [10] that the idiom's lexical representation contains its VP syntactic frame and the syntactic flexibility of a given idiom is constrained by the lexically encoded properties of a verb heading that VP. VP-external aspectual modification (purely grammatical aspectual morphemes) can be used to modify the idiom's aspectual value on condition that this modification is not in conflict with the

potentially habitual character of a given idiom. These observations provide new evidence that some perfective verbs (the ones with lexical perfective prefixes) are lexically stored as such but other perfective verbs in Polish (the ones with purely grammatical aspectual morphemes) are regularly composed in syntax. This is in contrast to [14], who claims that all perfective verbs are lexically stored as such.

- (1) kupić^{PF} / kup**owa**ć^{IMPF} kota w worku ('to buy a cat in a sack')
- (2) $dolać^{PF} / dolewać^{IMPF}$ oliwy do ognia ('to add olive to the fire')
- (3) (a) dzielić^{IMPF} / podzielić^{PF} włos na czworo ('to split a hair into four parts')
 (b) # rozdzielić^{PF} włos na czworo ('to divide / break up a hair into four parts' (lit.))
- (4) (a) rzucać^{IMPF}/ # rzucić^{PF} perły przed wieprze ('to throw pearls in front of the pigs')
 (b) chodzić^{IMPF}/ # iść^{PF} spać z kurami ('to go to sleep with hens')

Keywords: idioms; syntactic flexibility; aspect; aspect composition; aspectual morphemes

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Does the*ABA hold for the verbal paradigm

bare infinitive-simple past-past participle in English?

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The paper aims to show that the *ABA pattern cannot be extended in dealing with the bare infinitive-past participle-simple past paradigm, in spite of existing attempts to do so in the literature (Müller 2006, Bobaljik 2011), revealing various (theoretical and empirical coverage) problems of this account. Gereon Müller (2006) has argued for German (but the account could potentially be extended to English as well) that, in spite of the ordering of the forms in the verbal paradigm as bare infinitive-simple past-past participle, the actual paradigm is bare infinitive-simple past-past participle, with the Past built on the Past Participle and differing from it in only one feature, [+finite]. While both the Past and the Past Participle would have the feature [+past], the Past would also be [+finite].

First and foremost, such an account faces a serious theoretical problem, in that the past participle is an aspectual form, showing the relationship of anteriority between ET and RT (Reichenbach 1947, Smith 1991), while simple past represents a temporal form, comprising both tense and aspectual information: ST= NOW, RT before ST (tense information), ET= RT (aspectual information), therefore, ET before ST. While both past participle and simple past indicate a relationship of anteriority, this relationship is established between different elements, thus, saying both have a [+past] feature is inappropriate. Moreover, if the same elements are considered (ET and RT), the relation seems to be quite different (ET before RT for past participle, ET= RT for simple past).

Secondly, from an empirical point of view, although such an account seems to fare well with examples of the type *eat-eaten-ate*, *give- given,-gave*, *go-gone-went*, *fall-fallen-fell* (if the paradigm is organized like this, **eat-ate-eaten* is no longer a violation of *ABA), it is problematic in dealing with examples such as *choose-chosen-chose*, *forget-forgotten-forgot*, *freeze-frozen-froze*, *hide-hidden-hid*, where the Past Participle seems to be built on the past simple form, through the addition of an *-en* morpheme, and not the other way round. Moreover, it also faces problems in coping with examples such as *swell-swollen-swelled* or *light-lit-lighted*, which seem to violate *ABA. It is true that the past participle form in such cases can sometimes be identical to the simple past form (ABB), but the option of interest to this research seems to be valid as well. Through an acceptability judgment task containing 12 sentences with a past participle form B and a past simple form A, answers were collected from 100 native speakers of English, who were asked to rate a sentence such as (1) along a likert scale from 1 (zero acceptability) to 5 (high acceptability):

(1) Linda's ankles had swollen hours before Tom's swelled.

The results reveal a mean rate of above 3 for 8 of the sentences, showing that speakers (of different varieties of English) seem to accept *ABA patterns.

A possible account for this violation would be that, while there is a containment relation between Aspect and Tense (Tense> Aspect), there is no containment relation between past participle and simple past (*Simple Past> Past Participle), but rather between past participle and present perfect or past perfect. Simple past is zero marked from an
aspectual point of view, while past participle is perfective (see Representations). Given that *ABA is a principle which applies to containment structures (the Superset Principle in Starke 2009, Caha 2009, Bobaljik 2011), forms such as *swell-swollen-swelled* do not represent a violation of *ABA.

Representations

ii. Present Perfect/ Past Perfect:

Present/ Past

Perfect

iii. *Present Simple/Past Simple

Perfect

iv. Past Simple:

Past

Simple (Aspect), i.e. non-perfective, non-continuous

Keywords: ABA pattern, perfective aspect, tense

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A Corpus-based Investigation of Ambiguity Variation across Languages

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We wish to investigate differences in ambiguity in different languages. We approach this by examining the distribution of senses in a small corpus of translations that has been sense annotated in multiple languages using comparable lexicons.

We consider a single Sherlock Holmes story *The Adventure of the Speckled Band*(Conan Doyle, 1892) in the original English and translations in Mandarin Chinese, Indonesian and Japanese (NTU Multilingual Corpus: Tan and Bond, 2012). The senses are tagged with the Princeton Wordnet of English (Fellbaum, 1998), the Chinese Open Wordnet (see Wang and Bond, 2013), the Wordnet Bahasa (Bond et al., 2014) and the Japanese wordnet(Isahara et al., 2008) enhanced with pronouns, exclamatives and classifiers (COW: Seah and Bond, 2014; Morgado da Costa and Bond, 2016). On the basis of wordnet alignment within the Open Multilingual WordNet (Bond and Foster, 2013), we are able to compare the distribution of senses across languages.

The numbers of sentences, words and concepts (single word and multiword) for each language are shown in Table 1. The original English has 599 sentences, but translators tend to split long sentences, so the translations have more. The number of words is roughly comparable: Japanese and Mandarin are tokenized slightly more finely than English and Indonesian. There is more variation in the number of concepts: wordnet only contains open class words, but the definition varies across language. COW includes the equivalents of English modals and numeral classifiers, which are more open than articles. This drives up the number of concepts. These language specific variations make cross-linguistic comparison challenging. Further, it is well known that translated text is not exactly the same as native text, but there is no other way to get a very similar cross-lingual dataset. Ideally, to control for this, we should have one set translated from each language, we are working on expanding the corpus in this way.

Language	Sentences	Words	Concepts	MWC	SWC
English	599	11,741	6,425	285	6,140
Indonesian	709	10,345	6,140	279	5,861
Japanese	702	13,936	4,925	174	4,751
Mandarin	619	12,681	8,263	316	7,947

Table 1: Corpus size per language

The average ambiguity, maximum ambiguity and maximum variation is shown in Table 2. The one sense per discourse hypothesis definitely does not hold (Gale et al., 1992), with up to eleven senses for a single lemma. The most ambiguous words in English are *see*, *so*, and *be*. Other languages show similar results, with verbs and adverbs being the most polysemous in the corpus. The most interesting variation is in the average ambiguity: Chinese and Japanese which are written using Chinese characters show far less ambiguity than English and Indonesian: The more complicated orthography reduces ambiguity. At the peaks: how ambiguous

is the most ambiguous lemma, and how many ways are there to represent the most varied concept (variation), there is less difference between languages.

Language	Ambiguity	Max Ambiguity	Max Variation
English	1.26	10	4
Indonesian	1.15	11	7
Japanese	1.05	9	7
Mandarin	1.01	9	10

Table 2: Ambiguity per language

We are currently working on annotating Chinese and Japanese with their transliteration, which will allow us to estimate the average ambiguity for spoken language: we expect it to increase significantly.

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Insertion without competition: a case for Free Choice

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1. Claims. On the basis of Czech and English data, this paper argues that (i) the comparative consists of two heads C1 and C2 instead of one CMPR head; and (ii) that adjectives come in various sizes, spelling out different layers of functional structure. These assumptions will allow us to explain a range of facts about suppletion and allomorphy. In order to correctly model the competition between the various types of adjectives, we dispense with the Elsewhere Principle (EP), and introduce a Faithfulness Restriction on Cyclic Override.

2. Decomposition of ADJ and CMPR. Caha (2017), De Clercq & Vanden Wyngaerd (2017a) argue for a decomposition of CMPR in two heads C1 and C2 on the basis of the fact that the productive marker of the comparative in Czech, the suffix -*ějš*-, consists of two parts (-*ěj*- and -*š*-). We further assume that adjectives in the positive degree are also to be decomposed into a root and a Q-feature, the latter contributing gradability (Bresnan 1973, Corver 1997, De Clercq 2013, De Clercq and Vanden Wyngaerd 2017b). The Q feature can also be independently lexicalized, with the result that some Czech adjectives show up to three markers after the root in the comparative, see (1).

3. The size of adjectives. It is, however, not always the case that we see all the morphemes. For instance, there are adjectives with no Q marker, but with both C1 and C2 present, see the second row of table (2). There are also roots with only $-\dot{s}$ - (see *star-\dot{s}-i* 'older') or even with zero comparative morphology (the form *ost\check{r}-i* 'sharper' is attested in NE Bohemian dialects). We model this by distinguishing four different types of adjectives in Czech based on their size, as shown in table (2). The different classes of roots spell out various sizes of the functional structure, which leads to the surface absence of the relevant functional markers. English provides supporting evidence consistent with the same model, with two types of roots (see table (3)). The tables thus show how the size of the adjective correlates with the number of comparative markers used for the expression of the comparative.

4. Faithfulness. The different sizes of the adjectives present us with a problem with respect to the nanosyntactic spellout algorithm, which favours nonmovement spellouts over movement ones (Starke 2017). Suppose the syntax merges \sqrt{P} : all adjective types in (2) are candidates for insertion by the Superset Principle (SP), but the Elsewhere Principle (EP) will allow insertion only of those of the *div* 'wild' type (i.e. the smallest size). After Q is merged, all and only the adjectives of the *rychl* 'fast' class (QP-size) are insertable by SP/EP, and would override the earlier spellout *div* 'wild' by Cyclic Override. To derive *div-ok* 'wild', movement would have to apply, but spellout favours nonmovement (and for good reasons: nonmovement)

spellout *star* 'old' must be preferred over movement spellout *stař-ej* 'old-C1'). If the derivation continues to merge C1, only adjectives of the *star* type are insertable, by the same logic. We propose to solve this problem by giving up EP, so that there is Free Choice of insertion at the bottom of the derivation (i.e. \sqrt{P}). The subsequent derivation is subject to a Faithfulness Restriction (FR) FR (4), which forces the derivation to stick to the initial lexical choice. The only exception are suppletive forms, which are allowed to override their nonsuppletive counterparts by the b-clause of the FR in (4). In the talk, we present a detailed discussion of how the Faithfulness Restriction interacts with the spellout driven movement algorithm to derive both the Czech and the English cases, both the regular and the suppletive ones.

Tables and figures



(4) Faithfulness Restriction (FR) A spellout /α/ may override an earlier spellout /β/ iff
a. /α/ = /β/
b. /α/ contains a pointer to /β/

Keywords: comparative; suppletion; competition; Elsewhere Principle

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English Marked Infinitive Expressing Realis Mood

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It is widely understood that the English infinitive usually expresses Irrealis. A formal implementation of this general pattern is worked out in Wurmbrand (2001) and certain aspects are further analyzed in Čakányová and Emonds (2017). However, some English infinitives are Realis. The categories are:

- I. Completion complements
 - (1) Peter **turns out** to be the villain.
 - (2) Jane **happens** to be my daughter.
- II. Verbs of perception
 - (3) I saw him cross the street.
 - (4) He was **seen** to cross the street.
- III. Some adjectives with stative verbs
 - (5) He is **happy** to have us.
 - (6) I am **proud** to be your daughter.

These exceptions to the rule include complementation of several categories of verbs and adjectives that have some distinct features. However, what all these categories seem to share is the way they get selected as complements of closed classes of elements. None of the examples is an adjunct, or subject, or infinitival relative, they are all complements of verbs or adjectives. Also, the governing verbs or adjectives are –Agent. They are all truly exceptional to the vast number of Irrealis infinitival uses.

I. In the case of *turn out* the *out* part is not really a preposition, it is an empty word and as such it is meaningless, it is part of the selection. It can be meaningless particularly because it is selected. These verbs have a feature that requires the complement to be Realis and this Ass(ertion) feature of the selecting category head, similar to Zubizaretta's (2001) Assertion operator present in finite factive complements, overrides the Irrealis feature of the infinitive. The key point here is that with typical infinitival complements and infinitives in general by the time the infinitive gets to LF, it gets interpreted as -Realis expressing future pointing, a conditional or other non-factive meaning. There is no I position filled with any time specification. In case of *turn out* and *happen* the infinitive is Realis in LF as in (1) and (2) because the main verb's Realis feature is imposed on the complement.

II. Verbs of perception are closed class items selecting VP (bare infinitives) that aren't maximal projections (vPs). Our claim is that basic Irrealis comes from *to* in a *to*-infinitive. Realis consequently emerges if there is no *to*. The *tos* which are inserted in passive voice come from different aspects of syntax.

III. Some English adjectives impose Realis feature on the head of their complement. They are limited in number and are inherently factive and their factivity feature overrides the Irrealis of the infinitive. This type of adjectives, like the adjective *proud* can easily pass all four factivity tests (Kiparsky 1971) that show if the factivity of the verb still holds under negation, question, and projection. The verb complementing the adjectives must be stative.

In this paper, I will show in more detail how these exceptional subclasses can receive their Realis interpretation and what their structural characteristic is.

Keywords: infinitive; Realis; Irrealis; open class; closed class

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Micro-variation in the possessive systems of Italian dialects

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The talk addresses three research questions regarding the parametric variation found in the possessive systems of Italian dialects. Data come from AIS maps (Jahberg and Jud 1928-40; Tisato 2009) and the vast traditional and generative literature on the topic.

We claim that variation mainly concerns lexical variation. Dialects differ with respect to the possessive forms available in their lexicon (clitic, weak, strong possessives; cf. Cardinaletti's 1998 extension to possessives of the tripartition of pronouns proposed by Cardinaletti and Starke 1999) and to the different lexical properties of kinship nouns and common nouns to agree with a possessor (Giusti 2015). The three main research questions are reported below.

1. What is the distribution of the three possible forms of possessives across Italo-Romance varieties?

A number of properties correlate with the lexical status of possessives (clitic, weak, strong). These properties are not subject to variation. Clitic possessives only occur with kinship terms with no determiner (we take them to cliticise to (N+)D); weak possessives occur in prenominal position (we take them to be in the DP-internal subject position immediately below D, Picallo 1994, Cardinaletti 1998, Giusti 2015); strong possessives occur in postnominal position and require a prenominal determiner (we take them to be NP-internal, Giusti 1994, Brugè 1996).

2. What are the selectional properties of kinship terms with respect to possessives?

Great variation is found with kinship terms. In some dialects, clitic possessives are enclitic on a restrictive number of Ns (e.g. Salentino: *fratuta* "brother your"). In this case, kinship terms have short forms suggesting that they are specified for raising to D. Other dialects behave like Catalan (Picallo 1994: 292) in requiring determiners preceding a weak possessive (e.g. Lombard varieties: *el me fjöl* "the my son", Rohlfs 1968:128). In some dialects, the determiner is only absent in the singular (Ancona: *tu fratelo* "your brother", *i fratelu tui* "the brothers your"). In other dialects, the determiner is absent not only with singular, but also with some plural kinship nouns (e.g. Veneto: *me nevodi* "my nephews", Rohlfs 1968:128).

The intricate correlation between the properties of kinship terms and the occurrence of the definite article has a consequence on the occurrence of possessives. Whether clitic or weak possessives are chosen is ruled by the Economy choice principle suggested by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999).

3. What is the paradigm of clitic possessives?

Variation also concerns the person features of clitic/weak possessives: e.g. Veneto: *me / to / so pare* vs. Ancona: *mi padre, tu padre, *su padre* ("my, your, his/her father"). This property

correlates with two independent facts: first, the occurrence of nominative clitic pronouns in the pronominal system (Central-Southern Italian dialects do not have nominative clitic pronouns, differently from Northern Italian dialects); second, the "expletive" meaning of definite articles which also occur in indefinite nominal expressions in Central-Southern Italian dialects, but not in Northern Italian dialects (*non mangio la carne* "I do not eat the meat" vs. *non mangio carne* "I do not eat meat", respectively, with the same meaning; cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2018).

Keywords: possessive, kinship terms, Italo-Romance varieties

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French and Czech Participial Attributes

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In my paper I am going to compare the distribution and the interpretation of the attributes derived from participles in French and in Czech, occasionally touching on the English ones.

There are two main differences between French and Czech participial attributes. First, like all but the simplest adjectival attributes these participle based attributes are post-nominal in French, while in Czech they are sometimes pre- and sometimes post-nominal. Second, these participial formations in French are always lexicalized adjectives, even when they give rise to more complex phrases. In contrast in Czech, besides lexicalized adjectives, there are participial constructions with more verbal interpretation (not unlike similar participles of English).

Regarding word order, the complex adjectives are always found post-nominally in French.

- (1) **Thomas avait l' air d' un fatigué de la vie homme*. (French) *Thomas_{MS} had_{3S} the_S look_{MS} of a_{MS} tired_{MS} of the_{FS} life_{FS} man_{MS}
- (2) Thomas avait l' air d' un homme fatigué de la vie. (French) Thomas_{MS} had_{3S} the_S look_{MS} of a_{MS} man_{MS} tired_{MS} of the_{FS} life_{FS} 'Thomas looked like a man *tired of life*.'

We will see that in Czech both the post-nominal position and the pre-nominal one are available for a complex adjective.

- (3) **Tomáš vypadal jako unavený životem člověk*. (Czech) *Thomas_{MS.NOM} looked_{MS} like tired_{MS.NOM} life_{MS.INS} man_{MS.NOM}
- (4) Tomáš vypadal jako člověk unavený životem. (Czech) Thomas_{MS.NOM} looked_{MS} like man_{MS.NOM} tired_{MS.NOM} life_{MS.INS}
 'Thomas looked like a man *tired of life*.'
- (5) Tomáš vypadal jako životem unavený člověk. (Czech) Thomas_{MS.NOM} looked_{MS} like life_{MS.NS} tired_{MS.NOM} man_{MS.NOM}
 'Thomas looked like a man tired of life.'

Verbal interpreted participial attributes are not acceptable in French. They must be replaced by a relative clause.

- (6) *Un enfant courant (dans la rue) criait haut. * a_{MS} child_{MS} running_{MS} in the_{FS} street_{FS} was.crying_{3S} loudly
- (7) *Les gens toujours travaillants risquent d' être gravement malades. *the_{PL} person_{MPL} always working_{MPL} run.a.risk_{3PL} of be_{INF} seriously ill_{MPL}

(8) Les gens qui travaillent toujours risquent d' être thepl person_{MPL} who work_{3PL} always run.a.risk_{3PL} of be_{INF} gravement malades. seriously ill_{MPL}
'People who always work run a risk of being seriously ill.'

In Czech (similarly to English) verbal interpreted participial attributes are grammatical.

- (9) (On) Pobihal mezi jedoucími auty.
 (He) was.running.around among going_{NtPL.INS} car_{NtPL.INS}
 'He was running around among moving cars.'
- (10) *Otec vyprávějící pohádku usnul.* father_{MS.NOM} telling_{FS.NOM} fairy.tale_{FS.ACC} fell.asleep 'The father *telling* a fairy tale fell asleep.'

With regard to the word order, I utilised the head initial and head final position. I will show that this parameter must be located at branch point in the Chomsky and Lasnik (1977) model counter to much present thinking. For the verbally interpreted participles of Czech I will show that the different levels of insertion proposed by Emonds (2002) account for them. French simply lacks the insertion at Spell out available in Czech (and in English).

Keywords: participial attribute; adjectival phrase; verbal interpretation; distribution; insertion level

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Expressive N+N combinations in Polish: *samochód-marzenie* 'a dream of a car' and *dyrektor-idiota* 'an idiot of a manager'

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This presentation will investigate Polish N+N combinations in (1) and (2) which correspond to English expressive binominal constructions *NP of NP* (Aarts 1998, Foolen 2004).

- (1) (a) *samochód-marzenie* (lit. car dream) 'a dream of a car'
 (b) *kobieta-anioł* (lit. woman angel) 'an angel of a woman'
- (2) (a) *dyrektor-idiota* (lit. manager idiot) 'an idiot of a manager'(b) *żołnierz oferma* (lit. soldier wimp) 'a wimp of a soldier'

Such Polish N+N combinations are treated as compound-like dvandva juxtapositions by Damborský (1966), as noun phrases in apposition by Kallas (1980), and as syntactic N+N constructs by Willim (2001). They will be recognized here as phrasal nouns (cf. Masini 2009, Booij 2010).

It will be argued that the group of expressive phrasal nouns in Polish is not homogeneous. The lexical items in (1) can be treated as belonging to attributive-appositive phrasal nouns, i.e. the ATAP class in Scalise and Bisetto's (2009) compound typology. They are not reversible and they cannot be paraphrased using the formula "An X+Y is an X who/which is also a Y", which is employed by Renner and Fernández-Domínguez (2011) for Spanish and English multifunctional coordinate compounds. On the other hand, the N+N combinations in (2) exhibit properties of coordinate juxtapositions. They are reversible, cf. (2a) and *idiota dyrektor* (lit. idiot manager) 'an idiot of a manager'. They denote an intersection of two sets (of people) and can be paraphrased by means of the multifunctional coordinate compound formula, e.g. *dyrektor-idiota* 'an idiot of a manager' in (2a) is both a manager and an idiot.

This split in Polish expressive N+N combinations will be shown to correspond to the distinction between Type I and Type II binominal NPs (i.e. impression vs. attitude binominals) proposed by Foolen (2004) for Germanic and Romance languages.

Another issue considered in the presentation is the headedness of expressive phrasal nouns, in view of the distinction between formal (i.e., categorial and/or morphological) and semantic heads of compounds (cf. Scalise and Fábregas 2010, Masini and Scalise 2013). The left-hand constituent in (1) and (3a) is both the categorial, morphological and semantic head, followed by its modifier. The two constituents of the juxtapositions in (2) and (3b) will both function as semantic heads (as is expected of coordinate compounds, cf. Fabb 1984), but only the left-hand element is the morphological head which determines the gender of the whole NN combination.

- (3) (a) Ten samochód marzenie się zepsuł.
 (b) Ten kierowca oferma się potknął.
 - (b) Ten sterowca oferma stę potknąt. this.M.NOM.SG driver.M.NOM.SG wimp.F.NOM.SG REFL stumble.PST.3SG.M 'That wimp of a driver stumbled.'

Furthermore, given the insight from the analysis of English binominal constructions by Foolen (2004), it could be argued that the the right-hand constituents in (1) and (2) serve as expressive heads. This is further indicated by their possibility to appear as the first constituent in the negative construction in (4).

(4)	Marzenie	nie	samochód.
	dream.N.NOM.SG	not	car.M.NOM.SG
	'a dream of a car'		

Keywords: expressive NN juxtapositions; ATAP phrasal nouns; coordinate phrasal nouns;

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Tracking simplification in a parallel corpus

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The main objective of the paper is to examine whether a translation feature called simplification and its manifestations in Czech translated texts have their rudiments in English originals. Simplification is one of the so-called translation universals, originally defined by Mona Baker (Baker 1993, 1996) as "the idea that translators subconsciously simplify the language or message or both" (1996: 176). The concept of simplification has been tested thoroughly mainly on English (e.g. Laviosa 1998; Corpas Pastor, Mitkov, Afzal & Pekar 2008; Lapshinova-Koltunski 2015) pointing to similar conclusions: simplification can be demonstrated in lower lexical richness and lexical density (in other words in less varied and more familiar vocabulary) and in shorter sentences.

According to Chesterman's classification of universals (Chesterman 2004), simplification can be studied both a) as a T-universal in a comparable monolingual corpus (aimed at the target texts, contrasting translated and non-translated texts) and b) as an S-universal in a parallel corpus (aimed at the source texts, analyzing translated texts and their originals). In the Czech context, simplification was systematically analyzed as a T-universal (Chlumská & Richterová 2014, Cvrček & Chlumská 2015, Chlumská 2017) in the Jerome comparable corpus (Chlumská 2013) using quantitative methods. The research focused mainly on the following linguistic indicators: lexical richness, lexical density and text readability, employing several formal operators, such as type-token ratio, Yule coefficient, top frequency words comparison, or sentence length.

The results indicated that simplification does occur to a certain extent in Czech translations as opposed to non-translated texts; however, due to the comparable corpus limitations (especially the absence of source texts), it was impossible to interpret and clarify all of the findings. This study therefore aims to be a follow-up study to track some of the observed simplification effects in the InterCorp parallel corpus using both quantitative and qualitative methods.

The study will be based on the InterCorp parallel corpus, version 10 from 2017, namely its balanced subcorpus that is currently being designed at the Institute of the Czech National Corpus for the purposes of specialized contrastive and translation studies. The data will include carefully selected fiction, translated into Czech from English as the most common source language of Czech translated texts, so that the translations could be contrasted with their originals. Following the previous findings (Chlumská & Richterová 2014, Chlumská 2015), several features related to simplification will be looked into, e.g. lexical richness, text readability or n-gram complexity. Unlike the original research conducted on one language only (translated and non-translated Czech), this study has to take into account many specificities of both languages coming from the fact that they belong to completely different typological language groups (inflectional v. analytical).

The main research question to be answered remains whether the simplification effects observed in translated Czech texts in previous studies can be attributed to certain features in the English source texts, in other words, whether and how these traits can be explained in the light of the original texts.

Keywords: translation universal; simplification; parallel corpus; English; Czech

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Typology and Parameters: A Study of DP Ellipsis in Formosan Languages

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This paper argues that DP ellipsis (DPE) in Formosan languages exhibits at least two patterns: voice-sensitive type as Javanese (Sato 2015) and non-voice-sensitive type. Two Formosan languages, Atayal and Amis, are investigated to support this assumption according to the licensing conditions. Formosan languages are treated as discourse-oriented languages (Wei 2016). Their split voice systems possess the characteristics of both accusative-language and ergative-language (i.e., a split-ergative pattern or a mixed-pattern) with respect to the morphosyntactic alignment. Unfortunately, the comparison of the DPE between actor voice (AV) and non-actor voice (NAV, including PV, LV, I/BV) construction is less discussed in the literature. We find that the voice agreement between an argument and a predicate involves not only phi-features but also the co-occurrence of [TOP] feature. Only the argument with an inherently uninterpreted [TOP] feature can move to the topic position and check the [TOP] feature at CP. This explains why the external argument of a NAV predicate can undergo discourse binding in Amis but not in Atayal. Typologically, the results suggest that Atayal DPE is recognized as the voice-sensitive type while Amis DPE as the non-voice-sensitive type.

Longer texts reveal that DPE is quite common in Formosan languages, especially in the AV construction. Furthermore, our field investigation exhibits that the target languages even allow for the deletion of multiple DPs in the AV construction, as exemplified in (1) and (2).

(1) Q: ma-keter ci	Mayaw	vi ci-Pa	anay _j -a	n haw?	A:hai, ma-keter <i>e</i> i	e j.		(Amis)
AV-scold NON	/I PN	OBI	L-PN-C	OBL Q	yes AV-scold			
'Is Mayaw sco	lding Pa	nay?'			'Yes, (Mayaw) is s	coldi	ng (Panay).'
(2) Q: wal=m-ihiy	Rimuy _i	qu	Watan _j	ga?	A: aw, wal=m-ihiy	e i	e j.	(Atayal)
PRF=AV-beat	PN	NOM	PN	Q	yes, PRF=AV-beat			
'Did Watan be	at Rimuy	/?'			'Yes, (Watan) bea	t (Rir	nuy).'

However, Amis permits the external argument (i.e., ergative DP) of a NAV predicate to be omitted but Atayal forbids such deleting operation, as shown in (3) and (4).

(3) Q:na-ma-palo=to ni Mayaw _i ci Panay _j haw?	A:hai, na-ma-palo=to e_i ci Panay.
PST-PV-beat=CSGEN PN NOM PN Q	yes PST-PV-beat=CS NOM PN
'Was Panay beaten by Mayaw?'	'Yes, Panay was beaten by (Mayaw).'

(4) Q: 'bhy-an na Ciwas_i qu Tali'_j ga? A:*'bhy-an e_i qu Tali'.
beat-LV GEN PN NOM PN Q beat-LV NOM PN
'Was Tali' beaten by Ciwas?' Lit: 'Yes, Tali' was beaten by (Ciwas).'

The target languages exhibit the characteristics of a mixed-pattern with respect to the morphosyntactic alignment. The arguments in question consist of different syntactic features (cf. Cheng 2011, Aldridge 2017). On the one hand, the nominative DP of AV construction merges at the specifier position of vP and then move to TP for being assigned a structural case (viz., nominative case). On the other hand, the external argument of NAV construction is base-generated at the adjoined head of vP and is endowed with an inherently genitive case. The syntactic derivation of relevant arguments can be illustrated as in (5).

(5) (a) the NOM DP of AV construction	(b) the ERG DP of NAV construction			
$\begin{bmatrix} TP DP [NOM]i & T' & VP DP [uCASE]i & '' & '' \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} vP & v' & DP & eB \end{bmatrix}$			

In line with Huang (2010), the derivation of zero topics is subject to discourse binding, which involves 2-step mechanism: An argument first undergoes topicalization and is then deleted from the topic position. The deleting argument is co-indexed with a referent in discourse/context. Furthermore, we assume that not all kinds of DPs can be endowed with [TOP] feature. In both of the target languages, an uninterpreted [TOP] feature is innate in the nominative DPs of AV construction, which makes such DPs capable to undergo discourse binding. The DPE in (1) and (2) can be formally represented as (6a) and (6b), respectively. Instead, the external argument of NAV construction is endowed with [uTOP] feature in Amis but not in Atayal. As a result, the asymmetry of the derivation of discourse binding in question can be successfully explained via (7a)(=3) and (7b)(=4), respectively.

(6) (a) [CP Mayaw[TOP]i [CP' [TOP] [TP Mayaw [uTOP]i [T [vPMayaw [uTOP]i [v']]]]]]	(Amis)
(b) $\begin{bmatrix} CP & Watan_{[TOP]i} & \begin{bmatrix} CP' & [TOP] \end{bmatrix} & TP & Watan_{[uTOP]i} & \begin{bmatrix} T & vP & Watan_{[uTOP]i} & vP \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$	(Atayal)
(7) (a) $\begin{bmatrix} c_{P} & Mavaw_{TOPi} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} c_{P',TTOPi} & v_{P} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} v_{P} & Mavaw_{TOPi} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} v_{P} & 1 \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$	(Amis)

/) (a) [_{CP} Mayaw _{[TOP]i}]	[CP' [TOP] ···· [vP [v' Mayaw [uTOP]i [v	·]]]]]	(Amis)
(b) *[CP Ciwas[Ø]i	$\begin{bmatrix} CP' & [TOP] \dots & vP \end{bmatrix} v' Ciwas [\emptyset]_i v$, ,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	(Atayal)

To sum up, the voice agreement may (or may not) play a crucial role in the derivation of DPE. Typologically, Atayal DPE is sensitive to voice while Amis DPE is not. As a result, the DPE is relatively restricted in Atayal NAV construction but free in Amis. The parameter for such typological distinction can be attributed to a formal feature, viz. [TOP].

Keywords: ellipsis; voice agreement; formal features; discourse binding; Austronesian

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Shallow Processing of Garden-Path Sentences in Czech

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The paper will deal with the assumption that sentence processing need not always be full and deep and that the resulting representation of the sentence may be rather shallow which is a central idea in the so-called Good-Enough Processing.

One of the researches under this approach is Christianson et al. (2001). Participants were showed garden-path sentences like "While Anna dressed the baby that was small and cute spit up on the bed" and they were asked questions like "Did Anna dress the baby?" In these cases, 65.6% of participants answered the question incorrectly. In the control condition where the matrix clause was first and the subordinate clause second (i.e. "The baby that was small and cute spit up on the bed while Anna dressed"), only 12.5% participants gave the wrong answer.

A similar experiment using garden-path sentences has been done in Czech. Participants (N = 86) read sentences like (1a) and (1b) using word-by-word self-paced reading.

- (1) (a) Kluci honili psa a kočk-u
 Kid-NOM.M.PL chase-3PL.M.PST dog-ACC.M.SG and cat-ACC.F.SG
 v podkroví znepokojovali šediví hlodavci.
 in attic worry-3PL.M.PST grey-NOM.M.PLrodents-NOM.M.PL
 'Kids chased a dog and a cat in the attic was worried by grey rodents.'
 - (b) Kluci honili psa a kočk-a
 Kid-NOM.M.PL chase-3PL.M.PST dog-ACC.M.SG and cat- NOM.F.SG
 v podkroví znepokojovala šedivé hlodavce.
 in attic worry-3SG.F.PST grey-ACC.M.PL rodents-ACC.M.PL
 'Kids chased a dog and a cat in the attic worried grey rodents.'

These sentences differed so that a garden-path effect was possible in (1a) (segment "kočku" could have been analyzed as an object of verb "honili" at first) but not in (1b) (segment "kočka" is a nominative and hence it cannot be an object in a transitive sentence in Czech). After reading each sentence, the participants were asked either a question like (2a) "Did the kids chase a cat?" or like (2b) "Did the rodent worry the cat?" (2a) asked if the original garden-path interpretation was maintained and (2b) asked if the speakers formed a correct interpretation of the second main clause.

RTs for each segment and the correctness of the responses were measured. The linear mixed-effects analysis of RTs showed clear garden-path effects in sentences (1a) and not in sentences (1b) since RTs were significantly higher on segments "znepokojovali", "šediví" and "hlodavci" than in the corresponding segments in (1b). Moreover, participants answered questions (2a) incorrectly in 33.9% after reading sentences (1a) and only in 7.4% after reading (1b). This was in accordance with Christianson et al. (2001). However, after reading sentences

(1a), participants more often responded incorrectly (in 21.4%) also questions (2b) than after reading sentences (1b) (only in 10.3%).

The results indicate that the incorrect answers may not stem necessarily from the possibility of maintaining of the original garden-path representation. It could be so that readers sometimes do not form a coherent representation of the sentence at all and they just try to answer the question based on scarce information they retrieved.

Keywords: sentence processing; self-paced reading; Good-Enough representation; Czech

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Intransitive passives in English

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In my presentation I propose that English intransitive verbs are able to undergo passivization, just like in many other languages, e.g. German, Dutch, Icelandic, Latin or Turkish. While passive constructions obligatorily involve subject demotion, I claim that object promotion is not an essential process in English passive constructions either. This can be supported by sentences where no object is promoted, e.g. *It was believed that...* or *It was hoped that...*

Of course, sentences like **It was danced* with a passivized intransitive verb, which is the word for word translation of German *Es wurde getantzt*, are clearly ungrammatical. However, consider *There was dancing*, which is correct. This sentence is extremely similar in meaning to *Es wurde getanzt*. I argue that the *there...ing* construction is the realization of English intransitive passives.

Firstly, note that there is a one-to-one relationship between passive *by*-phrases and passive constructions: only the *by*-phrases in transitive passives realize external arguments and external arguments are only realized by *by*-phrases in passives. Thus, one argument in favour of the proposal that *there...ing* constructions are passive is that they can take a *by*-phrase: *There was dancing by the guests*. This *by*-phrase is a passive *by*-phrase, which is supported by the fact that the passive *by*-phrase is restricted by the selection properties of the verb: if the verb requires an agent external argument, the *by*-phrase will be interpreted as an agent and if the verb requires a recipient external argument, the *by*-phrase will be interpreted as a recipient. Those kinds of verbs which appear in the *there...ing* construction are all agentive and the *by*-phrases which accompany them are al interpreted as agents as well.

Secondly, these constructions also contain a passive element, which is realized by -ing. Evidence for this is that there are some dialects of English where (1a) is expressed alternatively as (1b):

(1) (a) This car needs washing.

(1) (b) This car needs washed.

Note also that (1a) can be paraphrased as (2), supporting its passive-like status:

(2) This car needs to be washed.

The question is why the passive element is spelled out as -ing in this case. It seems obvious that the -ing is inserted when there is no internal argument, whereas -en/-ed is selected when an internal argument is present, i.e. the difference between them is the environment in which they are inserted.

As far as constructions in (1a) are concerned, I follow Hoeksema (1994), who argues that the modal verb *need* forms a complex predicate with the following verb. Under this analysis, the lower argument is considered to be the argument of the complex predicate formed by *need* and *wash*. This allows us to maintain the claim that the distribution of -ing is dependent on the absence of the internal argument of the main verb.

Keywords: English, intransitive verbs, passivization, by-phrases

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Is there a Possessive Parameter?

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Possession is a dyadic relation holding between the possessor and the possessee. The way this dyadic relation materializes in natural languages gives us a plethora of syntactic structures. This raises the question whether the kind of predicative possession a language opts for correlates with its general word order pattern or with the internal structure of possessive DPs, and whether such a correlation can be formulated in terms of a *Possessive Parameter*.

In Stassen's (2009) seminal work, HAVE-possessives and BE-possessives are claimed to be the two major types of predicative possession, with a further division depending on how thematic roles and morphological case are mapped onto the clausal skeleton. Locational BEpossessives are crucially distinguished from BE WITH-possessives on the basis of the morphological case and syntactic function associated with the two arguments.

In this paper I discuss BE-possessives in Hungarian, where the possessor invariably appears in the dative case. This subtype has existential BE as its main predicate and shares several features with existential sentences in Hungarian on the one hand (see Szabolcsi 1992, 1994), locational BE-possessives in Russian (Paducheva 2000, Partee & Borshev 2008) and BE WITH-possessives in Icelandic (Levinson 2012) on the other hand. It differs from other BE-possessives in that the possesse shows person/number agreement with the possessor.

Mapping the two arguments onto the clausal skeleton of dyadic unaccusative BEpossessives in these three languages gives us the three subclasses of *psych*-predicates (Belletti & Rizzi 1988, Grimshaw 1990, Harley 2002). Locational BE-possessives represent the *fear*subclass, BE WITH-possessives represent the *frighten*-subclass. Finally, Dative BEpossessives correspond to the *piacere* 'please'-subclass of *psych*-predicates. In none of these sentence types does the leftmost argument surface in the canonical subject position designated for agents/causers (see Jung 2011, Myler 2016). Possessive predicates express states and have a truncated VP-layer. This makes their VP-internal structure similar to that of *psych*predicates.

Dative	BE-possessive	es: [NP]	1]	BE_{EXIST}	[NP2]		(Hungarian)
		Posse	esssor		Posses	ssee	
(1)	Péter-nek	van	kalap-ja.				
	Peter-DAT	BE∃	hat-POSS3SG	r			
	'Peter has a ha	at.'					
Piacer	e-subclass of Y	P-predic	cates: [NP1]	F	$PRED_{\Psi}$	[NP2]	
			Experienc	cer		Theme	
(2)	Péter-nek	illik	a kalap.				
	Peter-DAT	suits	the hat				
	'The hat suits	Peter.'					
BE-exi	stentials: [NP	[1]	BE_{EXIST}	[NP2]			
	Loc	ation		Theme			
(3)	Az asztalon	vannak	k kalapo	k.			
	the table-on	BE _{EXIS}	at hat				
	'There are hat	s on the	e table.'				

Locational possessive	Bl	E _{exist}	[NP2]	(F	Russian)	
			Posses	see		
(4) U Petra	jest'	mašina.				
at Peter	BE _{EXIST}	car				
'Peter has a car.'						
Locative existentials:	[NP]	BE_{EXIST}		[NP2]		
	Location			Theme		
(5) U reki	jest'	mašina.				
at river	BE _{EXIST}	car				
'There is a car at	the river.'					
Fear-subclass of Ψ -p	redicates: [NP	1]	PRED	Ψ	[NP2]	
	Exp	eriencer			Theme	
(6) Petr-u	razdražaet	so	baka.			
Peter-DAT	irritates	do	g.NOM			
'The dog irritates	Peter.'					
WITH-possessives: [NP1]	BE_{EXIST}	[NP2]		(Icelandi	c)
1	Possessor		Posses	see	,	, ,
(7) Hún er	með b	ækurnar.				
he BE _{EVI}	with h	ook				
'He has books '		oon				
Frighten subclass of	W predicates.	ΙΝΡΊΙ	PRFD	ινίσι		
Trigmen-subciuss of	<i>i</i> -predicutes.	[NI I] Thoma	ΤΚΕΟΨ	[NI 2] Evneri	oncor	
(9) Honoldyn	hátaði	dranaiun		Елреп	encer	
(o) Haraldur		the second second				
Haraid.NOM	threatened	boys.the-	DAI			
'Harald threat	tened the boys.					

Keywords: BE-possessives, argument structure, psych-predicates

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On the usefulness of parallel corpora for contrastive linguistics. A behavioralprofile analysis of the semantic stability hypothesis

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During the last two decades, research within corpus-based translation studies (CBTS) has been focusing on differences between translated texts and original, non-translated texts. A great number of studies have been dedicated to the different types of translational effects that are likely to occur in translated texts (De Sutter & Van de Velde 2010; Evert & Neumann, 2017; Kruger 2012). From these studies, strong evidence emerged that different types of translational effects on the lexical, morphosyntactic and pragmatic level (e.g. normalization (Delaere et al. 2012), explicitation (Olohan & Baker 2000), and shining through (Teich 2003)) are likely to occur in translated texts, thereby potentially reducing the representativeness of translations for contrastive-linguistic research. This issue has already been addressed by Johansson (1998 and 2007), who put forward a procedure to tease apart contrastive relations and translation effects. However, this procedure is not capable of detecting subtle semantic differences. Indeed, a question that has rarely been asked (both within CBTS and contrastive linguistics) is whether translational effects can also be found on the semantic level. If (subtle) changes were to occur in a translation compared to its source texts, this would undermine one of the core assumptions underlying the use of parallel corpora in contrastive linguistics, namely that there is a (perfect) semantic equivalence between source texts in language A and target texts in language B (Altenberg & Granger 2002; Granger 2003; Ebeling et al 2013; Viberg 2012). Consequently, the main objective of this paper is to verify the semantic stability hypothesis by investigating whether the (sub-)meanings associated with nearsynonyms shift during translation.

To do so, we compared the meaning structure of the field of inchoativity in a parallel corpus of English-to-Dutch translations to that of the same field in a comparable corpus of authentic Dutch texts. Both corpora are included in the 10-million-word bidirectional Dutch Parallel Corpus (DPC) (Macken et al. 2012). We focused on 5 Dutch lexemes in the semantic field of inchoativity (beginnen [to begin], starten [to start], van start gaan [to take off], opstarten [to start up] and aanvatten [to commence]). The lexemes were selected via the semantic mirroring procedure (Vandevoorde et al. 2017). After extracting all the sentences containing one of the lexemes under study, the behavioral-profile method -a usage-based method based on the distributional semantics idea- was adopted (Gries & Divjak 2009; Szymor 2015). We annotated the linguistic context of each retrieved lexeme for a variety of so-called ID-tags that, taken together, represent the morphosyntactic and semantic architecture of each lexeme. This enables us to explore - via multivariate statistical techniques such as correspondence regression (Plevoets 2015) - in which respects each lexeme is unique and whether the contextual properties of the lexemes differs in translational data (parallel corpus) compared to authentic data (comparable corpus). The results of our analyses show that the behavioral profiles of the lexemes under study do not remain stable among the different corpus components, running counter to the posited "semantic stability hypothesis". Consequently, the assumption of semantic stability between source and target text, which is one of the main motivations to use parallel corpora in contrastive linguistics, seems not completely tenable. As a consequence, one needs to be cautious when arriving at contrastivelinguistic conclusions based on translational data only.

Keywords: corpus-based translation studies; contrastive linguistics; behavioral profile; semantics; parallel corpora

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The nanosyntax of Q-words

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1. **Proposal**. The main claims argued for in this paper are that 1) quantity words (*much/many, little/few*) (Rett 2016, henceforth Qs) are hybrids combining features of the extended adjectival and nominal functional projection line; 2) the properties of the negative Qs *few/little* cannot be fully captured by the semantic notion downward entailment (Ladusaw 1979), but require the postulation of a Neg-feature in their internal syntax. A decomposition of Qs in nanosyntactic terms is proposed, capturing language variation in terms of the size of lexically stored trees (Starke 2014).

2. The data I: Qs are categorially hybrid. 2.1 Like adjectives Qs can be used in attributive and predicative position (Solt 2015: 222); they have comparative and superlative forms (*more/less/fewer*), and share the semantics of gradable adjectives, i.e. their interpretation relies on a contextual dimension. 2.2. Qs can be adjectival and verbal adverbial modifiers. 2.3 Qs are in complementary distribution with numerals and have numeral properties, (1). 2.4. Qs sometimes reveal the mass-count distinction (*many/much*), a property they share with nominals, (5). 2.5. Like quantifiers Qs can interact scopally, (2)-(3).

3. The data II: [Neg] in *few/little*. 3.1. *Typological data*. Many languages do not have opaque negative Qs (henceforth NQs) like *few/little*, but express the meaning of negative Qs by means of negation and a positive Q (henceforth PQs). Data from a diversified typological sample will be discussed in support of this claim, cf. the selection in (6). 3.2. **NEG-NEG*. 3.2.1. Languages with morphologically opaque NQs show a polarity restriction in their use of *little* as adjectival modifier: while *little* can modify positive adjectives, it cannot modify negative ones, (7). This restriction can be attributed to the fact that both NQs and negative adjectives contain a Neg feature, and that the local co-occurrence of this Neg feature is ruled out. 3.2.2. A similar pattern can be observed with *few* (Collins 2016). Whereas it is possible to DP-internally negate *many*, this is not possible with *few*, (4a). 3.3. *NPIs, inversion, question tags*. Like regular sentential negation, *few* licenses NPIs, gives rise to inversion and triggers positive question tags. Sometimes upward entailing QPs, as *no fewer* in *No fewer than three gorillas were they able to teach French to*, can license inversion, supporting the idea that Neg is responsible for inversion, not downward entailment (Collins & Postal 2014:135). 3.4. *Split scope* facts provide a strong case for the decomposition of *few* (Zeijlstra 2011).

4. **Analysis.** *4.1. The feature system.* Q-words share features with the adjectival (Corver 1997) and nominal functional domain (Borer 2005), as illustrated in (8). These features are arranged into a functional sequence, (9), with individual PQs and NQs, illustrated for English (10) and Dutch (10), spelling out subconstituents of this fseq.

4.2 Facts explained. The semi-functional nature and syntactic flexibility of Qs is due to their lack of a root feature. Gradability is contributed by the Q-feature. The features CMPR and SPRL explain the presence of degree comparison. The presence of # and DIV accounts for the mass-count distinction, (5); # explains the incompatibility with numerals. Mass-count syncretisms ((5) and table 1 in (6)) are accounted for by the Superset Principle, which lets a lexical item spell out a syntactic tree that it contains. The (optional) Neg feature in the negative series accounts for the properties in section 3. The contrast between (4a) and (4b) is due to CMPR intervening between the two NEG features (*NEG-NEG vs. NEG-CMPR-NEG).

(1) *these	five many b	ooks		(4)	a	(Not)man	v/(*Not)few	people
(1) these				(-)	с.	were there	e.	people
(2) Not ma	any arrows l	nit the tar	get		b.	No fewer	than three	gorillas
(3) N	Many arrow	s didn't	hit the	e		were they	able to teach	French
ť	arget.					to.		
		1	C	11				
(5) Englis	sh many	much	few	little				
Swedi	ish manga	mycket	fa	lite				
Table 1	MANY/MUCH	FEW/LI	TTLE	S-NEG				
Malacagy	count mass	count	mass	A.037	-			
N Sotho	-ntši	se-kae	-nnyane	se				
Hixkaryana	thenyehra	yak-hera	-	-u(I) -hira				
Japanese	yake ? takusan	hotondo+wh	+mo+nai	-nai				
Garifuna	g-ibe-	m-ib	181	m-(a)				
Western Armenian	∫ad	mama sa ki-t	aragu ſ	t∫(i/ə)				
(6)								
(0)								
(7)	LITTLE	A _{POS}	LI	TTLE A	A_{NEC}	3		
Dutch	n weinig g	eloofwaar	dig *v	veinig o	onge	loofwaardig	; '(in)credibl	e'
Frenc	h peu créd	ible	*I	peu inc	rédib	ole		
(8) Adie	ctives Spi	RL CMP	R		Q	./		
Nou	ıs		#	Div	•	\mathbf{v}_{i}		
O-we	rds Spi	EL CMP	и в #	Div	0^{1}	V		
(a) [~~		0.1111	
(9) [Sprip S]	pri [_{CmprP} C	$mpr [_{\#P}]$	# DivP	Div [(NegP)	(Neg) [QP	Q []]]]	
(10) muc	h [op Q]			(12)	ve	el [#P =	# [Dive Div [o	в Q]]]
(10) man	v [up # [p	. n Div [o	ъ О Ш	()	We	$einig \left[\frac{1}{2} \right]$	$\# [\mathbf{p}; \mathbf{p}] \mathbf{Div} [\mathbf{y}]$	л Neg [ор О]]]]
little	$J [\#P \pi]D$		P % 111			51118 [#P 7		egP 108 [QP %]]]]
110016		5 [QP \(\vee)]]	N					
Iew	[#P # [D	_{ivP} Div N	egP Neg	g [QP Q				

Keywords: Q-words; nanosyntax; language variation; typology

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French non-standard relative clauses revisited: does a corpus based analysis provide evidence for the existence of a relative clause construction without gap?

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According to traditional (Giraud 1966) and current linguistic literature (Deulofeu 1981, Deulofeu & Valli 2007, Kayne 1974, Gadet 2003, Godard 1988, 1989, Gapany, 2004), three types of nonstandard french relative clauses can be distinguished:

A) oblique relative « defective » = que / complementizer, zero gap :

- (1) *il faudra que vous procédiez à la respiration artificielle* you should proceed to artificial respiration
- (2) *une vérification qu'on vous demande de procéder* () *c'est la suivante* a verification that they ask you to proceed () it is the following

B) relative clause = que complementizer + canonical declarative IP with resumptive clitic pronoun :

- (3) *les personnes qu'ils ont de la répugnance à le faire*the people that they are reluctant to do that
- (4) *il y a beaucoup d'appareils qu'on s'en sert tous les jours* there are many devices that you make use of **them** every day
- C) relative clause = que complementizer no resumptive pronoun, no gap
- (5) *vous avez des feux qu'il faut appeler les pompiers tout de suite* You have fires that you must call for the firemen immediately

Our presentation aims to revisit the syntactic status of these utterances. The traditional presentation has been challenged on various grounds. Some studies cast doubt on the hypothesis that (3) and (4) are instances of resumptive pronouns relative clauses. Abeillé & Godard (2006) propose a unified analysis for examples (3) to (5), in which *que* introduces a plain IP clause modifying the head Noun. They challenge the resumptive pronoun analysis by positing a syntactic structure in which the IP is an adjunct without gap to the head of the NP, accidentally containing an anaphoric pronoun. This syntactic structure is associated to a pragmatic interpretive rule Topic–Comment, explaining that the content of the modifying clause conveys a characteristic property of the head. However, this ad-hoc analysis does not fit with the examples of these patterns found by manual search in a preliminary investigation in a corpus of 1.9 million words of spoken French. In all the 40 relevant occurrences of patterns (4) and (5), the determiner is always indefinite, whereas no such restriction is observed in wh-relative clauses with a gap. The presence of a definite determiner in supposedly resumptive relatives is only found in subject "relativized" positions (3).

One way to take these facts into account is to sort out the subject position and to analyze (4) and (5) constructs as instances of non-standard consecutive clauses. In the corresponding

standard consecutive clauses, the *que*-clause is governed by an N with an indefinite determiner and licensed by a quantifier adjective (tel = such) in (3'):

(3') il y a des feux tels qu'il faut appeler les pompiers tout de suite

We propose that the "consecutive" clause is licensed by an underspecified [+ quality] feature (grossly meaning 'of such quality'). This feature is borne by the quantifier in the standard construct and by the indefinite determiner in the non-standard one. This semantic feature is independently motivated by the apparent tautological sentence: *un homme est toujours un homme*. The intended meaning: 'a man (as exemplar of the species) shows always the characteristic qualities of a man' involves the activation of the [+ quality] feature in the second occurrence of *homme*. Under this analysis, the semantic interpretation of the whole construct is straightforward: the *que*-clause does not directly convey, as proposed by Abeillé & Godard, a characteristic property of the head; rather it brings in a fact or a complex situation on the basis of which this property can be inferred.

As for subject relativized position one possibility is to follow Sportiche (2011) analysis which posits that qu'ils is a "week" relative pronoun that should be better spelled quiz. This relative pronoun is a non standard inflected variant of the standard qui week relative.

The overall analysis amount to positing only one type of non standard relative clause in French; a gap clause, in which the gap is filled by a week relative in subject position and zero for all other positions. In standard French, the difference is that the gap is filled by a strong relative pronoun in the oblique cases. We will extend the empirical basis of our study to the 4M part of spoken French Orfeo corpus.

Keywords: syntax, relative clauses, spoken French

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Exceed comparison in Czech and A/B numeral modifiers

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Introduction. We explore semantic properties of two classes of Czech exceed verbs (ExVs): i) prefixed deadjectival *pře-vyš-ovat* ('exceed'; lit. 'over-high'; AExVs) and ii) prefixed non-deadjectival *pře-krač-ovat* ('exceed'; lit. 'over-step; non-AExVs). To this goal, we integrate two largely independent strands of theoretical research: i) formal semantic treatment of Slavic prefixes and prepositions as expressions that are lexically associated with scales (e.g., Filip 2000, 2008; Kagan 2013), and ii) Nouwen's (2010, 2015) distinctions between A (comparative) modifiers, such as *more/fewer than x, under/over x*, which compare two definite cardinalities, and B (superlative) modifiers, such as *at least/most/from/up to/maximally x*, which are maxima/minima indicators relating a range of values to a specific boundary. This twin theoretical framework provides us with tools to explore Slavic prefixes and prepositions from a novel perspective of the exceed comparison (Stassen 1985), and promises to further our understanding of their properties, still elusive despite a large body of research.

Analysis. The scalar semantic framework for the analysis of Slavic verbal prefixes and Ps can be sharpened by recasting their core scalar contribution in terms of Nouwen's Class-A versus Class-B, respectively, and aligned with the syntactic distinction between locative-P versus directional-P. Directional-Ps (1) are Class-B modifiers: (2a). Verbal prefixes like přein ExVs (3) are Class-A comparative degree quantifiers with a built-in min operator: (2b). The min operation introduced by pře- operates 'on top of' the comparative semantics (4). The comparative nature of ExVs is evident in their (i) compatibility with differentials (3) and (ii) tendency to be derived from comparative adjectives: cf. s/š alternation in *vys-oký* ('high') vs. *vyš-ší* ('higher') and suppletive morphology in *po-lepšit* ('improve'; lit. 'po-better'). With Class-A modifiers realized as verbal prefixes, the value of the standard of comparison can be provided by an argument NP, sanctioning (non-)AExVs (5). If the standard is not degree-denoting (6), only AExVs are sanctioned, while non-AExVs lead to oddity, because the 'degree' application condition for the '>' relation fails to be satisfied.

Additional evidence: modal constructions. With Class-A modifiers, a weak reading results from the wide scope of ∃ modal wrt the modified numeral, while the reverse scope gives rise to a more strict reading: (7a) is true both in the < d and ≥ d scenario, whereas (7b) states that the maximal price is below 100.000 €. Class-B modifiers yield only the strong reading (8). When a Class-A modifier is realized as a prefix (9) only the weak reading is possible, which is unexpected, however. We interpret this semantic behavior as a consequence of the morphosyntactic status of prefixes (e.g., *pře-*), which requires them to take narrow scope wrt scope taking operators like modals (9). The above data have so far not been noticed in the typology of the grammar of comparison, let alone analyzed, and provide a direct empirical support for Nouwen's (2010, 2015) hypothesis that the class A/class B distinction may indeed be cross-linguistically, if not possibly universally, valid.

- (1) a. Cena toho bytu může být od 100.000 do 200.000 €. price of-this flat can be from 100.000 to 200.000 €
 b. Ceny bytů tu jsou od 100.000 do 200.000 €. prices of-flats here are from 100.000 to 200.000 €
- (2) a. $[do d] = \lambda M._{MAX_{d'}}(M(d')) = d$ b. $[p\check{r}e - d] = \lambda M._{MIN_{d'}}(M(d')) > d$ (Hackl 2001)
- (3) Katedrála pře-vyš-uje radnici o 20 metrů. cathedral over-high-ipf.3.sg town-hall by 20 meters 'The cathedral is 20 meters higher than the town hall.'
- (4) a. $[vy\check{s}]$... $\lambda y.\lambda x.\max_d(\text{high})(x, d) > \max_{d'}(\text{high})(y, d')$ b. $\lambda x.\max_d(\text{high})(x, d) > \max_{d'}(\text{high})(\text{town-hall}, d')$ c. $[\lambda x.\max_d(\text{high})(x, d) > \max_{d'}(\text{high})(\text{town-hall}, d')](\text{cathedral})$ d. $[p\check{r}e-d] = \lambda M.\min_{d'}(M(d')) > d$
 - e. 20meters(min(max_d(high)(cathedral, d)), max_d(high)(town-hall, d'))
- (5) a. Teplota pře-vyšuje 20°C. temperature over-high 20°C
 - b. Teplota pře-kračuje 20°C. temperature over-step 20°C
- (6) a. Katedrála pře-vyšuje radnici.
 cathedral over-high town-hall
 b. ??Katedrála pře-kračuje radnici.
 - cathedral over-step town-hall
- (7) Ten byt můžeš prodat pod 100.000 €.
 this flat you-can sell.pf under 100.000 €
 a. ◊[MAX_d(∃!x[PRICE(x, d) ∧ FLAT(x) ∧ SELL(you, x)]) < 100.000]
 b. MAX_d(◊∃!x[PRICE(x, d) ∧ FLAT(x) ∧ SELL(you, x)]) < 100.000
- (8) Ten byt můžeš prodat až do 100.000 €. this flat you-can sell.pf up to 100.000 € MAX_d(◇∃!x[PRICE(x, d) ∧ FLAT(x) ∧ SELL(you, x)]) = 100.000
- (9) Cena toho bytu může překročit 100.000 €.
 price of-this flat can over-reach.ipf 100.000 €
 >[MIN_d(∃!x[PRICE(x, d) ∧ FLAT(x) ∧ SELL(you, x)]) > 100.000]

Keywords: comparison; comparative; gradability; exceed verbs; numeral modifiers

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even Hypothesis of NPIs Licensing: an Experimental Study

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Background: we explore semantic properties of two Czech scalar particles (SP) *i* 'even' and *ani* 'not even'. Our approach is mainly experimental (design: 48 from 50 subjects successfully passed the fillers; truth value judgment task: 5-point Likert scale: 1-worst, 5-best; 41 items). The experimental results allow us: (i) to descriptively explore Slavic SP from a new perspective (their formal logical properties: monotonicity/likelihood); (ii) to develop and sharpen the predictions of currently most promising theory of Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) licensing (Heim 1984, Crnič 2011, 2014; assumption of our experiment: *i/ani* are NPIs: corroborated), so called *even* hypothesis of NPI licensing (EH-NPIs). EH-NPIs states that NPIs are weak elements associated with covert *even* and works under an assumption that *even* is free to move at LF. EH-NPIs is very successful, though it faces many challenges: (i) the movement assumption leads to overgeneration of possible meanings: (Schwarz 2005 a.o.); (ii) EH-NPIs states that the proposition containing the NPI has to be more (un)-like than \forall alternatives – too strong in some cases: (Kay 1990 a.o.) Our experiment results bring new insights at both problems.

Results and analysis: in the **first part** (9 items) of the experiment we tested likelihood properties of *i/ani* in likelihood manipulated contexts: example item (2) with conditions: **low** (highest probability, HP) in (2-c), **top** (least probability, LP) in (2-a) and **mid** (middle probability, MP) in (2-b). Descriptive statistics (Figure-1) clearly supports the following linguistic hypotheses: i) *i/ani* compete with each other, *i* prefers LP contexts (scope [\neg [*even* . . .]]) – reference level (RL) condition, *ani* prefers HP ([*even*[\neg . . .]]), reported by Dočekal and Dotlačil (2016) already; (ii) *i/ani* are acceptable in MP contexts (no statistically-significant difference). We propose the revision of the standard *even*-semantics from Crnič (2014) in (1-a) to (1-b).

(1) (a) $\| \text{even} \|^w(C)(p)$ is defined only if $\forall q \in C[q \neq p \rightarrow q > \text{likely } p]$ If defined, even(C)(p, w) = p(w).

(b) $\|$ even $\|^{w}(C)(p)$ is defined only if $\exists q \in C[q \neq p \rightarrow q > likely p]$

- (2) Brown rice can preserve essential vitamins but it has to be stored in fridge, packed in hermetical dose and you have to consume it up to three days after cooking.
 - (a) Rýže v ledničce (vydrží i tři dny)/(nevydrží ani tři dny). (top)

'The rice in fridge (lasts even three days)/(doesn't last neg-even three days).'

(b) Rýže v ledničce (vydrží i dva dny)/(nevydrží ani dva dny).

'The rice in fridge (lasts even two days)/(doesn't last neg-even two days).'

(c) Rýže v ledničce (vydrží i jeden den)/(nevydrží ani jeden den). (low)

(mid)

'The rice in fridge (lasts even two days)/(doesn't last neg-even two days).'

In the **second part** (32 items) of the experiment we explored NPI status and scopal properties of *i/ani*: example item in (3): condition **ant-ani** (3-b) (RL) tested strong status of *ani*: RL was significantly worse than **neg-ani** in (3-a), corroborating *ani* as strong NPI;

(ii) **neg-ani/negani-hig** (3-a) tested acceptability of HP/LP for ani - HP fares better than LP but LP still outranks RL: (3-a-i)/(3-a-ii) present alternatives for HP ([$even[\neg . . .]$]) vs. LP ([\neg [even . . .]]); (iii) **nr-ani/nr-i** tested neg-raising anti-additivity (AA) in the embedded clause: no significant difference; (iv) **neg-i** (3-d) tested acceptability of *i* in direct AA context – not significantly worse than RL; (v) **ant-i/ant-i-bot** tested LP/HP of i in DE environment – LP is significantly better but LP still outranks RL. Descriptive statistics in Figure-2 supports the following:

- (3) Mother would be happy if her son would work for the police. Lowest rank is a sergeant, highest is a general and somewhere in the middle is a colonel.
 - (a) Syn se nakonec nestal (ani rotným)/(ani generálmajorem). (neg-ani/neg-ani-hig)'Son at the end didn't become neg-even (sergeant)/(general).'
 - (i) {not become general $>_{lik}$ not become colonel $>_{lik}$ not become sergeant}
 - (ii) {become sergeant $>_{lik}$ become colonel $>_{lik}$ become general }
 - (b) Jestli se syn stane **ani** rotným, bude matka ráda. (ant-ani)

'If her son becomes neg-even sergeant, his mother would be happy.'

- (c) Otec nechce, aby se syn stal (ani rotným)/(i generálmajorem). (nr-ani/nr-i)'Father doesn't want his son to become (neg-even sergeant)/(even general).'
- (d) Syn nakonec vystudoval biochemii a nestal se i generálmajorem. (**neg-i**) 'Son at the end studied biochemistry and didn't become even general.'
- (e) Jestli se syn stane (i generálmajorem)/(i rotným), . . . (ant-i/ant-i-bot)

'If son will become (even general)/(even sergeant), ... '



Summary: EH-NPIs is basically right but it wrongly predicts un-observed ambiguity (there's usually asymmetry in LP/HP acceptability) but this follows from the competition in grammar (Horn 1984 a.o.): unmarked meaning (LP) is blocked as an interpretation for the marked form (*ani*) and vice versa.

Keywords: NPIs; Scalar Particle; Experimental Semantics; Formal Semantics, Czech References

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English plurals as a direct descendent of Proto-Scandinavian

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Very early in Middle English, texts especially in the North and East tend to use an orthographic suffix -(e)s for noun plurals, In Southern and Western texts the plural suffix -(e)n of the Old English weak declension at first spreads, but then eventually also yields to – (e)s. It will be shown that on phonological and phonetic grounds this -(e)s, which remains the productive plural suffix in Modern English, must, as a vocabulary item, be lexically specified as +VOICE. It will be demonstrated that its voicing is not due to any progressive assimilation process, as no such voicing occurs in any derivational suffixes that begin with a voiceless segment. The source of this underlying voiced sibilant -z, completely absent in Old English, is to be found in the genealogical ancestor of Middle English, Proto-Scandinavian, whose plural in all non-neuter declensions is precisely this segment -z (Haugen 1982). The presentation argues that this form was an integral part of the Norse brought to England by the earliest Scandinavian settlers in the 9th c. and is unambiguously reflected in the runic evidence in that language. In all likelihood, the later change on in Mainland Scandinavian of this -z to palatalized $-\check{r}$ and later -r, completed in the 12th c., failed to spread to the Anglicized Norse of England. This conservation of (non-rhotic) plural -z is plausibly due to sociolinguistic factors highly reminiscent of those set out in the classic paper of Labov (1963).

Keywords: Middle English plurals; Old English plurals; Old Norse plurals; Progressive Voicing; Assimilation; Proto-Scandinavian

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"The temperature varies from nice-warm-bath to ouch-that's-a-bit-hot." Some considerations on complex hyphenated words in English and German and their translatability.

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As part of the thematic session on "Empirical approaches to contrastive linguistics and translation studies", the present contribution aims to show how a double approach that combines empirical methods with traditional descriptive practices can be used to analyse the specific phenomenon of complex hyphenated words.

There seem to be two basic kinds of word formation mechanisms using three or more hyphens both in English and German: phrasal compounds and sentence/clause derivatives (mostly nominalisations). In the first case, a sentence/clause is used as the first constituent of a compound, normally with a noun as its second constituent, such as in

(1) (a) Engl. an all-consuming <u>I-will-do-anything-for-you passion</u>? (Cooper 1991) or
 (b) Ger. mein ernstes <u>Kannst-du-mir-ruhig-glauben-Gesicht</u> (Roche 2011, 13–14).

In the second case, a sentence/clause is derived as a whole, either without formal changes (apart from the hyphens and a possible plural ending) as in (2a), or using explicit suffixation as in (2b):

(2) (a) Engl. a mass of <u>how-did-you-manage-withouts</u> (NEWS GB n.d.).
(b) Engl. American "<u>you-can-do-it-ism</u>" (The Observing Participant 2011).

In the first case, the noun used as second constituent is clearly modified by the complex first constituent, whereas in the second case, no semantic or syntactic head within the formation can be identified; in the literature, however, these two mechanisms are often not clearly distinguished (cf. the term *phrasal compound nouns/adjectives* as used in Aarts 2011, 34–35; cf. also the explications in Elsen 2011, 25).

For the present pilot study, we will first extract 100 examples each for English and German from different corpora (Ger. *Zeitarchiv*, *Kernkorpus Deutsch*; Engl. different corpora available via *IntelliText* of the University of Leeds) using regular expressions or the given corpus query language. The examples will then be manually annotated using *UAM Corpus Tool* to identify similarities and differences between the two languages regarding the length of the items, the word formation mechanism used, the underlying structure (sentence or clause; phraseme or not) and the constituents of the item itself (i.e. whether there is/are one or several nominalised element(s) within). In doing so, we will obtain a good contrastive overview of the characteristics of these hyphenated words in English and German.
In a second step, we will take a tentative look at such structures and their respective translations, all whilst taking into consideration the Romance languages, where their use seems to be less frequent and is usually frowned upon by more traditionalist speakers, except for lexicalised items such as

(3) (a) Fr. *le <u>qu'en-dira-t-on</u>* or
(b) Ital. *il <u>Non-ti-scordar-di-me</u>*.

Nevertheless, translators sometimes opt for the reproduction of a hyphenated structure, even if they have to ignore normal orthography to imitate the original, as in the Italian translation of the above-mentioned (1b):

(4) Ital. la mia consueta espressione da «mi-puoi-credere-tranquillamente» (Roche 2008, 15).

For the language pair English–German, by contrast, it can be assumed that a reproduction of the original item will in many cases be unproblematic:

(5) (a) Engl. perfectly matching her grave, <u>this-is-no-laughing-matter expression</u> (Kinsella 2009, 39).
(b) Ger. mit der gleichen ernsten <u>Das-ist-kein-Spaβ-Miene</u> (Kinsella 2011, 39).

This second step will enable us to discuss these structures in terms of a specific challenge within the translation process.

Keywords: hyphenation; compound; derivative; translation studies; contrastive corpus linguistics

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Adverbials of immediate posteriority in French and German: A rich-annotation approach to contrastive linguistics and translation studies

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Adverbs of immediate posteriority such as Engl. *immediately*, Fr. *immédiatement*, *tout de suite* and Germ. *sofort*, *gleich* locate an event in a time zone that is adjacent or very close to some reference point, e.g. the moment of utterance (cf. (1)) or some preceding event (cf. (2)).

- (1) Please do that **immediately**! (~ right now)
- (2) He went home and **immediately** went to bed. (~ right after coming home)

While the defining characteristics of adverbials of immediate posteriority are easily described, the relevant expressions (probabilistically) vary in terms of their distribution along a broad range of parameters, e.g. (cf. Atayan et al. forthcoming):

- the type of **reference point**: moment of utterance (deictic) vs. event (chronological) (e.g. French *tout de suite* tends to be deictic, *immédiatement* chronological);
- the (degree of) **intentionality** of the host predicate (e.g. Germ. *sofort* is rarely used in combination with non-intentional predicates when the reference point is deictic);
- the type of **illocutionary force** expressed (e.g. Germ. *gleich* tends to occur in commissives whereas *sofort* is associated with directives);
- the type of **modality** expressed (e.g. Germ. *gleich* correlates with epistemic modality);
- the **person** of the host predicate (e.g. Fr. *tout de suite* tends to co-occur with the first person);
- the co-occurrence with specific **TAM-categories** (e.g. *immédiatement* is attracted by infinitives);
- **register** (e.g. *tout de suite* is more common in informal language, *immédiatement* in formal language).

Given that these parameters interact in intricate ways, the semantic analysis of adverbials of immediate posteriority, and the study of crosslinguistic correspondences as well as translation choices in this domain, represents a non-trivial multivariate problem which requires an appropriate methodology.

In this talk we will present the results of a multi-level and multi-annotator study based on data from the Europarl corpus (Koehn 2015) and the OpenSubtitles corpus (Lison & Tiedemann 2016). A sample of 705 instances of *immédiatement*, *tout de suite*, *gleich* and *sofort*, as well as their translation equivalents, was annotated by a team of six annotators for twelve variables. The annotations were carried out online (stored in a MySQL database, accessed through PHP-pages), on the basis of annotation guidelines developed in two pilot studies.

The results of our study will be represented in a format that we call 'annotation graph', which can be regarded as a statistical model for the translation of the expressions under analysis,

showing degrees of attractions between markers and variables (cf. Figure 1 below). As we will show, such translation graphs can be used for various purposes, e.g. to determine crosslinguistic correspondences in a multivariate setting, as well as to generalize over translation choices relative to specific environments (cf. the variables mentioned above). We will also address the possibility of making predictions about, and assessing the quality of, translations on this basis.

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Keywords: multi-level annotation, translation graph





Nanosyntax of Czech present verbs (A Study in Nanosyntax)

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Do we need a different derivation for a different present verb classes in Czech? This paper presents hypothesis, that can derive the whole present verbs paradigm in Czech (1).

	SG	PL
1	-u/-m	-me
2	-š	-te
3	-Ø	-ou/-í

(1) Czech present verbs paradigm

Paper exploits strong correlation (2) between distribution of alternating inflectional suffixes and distribution of pre-inflectional thematic vowels. Hypothesis proposes that thematic vowels are portmanteu morphemes and that different thematic vowels represent different functional structure. Those structures are not complementary, they all share some common features, but those shared features are not visible, because of the pormanteu nature of thematic vowels.

(2) Czech present verbs paradigms based on stem/thematic vowel:

	SG	PL		SG	PL		SG	PL
1	-u	-e-me	1	-í-m	-í-me	1	-á-m	-á-me
2	-e-š	-e-te	2	-í-š	-í-te	2	-á-š	-á-te
3	-е	-ou	3	-í	- í	3	-á	-a(j)-í
(a) -e- verbs				(b) -í- v	verbs		(c) -á- v	erbs

Czech paradigm shows interesting support for this assumptions. It seems that in certain context C, structure of the thematic vowel X splits into two parts – different thematic vowel Y and the remainder R, where thematic vowel Y tends to merge with inflectional suffix. This causes verb which belongs to paradigm of thematic vowel X to show inflection typical for verbs with thematic vowel Y in given context C, with the difference that inflection is preceded by remainder R.

This leads to thematic vowel sequence (TVS), where the structure of thematic vowels on the right includes all the features of thematic vowel on the left, but not the other way round. This sequence is important for deriving the paradigm, because inflection of present verbs with thematic vowel X, can on the right periphery include inflection of any thematic vowel Y, which precedes thematic vowel X in TVS. Presented analysis is situated in nanosyntax framework (Starke 2009) and uses spellout driven movement with backtracking (Starke 2018) as an algorithm for derivation.

Keywords: thematic vowels; verb classes; Czech; backtracking; spellout driven movement

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Reduplication and the structure of nouns in Xining Chinese

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In the variety of Chinese traditionally spoken in and around Xining in NW China common nouns are always reduplicated, unless they carry a derivational affix or are part of a compound.

(1) a. fo fo 'spoon' b. chei chei 'bicycle' c. di di 'dish'

We claim that this follows from the universal principle (2A), with the corollary B, and the language-particular constraint C, and rule D. (XC = Xining Chinese)

(2)A. Roots have no syntactic category.

- B. A content word consists minimally of two constituents.
- C. XC: A free noun has minimally two pronounced constituents.
- D. XC: A null nominal categorizer copies the phonological matrix of the sister root.

Reduplication is a way to meet condition C when it is not otherwise met. We will show how a theory based on these premises can explain a wide range of observations concerning word formation in XC as well as in, for example, Mandarin. Thereby XC provides almost direct and unique evidence of the principle A, widely assumed within current morpho-syntactic theory (Marantz 1997, Josefsson 1998, Borer 2005, 2014, Harley 2009, De Belder 2011) yet controversial in the context of linguistic theory more generally.

Importantly, Constraint C is not a phonological condition on the minimal size of words (Hall 1999): verbs and adjectives are not subject to compulsory reduplication in XC.

In attributive compounds the head can be reduplicated, the non-head cannot:

(3) a. *mei hu* 'ink box' b. *mei hu hu* c. **mei mei hu*

This is explained if the non-head is a Root while the head is a noun. This is an asymmetry we expect to see in word formation: The non-head is a non-projecting category, the head is a projecting category. In some languages it is overtly marked; Swedish is one such language (Josefsson 1998), XC is another.

Derived nouns cannot be reduplicated. -Bong is a nominal suffix merging with X, denoting 'person associated with X'.

(4) a. *xiong -bong* 'country person, country bumpkin' b. **xiong xiong-bong* This is predicted if derivational affixes merge with roots, not words.

This is predicted if derivational affixes merge with roots, not word

Nouns derived by a prefix can be reduplicated.

(5) a. *ga-mo* 'GA-bread' b. *ga-mo mo*

This follows if prefixes are never heads (compare English; Williams 1981). This means that the base must be a head, meaning (given B) that it consists of a Root and a nominalizer, hence allows reduplication.

In this way the reduplication provides a probe into the structure of words, not just in XC, but in Chinese more generally, and other languages. This will be demonstrated with more examples, including coordinative compounds and the characteristically Chinese item called 'bound root' or 'bound stem' in the literature (Packard 2000, Pirani, L.2008), which we will provide a new analysis for.

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Early Communication of Children with Down Syndrome

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Down syndrome (DS) is the main genetic cause of intellectual disability. Mental retardation affects the complex development of a person with DS but language acquisition and communication ability are typically the most impaired domains of functioning in DS (c.f. Checa and Co., 2016).

Language abilities of children with DS are not uniform and the researches show high individual variability in language acquisition on every language level (vocabulary, comprehension, length of utterances etc.), though it is possible to name some common language and communication characteristics as well (e.g. worse speech production than in typically developing children, better lexical skills than syntactic ones etc., Zampini 2012). The already existing researches also confirm that the expressive abilities of children and adults with DS are generally lower than receptive skills (Özçalışkan 2017).

Communication of children with DS, similarly to some other types of non-standard language development, has not yet been investigated in sufficient depth (c.f. the founding researches of Bates 1979, e.g. Buckley 1993 and Zampini 2011). Moreover, the existing research studies mostly the Anglophone culture, similar linguistic research is missing in the Czech context (c.f. Zelinková 2011). The submitted study would like to fill in this space.

The goal of this research is to find out how Czech speaking children with DS communicate and understand communication and which means of communication (verbal and non-verbal) they use. The research verifies follow assumptions:

- a) Non-verbal communication (especially spontaneous gestures, c.f. Stefanini 2007, and intentionally learned signs) will be, in the youngest children, more significant in frequency and quantify than in typically developing children.
- b) Words for social routine communication (greetings and other interactive constructions, names of family members and close persons) and for topics close to children and games (imitation of animal sounds, sounds of means of transport etc.) will dominate in the lexicon of this group.

The initial analyzed material is constituted by 40 video recordings of 3 Czech children with DS (the children were between 24 and 29 months old at the beginning of the research), in the total length of more than 10 hours. Children are recorded once a month during repetitive activities (playing, feeding, bathing), which enables the analysis of development of their verbal and non-verbal communication. This analysis shows that the early communication of children with DS is made up mostly by intentionally learned signs representing nouns suitable for daily communication and inarticulate sounds. The first words rarely appear around the age of two years. The study is a part of a longitudinal research in verbal and non-verbal communication of children with DS.

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Verbal expression	mama / mum		
Non-verbal express.		já / I (deictic gesture)	pít / drink <i>(iconic</i> <i>gesture)</i>
Meaning	Mami, chci se napít. /	Mum, I want to drink.	

(b)

Verbal expression		
Non-verbal express.	králík / rabbit <i>(iconic gesture)</i>	jíst / eat <i>(iconic gesture)</i>
Meaning	Dám králíkovi najíst. / I will feed t Králík jí. / The rabbit is eating.	he rabbit.

Keywords: Down syndrome, learning disability, verbal communication, non-verbal communication, dialogic interaction

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(1)

Primary and secondary factors in the processing of Polish compounds: Data from manipulations of semantic transparency and filler items

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The lexical representation and morphological processing of compound words is one of the most important issues in psycholinguistics (e.g., El-Bialy et al., 2013; Mankin et al., 2016; Rastle & Davis, 2008; Kehayia et al., 1999, Bertram & Hyönä, 2003; Dronjic, 2011). Although a vast amount of data has been gathered, the question whether complex words are stored or decomposed has not been answered yet (cf. Bronk, 2013). Answering this is problematic due to a number of factors influencing the processing of compound words (i.e., features specific to individual words, the type of language tested, semantic transparency, word frequency, language user's familiarity of the coompound words (Libben, 1998).

Within the set of the existing models of morphological processing, there is a fulllisting model (Butterworth, 1983), a full-parsing model (Taft, 2004), multiple-route model (Kuperman et al., 2009), the Augumented Addressed Morphology Model (Caramazza et al., 1998), the Morphological Race Model (Schreuder & Baayen, 1995), Conjunctive Activation Approach (Libben, 1998) and Meaning Computation Approach (Ji et al., 2011).

In the study reported here, we tested current models of morphological processing with data from three lexical decision experiments with masked semantic priming using Polish compound words. All experimental items had a nominal head and were either semantically transparent (e.g., *oczodół* 'eye socket' lit. 'eye' + 'hole') or semantically opaque (e.g., *drobno-ustrój* 'micro-organism' lit. 'tiny' + 'system'). The degree of transparency was operationalized by testing native speaker intuitions with the use of a scale from 1 (opaque) to 7 (transparent). The simple words were the head nouns taken from the compounds, either from the transparent ones (*dół* 'hole/pit') or from the opaque ones (*ustrój* 'system'). The frequency of the compounds and their constituents was held constant. The series of Experiments were conducted with 110 native speakers of Polish (mean age = 22,4 years; 26 males, 84 females).

All three Experiments included 40 compounds (20 transparent and 20 opaque) which were primed either by an unrelated prime or by a prime semantically related to the head of the compound. The difference between the experiments consisted in the filler items used in each experiment.

In Experiment 1, the fillers constituted a neutral condition – they were rare monomorphemic words of foreign origin to which two or three letters were added. In Experiment 2, the fillers were easy pseudocompounds (formed by altering one or two letters of existing compounds) which are known in the literature to promote storage (Ji et al., 2011). In Experiment 3, the fillers were difficult pseudocompounds (formed by combining two free morphemes into non-existing compounds) which invite decomposition (Taft & Ardasinski, 2006).

Experiment 1 revealed that transparent compounds are processed faster than opaque compounds (p= .042) in the primed condition (the mean response time for transparent compounds was 0.878; for opaque 0.970). This advantage was absent when the compounds were not primed. In Experiments 2 and 3, the difference in the reaction times was not significant in either primed or unprimed conditions. However, the processing of all compounds in Experiment 2 was faster than in Experiment 3 (in all four conditions p< .001).

The inclusion of easy pseudocompounds (Experiment 2) forced participants to develop a strategy which helped them reject non-words. Easy pseudocompounds were constructed in such a way that they highly resembled existing compounds. The participants used this information while labelling them as non-words. Surprisingly, they probably used the same strategy for transparent and opaque compounds within the same experiment, which in turn resulted in shorter processing responses for existing compounds. The inclusion of difficult pseudocompounds (Experiment 3) forced participants to develop another strategy: parse the non-words into two constituents, merge the constituents into a non-interpretable unit and then reject it. This strategy is a time-consuming process, which results in longer response times.

The results of the series of Experiments demonstrate that reactions were significantly faster to semantically transparent compounds than to semantically opaque ones when they were primed by a head-related word in a neutral condition. When the condition was manipulated with the use of easy- and difficult pseudocompounds, the priming effect disappeared. The findings may indicate that the internal information about a word (at least semantic transparency) is available only in non-contextual (neutral) conditions and that the type of filler items used (neutral or controlled) primarily influences compound processing.

Keywords: compound words; psycholinguistics; Polish; semantic transparency

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Effectiveness of storytelling depending on stress and other ostensive variables

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Research question: Ostensive signals (Sperber–Wilson 1995) of communicative storytelling are the guarantee not to waste the mental processing effort humans need to get cognitive effect of relevant information of a story (Lengyel–Komlósi–Ivaskó 2013, Ivaskó 2014). Our hypothesis is that the pragmatic pattern of telling tales to small children is similar to that of the universal features of infant-directed speech (Clark–Clark 1977; Snow 1977), motherese.

Method: Children had to listen to 7 tales while watching a storyteller on the monitor of a computer. Thereafter they had to answer 6 questions on the content of the tale. Every storytelling was different because the interlocutor used miscellaneous non-verbal signals (variables: A) using the features of motherese/ non-conventional stress on irrelevant expressions of the text/ neutralized stress and B) keeping eye contact/avoiding eye contact.) Selection of the parameters are based on the pedagogical stance theory (Gergely–Csibra 2005, Papp–Ivaskó 2017). Ostensive and referential cues draw the children's attention to the fact that they are being taught. The manners of the experiment are detailed on the poster.

The participants of the study were 22 typically developing Hungarian children. The average age of the participants was 70.5 months (SD = 6.94).

Data and results: The highest score (M = 10.05, SD = 2.16) was achieved in the test after the first tale. In this version, the storyteller kept eye contact with the listener and used the features of motherese. The lowest score (M = 6.95, SD = 2.89) was achieved in the test after the sixth tale. In this version, the interlocutor used neutralized stress and completely avoided eye contact during storytelling.

We intended to find out how much influence ostensive stimuli have connected to stress on tale-comprehension test results. In our test sample, there was a statistically significant difference between the score of the tales which were performed with different ostensive stimuli (F(2, 40) = 16.32, MSE = 2.96, p < 0.001). The Bonferroni correction was used for exploring the differences. As a result of the test there was a statistically significant difference between the storytelling with features of motherese and the storytelling with neutralized stress (p < 0.001). There was also a statistically significant difference between the storytelling with neutralized stress on irrelevant expressions of the text and the storytelling with neutralized stress (p = 0.016). The highest score was achieved after those tales which were presented using the features of motherese (M = 9.26). The lowest score was achieved after those tales which were presented using neutralized stress (M = 7.14). The scores of the groups can be seen in Figure 1.

Discussion: Results of the comprehension subtests of the tales reveal the most efficient ostensive stimuli in the age group of 3-6 years old children. Pragmatic patterns of telling tales addressing children is similar to those of the infant-directed speech (motherese). In our sample, these features of ostensive stimuli helped the children to comprehend the meaning of different verbal stories.



Type of the subtests on the basis of the used ostensive stimuli during the tale

Figure 1. The scores of the children's answers to the questions after the tales with different ostensive stimuli.

Keywords: ostensive signals, verbal narratives, stress, motherese

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Breton embedded V2 and post-syntactic operations

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This is a study of how embedded domains are integrated into the syntactic structure. I develop a typology of V2 orders in Breton embedded domains by comparing corpus and elicitation data with traditional native speakers from three different dialectal points in Leon and Kerne. The results suggest that some embedded clauses undergo a post-syntactic Merge operation at *TRANSFER* before Spell-Out (Wurmbrand 2014) with their complementizer.

Breton in the typology of V2. Like Old Romance, Rhaeto-Romance, Karitiana, Germanic Mòcheno or Cimbrian, Breton is *at least V2*, meaning some V3 orders (and more) are allowed. A pre-Tense particle a/e realizes Fin, the projection that hosts the inflected verb as in (1). Much like in Germanic, Breton embedded V2 appears in different adjunct clauses denoting cause (2), complements of verbs of saying and thinking (3), including forms of the complementizer 'if' (4) & (5), and relatives of temporal nouns (6). Prototypically as in (2), their left-periphery may contain a recursive projection hosting scene-setting adverbials, above a topicalized or focalized element that accidentally satisfies V2 as a by-product of information structure. These embedded V2 orders show less integration in the structure: they can not be moved ((7) vs. (8)), and matrix negation does not have scope over them (9). They also show a looser pragmatic integration and have restrictions on extraction from them.

Breton V2 is typologically peculiar in that it is *linear*: functional heads count as preverbal constituents, including Q particles (10), preverbal negation (11) or verbal heads (12)-(14). Avoidance of verb-first shows last resort strategies with post-syntactic symptoms: it does not impact semantics or information structure, and it allows for syntactic misbehaviours, like Stylistic fronting (12) or excorporation that leads to analytical tenses (13) or doubling (14). The linear V2 generalization predicts that last-resort V2 effects should be banned in embedded domains, because a complementizer heads them. This is contrary to facts (4)-(6), and suggests that embedded domains are formed before the complementizer is merged to them. Last-resort word order rearrangement for V2 takes place in a post-syntactic morphological component before spell-out. In these less integrated embedded clauses, the completed FinP phase is first sent to TRANSFER. The V2 requirement applies, triggering Merge of an expletive, short-distance constituent inversion (Stylistic Fronting (4) (5)), or excorporation out of the tensed head and subsequent do insertion (6) or doubling. The complementizer Merges to its clause after that, correctly predicting that it does not saturate the V2 requirement. Not all embedded V2 show signs of early spell-out: fully integrated structures like the protasis of conditionals never allows for last-resort expletives/verbal head fronting. Dialectal variation shows a gradation in the richness of their left-periphery (Eastern Kerne dialect persistently allows for less options, and Plougerneau in Leon for more (15)).

- (1) C [Hanging topics [scene setting advs. $[_{TOPP} XP [_{FOCP} [_{FINP} [a/e-V]]_{IP} \dots$
- (2) Bep bloazh neuze e veze dreset, [ablamour, <u>pa vez fall an amzer</u>, each year then prt was rebuilt because when was bad the weather <u>a-wechoù ar paper sablet</u> a veze roget gant ar gwallamzer...] at-times the paper sanded Fin was destroyed by the bad.weather
 'It was rebuilt every year, because, when the weather is bad, the sanded paper was sometimes destroyed by the bad weather.' embedded V4, Plougerneau

(3)	Me oar a-walh lar <u>eur vuoh wenn</u> he-deus kalz a lêz.	Uhelgoat
	I know enough that a cow white she-has lot of milk	
(4)	N ouzon ket hag (<u>lennet</u>) e deus (<i>*</i> lennet) an uriou	Plougerneau
	Neg know neg Q read has read the book	
<	I don't know if he has read the book.	—
(5)	N' ouzon ket ha (<u>lennet/-g-en</u>) en deus (lennet) al levr.	Treger
	neg know neg Q read / expl prt has read the book	-
	'I don't know if he has read the book.'	Lesneven
(6)	Bevañ a reomp un amzer hag <u>gouzout</u> a ra (ar vugale) diouzh d	an ordinatourien
	live prt do.we a time that to.know prt does the children from	the computers
	'We live a time where the children know (better) of the computers (the	han their parents).'
(7)	(<i>Peogwir eo lezireg</i>), <i>n'eo</i> ket deuet, (<i>peogwir eo lezizeg</i>).	
	because is lazy NEG'is not come because is lazy e	mbedded C-T
(8)	*(Peogwir lezizeg eo), n'eo ket deuet, (peogwir lezireg eo)	
	because lazy is NEG'is not come because lazy is eml	bedded C-XP-T
	'He didn't come because he is lazy.'	
(9)	CONTEXT: 'Don't be nasty! He didn't come with me only because	I have a car and
	he didn't want to walk'	_
	N'eo ket deuet peogwir (eo) lezireg (*eo), met evit kaozeal samp	les.
	NEG'is not come because is lazy is but for discuss togeth	er
(1.0)	'He didn't come because he is lazy but for us to have a discussion.'	
(10)	Hag eo gwir an dra-se	
	Q is true the thing-here	
(4.4.)	'Is that true?'	
(11)	(Yann ha Lisa) ne brenint ket ul levr d'am breur warc'hoazh.	
	Yann & Lisa neg will.buy.3PL neg a book to my brother tomorrow	
(10)	Y ann and Lisa will not buy a book for my brother tomorrow.	
(12)	<u>Prenet</u> en deus Yann ul levr d'am breur.	Stylistic Fronting
	bought has Yann a book to my brother	
(10)	Y ann has bought a book for my brother.	
(13)	<u>Prenan</u> a ra Yann ul levr d'am breur. analytic	c tense =
	buy prt does Y ann a book to my brother excorporation	ion + <i>ao</i> support
(1.4)	Y ann buys a book for my brotner.	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
(14)	<u>Gouzout</u> a ouzon ar wirionez. $excorporation + c$	opy pronunciation
	to.know prt know.1SG the truth	
(15)	I know the truth.	· · · · (D1 · · · · · · · · · · ·)
(15)a.	Kontant e vichen ma <u>a ar gouel</u> e teufe I ann. Le	con (Plougerneau)
D.	* Kontant eviction ma <u>d'ar fact</u> e teufe I ann.	Leon (Lesneven)
c.	honny net ha COND if to'the party net would some Varia	Nerne
	Happy pri de. COND II to the party pri would come Y ann	
	i would be happy for i ann to come to the party.	

Keywords: V2, matrix clause phenomenon, integration of embedded domains, late spell-out

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When a verb does not "mean" a verb... A corpus-based analysis of Czech verbs and their non-verbal equivalents in Polish

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The motivation for this presentation lies in the belief that new insights can be gained by combining corpus-based contrastive linguistics with translation studies.

The analysis is focused on Czech polysemous verbs. In Polish as a closely related language, many of them have a single verbal equivalent. However, a number of others are very tricky to translate and do not have an exact equivalent. They are translated as a different part of speech, a multi-word expression, or a completely different construction.

The goal of the analysis is to find rules for the appearance of a specific kind of equivalent.

The analysis proper is preceded by automatic extraction of pairs of equivalents from InterCorp, a parallel corpus (Čermák & Rosen 2012). Then we manually analyze parallel segments (sentences) including selected words. We check (in each segment) how the key word was translated and what kinds of collocations and arguments it has.

The aim of the first part of the analysis is to decide whether valence requirements can help to identify rules determining cases where a specific Czech verb is translated by a nonverbal equivalent. A study concerning the ambiguous Czech verb *toužit* 'to miss, to want, to desire' (Kaczmarska & Rosen 2013) was supposed to reveal if valency can influence the choice of an equivalent in Polish. It was assumed that for some senses the equivalent can be established based on the convergence of the valence requirements (Levin 1993). The hypothesis proved to be true. However, the influence of valency was not observed in all the senses of the verb.

At the next stage of the analysis we use the methods of Pattern Grammar (Ebeling & Ebeling 2013; Francis & Hunston & Manning 1996; Hunston & Francis 2000). Since the verbs we analyze are mostly polysemous, in tracking their patterns, we try to link the concrete meaning with a pattern type (understood as a repeatable combination of words).

"A pattern can be identified if a combination of words occurs relatively frequently, if it is dependent on a particular word choice, and if there is a clear meaning associated with it." (Hunston and Francis 2000, 37)

We established that there was indeed such regularity in the corpus occurrences (Ebeling and Ebeling 2013). The manual analysis based on InterCorp indicated, i.a., two patterns of the Czech unit $b\acute{yt} l\acute{to}$ 'to be sorry, to regret', associated with two meanings. Two different meanings of the same verb can have their own (different) equivalents and, as the examples show, the equivalents are often non-verbal.

The results of the analysis bring us closer to identifying rules for the appearance of a specific kind of equivalent.

Keywords: lexical equivalent; parallel corpus; Pattern Grammar; Czech; Polish

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The rise of an indefinite article in Polish: A corpus-based study

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The last four decades have witnessed an increasing number of studies addressing the issue of grammaticalization (Lehmann 1982; Heine and Mechtild 1984; Hopper and Traugott 1993). According to basic tenets of the theory, grammar is highly susceptible to changes. These changes manifest themselves in that lexical items become grammatical items, acquiring new functions and distribution.

One such particular process is the rise of indefinite articles. Historical and comparative linguists accept that indefinite articles emerge from the common source across languages: the numeral *one*. This grammaticalization process follows five distinctive stages: (i) numeral, (ii) presentative marker, (iii) specific marker, (iv) non-specific marker and (v) generalized article (Givón 1981, Heine 1997). Although a vast amount of data has been amassed on the emergence of indefinite articles, it primarily concentrates on those languages in which the presence of indefinite articles is well-established. Other languages, however, are understudied and call for closer investigation. For instance, Slavic languages are principally believed not to possess articles. Yet certain usages of *one* (e.g., in Bulgarian and Macedonian) demonstrate the same features as the ones ascribed to the usages of indefinite articles in non-Slavic languages, such as English, German or Italian (e.g., Geist 2011, Gorishneva 2014, Belaj and Motovac 2015, Runić and Juh 2017).

As very little is known about the stage of the grammaticalization process in the case of Polish indefinite article, we assess the change of Polish numeral *jeden* 'one' into indefinite marker by lens of the grammaticalization theory. Given that the change seems to be geographical in nature (with languages without any signs of indefinite articles located mostly in eastern Europe, while those with the signs located mostly in western and central Europe), we hypothesized that Polish would be expected to have acquired at least stage 2 according to the classification proposed by Heine (Heine 1997).

In order to answer the research question, we conducted a corpus-based study to verify whether the tendency to use *jeden* as an indefinite marker has increased significantly over twenty years (ranging 1992-2011). All the data were gathered from the National Corpus of Polish (Janus and Przepiórkowski 2007), with the overall number of analyzed sentences amounted to 20.000.

The results of the study demonstrate that the uses of *jeden* as a presentative marker and a specificity marker have been both attested, which would suggest that Polish numeral has already reached the specific marker stage. However, some uses of *jeden* seem to stretch even to the non-specific marker in certain functions. In addition, apart from the numeral and indefinite functions of *jeden*, a number of other uses were attested, such as a definite marker, an adjective, quantifier and intensifier. Based on the statistical analysis carried out for the obtained results, a statistically significant increase in the use of *jeden* as an indefinite marker (t = 2.638, p < 0.05) has been revealed (see Figure 1). This increasing tendency for using

indefinite markers can be explained in terms of the grammaticalization phenomena, enhanced by language contacts with article-possessing languages (English and German) as well as political and social situation in Poland in the analyzed time period.



Keywords: indefinite article; grammaticalization; corpus study; Polish

Figure 1: *Jeden* used as an indefinite marker (1992-2011). The number of analysed sentences in each year amounted to 1000.

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"Argumentation Signals" As a Tough Translation Task Translation of the connector *zumal* and of the phrase *da ja* composed of the connector *da* and the particle *ja* from German to Czech in argumentative texts

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The paper will use a comparative approach to focus on two linguistic argumentation signals (Rudolph 1983): the causal connector *zumal* and the phrase *da ja* composed of the causal connector *da* and the particle *ja* in German and their counterparts in Czech. The analysis is based on two assumptions: 1) The linguistic construction of arguments has an essential impact on their identification and potential (Anscombre 1983; Ducrot 1993; Atayan 2006; Kienpointner 2012); 2) An adequate transfer of argumentation structures is one of the parameters of equivalence in translation (Atayan 2007). In this respect, the term "argument" is perceived as support (or a reason) for a thesis claim, with the support reaching various degrees of transparency depending on the linguistic realization.

The function of *zumal* and *da ja* as "argumentation signals" and the possibility of their transfer from German to Czech will be examined in three subsequent partial analyses to which the methodological approaches are adapted. The individual partial analyses are based on the following questions:

I) What argumentation structures are signalled by the two linguistic devices in the source text? I assume that the two signals do not show support for the thesis claims explicitly, however, their use in argumentation leads to the shortening / reduction of the superficial linguistic structure of the argument. In the former case, the means of the shortening is the very connector, while in the latter case, it is rather the particle *ja*; which, however, tends to connect primarily with causal connectors in argumentative texts (Rinas 2006: \$9.4.1.2). Out of these, I have selected the connector *da*, as it shows certain specifics. Based on a preliminary analysis, I assume the following structures in the examined "argumentation signals":

- da ja C(onclusions) expl. A(rgument) 1, 2... impl. specification of the quality of A 1, 2 ... [it is evident that A 1, 2... supports C]. Assumed limitations: The subordinate clause introduced by the phrase da ja does not precede the clause in which the conclusion is realized.
- (2) zumal C(onclusions) expl. A(rgument) 1 impl. A2, A3... [showing less relevance than A1]. Assumed limitations: The subordinate clause introduced by the connector zumal does not precede the clause in which the conclusion is realized. In the subordinate clause introduced by zumal, one argument is realized.

The aim of the first part of the analysis is to confront the argumentation structures which are supposed in the analysed signals with empiric data. The analysis is based on a corpus composed of selected argumentative texts from the fields of politics and culture.

II) In what ways are these signals transfered into the target language, i.e. Czech? This partial analysis aims to verify, based on corpus data, whether the argumentation structure, or

else the argumentation potential of the utterance, undergoes any changes. The analysis draws on the data from the InterCorp Parallel Corpus and the Czech-German Parallel Corpus.

III) The third part of the analysis is essentially a direct continuation of the second part. Based on a test with 20 respondents, students of translation and interpreting, it focuses on the strategies developed by translators-beginners during the translation of these argumentation signals, or else on whether they are aware of the possible shifts in the equivalence of the argumentation structures. The aim of the final part of the analysis is to ascertain to what extent such signals are also relevant for the didactic approach to the translation of argumentative texts.

Keywords: Argumentation Signals, Translation Studies, Equivalence, Connectors

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Equative and Similative Demonstratives – A preliminary typology

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Demonstratives are arguably the most basic deictic signs. They exist in all languages (Dixon 2003). In this paper, we focus on a type of demonstratives that is rarely studied: demonstratives that denote properties of referents and events. For referents, these forms point to their quality. To take an English example, such in such a bird roughly means "a bird of that kind". In addition to the English such, there are also the Germanic *so/zo*, the Romance *com*-, the Slavic *tak*-, and it is likely that equivalents exist in all languages. The same roots typically also refer to properties of events and attributes such as manner and degree. While the terminology is not settled, we will refer to these forms as equative and similative demonstratives (ESDs).

Anderson and Morzycki (2015), following Carlson (1977) and Gehrke (2015), argue that quality, manner and degrees are all kinds: 'quality': kinds of objects; "manner": kinds of events; "degree": kinds of states.

In our paper, we present the data from four unrelated language families: Indo-European (Slavic, Germanic); Sinitic (Mandarin, Cantonese and Early Southern Min); Austronesian (Malay); and Papuan (Abui, Sawila). We show that in Sinitic, the ESDs develop from demonstrative roots followed by various lexical items meaning "type". A closer look at the Sinitic and Slavic data shows that ESDs for quality and manner and ESDs for degree exhibit morphological differences, which are motivated by their semantic differences. Similar situation exists in Malay, where the ESDs *begini/begitu* and the corresponding interrogative *bagaimana* are grammaticalised from a root meaning roughly 'type, variety, species' and a demonstrative root (Adelaar 1992, 144, §194).

The situation is more complex in the Papuan languages of Eastern Indonesia, where the ESD roots take on verbal morphology and agreement, and fulfill a large range of grammatical functions, typically lexicalized differently in the more familiar languages. Furthermore, these languages do not express degree in the same way as manner and kind, although the expression of degree contains an ESD root.

As other deictic signs, ESDs embed communication in its context. Bühler (1934) distinguishes three contexts in which deictic expressions are used: (i) visible here-and-now context (*demonstratio ad oculos*), (ii) the communication context (*anaphora*), and finally (iii) the context drawing on long-term memory and imagination (*deixis am phantasma*). ESDs mark similarity between their target and the discourse reference and point to ad-hoc kinds that get established within the context. However, the notion of similarity is vague, versatile and emerging from the interaction.

We believe that ultimately, the ESDs enable the interlocutors to mitigate the knowledge asymmetry among them and coordinate their joint attention (Tomasello 1995; Diessel 2006), and their use correlates with the cognitive status of the referents (in focus, familiar, etc.). Our analysis will be supported with natural discourse data.

Keywords: demonstratives; kinds; similatives; equatives; typology

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Scales and vectors of affectedness - a typology

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An important factor influencing linguistic form is how much an object changes as a result of the action described by the verb. For example, the English, Middle Construction (1b and 2b) is restricted to verbs with affected objects (*indicates ungrammaticality).

- (1) (a) The butcher cuts the meat (affected).
 - (b) The meat cuts easily.
- (2) (a) Kelly adores <u>French fabrics</u>. (not affected).
 - (b) *French fabrics adore easily.

This factor, referred to as affectedness, is manifested in many genetically unrelated languages (e.g. Sino-Tibetan, Austronesian, Japanese, Papuan, and Indo-European) and is tied up with important linguistic issues such as verbal semantics, alignment and transitivity. However, a precise and well-motivated definition is rarely given (Beavers 2011, 335). There is also no consensus regarding the cognitive structure of affectedness – its types, degrees, components and distribution among participants.

In this paper we summarize the results of a comparative project including a diverse set of languages. The goal of the project was to survey the range of expressions of affectedness (i.e. the degree of change that an event brings about) across languages and chart the 'design space' of this feature in human language.

We will show that the design space of affectedness is warped. Affectedness is a scalar category with at least a 3-point scale (not affected, partially affected, maximally affected). Although languages draw different resources to encode this category, its structure across languages may be universal.

The 3-point scale, described above is available for patients of transitive verbs but for other predicates and participants types, the scale is reduced to two points. No language in our sample has systematic primary means to encode a 3-point scale for benefactives or experiencers. Although such meanings can be expressed, they usually require periphrastic constructions or involve adjacent conceptual categories, such as aspect.

Languages further differ in the number of participants for which the degree of affectedness can be measured. It appears that this limitation is related to the diachronic origin of the affectedness marking in a particular language. Finally, we have established that in some languages a single participant can be encoded as affected in more than one dimension, so as undergoing a maximal change on the patient vector, but also on the benefactive or experiencer vector.

Keywords: verb classes; affectedness; change of state; benefactives; patients; event culmination

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Associative Plurals are Phase-bound

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1PL and 2PL pronouns denote associative plurals ('we' = speaker + associate(s), 'you.PL' = hearer + associate(s); Corbett & Mithun 1996, a.o.). Only some languages, however, may realize the associative component overtly. E.g. in Russian (Vassilieva & Larson 2005, a.o.) 'we with Peter' means not only 'we + Peter,' but also 'I + Peter.' I argue that associative plurality is either lexical or syntactic. Only languages with syntactic associativity allow the decomposition pattern. Further, syntactic associativity is a phase-bound process that requires multiple checking of an interpretable person feature on a phase head. Crucially, languages differ in what phase heads, if any, carry such an interpretable person feature (Zubizaretta & Pancheva 2017, Pancheva & Zubizaretta to appear [Z&P and P&Z]). The empirical evidence comes from Czech.

Czech has two types of associative constructions: a comitative construction (CC), (1), and a pronominal associative construction (PAC), (2). In CC, the with-PP is adjacent to the focal noun and the predicate is in SG or PL. In PAC, the PP is adjacent to the focal pronoun or adjoined to vP.

(1)	Petr Petr 'Petr a	(s Marií) with Marie and Marie wen	šel/ šli went.SG/ wer t to the party.'	nt.PL CC	*(s Ma with M	urií) Iarie	na večírek on party	*(s Marií). with Marie
(2)	My (s we w 'Marie	Marií) vith Marie e and I went to	jsme AUX .1 PL the party.'	(s Mari with M	í) arie	šli gone.1	na večírek PL on party	*(s Marií). with Marie

PAC The agreement optionality disappears with possessive PPs, (3). Morphologically logophoric pronouns correlate with plural agreement (3a), anaphoric pronouns with singular agreement, (3b).

(3)	a. Marie s jejím mužem	navštívili/??navštívi	la svou kamarádku.
	Marie with her husband	visited.PL/ visited.SC	G self friend
	'Marie, and her, husband w	visited their _{i+j} friend.'	LOGOPHORIC POSSESSIVE
	b. Marie se svým mužem	??navštívili/ navštívi	la svou kamarádku.
	Marie with self's husband	d visited.PL/ visited.SC	G self friend
	'Marie, visited her, friend	with her, husband.'	ANAPHORIC POSSESSIVE

I argue that both plurality and logophoricity require a semantically licensed person. Semantic licensing arises as part of feature checking of an unvalued interpretable person feature on a phase head (Z&P, P&Z). I argue that Czech D comes with an interpretable person feature. Associative plurality arises from multiple checking of this feature by the person features of the focal element and the associate. When the DP is labeled at the CI interface (Chomsky 2013, 2014), both the focal noun ([-participant]) and of the associate person features are accessible. A potential person value clash is resolved by the lexical semantics of the P ($+\Delta$ of Vassilieva & Larson 2005). I model $+\Delta$ as a joiner which translates into a meet or an intersection (Szabolcsi 2015). The derivation converges as the label corresponds to semantic plurality (sum of indices; Link 1983). The [-participant] $+\Delta$ value of the label triggers plural agreement and the logophoric possessive reflects the association with the joiner. Crucially, the multiple valuation is optional: the person feature on the D head may be valued by the focal noun itself. Then the label copies the valued [-participant] feature and the predicate is singular. Anaphoric binding arises from a syntactic checking within a phase (Charnavel & Sportiche 2016). The proposal for CC can be directly extended to PAC. There, however, the relevant phase head is v. Since [+author]/[+hearer]+ Δ is a valid person value in Czech, the derivation converges. When the complement of vP is spelled-out, the focal pronoun moves to T either with or without the PP (optional pied-piping). Morphologically, the pronoun is realized as plural because it is part of an agree chain valued as [+author]/[+hearer]+ Δ .

Keywords: associative constructions; phases; syntax-semantics interface; interpretable person

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Granularity of features for multivariate statistical analysis in contrasting tasks

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The present paper deals with the issue of comparability when empirically contrasting English and German on the level of cohesion. It is argued that comparability across several variables (in our case language, register and written vs. spoken mode) can only be achieved through a model that recognizes several levels of abstraction away from language-specific linguistic features (cohesion in our study).

Directly comparing word-level features is problematic even across such closely related languages as English and German (Haspelmath 2010). Such low level features are frequently not cross-linguistically valid and often far removed from the level of linguistic theorizing and explanations. Apart from that, they do not permit a distinction between cohesive and non-cohesive functions.

We therefore propose a hierarchy of linguistic descriptions deriving cross-linguistically valid features from categories in low-level annotations (Kunz et al. 2018). On a fine-grained level, we classify cohesive devices on the basis of lexico-grammatical features (e.g. head vs. modifier function of referring expressions), accounting for language and register-specific properties. At a medium level of description, these features are grouped together, reflecting functional types of cohesion, such as co-reference, conjunction and lexical cohesion. These types, as initially proposed by Halliday & Hasan (1976), were developed for English with no claim that any of the more specific categories would necessarily apply to other languages. For instance, elliptical constructions in German signal similar meaning relations as the verbal substitute do in English. Moreover, these classifications do not account for the interaction of chain features (e.g. chain number, distance in chains and chain length). The highest level therefore integrates features into more abstract properties we call cohesive effects: strength and degree of the cohesive relation, types of meaning relation encoded, variability of discourse topics expressed by cohesion, and breadth of variation of cohesive relations. This permits a comparison of cohesive patterns across languages, registers and along the writtenspoken continuum, providing our tertium comparationis.

Thus, we have several groups of features that represent several levels of abstraction and the same subcorpora representing languages, registers and modes under analysis. We apply hierarchical clustering and analyse the differences and similarities in the outcome of these levels of abstraction in our subcorpora. Our preliminary results show that the same subcorpora group differently on the different levels of abstraction. At the same time, we note that the lower the level of description the more contrasts are observed between languages. Crosslinguistic similarities show on the highest level, however revealing best the contrasts in terms of register and mode.

Keywords: cohesion; cross-linguistic comparison; levels of abstraction

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A non-unified analysis of Existential Constructions in Mandarin Chinese

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Existential Constructions (ECs) of the type *there be* $[_{pivot} XP_{indefinite}][_{coda} YP]$ in Mandarin Chinese are claimed to be structurally similar to their English counterpart. However, recent studies observe that not only can the coda be predicated of the pivot (henceforth, Subject-Gap (SG) codas), but also the object gap in the coda can be co-referred with the pivot (Object Gap (OG) codas), cf. Li 1996, Zhang 2008, Liu 2013. The latter type is not attested in English which only has SG codas. Chinese post-nominal codas are not Externally Headed Relative Clauses which occur in a pre-nominal position and have an overt relativiser *de* (Lin 2003). Then the question is whether Chinese ECs with two types of codas have a unified syntax.

- (1) Subject-Gap (SG) coda
 you ren_i [t_i bu renshi Zhangsan].
 Cop person Neg.know Zhangsan.
 'there are people not knowing Zhangsan.'
- (2) Object-Gap (OG) coda you ren_i [Zhangsan bu renshi t_i]. Cop person Zhangsan Neg.know
 'there are people that Zhangsan does not know' Li 1996: 184

Chinese ECs have been analysed as involving a unified syntactic structure (Li 1996, Zhang 2008, Liu 2013). This paper argues against these unified analyses and proposes that two types of ECs have different syntactic structures: in the ECs with SG codas, codas are analysed as adjuncts to the VP headed by the copula *you*, with a subject *pro* co-indexed with the pivot; in the ECs with OG codas, the *you*+pivot string is part of a topic phrase, i.e. a VP within SpecTopP of a null Top° (à la Pan 2017), and the pivot results in the landing position either from base-generation or from movement.

(3) ECs with SG codas

 $[_{TP} [_{AspP} [_{vP} locative/temporal NP or null expletive [v° [_{VP} you [_{NP/DP} Pivot_i]] [_{CP/Coda} pro_i [T° AspP]]]]]]$

(4) ECs with OG codas

 $\begin{bmatrix} Top^{\circ} & [TP [vP [vP you [NP/DP Pivot_i]]] \end{bmatrix} & [Top^{\circ} & [TP/Coda [T^{\circ} [AspP [vP ... pro_i/t_i]]] \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

This analysis is drawn based on three arguments: i) the coordination test shows that only SG codas can form a (non-nominal) constituent with pivots, pace Zhang 2008; ii) deontic modal

auxiliary *bixu* 'must' only precedes the copula *you* in the SG ECs, which also implies that pivots are not in sentence subject position for either type, *pace* Tsai 2015; iii) a pivot/coda asymmetry in wh-extractions is observed for both types: pivots allow extractions, whereas codas do not. In addition, both complements and adjuncts cannot be extracted out of SG codas, in contrast to English codas, out of which only extractions of adjuncts are illicit, cf. McNally 1997/1992. Based on the assimilation of English codas to untensed adjuncts proposed by Hartmann 2008, we analyse Chinese SG codas as tensed adjuncts (T° in Chinese, cf. Sybesma 2007).

This analysis accounts for the absence of Predicate Restriction (PR) in Chinese codas (Huang 1987, Zhang 2008, Liu 2013), in contrast to the PR in English (there is a policeman *tall/available, cf. Milsark 1974). OG codas are in fact the main clause of 'ECs' and are thereby not restricted to certain types of predicates; SG type codas are adjuncts with a finite CP structure, evidenced by the occurrence of all types of aspectual markers and modal auxiliaries.

Keywords: existential constructions; Chinese syntax; codas; adjuncts; modal auxiliaries

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Intra-language Generalizations and Variations of Narrative Viewpoint: A Multiple-Parallel-Text Approach to "Tense Shifting" in a Tenseless Language

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The present paper presents a Multiple Parallel Text (Multi-ParT, see Lu and Verhagen 2016; Lu, Verhagen and Su 2018) approach to contrastive stylistic research on narrative viewpoint, comparing an original world masterpiece and multiple versions of published translation in one language. The study focuses on tense shifting in English narratives (a tense-marked language) and their Chinese translations (which is a typical tenseless language, e.g. Lin 2012 and Liu 2014).

Past research on narrative viewpoint has been methodologically based on introspection or use of mono-lingual texts/corpora. However, as language production is heavily influenced by all sorts of context, there has been no way of studying the interaction of the linguistic tool and narrative viewpoint by controlling for the same linguistic, physical and social context, while keeping the language production contextualized. In view of this problem, I propose that use of parallel texts (translations) constitutes an efficient methodological opportunity for contrastive stylistic research across languages in a contextualized way—if one sees the author and the translator(s) equally as sensible text producers, then by keeping identical most other contextual factors, including linguistic, physical, social context, production mode and genre, researchers may empirically study the role played by the linguistic tool in viewpointing stretches of discourse where all text producers try to get across highly similar (if not identical) messages. However, such use of multiple parallel texts (or translations) in studying viewpoint has received only little attention (with an exception being Tabakowska 2014).

I propose that with multiple translated versions in the same language of the same source text, the methodology allows one to control for the contextual factors not only for text producers of different languages but also for a given number of high proficient ones of the same language. The methodology is powerful in the sense that it allows one to make generalizations over a number of verbalizations of the same literary scene, which will show how one language systematically differs from another in verbalizing and conceptualizing the same usage event. It also allows one to see to what extent the language users vary in terms of viewpoint management, when the various contextual factors are controlled. Use of published translations also ensures the quality of the language production.

The research issue of the paper is: how is a literary scene viewpointed (Dancygier and Sweetser ed. 2012) in narratives of the same content in different languages? In particular, tense shifting is the conventional linguistic tool for marking narrative viewpoint in English, but do Mandarin translations, without a corresponding tense marking system, have a systematic solution to the stylistic effect? To what extent do the translations vary and converge?

It is hoped that the paper will help deepen our understanding of how narrative viewpoint work cross-linguistically and provide a useful methodological option for contrastive stylistic research, with tense shifting as the most typical illustration.

Keywords: contrastive linguistics; generalization; parallel texts; tense; variation; viewpoint

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Word order typology and the Minimalist Program: what do parameters belong to?

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The word order typology as regards the structure of the clause is mainly described in terms of configurational dependences obtaining between three constituents, i.e. S, O, and V. Strangely enough, the first two symbols stand for two syntactic functions, i.e. Subject and Object, while the third one is the initial letter of the term 'Verb', i.e. a syntactic/lexical category. Thus, one can detect a kind of inconsistency as regards the syntactic representation since this typology is based on units belonging to different spheres of the linguistic representation. In other words, the syntactic plane is mixed with the functional one. Noteworthy is the observation that nominal constituents, or referential units, are presented as functional terms, i.e. Subject, Object, while predicate forming, i.e. relational, units are presented in terms of the syntactic/lexical category. The problem addressed in this paper is whether such a functional/syntactic division is justified and to what extent configuration of constituents could be said to reflect syntactic/interpretational dependencies as described and analysed within the Minimalist Program approach as outlined in Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001, 2008).

Another problem connected with the word order and word order typology is connected with derivation obtaining in the Narrow Syntax and the conditions responsible for the Full Interpretation requirement at LF as well as at PF. If it is assumed that linearization as defined in Kayne (1994) is the reflexion of the antisymmetric character of syntax at PF, then it is worth analysing which properties of the syntactic derivation within Narrow Syntax are reflected at PF and which configurations seen on the surface are the results of PF conditions. In other words it would be interesting to determine the boundary between the factors responsible for the configuration of syntactic constituents obtained due to the derivation within Narrow Syntax and the conditions obtaining at the PF responsible for temporal sequence of syntactic constituents perceived as 'string of words'.

The problem outlined above is particularly important when one comes to analyse such word orders as SVO and SOV. In the case of Modern High German the two word orders are characterised by a strict specialisation, i.e. the SVO order being characteristic of main affirmative clauses while SOV featuring embedded affirmative and interrogative clauses. The two word orders existed side by side until a certain period in the history of English when SVO totally superseded the latter word order. Another issue addressed in this paper is whether one should assume the existence of one basic word order with the other one treated as a derived variant, as postulated in Haider (2000) and generally assumed in the literature on the word order in Germanic languages, or whether it would be justified to look for other solutions offered by the architecture of the Minimalist Program with Narrow Syntax as its central component.

Keywords: derivation; Narrow Syntax; PF; linearization

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Everyone left the room, except the logophor *ABA patterns in pronominal morphology

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1. Introduction. This presentation will investigate *ABA syncretism patterns in pronominal forms. I present morphological evidence that anaphors, logophors, exophors and pronouns are semantically related to each other in a theoretically significant way, such that they share an underlying structure complete with syntactically operative features. For present purposes, an anaphor is a variable (i.e. it requires a Sloppy reading) that takes a local c-commanding antecedent; a logophor is a variable that takes a non-local antecedent, in whose scope it sits; an exophor is not a variable (i.e. it requires a Strict reading) and picks out a discourse-prominent antecedent; and a pronoun is not a variable, and is free to take any antecedent it likes.

2. Patterns of Syncretism. Consider the sentence in (1), and its possible Logical Functions.
(1) O to Distribute the effective to the sentence in (1), and its possible Logical Functions.

(1)	Only Piglet thinks that Tigger loves α .	lpha
	a. Only Piglet λx (x thinks that Tigger λy (y loves y))	ANAPHOR
	b. Only Piglet λx (x thinks that Tigger λy (y loves \boldsymbol{x}))	LOGOPHOR
	c. Only Piglet λx (x thinks that Tigger λy (y loves z)), where $z = $ Piglet	EXOPHOR
	d. Only Piglet λx (x thinks that Tigger λy (y loves z)), where $z \neq $ Piglet	PRONOUN
In	English, the first LF corresponds to the PF pronunciation in which the ana	phor himself

replaces α in (1), while the latter three LFs are all possible when α is replaced by *him*. This represents an ABBB syncretism pattern. At the time of writing, I have data from 70 languages (representing 14 language families) which support five further syncretism patterns given these four LFs: AAAA (e.g. Georgian, Tongan), AAAB (e.g. Turkish, Korean), AABB (e.g. Cantonese, Japanese), ABBC (e.g. Basque, Yoruba), and ABCC (e.g. Beijing Mandarin, Malayalam). Given four LFs, 14 syncretism patterns are logically possible. The six attested share one significant property: the syncretisms are all adjacent. One contiguous pattern remains unattested: AABC. The seven non-contiguous syncretism patterns are unattested; AABA, ABAA, ABAB, ABAC, ABBA, ABCA, ABCB (the case of no syncretism, ABCD, also remains unattested). In this presentation, I address this question: What syntactic and semantic restrictions can account for this data?

3. Transparent Morphology. I analyse this data in the Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993) and Minimalist (Chomsky 1993) frameworks. I assume that the syncretism of two items indicates that they share an underlying feature. Consider the Peranakan Javanese of Semarang (PJS) data in (2)-(4) (Cole *et al* 2007).

- (2) Tono ketok awak-e dheen dhewe nggon kaca, Siti yaya. ✓ Sloppy Tono see BODY-3 3SG DHEWE in mirror Siti also *Strict
- (3) Tono ngomong nek Bowo ketok **awak-e dheen** nggon kaca, Siti yaya. Tono say.N COMP Bowo see **BODY-3 3SG** in mirror Siti also \checkmark Sloppy \checkmark St. z=T.
(4) Tono ngomong nek Bowo ketok dheen nggon kaca, Siti yaya. ✓ Sloppy Tono say.N COMP Bowo see 3SG in mirror Siti also ✓ Strict

Awake dheen dhewe only takes a local Sloppy reading; it's therefore PJS's anaphor. Awake dheen is one morpheme poorer; it thus realises a proper subset of the features realised by the anaphor. It can take a long-distance Sloppy and a Strict exophoric reading; it is both a logophor and an exophor. Dheen is more simplex still. As it realises a proper subset of awake dheen's features, we can ignore the fact that it can take non-local Sloppy and Strict exophoric readings (some extra mechanism must permit this - I discuss this in the talk); it is PJS's pronoun. The only feature arrangement compatible with the PJS data is one in which each feature belongs to the terminal node of a layered tree, with P on the lowest node and A at the top: [A[L[E[P]]]] (5). Each node on the tree necessarily contains all the nodes below it (Bobaljik 2012). With such a structure, syncretisms can only occur between adjacent pronominals; non-adjacent syncretisms are impossible.



4. Keywords: Anaphors, Logophors, Pronouns, *ABA patterns of syncretism

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Parametrizing second position effects

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I present an analysis of the distribution of pronominal and auxiliary clitics in Slavic, arguing that their placement is subject to the TP-parameter. The clitics assume two positions in Slavic: in Bulgarian (Bg) and Macedonian (Mac) they are verb-adjacent (see 1), on a par with clitics in Romance languages, or they target second position (2P), following the clause-initial syntactic constituent (in Czech, Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian; see 2). Bošković (2016) observes that 2P clitics occur only in languages without articles and postulates a generalization saying that they are available only in DP-less languages. He derives it from the assumption that verb-adjacent clitics are D-heads. Since functional heads cannot be stranded, clitics must assume a head-adjunction configuration. In consequence, D-clitics adjoin to V+T complexes, which results in the verb-adjacent configuration. Conversely, 2P clitics are NPs that target specifiers of independent projections above VP.

A problem with Bošković's (2016) proposal is that it does not readily account for the position of auxiliary clitics, which are verbal, so they are unlikely to be D-heads and thus do not need to incorporate into the V/T complex. Regardless, they adjoin to T on a par with pronominal clitics. In Bošković's (2016) view, the adjunction occurs because of "a preference to treat them like pronominal clitics for uniformity." It is not clear how this preference can be captured in formal terms. Moreover, although Bošković's proposal receives support from Romance languages, in which pronominal clitics resemble articles, in Slavic pronominal clitics show morphological resemblance to case forms (see Franks & Rudin 2005), irrespective of whether they are 2P or verb-adjacent. Finally, Bošković's generalization is not supported diachronically: Old Church Slavonic (OCS) had verb-adjacent pronominal clitics, but it robustly allowed left-branch extraction, which is typical of a DP-less languages (see 3). Moreover, in the history of some Slavic languages verb-adjacent clitics moved to second-position, but the shift was not accompanied by any modifications of the DP/NP structure.

I propose instead that the clitic placement is contingent on the availability of tense morphology. Synchronically, verb-adjacent clitics are attested only in Bg and Mac, the only Slavic languages with the simple tense forms, aorist and imperfect. Diachronically, OCS had aorist and imperfect tenses and verb-adjacent pronominal clitics, while the only 2P clitics were those expressing Illocutionary Force (e.g. *bo* 'because', *že* and *li* (focus/interrogation markers); see 4). In all the Slavic languages that subsequently evolved except for Bg and Mac aorist and imperfect were lost, and the process coincided with the shift of verb-adjacent clitics to 2P (e.g. very early (the 10^{th} c.) in Slovene, whereas in Old S-C the shift paralleled the loss of tense morphology in the respective dialects and occurred only around the 19^{th} c. in Montenegro dialects, where the aorist was preserved longest; see 5). I interpret the change by assuming that verb-adjacent clitics raise out of VP as XPs and are licensed by head-adjunction to T⁰ (cf. Kayne 1991). I also assume that TP is not a universal projection; it is subject to parametric variation (cf. Haider 2010 for German; Bošković 2012), and that it may emerge or

decline in language history (cf. Osawa 1999; Van Gelderen 1993 for Old English). In the case of Slavic, I propose that TP is lost with the decline of tense morphology, which has repercussions for the cliticization patterns. In the absence of T^0 , there is no suitable head for clitics to adjoin to and they end up in 2P, in separate maximal projections. The contrast in the landing sites (head-adjunction for verb-adjacent clitics and specifiers for 2P clitics) results in derivational contrasts between the respective two groups of languages, for instance with respect to clitic splits by parentheticals (see 6) and their mobility in the structure (cf. 7 vs. 8).

The proposal developed here provides a link to V2, another second position phenomenon. Crosslinguistically, V2 is attested only in tensed clauses (Jouitteau 2010); thus, it has been assumed that V2 is a case of T-dependency, both in Germanic (e.g. Den Besten 1977; Roberts & Roussou 2001) and in non-Germanic V2 languages such as Karitiana (Storto 2003).

(1)		Včeratisimugidalyesterdayyouare_AUXhimCL.DATthemCL.ACCgive_PART.M.SG"You have given them to him yesterday"(Bg, see Franks and King 2000)
(2)		Veoma $(si mi)$ lepu $(si mi)$ haljinu $(si mi)$ kupio very are _{AUX} me _{DAT} beautiful are _{AUX} me _{DAT} dress are _{AUX} me _{DAT} buy _{PART.M.SG} . "You've bought me a very beautiful dress" (S-C, Tomić 1996: 817)
(3)		Mati žejego živěaše blizь vratьmother FOC hislive _{IMP.3SG} near"And his mother lived near the gates"(OCS, Radanović-Kocić 1988: 152)
(4)		Elisaveti <i>že</i> isplъni <i>sę</i> vrĕmę roditi <i>ei</i> Elizabeth FOC fulfilled REFL time give-birth her _{DAT} "And it was time for Elizabeth to have her baby" (OCS, <i>Lk</i> 1: 57, Pancheva 2007)
(5)	a.	U kom gradu najdoh <i>se</i> vesel ne malo in which town find _{AOR.ISG} REFL happy NEG little "In which town I was very happy" (Croatia, 16 th c., Radanović-Kocić 1988: 166)
	b.	Brizijiva <i>ga</i> crkva ne pusta caring him _{ACC} church NEG lets "The caring church doesn't let him" (Croatia, 19 th c., Radanović-Kocić 1988: 165)
	c.	Ako iguman sakrivi mi if prior does-wrong me _{DAT} "If the prior does me wrong" (Montenegro, 18/19 th c., Radanović -Kocić 1988: 166)
(6)	a.	Ti <i>si me</i> , kao što <i>sam</i> već rekla, lišio <i>ih</i> juče you $\operatorname{are}_{AUX} \operatorname{me}_{DAT}$ as am_{AUX} already $\operatorname{say}_{PART,F,SG}$ deprive pART them bar_{DA} yesterday
	b.	*Te sa, kakto ti kazah, predstavili gi na Petŭr they are _{AUX} , as you_{DAT} told _{AOR} introduced them _{ACC} to Peter "They have, as I told you, introduced them to Peter" (Bg, Bošković 2001: 189)
(7)	a.	Milan želi da <i>ga</i> vidi Milan wishes that him _{ACC} sees "Milan wishes to see him"
	b.	?Milan ga želi da vidi(clitic climbing possible in S-C; Progovac 2005: 146)
(8)	a. b.	Marlon iska da <i>go</i> vidi Marlon wishes that him _{ACC} sees "Marlon wishes to see him" *Marlon <i>go</i> iska da vidi (clitic climbing precluded in Bg; Migdalski 2006: 217)

The Typology of Anaphor Agreement Effect

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Rizzi (1990) proposed a generalization called Anaphor Agreement effect (henceforth AAE) which states that anaphors cannot control the φ covarying verbal agreement. In this paper, I argue that AAE generalization is too strong and holds only for those languages that has the order of syntactic operation Agree > Binding. If the opposite order Binding > Agree holds, then it would lead to the violation of AAE.

To begin with, let me illustrate the AAE facts in Shona, a Bantu language spoken in Zimbabwe. Shona has both subject and object markers prefixed to the verb. These subject and object markers correspond to the noun classes of the subject and the object.

(1) Pro **ndì**-nó-**mù**-gèz-bvùnz-à pro

1SG SM-PST-OM-question-FV 3SG

'I question him' (Dechaine & Wiltschko 2012: 17 (37a)) Following Storoshenko's (2016) analysis, I take the subject and object markers to be real instance of subject and object agreement markers. And whenever the object is a reflexive pronoun of any person, number and gender, an invariable *-zvi* morpheme shows up as an object marker.

(2) Shona reflexive marker:

	SM	PRES	OM	wash	
1SG	ndì-	nó-	zvì-	gèz-à	'I wash myself'
2SG	ù-	nó-	zvì-	gèz-à	'You wash yourself'
3SG	à-	nó-	zvì-	gèz-à	'She washes herself'
					(Dechoire & Wiltechly 2012, 17 (25

(Dechaine & Wiltschko 2012: 17 (35)

Storoshenko illustrates that, elsewhere in Shona grammar, this *-zvi* morpheme occurs as an exponent of default agreement marker as a result of failed agreement with the corresponding goal. In (3), the *-zvi* morpheme occurs when the target of agreement is a conjunct phrase made of conjuncts from different noun classes.

(3)	Pro	ndì-Ø- zvì-tor-à	[sadza no-mu-riwo]	
	1SG	SM-PST-OM-take-FV	Sadza.5 and 3-relish	
	'I took	them (Sadza and Relish))'	(Storoshenko 2016: 170 (22))

Given that *-zvi* morpheme is a default agreement marker, then its occurrences in (2) can be explained straightforwardly if one assumes along with Kratzer (2009) that anaphors are born without φ features. Therefore, the anaphors that lack φ features cannot control the φ covarying agreement on the verb. This fact stands testimony to Rizzi's AAE.

However, on an approach that explains anaphoric binding as an instance of φ agreement (Reuland, 2001, 2011; Heinat, 2008;), at some point in the derivation, anaphors acquire φ features from their antecedents. If this is true, then it predicts that if Agree happens after Binding, then it would have the required φ features to control the agreement. Gujarati, an

Indo-Aryan language, illustrates this fact. In Gujarati, the ergative argument never controls the agreement but the differential object marked argument can control the agreement on the verb.

(4) Raaje Sudhaa-ne uthaadi
Raj(M)-ERG Sudha(F)-DOM awakened-FSG
'Raj awakened Sudha' (Mistry 2000: 344 (18c))

If the DOM marked object is reflexive, then it also invariably seems to control the agreement on the verb.

(5) Sudhaae potaa-ne uthaadi
Sudhaa (F)-ERG Self (F)-DOM awakened-FSG
'Raj awakened Sudha'

These facts in Gujarati goes against the predictions of Rizzi's AAE. Now to explain the difference between Shona and Gujarati, I propose that in Shona, v agrees with the reflexive object and in Gujarati T agrees with the reflexive object. If v is a probe (as in (6)), then Agree > Binding because when v probes down to agree with the DP object, the subject would not have merged in the structure for the binding to happen. On the other hand, if T is a probe (as in (7)), then Binding > Agree because when T probes down to agree with the DP object, the subject, the subject would have already merged in the structure for the binding to happen.



In (7) T cannot agree with the ergative subject so it probes down to agree with the DP object. The evidence for T being the agreement probe in Gujarati comes from the following progressive aspect in Gujarati where the auxiliary shows up overtly. For a similar structure like (8) in Hindi, Bhatt (2005) proposes that there is just one probe on T that establishes agree with the DP object through v. Therefore when the object DP values the ϕ features of T, v also get its ϕ features covalued (though v by itself is not a probe).

(8) mene khasi av.ti ha-ti ISG-ERG cough(F) come.PROG.FSG was.PROG.F.SG.

'I have had a cough'

(Suthar 2005: 58 (279))

(Mistry 2000: 344 (18c))

To sum up that analysis predicts that if subject merges in the structure before the agreement probe that agrees with the object, then such a language would violate AAE.

Keywords: anaphor; agreement; binding; aae;

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Non-finite forms translated by finite forms: Impact on the syntax of fictional and non-fictional translated texts (Analysis in the French-Czech-English part of the InterCorp parallel corpus)

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The French gerund is a non-finite form expressing adverbial meanings, such as concomitant circumstance, means, manner or concession (*cf.* Halmøy, 2003 or König – Auwera, 1990). In contemporary French, it is formed by the discontinuous morpheme *en* –*ant* (*en parlant* – *while speaking*), in opposition to the present participle, formed only by the suffix –*ant* (*parlant*). In the adverbial meanings, the usage of both forms may overlap. Haspelmath (1995) considers the Romance (and the English) gerund as *converb*; Nedjalkov (1995) points out that the Slavic transgressive is a converb, too. For this reason, it is possible to use the term *converb* as *tertium comparationis* in contrastive corpus-based analyses of gerunds in these languages.

The thorough corpus-based research carried out by Čermák – Nádvorníková *et al.* (2015) confirmed that the adverbial forms of gerunds in Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and French are effectively converbs (more clearly in French and in Italian, *cf.* the category of monofunctional converb in Nedjalkov, 1995), the present participle being more a quasi-converb. Nevertheless, the potential Czech equivalent of these forms, the transgressive, is nearly extinct. For this reason, it has to be replaced by other forms, the most often by a finite verb in a coordinate or in a subordinate clause.

In this paper, we will analyze the impact of the transposition of the French gerund and the present participle into a finite verb on the syntax and the information density of the corresponding Czech sentence(s) (*cf.* Fabricius-Hansen, 1999): in fact, as shown in Nádvorníková (2017), so that to avoid the accumulation of finite verbs in a sentence, Czech translators often split such sentences in two. For this reason, we expect that the splitting of sentences containing gerunds/present participle in French will be more frequent in non-fiction than in fiction, as sentences are longer in the former than in the latter (*cf.* Nádvorníková – Šotolová, 2016).

In contrast with the research presented in Nádvorníková (2017), focused on the general quantitative analysis of the shifts in the segmentation of sentences in translation, this paper will offer a more qualitative, fine-grained study of one the reasons of these shifts, involving converbs in the three languages and their equivalents. We expect for example that shifts in segmentation in sentences containing gerunds will involve also the introduction of connectives specifying the relationship between sentences, the explicitation (repetition) of the subject, etc. Last but not least, the French equivalents of the (rare) occurrences of the Czech transgressive will be analyzed, too.

So that to verify that these changes are not an effect of the language of translation (*translationese*, Tirkkonen-Condit, 2002), we will observe the French gerunds in the

translated texts and their counterparts in the Czech originals, too, and we will include a second, typologically different translated language in the analysis (English). Thus, the French-Czech-English part of the InterCorp parallel corpus (www.korpus.cz/intercorp), limited to the fictional and non-fictional texts, will be used as source of data for this research, that will – as we hope – contribute to the understanding of the cross-linguistic category of *converb* in the three languages.

Keywords: converb- information density - Czech - French - English

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Schnellere Sterne tendieren dazu, sehr hell zu sein: A case of correlative constructions as German, Czech and Russian translations from English

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Our research concerns correlative constructions in German, Czech and Russian translations and the corresponding structures in English that trigger these correlatives. We define a correlative construction as a phrase containing a pronominal adverb or prepositional phrase, as shown in the following example:

We were trying to do anything amazing. Wir haben davon geträumt, etwas Tolles zu machen. Toužily jsme dosáhnout něčeho famózního. // Toužili jsme (o tom), abychom dosáhli něčeho famózního. Мы прикладывали усилия (к тому), чтобы сделать что-то потрясающее.

As follows from the example, the original English infinitive or gerundial construction (*were trying to do anything*) may be translated into German with a correlative construction consisting of a correlate (here a pronominal adverb *darauf*) and a sentential argument (here *etwas Tolles zu machen*). As for Czech and Russian, it can either be translated directly with an infinitive or a deverbative construction (here e.g. *toužily dosáhnout* 'tried to reach' for Czech) or transformed to a subordinate clause. In this case, sentential arguments can have a pronominal correlative item (here e.g. *toužili jsme o tom, abychom dosáhli - lit.* 'we tried about that, so that we could reach' for Czech).

Both pronominal adverbs in German and pronouns in Czech and Russian are required in some cases but may be omitted in others. In our study, we analyse contexts where pronominal correlative items are obligatory, and compare them to the optional ones. We compare the same contexts in the three languages under analysis and look for the reasons for obligatoriness and optionality.

Our analysis is based on an empirical corpus study of parallel news texts extracted from the WMT data. The selected dataset contains English original texts and their translations into German, Czech and Russian. For our study, we select a set of parallel sentences (including their preceding sentence), whose German counterparts contain a pronominal adverb, a combination of the referential adverb *da* or *hier* and a preposition such as *damit*, *darüber*, *hierfür*, *hierüber*. The selection is based on a list of German pronominal adverbs. The corresponding sentences containing pronominal adverbs in German are then automatically extracted from a randomly selected set of news texts.

In total, 100 parallel segments have been analysed manually for this study. For the study of optionality, we compare our results to original (not translated texts) in Czech and Russian National corpora. The occurrence of the constructions under analysis, as well as cross-

linguistic differences in the transformation patterns, can be explained by the influence of a set of factors:

- Different syntactic tendencies in the languages under analysis;
- Different verb valency structure and the obligatoriness of expressing different kinds of actants with these verbs;
- Influence of translating process, e.g. explicitation and implicitation in translation, see Becher (2011).

Keywords: correlatives; translations; German; Czech; Russian

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E2P2: in (do-)support of intervention-driven auxiliary movement in English

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Intro It has long been assumed that auxiliaries move to T in English regardless of the presence or absence of intervening material. For example in (1), it is assumed that the *have* auxiliary in (1a) and (1b) has moved to T in both cases.

- (1) a. Gromit has eaten some cheese recently.
 - b. Gromit has not eaten any cheese recently.

In this paper, I entertain the alternative possibility that auxiliaries may remain in situ in the absence of negation (Baker 1991). With this premise, I argue that there is a simple explanation for puzzling facts about the English auxiliary system and *do*-support if we adopt 1) a generalization of EPP, 2) Matushansky's (2006) view of head movement, and 3) the possibility that feature movement is available as a last resort when head movement fails (Chomsky 1995, Yuan 2015).

Proposal Following Matushansky (2006), I adopt a theory of head movement in which a moving head first forms a specifier by normal cyclic merge to a higher head, followed by an obligatory process of *m*-merge that forms an indivisible unit from the two heads. With this machinery in place, we can imagine that head movement could also satisfy an EPP property via specifier creation. I propose that there is a generalized EPP property on T that can be satisfied just in case an auxiliary or a verb-like element heads T's sister, or moves to T. I propose we call this generalized EPP the *Extended EPP* (henceforth E2P2). I propose that in addition to a phi probe, T also has a probe that searches for verb-like elements to value with T's phi and tense features. These two probes have an E2P2 property¹ that can be satisfied in the following ways (where x^{v} is a verbal element, and x^{φ} is a phi goal):

- 1. via movement, i.e. x^{ν}/x^{φ} moves to T
- 2. if x^v/x^{φ} heads T's sister

In this framework, auxiliaries and little v (on the assumption that little v is a verbal element) can both satisfy T's E2P2 property in situ in the absence of negation or emphasis². I propose that main verbs move to little v at PF, thus giving the illusion that they satisfy T's E2P2 property. However if another head intervenes, a verbal element must move to T. I propose that both auxiliaries and little v can move to T to satisfy E2P2. Little v inherits features from T, which undergo featural movement (Chomsky 1995, Yuan 2015), which become pronounced as *do*. Featural movement of little v to T strands the main verb because main verbs move to little v at PF, not in the syntax. This explanation accounts for the empirical fact that main verbs do not move to T over negation.

¹Here I take up a common assumption that agreement is a precondition for satisfaction of the EPP.

 $^{^{2}}$ Adverbs are claimed not to trigger auxiliary movement or *do*-support because they are invisible to selection. They merge within a phrase and do not affect labeling along the clausal spine.

This proposal can be extended to explain facts about T-to-C movement if we adopt 1) a feature inheritance view of T's E2P2 property (Chomsky 2005), and 2) the notion that T-to-C movement is really v-to-C movement. I will show that these features of the analysis can predict the lack of optionality in T-to-C movement, which contrasts with optional aux-to-T movement.

Keywords: Head Movement, Do-support, EPP

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Unmarked accusative in non-finite domains: the English acc-ing gerund

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Reuland (1983) claims the accusative subject of the English acc-ing gerund is assigned by construction external heads (mediated by -ing) and assumes that when in finite clause subject position (0a) the assigned nominative case is merely 'realised' as accusative, which he likens to the use of accusative pronouns in (0b, c):

- (1) (a) Him/*He singing in the bath was annoying
 - (b) 'Who wants coffee?' 'Me/I'
 - (c) Me and him/He and I are good friends

However the examples in (1b, c) are usually considered to involve default case, which Schütze (2001) claims accounts for the availability of the hypercorrect nominative. The impossibility of the nominative in (0a) suggests that this is different and does not involve default case.

Abney (1987), on the other hand, argues that the accusative case is assigned by a construction internal verbal agreement. This proposal is severely undermined by the lack of independent evidence for such an element.

Dependent Case Theory (DCT Baker 2015) proposes that case assignment does not depend on a case assigning head, but that accusative case can be assigned to a DP when it is c-commanded by another nominal element. This theory also struggles to account for the accusative case in subject gerunds (0a) due to the lack of a licensing c-commanding nominal. However, if we add one novel assumption to DCT, that accusative is unmarked in the nominal domain, an account of the acc-ing gerund is attainable.

To account for the possibility of assigning the possessor dependent ergative case in many languages, Baker (2015) argues that the NP inside the DP provides a second c-commanded nominal element, similar to a transitive clause:

(2) (a) [_{DP} DP [D ... NP]] (b) [_{IP} DP [I ... DP]]

Abney (1987) argues that the acc-ing gerund differs from other gerunds in being nominalised only at its highest structural level. Thus it is a DP that contains no NP. This makes this gerund similar to an intransitive clause, containing just one nominal element – the subject:

(3) (a) [_{DP} DP [...]] (b) [_{IP} DP [...]] Noting the different cases assigned to the subjects in (0a) and (0a), and that this coincides with the presence and absence of the NP, a possible conclusion is that the situation in (0a) is consistent with conditions for unmarked, rather than dependent case assignment. Counter to Baker's claim that genitive case is unmarked in the DP domain, it will be argued that NP can never be assigned dependent case and thus genitive is always dependent. Only in rare intransitive contexts, such as (0a), can the unmarked case be assigned. The facts suggest that for the English DP domain accusative is unmarked. It will be argued that this is compatible with the assumptions of DCT and that attested similar situations arise in different domains in other languages.

The proposal has far reaching consequences, two of which will be discussed:

- the assumption that accusative might be unmarked provides us with a more satisfactory account of default case than provided by Schütze, who fails to account for why a hypercorrect nominative is possible in some instances which he analyses as default but not others. It will be argued that those cases where nominative is not possible are in fact not default, but unmarked case.
- the apparent problem of the assignment of an 'unmarked' nominative to the possessor of some languages (e.g. Hungarian) can be resolved by noting that nominative possessors appear only in 'head marking' languages and so can be analysed as case assignment under agreement.

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The Syntax behind the Concealed Question

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The present paper argues that the specificational sentence (SPC) such as (1a) and the concealed question (CQ) such as (1b) derive from what we call the Functional Noun Phrase (FuncNP) which has the specific structure indicated in (2), in which the head FuncN denotes a relation between its two arguments α and β , where the outer argument α of FuncN R delimits the semantic domain (range) of FuncN R, and the inner argument β of FuncN R exhaustively specifies the semantic domain of FuncN delimited by α .

- (1) a. Tokyo is the capital of Japan.
 - b. We want to know the the capital of Japan.
- (2) $\left[\sum_{\text{FuncNP}} \left[\sum_{\text{FuncN}'} \left[R (\text{capital}) \right] \beta ((\text{of}) \text{ Tokyo}) \right] \alpha (\text{of Japan}) \right]$

The semantic function of FuncN is more precisely indicated by R of (3).

(3) $\operatorname{Max}(\lambda x. \mathbb{R}(\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket, x)) = \llbracket \beta \rrbracket$

With the inner argument β moved to SpecFocP as in (4), we obtain the SPC (1a).

(4) $[_{FocP} \text{ Tokyo} [_{Foc'} \text{ is } [_{TP} [_{DP} \text{the } [_{FuncNP} [_{FuncN'} [_{FuncN} \text{ capital}] (of) \text{ Tokyo}] \text{ of Japan}]]]]]$

We present arguments for this structure and derivation based on connectivity: Binding condition connectivity (5a), Pronoun-as-variable connectivity (5b), the mirative *should* connectivity (5c), which all indicate that the focused constituent starts out from the inner argument, c-commanded by the outer argument, of (2).

- (5) a. A book about { $himself_i$ /* him_i } is John_i's greatest treasure.
 - b. His_i {mother / Queen} is every Englishman_i's pride.
 - c. That Harvard University Press *should* be marketing this book is nobody's **surprise**.

The present paper derives the CQ in a fashion strikingly parallel with the derivation of the SPC: We posit Op as the inner argument of the FuncNP, which is moved to SpecCP, as in (6).

(6) $[_{CP} Op_x [_{DP} the [_{FuncN'} [_{FuncN'} [_{FuncN'} capital] x] (of) Japan]]]$

The Op element is translated in the semantic representation as λ -operator binding the variable created in the inner argument position, the effect of which is to yield a set of values y such that y is related to *Japan* by the relation of y being the capital of *Japan*, as in (7).

(7) $\cap \{p : p = [\exists y. Max(\lambda x. capital([[Japan]], x)) = y]\}$

Next we consider sentences like (8) in which the CQ is interpreted as such *not by virtue of* the nature of the head N in the pronounced form.

(8) We want to know $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} a. & \text{the book which Mary is reading} \\ b. & \text{the girl who caused the trouble} \end{array} \right\}$.

As a preliminary, we consider the Amount Relative such as (9).

(9) It would take the rest of our lives to drink the (amount of) champagne that they spilled that night. (Heim 1987)

We propose that the object NP of (9) derives from a FuncNP with 'amount' as optionally pronounced head, which relates an entity (outer argument) with its amount or quantity as value (inner argument). With the inner argument Op moved to SpecDP, creating a variable bound by Op in the inner argument position, we get the structure of the Amount Relative (10).

 $[_{FuncNP}[_{FuncN'}[_{FuncN} \text{ amount}] \text{ Op}] \text{ (of) champagne that they spilled}] \Rightarrow [_{DP} \text{ Op}_{x} \text{ the } [_{FuncNP}[_{FuncN'}[_{FuncN} \text{ amount}] x] \text{ (of) champagne that they spilled}]]$ (10)

We consider the CQ in (8) as involving a silent head FuncN, which could as well be pronounced as in (11).

We want to know { a. the **title** of the book which Mary is reading }. the **name** of the girl who caused the trouble }. (11)

The baseline underlying the bold-faced items in these sentences is the notion of 'identifying'. A book that someone is reading can be identified by mentioning its title, an individual can be identified by his or her name, etc. Thus we posit the FuncN ID, as in (12).

 $[_{CP} [_{NP} Op_x] [_{FuncNP} [_{FuncN'} [_{FuncN} ID] [_{NP} x]]] [_{DP} the book which Mary is reading]]]$ (12)With the Op interpreted as the λ -operator, the effect of this is to yield a set of possible 'identifiers' for the book, most likely a title of the book.

We extend the endeavor to the analysis of the so-called Englishman sentence (13ab).

The woman who every Englishman, admires is his, {mother / Queen}. (13)a. b. His, {mother / Queen} is the woman who every Englishman, admires.

The present analysis follows the view, expressed e.g. in Romero (2005), that a specificational sentence is a realization of a CQ and an answer to it in the same clause. Thus, (13a) can be viewed as parallel with the question-answer dialogue:

(14)Q: Tell me the woman who evey Englishman, admires? A: His_i {mother / Queen}.

Our proposal is that (13ab) derive from a FuncNP (i) whose head is ID; (ii) whose outer argument is the woman that every Englishman admires (delimiter, or CQ); (iii) whose inner argument is his mother that every Englishman admires (value, or answer). Pronoun-as-variable connectivity is warranted in the inner argument, by the head-raising analysis of relative clauses, originally proposed by Vergnaud (1974). Summary of the derivation of the inner argument:

- (15)a.
- $\begin{bmatrix} I_{\text{TP}} \text{ every Englishman}_{i} \text{ admires } \begin{bmatrix} I_{\text{DP}} \text{ Op } [I_{\text{NP}} \text{ mother of his}_{i}] \end{bmatrix} = \text{DP to SpecCP} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} I_{\text{CP}} \text{ Op } [I_{\text{NP}} \text{ mother of his}_{i}] \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} I_{\text{TP}} \text{ every Englishman}_{i} \text{ admires t} \end{bmatrix} = \text{NP to the head}$ b. position (sideward movement) \Rightarrow
 - c. $[_{NP}mother of his_i][_{CP}[_{DP} Op][_{TP} every Englishman_i admires t]] = his to SpecDP \Rightarrow$
 - d. $[_{DP} his_i [_{NP} mother _]][_{CP} [_{DP} Op][_{TP} every Englishman_i admires]] = deletion \Rightarrow$ e. $[_{DP} his_i [_{NP} mother _]][_{CP} [_{DP} Op][_{TP} every Englishman_i admires t]]$
- Keywords: concealed questions, specificational sentences, amount relatives, connectivity, headraising analysis of relative clauses

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"This is stylistically not acceptable!" - Overediting in revision and post-editing

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Translation is a subjective task and two translators will usually not produce the same target texts. Accordingly, evaluating (Secară 2005) and revising translation is subjective, too. While some mistakes do not need much discussion like spelling mistakes or most grammar mistakes, other linguistic aspects like style or coherence are more difficult to judge. As revising a translation can be done on different scales, which might not even lead to the expected quality improvement (Künzli 2014), it seems plausible to define revision guidelines, which help the revisor to decide how much effort is necessary.

Similarly, post-editing can be done according to different guidelines. The term postediting (PE) is usually used for the improvement of machine translation output by human translators. When the client or project manager decides to use machine translation and PE, the text quality often does not need to be exceptionally great. The main aim is to save time and money. Accordingly, two PE types are often differentiated: light PE (only essential changes) and full PE (higher quality target texts; e.g. Massardo et. al. 2016).

In both revision and PE, some translators still feel the urge to improve all linguistic aspects, because they want to achieve perfect quality, even though the guidelines stated differently. This phenomenon is often called overediting (Tatsumi et. al. 2012 or Mellinger and Shreve 2016).

In this presentation, we want to discuss over-editing behaviour in the two modes discussed above: revision and PE. The analysis comprises the data of three studies, which all use the same language pair (English – German). In the first study, we asked 21 students to post-edit two of three medical or two of three technical texts according to light and full PE guidelines. In the second study, twelve professional and twelve student translators post-edited (amongst other tasks) two of six general language texts (newspaper articles and sociology-related encyclopedia entries). A free online statistical machine translation system was used in both studies. 38 translators participated in the third study (23 professionals, 15 students), which focused on revision. They were asked to revise six texts each (same source texts as in study two), which were natural translations. However, we manipulated them by inserting errors. Eye-tracking, keylogging, and screen-recording data were recorded in all three tasks.

First, we want to briefly present the results of each study separately. However, the focus will be on the similarities and differences in the different modes and text types. Is the overediting behaviour similar in revising human translations and post-editing machine translation? Do different text types or different PE instructions trigger different behaviour? Does the behavior of students and professionals differ? In the end, we want to formulate some recommendations for translators and post-editors so that they do not waste time on improving text chunks that do not need improvement. **Keywords:** Overediting, Revision, Post-Editing, Eyetracking, Keylogging, Translation Process Research

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General extenders in English and Czech

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The paper is a contrastive corpus-based study which explores English and Czech 'general extenders' (i.e. such expressions as *and stuff like that*, *or something* and *a takový věci*, *nebo něco*, respectively) in informal spoken language.

While the English extenders have received a lot of meticulous attention (e.g. Channel, 1994; Overstreet, 1999; Cheshire, 2007; Evison – McCarthy – O'Keeffe, 2007; Martínez, 2011), the corresponding Czech constructions have been largely overlooked or described among other features of vague language (e.g. Hoffmannová, 2013). General extenders, both Czech and English, share formal features in that they are typically clause final and their basic form consists of a coordinating conjunction (*and*, *or* / *a*, *nebo*) followed by a vague noun phrase. This formal similarity allows for identifying the most prominent forms in both languages using Aijmer's (2015) method of extraction by means of collocational frameworks. The material has been drawn from comparable spoken corpora of present-day informal spoken language, *Spoken BNC2014* and *ORAL*.

General extenders have been shown to fulfil various communicative functions, ranging from ideational (i.e. 'list completers' and 'category identifiers') to interpersonal ones (such as, turn taking, establishing solidarity between the interlocutors by inviting hearers to participate in the meaning-making processes in a conversation, face-saving strategies and marking speaker's attitude toward the message expressed). The interpretation of these functions is highly dependent on the context shared by the interlocutors, and the functions often combine and overlap (Hirschová, 1992; Aijmer, 2013). Consider for example the functional difference between the following occurrences of comparable general extenders *or something* and *nebo tak nějak*: *do you wanna do lunch or something? / a tím pádem bysme vám toho seata vrátili už třeba příští týden . ve štvrtek v pátek . nebo tak nějak* (negative politeness through offering alternatives) vs. *hundred pounds or something / to se jí narodilo loni nějak v dubnu nebo tak nějak* (approximation).

The paper will therefore provide a tentative description of the communicative functions of general extenders in English and Czech, focusing on both similarities and contrasts between the two. The most frequent functions of these expressions ('vague category implication' and 'approximation') display similar frequencies and characteristics in both languages. The marginal functions (e.g. 'soliciting agreement/action', 'politeness markers' or 'intensifiers'), on the other hand, are not represented to the same extent in the two corpora (the function of 'soliciting agreement', for instance, was not attested in the Czech data).

Keywords: general extenders, vague language, informal spoken language, ideational and interpersonal functions

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EPP variation: Locative Inversion in English and Spanish

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Locative Inversion (LI) is an operation, motivated for convergence with the intentional interface, where a locative phrase is placed preverbally while the subject appears postverbally (cf. Bresnan 1994, Birner 1996, Levin and Rappaport 1997, Culicover and Levine 2001, Rizzi and Shlonsky 2006, among others). Here I focus on the structural properties of the construction, showing how the relevant contrasts between English and Spanish basically follow from the fact that LI is an (unmarked) option of EPP-satisfaction in Spanish but not in English.

I assume that all Merge operations are driven by edge features (EFs) and that TP is not a phase but inherits EFs from C, thus becoming a probe (cf. Chomsky's, 2008); adopting standard terms, I refer to the EF(s) which force internal merge in TP as EPP-feature(s). As argued by Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014), languages differ parametrically in terms of which features of C are inherited by T. In English T inherits only formal features from C (i.e. the EPP is formal in nature), whereas in Spanish it also inherits discourse features, in particular the core intentional feature [DI] (*discourse intention*), which serves to organize the information structure of the proposition as a categorical or a thetic statement. [DI] is valued under prominence conditions, i.e. under structural prominence in context-free sentences and under pragmatic prominence I context-sensitive ones (cf. Ojea 2017).

In LI, [DI] is valued by a locative phrase thus obtaining an event-reporting thetic statement (i.e. a single logically-unstructured complex) which expresses a state of affairs located in some spatio-temporal coordinates. Assuming the parametric options above, the differences between English and Spanish in the construction can be explicitly accounted for in terms of the different locus of [DI] in each language:

a) In Spanish, [DI] is inherited by T and therefore LI is one of the unmarked possibilities for EPP-satisfaction: a locative phrase is targeted to TP under prominence and V also moves to the projection to check its formal features there; the DP subject is left in its underlying position (i.e. there is no inversion proper):

(1) LI in Spanish: [CP [TP [DI] **PP**_{locative} **V** [VP DP_{subject} **V** PP_{locative} ...

b) In English, [DI] remains in C (i.e. it is accessed at the interfaces) and is unmarkedly valued in the phonological component: in categorical statements, both the subject and the predicate in VP receive high pitch; in thetic statements only the subject does (cf. Sasse 1987). Markedly, [DI] can be valued in the narrow syntax, and thus a locative phrase can be targeted to CP to obtain a thetic reading. In this case, the verb must also raise to C to form a single intentionally-unstructured complex with the locative phrase, and the subject is merged in TP to value the formal EPP features there; eventually, it can be extraposed under certain discourse conditions: (2) LI in English: [CP [DI] **PP**_{locative} **V** [TP DP_{subject} **V** [VP **DP**_{subject} **V PP**_{locative} ...

I discuss the theoretical implications of these analyses and the empirical predictions which follow. Among others, the fact that LI is possible in out of the blue sentences in Spanish but not in English (3); LI is possible with all kind of verbs in Spanish, but only with certain light verbs in English (4); LI is a root phenomenon in English but not in Spanish (5):

- (3) (What happens?) En el escenario falta la orquesta / #On the stage is missing the orchestra
- (4) En esa biblioteca conoció mi hija a su marido / *In that library met my daughter her husband
- (5) Lamento que a este pueblo haya venido un inspector tan desagradable / *I regret that to this village had come such a nasty inspector

Finally, I also address the conflict between computational economy and interface economy in LI, and the mechanisms that the two languages employ to compensate for it.

<u>Keywords</u>: Locative Inversion, parametric variation, information structure, discourse intention.

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Transitivity in Catalan and Italian: evidence from causatives

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Outline: In this talk, we use case patterns in Catalan and Italian causative constructions to probe the nature of transitivity in these languages. We discuss the implications of these facts for restructuring and Case theory.

Simple cases: In Italian, predicates taking an internal DP argument count as transitive (Kayne 1975, Burzio 1986):

(1) Gianni gli/*l' ha fatto lavare i piatti.
 G. him.DAT/*ACC= has made wash the dishes 'G. made him wash the dishes.'

In Catalan, most speakers also disallow ECM causatives with FER, so the same holds (Alsina 2002/2008: 2424; but see also Solà 1994, Torrego 1998:§3 for varieties that permit ECM here). The reverse is true where there is no second argument in the embedded clause. In both languages, these count as intransitive and the causee is obligatorily accusative:

(3)	L'/*Gli	ho	fatto	parlare.	(4) El/*Li	he	fet	parlar.
	him.ACC/*DAT=	I.have	made	talk.INF	him.ACC/*DAT=	= I.have	made	talk. INF
	'I made him talk	,			'I made him tal	k'		

PP complements: Somewhat surprisingly, our survey data shows that for many Catalan and Italian speakers, PP complements optionally count for transitivity, triggering optionally dative causees, with substantial variation (see Villalba 1992 on Catalan). This intralinguistic variation recalls the fact that PPs or DP objects with inherent case count for transitivity in some ergative languages, but not others (Legate 2012, Baker 2015), though the optionality is problematic.

Clausal complements: In both Catalan and Italian, finite and non-finite CP complements obligatorily count for transitivity, always triggering dative causees:

(3) Li/*L'	han	fet	pensar	que	estava	equivocat.
him.DAT/*A	CC = have.3PL	made	think	that	was.3sg	wrong
(4) Le/*la	fecero	prome	ttere	di ca	ntare.	
her.DAT/*A	ACC made.3PL	promi	se	of sin	ng.INF	
'They made her promise to sing.'						

With restructuring verbs, like *començar, cominciare* 'start', however, DAT becomes possible only where the complement of this verb is transitive (12b/13b) (cf. (12a/13a)), though it remains optional for some speakers.

(5) a. Non so	cosa *gli/lo	faccia cominciare	а	piangere.
NEG know.1	SG what him.*DA	T/ACC=makes start	to	cry
b. Non so	cosa gli/%lo	faccia comincia	re a scri	vere un altro libro.

NEG know.1SG what him.DAT/% ACC=makes start

to write an other

book

Essentially, such examples are optionally monoclausal, suggesting that restructuring between 'start' and its complement is optional, while clause union between 'make' and its complement, and thus clitic climbing of the causee, is forced. Crucially, where no restructuring takes place, these clausal complements do not behave like full CPs, as they fail to trigger DAT. The implication is that only complete clausal complements count for transitivity.

Implications: Whatever approach one takes to Case/case, these facts show that full CPs behave essentially like DPs, whereas the complements of restructuring verbs do not, even where restructuring fails to take place. PPs optionally behave like DPs. This can be stated in different ways, as we show, but no existing approach to Case/case offers an explanatory account of these patterns.

Keywords: restructuring, clause-union, dative, ECM, clausal complementation

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A disassociation of speech perception and production: Prevoicing as a phonetic cue to phonological voicing in Czech stops

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In many languages that distinguish voiced and voiceless obstruents, there are discrepancies between the phonological voicing status of a consonant and the actual implementation of its phonetic voicing. This is because multiple phonetic cues to voicing exist and maintaining phonation during the consonantal constriction ('prevoicing' in stops) is only one of several cues (others include F1 onset frequency, burst noise intensity, the duration of the closure interval and of the preceding vowel, e.g. Skarnitzl 2011). To exemplify such discrepancies, English initial phonologically voiced stops have no phonetic prevoicing unless a voiced segment precedes across the word boundary (e.g. Lisker and Abramson, 1964). For Dutch, van Alpen and Smits (2004) found that prevoicing was often absent in production (especially in female speakers whose smaller vocal tracts disfavor achieving airstream over glottis during oral closure), although interestingly it was the primary cue for Dutch listeners to perceive a stop as phonologically voiced.

We have occasionally observed the absence of stop prevoicing in recordings of spoken Czech, which however did not seem to lead to percepts of voiceless stops. Therefore, this study has the following research questions. (1) How frequent is the absence of prevocing in Czech female speakers' production? (2) Is artificial reduction of prevoicing noticeable to Czech listeners, and if so (3) does it lead to the perception of voicelessness?

Experiment 1 (production). Sixteen Czech female speakers read 21 isolated Czech disyllabic /d/-initial words and fillers. Results showed that only about 3% of the word-initial /d/s overall were produced without prevoicing.

Experiment 2 (perception). The same /d/-words were recorded by a female Czech speaker and their copies were produced in which prevoicing was reduced to 25% of its original duration (using PSOLA in Praat). In a discrimination task, 19 Czech listeners then heard two renditions of each word per trial, either the original word twice (AA trial) or the original word and its copy with reduced prevocing (in both orders: AX and XA trials). The listeners indicated whether they could notice a difference between the words or not. The results showed no difference between the responses to the AA and the XA trials, both showing 93% of 'same' responses. The percentage of 'same' responses in the AX trials was lower but still in 81% of cases no difference between the naturally-produced and the reduced-prevoicing versions of the words were noticed.

Experiment 3 (perception). The /d/-words and their copies with reduced prevoicing from Experiment 2, supplemented by 20 Czech /t/-words produced by the same speaker, were 'delexicalized': the initial stop and the first third of the following vowel were retained while the rest of the word was low-pass filtered. 20 new Czech listeners heard each token (two repetitions) and responded by clicking anywhere in a continuous scale ranging between 't' and 'd', i.e. indicated their certainty of having perceived a /t/ or /d/ or anything more or less in

between as the initial sound. The average response for the original /t/-words was 7.8% on the 't'-to-'d' scale (i.e. /t/ with a high certainty), for the original /d/-words it was 91.1% on average (i.e. high-certainty /d/) and for the reduced-prevoicing /d/-words it was significantly but only slightly lower, namely 87.5% (i.e. /d/ with somewhat lower certainty).

To conclude, our results indicate that although prevoicing in /d/ seems to be produced with a high probability by female Czech speakers, at least in laboratory read speech, it does not seem to constitute a primary cue for the perception of a syllable as either starting with /d/ or /t/, and its reduction even has considerably low perceptual salience in discrimination against naturally produced words. Such disassociation of production and perception is the reverse of the above-mentioned situation in Dutch (van Alpen and Smits 2004). These results will be discussed in the context of theories of speech production and perception and of language change.

Keywords: speech perception; speech production; voicing; phonological contrast; phonetic implementation

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Language Contact and Linguistic Change in Ch'orti' (Mayan)

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This paper makes use of language contact research as an aid in interpreting historical changes in language. Comparative linguistic analysis is used to determine historical changes in a language, and often the ordering of specific changes. However, such analysis alone does not always indicate how, why, or when the changes occurred. Research on language contact and bilingualism can offer further clues. To illustrate the issue, this paper gives data from the Ch'orti' (Mayan) language and the other Ch'olan languages, including Classic Maya of the hieroglyphs, which has also been determined to be Ch'olan (Houston et al 2000, Wichmann 2004). Comparative analysis shows that language change in Ch'orti' falls into two main types: 1) borrowing from Spanish and 2) structural reduction and simplification.

Research in bilingualism and language contact indicates that two distinct types of language contact exist, leading to different outcomes in language change (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, 37-41): borrowing vs. interference through shift (also known as 'substratum interference' or, more simply, 'interference through imperfect learning'). Both types are well-known, but the historical sociolinguistic situation is necessary to explain the language change. When a group becomes bilingual, 'borrowing' of words and structures is typical from the target language into the native language. Thus, Ch'orti' speakers learning Spanish would borrow linguistic forms and structures from Spanish (Spanish speakers in this situation are not learning Ch'orti'). On the other hand, 'interference through shift', or 'interference through imperfect learning', typically causes reduction (loss of inflection and structures) and simplification (regularization of irregular or complex systems). This latter situation involves an outside group attempting to learn a language and making mistakes in that process. The native speakers, in accommodating to the non-fluent speakers of their language, also drop the inflections and regularize the grammar, leading to permanent language change. During Classic Maya times, if the elite Ch'olan speakers (ancestors of Ch'orti') were surrounded by non-Mayan speakers, the language might have been simplified and reduced through the imperfect learning of Ch'olan. Theoretically, at least, each type of language change could have occurred in Ch'orti' at different time periods.

While internal pressures alone could have caused the reduction and simplification in Ch'orti', similar internal pressures were exerted on all the Ch'olan languages, but only Ch'orti' was significantly affected in this way. The other descendant Ch'olan languages underwent linguistic changes, of course, but affixes, subordinate structures, and complex tense/aspect systems were developed or maintained. Internal pressures may have led to the innovation of person markers on the verbs, as argued by Robertson and Law (2009, 308-10); however, since this innovation led to regularization of the aspectual system, non-native language speakers could also have helped effect the change. Although examples of all the major changes in the verbal complex will be discussed, the most striking reduction is the loss of dependent verb marking in Ch'orti'. Thus,

Ch'olti' uses nominalized verbs for most subordinate clauses, as in (1) below, while Ch'orti' uses verb-verb constructions, in which all verbs have main verb structure, as in (2):

(1) Ch'olti'

. ,	x-a-k'ahti-n	ix	u-tzatz-l-e-nah-el	in-puksik'al
	FUT-E2SG-request-	FUT already	E3-strong-INCH-CAUS-PASS-NOM	E3-heart
	(you will ask alrea	dy for its being	g strengthened my heart)	
	'you will ask then	that my heart b	be strengthened'	(RLH79)
(2)	<u>Ch'orti'</u>			
	u-pejk-e'n	way-an-en	taka-r	
	E3-call-A1SG	sleep-VI-A1SG	PREP-NOM	
	'she called me to s	leep with her'		(P7)

The Classic Maya site that is closest to current Ch'orti' speakers, Copán, has been discovered to have hieroglyphs written in the typical Ch'olan style. However, archaeologists have found evidence of a non-Mayan people (Maca 2009), who farmed the area around the site and who undoubtedly supported the elite rulers of Copán. Perhaps these outsiders influenced the Ch'orti' language by learning it imperfectly and causing native speakers to simplify and reduce their language.

Keywords: language contact, language change, comparative linguistics, Ch'orti' (Mayan)

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The theoretical status of the paragraph

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The paragraph of the written language has a problematic status in language theory and language culture. In some cultures there is an intensive reflection on the practical use of this unit, e.g. in the English-speaking world (cf. Duncan 2007), as can be seen in a huge amount of textbooks on this subject (cf. e.g. Zemach/Islam 2005, Savage/Shafiei 2007, Brandon/Brandon 2011). Other cultures, for example the Czech and the German language culture, do not pay so much attention to this practical question (cf. e.g. Rinas 2015). In theoretical linguistics this category has been researched especially within the framework of Functional sentence perspective (cf. eg. Pípalová 2008). There are also a few studies emphasizing the linguistic and psychological relevance of the paragraph (cf. e.g. Koen/Becker/Young 1969, Longacre 1979, Stein 2003). Nevertheless, the research on this category has never been as popular and widespread as the research on texts or sentences.

The objective of this oral presentation is to discuss the theoretical status of the paragraph by reflecting the historical roots of this category. Special attention is paid to the beginning of English paragraph theory (cf. Duncan 2007), but also to the reflection of the paragraph in ancient rhetoric and especially in the traditional theory of punctuation (cf. Rinas 2017). It is argued that there is a deep historical relationship between the concept of the paragraph and the traditional rhetoric concept of the period (as already sketched by Aristotle): Both paragraph and period are ideally conceived as completed units with thematic progression. The theme is to be stated at the beginning and then discussed in a complex way, which leads to a result concerning the theme, and this result is also the conclusion of the paragraph/period. – This convergence of the two conceptions (of the paragraph and of the period) has been widely neglected within the tradition of paragraph theory. It has also been neglected within language theory, although the reflection of this historical connection is helpful for a determination of the relations between the units 'paragraph', 'period' and 'sentence'.

Furthermore, the speech will emphasize that this common ground in ancient rhetoric offers a promising starting point for a contrastive analysis of the use and reflection of the paragraph in (occidental) language cultures. This is also relevant for the question of how to reflect paragraphs in practical translation – a question which has been raised sometimes (cf. e.g. Nord 1997:70,140) but has not yet been discussed in detail (cf. Le 2004).

Keywords: paragraph theory, rhetoric, theory of the period, contrastive linguistics

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What psych nominals can tell us about the event structure of psych verbs¹

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Cross-linguistically in psych nominalizations, the Experiencer must be expressed irrespective of whether the source of nominalization is a Subject Experiencer (SE) verb or an Object Experiencer (OE) verb. The constraints on argument realization in nominalizations are often argued to be closely related to the event structure. The complex event structure has two temporarily independent subevents, with the causative subevent viewed as a change of state subevent leading to the result state subevent. Sichel (2010) argues that English derived nominals are restricted to host simple, single events: either the instigator (agent or direct cause) is expressed as an identifier of the causing subevent or the holder of the result state is expressed as an identifier of that state. In view of an ongoing debate on the presence/absence of the causative subevent in the event structure of OE psych predicates, we look at Polish psych nominals to find out what kinds of events they express and what nominalizations can tell us about the event makeup of stative OE and SE psych predicates. It turns out that despite a rich potential of very productive nominalizations derived by the suffix *-nie/-cie*, only some interpretations of the nominals are possible:

(1) a.	Zafascynowanie się		młodzieży *(kulturą		starożytną)	
	PREF+fascinate+nie	REFL.CL.	youth-GEN	*(culture-INSTI	R ancient-INSTR	
	nastąpiło już po	pierwszym	wykładzie.			
	occurred already after first-L 'Young people's fascination with a		oc lecture	e-LOC		
			cient culture o	ccurred already	after the first	
	lecture.'					
b.	Zafascynowanie	młodzieży *()	kulturą sulture-INSTR	starożytną) ancient_INSTR)	(*przez cały rok/ (for whole year/	
		youmoun (C	Junui O-mom	uncient-monk)	(101 whole year)	

- D. Załaścynowanie inłodzieży (kulturą starożytną) ("przez cały rok/ PREF+fascinate+*nie* youth-GEN *(culture-INSTR ancient-INSTR) (for whole year/ *w rok) było oczywiste.
 in a year) was obvious
 'Young people's fascination with ancient culture for the whole year was obvious.'
- c. *Fascynowanie młodzieży *(kulturą starożytną) przez cały rok PREF+fascinate+*nie* youth-GEN *(culture-INSTR ancient-INSTR) for whole year
 - 'Young people's fascinating with ancient culture for the whole year.'
- d. Fascynowanie się młodzieży *(kulturą starożytną) przez cały rok fascinate+*nie* REFL.CL. youth-GEN *(culture-INSTR ancient-INSTR) for whole year było sukcesem profesora. was success-INSTR professor-GEN

'Young people's being fascinated with ancient culture for the whole year was a success of the professor.'

The nominals related to reflexive prefixed, perfective SE alternations of OE verbs have an eventive inceptive interpretation (1a), the prefixed non-reflexive psych nominals have the stative interpretation (1b). With strongly stative verbs which do not allow agentive interpretation, imperfective non-reflexive nominals do not exist (1c). Imperfective reflexive

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psych nominals are coerced to non-dynamic events (1d) (cf. Fábregas and Marín 2017). A similar pattern obtains for other OE nominals and SE nominals, irrespective of which prefix correlates with the perfective variant. We argue that: (i) psych eventualities are complex, but in addition to the state they have an inceptive, not a causative subevent, yielding inceptive interpretation of the perfective variant; (ii) SE stative psych verbs/nominals can be coerced to non-dynamic atelic events; (iii) OE predicates imply some causative event but do not denote it (cf. Marín and McNally 2011, Melloni 2017); (iv) it is necessary to enrich basic aspectual classes to include inceptive events as a class of its own that cannot be subsumed under achievements, or change of state verbs, as is standardly assumed. We provide evidence for that, following Biały and Rozwadowska (2017).

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An empirical approach to focussing with eyetracking: Spanish *incluso* and German *sogar*

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The aim of our proposal is to compare the cognitive patterns evoked by the focus operators Spanish *incluso* and German *sogar* using the eyetracking method (Richardson, Dale, and Spivey-Knowlton 2007; Just and Carpenter 1987; Rayner 1998).

From a theoretical and contrastive perspective it is argued that two different kinds of focus can be distinguished as in 1a/2a and 1b/2b (Kenesei 2006; Molnár 2006; Rooth 1985):

(1) *Context*: Fernando and Ricardo are two journalists that are very interested in literature. They do not only write for newspapers, in their spare time they also write essays and novels.

(a) Fernando y Ricardo escriben ensayos, novelas_{ALTERNATIVE} y poemas_{FOCUS}.

(b) Fernando y Ricardo escriben ensayos, novelas_{ALTERNATIVE} e **incluso** poemas_{FOCUS}. *Fernando and Ricardo write essays, novels and [even] poems*.

(2) *Context*: These are Philip and Gabriel. They are vets and they treat a lot of animals.
(a) Philip und Gabriel behandeln Hunde, Hasen_{ALTERNATIVE} und Schlangen_{FOCUS}.
(b) Philip und Gabriel behandeln Hunde, Hasen_{ALTERNATIVE} und sogar Schlangen_{FOCUS}. *Philip and Gabriel treat dogs, rabbits and [even]snakes*.

An unmarked focus (1a, 2a) merely adds new information to the utterance and a contrast can only be generated contextually. In an utterance with marked focus (1b, 2b) on the other hand, besides adding new information, the explicitly introduced contrast by the focus operator *incluso/sogar* highlights one constituent of the utterance and presents it on a scale as more informative than the elements of the set of alternatives (Portolés Lázaro 2007; König 1991; Rooth 1985; Katalin É 1998; Gast and van der Auwera 2011; Gast and Rzymski 2015). Therefore, the difference between the foci lies in the relation they establish to the alternative: the unmarked focus may evoke a syntagmatic relation but not necessarily, whereas a marked focus imposed by a focus operator clearly establishes a paradigmatic relation to the set of alternatives (Loureda et al. 2015; Kenesei 2006). By means of introducing a focus operator, the semantic determination of the whole utterance increases because inferences are restricted.

On the basis of empirical data we want to show that the theoretical properties correlate with different cognitive patterns during language processing. In other words, we would like to demonstrate that there are substantial differences in the processing of utterances where new information is added to known information and utterances where a scalar informative structure is generated. Furthermore we want to answer the question whether the processing of these structures generates different processing patterns in Spanish and German. Keywords: focus operators; eyetracking; Spanish; German

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On equivalence between lexical units in mapped wordnets. The case of plWordNet and Princeton WordNet

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The concept of equivalence has always been at the heart of bilingual lexicography and translation studies (Zgusta 1971; Piotrowski 1994; Adamska-Sałaciak 2014). Recently new types of resources, such as aligned wordnets, or parallel corpora, have made new data available for researchers and, we hope, both theoreticians and practitioners of translation. Rudnicka et al (2018) propose a procedure of sense-linking between Polish and English wordnets (plWordNet (Maziarz et al. 2016)) and Princeton WordNet (Fellbaum 1998)) relying on three equivalence types: strong, regular and weak. These types are distinguished with respect to formal, semantic and translational features, such as number, gender, sense (denotation), similarity in lexicalisation, register and translatability (based on dictionary and parallel corpus data). These features are based on criteria which are used to find equivalents for large modern bilingual dictionaries, those aimed at translators. In contrast to bilingual lexicography, in our research they are made explicit.

In this study, we aim to test the validity of Rudnicka et al's (2018) proposal. The goal is to develop a reliable procedure that can help make the linked resources maximally useful as a bilingual lexicon that can be used for contrastive research and translation. We used Rudnicka et al's equivalence types to classify a sample of 120 sense pairs from synsets (i.e. sets of synonymous lexical units) linked via inter-lingual relations (synonymy, partial-synonymy and hyponymy). Two lexicographers annotated each pair. In addition to their linguistic intuition and existing bilingual lexicons, they also used the Polish-English parallel corpus Paralela (Pęzik 2016). The initial results are as follows: the inter-annotator agreement amounts to 72.5% (they agreed in 87 cases out of 120, precisely, in 53 cases they agreed on the same equivalence type, in 34 they agreed there was a problem in synset mapping). Problems in the synset mapping include mapping mistakes and problems related to very different internal relation structures in the two wordnets or in the two languages (sometimes the latter also affect the former). Lexicographers also reported problems with mapping gerunds (numerous in plWordNet).

To increase inter-annotator agreement in equivalence types, we will continue testing on a modified sample. We will focus on basic-level (Rosch 1978), polysemous terms. For this reason, we will disregard all gerunds and Latin terms. Then, we will employ a cascade procedure of sample selection. In the first step, from the Polish Corpus of Wrocław University of Technology frequency list featuring lemmas with frequencies between 1,000 and 10,000, we will select 10% percent of the most frequent lemmas and locate them in plWordNet synsets. Next, we will check the mapping of these synsets to Princeton WordNet synsets and only those linked to English synsets located between levels 7 and 10 of the PWN hierarchy will be considered (i.e. not too general synsets, yet specific enough). Further, we will explore the occurrence of both Polish and English lemmas from those synsets in the Paralela corpus and select only those synset pairs for which there is at least one pair of Polish-English lemmas present. From the described set, we will draw another 120-pair sample.

This procedure will help develop a more reliable test and an even more effective procedure for sense-linking, which will ultimately help determine the degree of equivalence between lexical units in mapped wordnets.

Keywords: equivalence type, mapped wordnets, sense-level mapping, parallel corpus

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Asymmetries in plural agreement in DPs

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Data. The data in (1)-(4) from the Rhaeto-Romance varieties of Cadore (Italy) show an asymmetric distribution of plural feminine -s, occurring only on nouns and postnominal/predicative modifiers (Chiocchetti 2003, Rasom 2006, Pomino 2012, Bonet et al. 2015). (1) illustrates the gender and number inflection of nouns in the context of articles. (2) shows the distribution of the -s plural in contexts with pre-nominal modifiers and postnominal adjectives. (3) illustrates plural exponents in subject and object clitics. (4) illustrates participles and predicative adjectives.

(1)	a. <i>masculine</i>	b. <i>feminine</i>		
	al djɛd-o / i djɛd-e	l-a bot∫-a / l-a bot∫-e-s		
	'the finger' 'the fingers'	'the mouth' 'the mouths'		
	al jal / i ja-i	l-a ondʒ-a / l-a ondʒ-e-s		
	'the cock' 'the cocks'	'the nail' 'the nails'		
	al fuo / i fuo-s/ fuog-e	l-a roð-a / l-a roð-e-s		
	'the fire' 'the fires'	'the wheel' 'the wheels'		
(2)	a. <i>feminine</i>			
	l-a/ kel-a/ / kel autr-a / kel-a bɛl-a femen-a	l-a/kel-a/kel autr-a/ kel-a bɛl-a femen-e-s		
	the/ that / that other / that fine woman	the/ those/ those other / those fine women		
	kel-a femen-a bra-a	kel-a femen-a vεt∫-e-s		
	that woman good	those women old		
	b. <i>masculine</i>			
	kel (autr-o) / (ke)st-o libro/ tʃaŋ	k-i (autre) bje-i/ kist-i libr-e/ tʃɛ-i		
	that (other) / this book / dog	those (other) fine / these books/ dogs		
		k-i tʃɛ-i vɛtʃ-e		
		these dogs old		
(3)	(i) i / (eles) l-e-s ðorm-	2		
	they.mpl ClSmpl / they.fpl ClS sleep			
	la l /la/ i /l-e-s	veð-e		
	ClS.fsg him/ her / them.mpl/ them.fp	ol she.sees		
	i ða-o kesto			
	to.him/her/them I.give this			
(4)	al l-e-z a veðuð-e-s strak-e-s			

ClS.msg them.fpl he.has seen.fpl tired.fpl. Borca di Cadore Descriptively, this asymmetry seems to involve a less complete inflection on determiners or pre-nominal adjectives. The idea that different manifestations of agreement depend on the different morpho-syntactic status of the various DP-related categories and contexts involved is widely pursued by the literature. **Background.** We assume that inflectional phenomena depend on the same basic computational mechanisms underlying syntax (Chomsky 2005). The internal organization of nouns includes a category-less lexical root $\sqrt{}$ interpreted as a predicate (Higginbotham 1985), that merges with the inflectional elements endowed with interpretive Class content (gender, number, etc.), that restrict the argument x open at the predicate (Manzini and Savoia 2017a, b, Savoia et al. 2017). (1)-(4) show that: (i) plural -s characterizes feminine nouns/adjectives (1b) and a sub-set of masculines (1a); (ii) in the feminine, the -a inflection occurs in pre-nominal modifiers; plural -s is lexicalized on nouns
or on post-nominal/predicative adjectives (2a), (4); (iii) in masculines, plurality is realized on pre-nominal modifiers, on the nouns and on post-nominal adjectives, by -e, -s or -i, (2b); (iv) (-)i lexicalizes the masculine plural in articles, in other modifiers and in clitics, where, in addition, it lexicalizes dative. Two asymmetries emerge: (a) between feminine and masculine, whereby only feminines constrain the distribution of the plural inflection; (b) in the feminine, between left and right position in the DP. Asymmetry (a) is unexpected from the perspective of related phenomena in Ibero-Romance (e.g. Bonet et al 2015), which only present the leftright asymmetry. Asymmetry (b) is the mirror image of that normally found in Italian varieties whereby definite/ deictic elements require a more clearly denotational morphology, given the role they play in the identification of arguments (Manzini and Savoia forthcoming, cf. Costa and Figueiredo 2002 on Brazilian Portuguese, Baier 2015). Analysis. We propose that the -a forms of feminines in plural DPs are not reduced or default forms. Rather, we assume that -a is sufficient to lexicalize plurality. So, -a is selected in DPs by virtue of its interpretive content, that in a number of North Italian varieties, allows it to lexicalize plurality in the feminine class, e. g. in Viano in (5) – besides being involved in the -a plurals of Italian and other Italian varieties (e.g. uov-a 'eggs')

(5) l-a femən-a

the-f woman-f 'the woman/women' Viano (North Tuscany) We characterize this content as [aggregate] (Chierchia 2010). Thus -*a* on determiners has both gender [fem] and number [aggr] content. In turn, we associate the exponent -s with a denotational value of subset divisibility, notated [\subseteq], preserved in the right elements of the DP, as in structure (6).



The vocalic inflection which -s combines with is not specialized -a, but gender-neutral -e. In this sense, -e-s is not the denotationally stronger inflection. We assume that set-divisibility $[\subseteq]$ is a specialization of [aggr] so that the two are compatible under Agree. According to Rasom (2006), the rule of agreement reflects the different syntactic status of post-nominal and pre-nominal adjectives (Cinque 2014). Our data suggest that pre-nominal adjectives and pre-adjectival nouns behave like modifiers, contributing to fixing the subset of referents to which noun or the final adjective applies. Thus all determiners/modifiers select -a as the denotationally stronger inflection, and not a 'weak' type of agreement.

Keywords: nominal inflection; plural agreement; inflection asymmetries in DP.

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Expressing TIME in English and Czech children's literature: A contrastive ngram-based study of typologically distant languages

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The study addresses two issues raised by previous studies dealing with children's literature and phraseology. First, we explore how TIME is expressed in English and Czech children's fiction (cf. Hunt 2005; Thompson & Sealey 2007). Our approach relies on the neo-Firthian phraseological tradition, "where meaning... is said to reside in multi-word units rather than single words" (Ebeling & Ebeling 2013, 65). The study is data-driven, based on n-gram extraction. This raises the question of "the potential contribution" of n-gram-based approaches to language comparison (Granger 2014). N-grams appear a useful starting point when comparing typologically related languages, and rather "challenging" when dealing with distant ones, e.g. predominantly analytical English and inflectional Czech (Čermáková & Chlumská 2017; Hasselgård 2017; Ebeling & Ebeling 2013).

The study uses comparable English and Czech corpora of children's fiction: two small (650,000 words each) and two large ones (2,700,000 words each, sub-corpora of the *Czech National Corpus* (*SYN*) and *British National Corpus*). For technical reasons, queries are restricted to 250,000 hits in the large corpora. The small corpora enabled detailed examination, the large ones served to verify our small-corpus findings, supplementing them by lemma and POS queries.

We extracted 2-5-grams (i.e. continuous sequences of 2-5 words excluding punctuation) from the smaller corpora. Numbers of n-grams above the threshold are consistently higher in English. The ratios suggest a larger extent of recurrent patterning in analytical English than in Czech, characterized by high morphological variability and free word-order (cf. Czech 4-grams: *se nedá nic dělat, nedá se nic dělat, nedalo se nic dělat*). Higher type/token ratios in Czech again point to a higher variability of Czech.

Another difference is the higher representation of verbs within the most frequent ngrams in Czech (e.g. *se vydal na cestu*), and prepositional phrases in English (e.g. *for a long time*). This is again in accord with the typological expectations, Czech generally preferring (finite) verbal expression and English being more 'nominal'. The POS observations highlighted the importance of verbs for Czech but also their high morphological variability as a potential hindrance to the use of the n-gram approach.

Frequent 3-5-grams in the small corpora were classified semantically. We then focused on TIME n-grams. The expression of TIME tends to rely on n-grams comprising temporal nouns in English (e.g. *end*, *time*, *moment*), while in Czech adverbs and conjunctions were salient (*pak*, *hned*, *když*), pointing to the 'nominal' vs. 'verbal' character of English and Czech, respectively. The recurrent lexemes can then be used to identify (partly lemmatized) patterns expressing TIME in both languages (e.g. *a pak SE*, *by the time*) (Ebeling & Ebeling 2013; Gries 2008).

The n-gram method proved a useful starting point in corpus-driven cross-linguistic genre analysis, highlighting typological characteristics of the languages compared. Owing to the limitations on the n-gram method in Czech, a combination of approaches seems beneficial, including semantic analysis, partial lemmatization and n-gram based patterns.

Keywords: n-grams; corpus linguistics; contrastive linguistics

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On why verbs of perception/causation sometimes don't passivize

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The problem: In many languages, verbs of perception/causation show restrictions on passivization (Williams 1983, Higginbotham 1983, Bennis and Hoekstra 1989/2004, Felser 1999, Wurmbrand 2001, Basilico 2003, Folli & Harley 2007, 2013, Hornstein, Nunes and Martins 2010, Jung 2014, Harley 2017). Example (1) illustrates the ban in English, and a similar effect also holds (with certain provisos) in at least Swedish, Danish, German, Dutch, French, Spanish, Italian, European and Brazilian Portuguese, Hungarian, Korean and Japanese (see previous references):

(1) *Kim_i was made/had/let seen/heard [t_i sing]

In English, these verbs are ECM and the ungrammaticality of (1) contrasts with other kinds of ECM complements which permit passivization:

- (2) a. Kimi was made/seen/heard [ti to sing].
 - b. Kim was seen/heard/witnessed/listened to [ti singing].
 - c. Sam_i was made [t_i angry] by the news.

This implies is that the ungrammaticality of (1) is due to properties of the complement, not the verbs themelves.

The analysis: Chomsky's (2001) PIC2 means that A-movement can cross a maximum of one phase-head at a time. A-movement of the causee is blocked in passives like (1) because it crosses two phase boundaries. Focusing initially on English, the phasal diagnostics from VP-ellipsis/VP-fronting show that either voiceP or (if present) progP is a phase (Harwood 2015 amongst others), and as Legate (2003, 2016) shows, this is true even in passives. As the complement in (1) permits a voice auxiliary but disallows 'have' and 'to', it must be bigger than a phase but smaller than TP.

- (3) a. I made/had/let/saw/heard him be fired.
 - b.*I will have made/had/let/seen/heard him have been fired.

Taking the external argument to be introduced by v, rather than voice, this means that any argument of the lower verb must cross two **phase boundaries**, if moving to spec TP:

(4) *Kim_i T [voiceP was made/had/let seen/heard [voiceP voice [vP ti sing]]]

This kind of movement is banned because the complement of the lower voiceP will be spelled out before T probes.

Other ECM contexts: In other kinds of ECM contexts, the complement is either non-phasal (2c) or a TP with an EPP feature (2a/b). If the complement is non-phasal, then its arguments remain visible to matrix T (5). If the complement is a TP, then the EPP associated with the lower T rescues the most embedded subject from its phase, making it visible to matrix T (6):

- (5) Sam_i T [voiceP was made [t_i angry] by the news.
- (6) Kimi T [voiceP was made/seen/heard [TP ti to [voiceP voice [vP ti sing]]]]

There are reasons to believe that this account extends also to (2b), as I show. A crucial corollary is that A-movement cannot use the edge of the v-related phase as an escape hatch, so that A-movement is not successive cyclic except where an independently motivated EPP on T is present. This also offers an account of improper movement in phase-based terms. I show how this analysis can be extended to similar restrictions in French and Korean.

Keywords: phases, PIC, A-movement, successive cyclic, passive

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A post-verbal minimizer in Cantonese

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Cantonese has a rich inventory of post-verbal particles, serving various grammatical functions such as the encoding of aspect, quantification, direction and result (Matthews and Yip 2011). Among them one particle stands out as having two seemingly unrelated usages. The post-verbal particle -can1 has been tagged as having both an "adversative" usage and a "habitual" usage (Matthews and Yip 2011), as shown in (1) and (2) below respectively.

(1)	Ngo5	zong6-can1	zek3	maau1	aa3
	1SG	bump.into-CAN	CL	cat	SFP
	"I bumped	l into the cat (and as a	result t	he cat v	was mildly injured).'

(2)	Ngo5	sik3-can1	mong1guo2 *	(dou1) tou5-tung3	gaa3		
	3SG	eat-CAN	mango	DOU belly-pain	SFP		
"My belly hurts whenever I eat mangoes."							

The use of (1) is only appropriate if the degree of the injury is small. In this paper, we discuss the properties of both usages of -can1 and propose that the two usages can be linked via the notion of "a small degree". The adversative -can1 is classified as a resultative post-verbal particle (Gu and Yip 2004) but is special in a number of ways. Unlike other resultative post-verbal particles in Cantonese, it is incompatible with unergatives and the progressive aspect (Gu and Yip 2004). The adversative -can1 denotes that the theme argument is being negatively affected to a small degree. It cannot be used to refer to positive effect on the theme argument, as shown in (3):

(3) #Ngo5 zaan3-can1 keoi5 tim1
 1SG praise-CAN 3SG SFP
 Intended reading: "I praised him, as a result he was positively affected to a small degree."

The restriction on adversity can be explained by the Pollyanna Principle (Leech 1983, 147), which states that in a conversation, participants prefer pleasant topics to unpleasant one. In this case, the "small degree" reading can be viewed as an understatement which disguises a bad report (Sawada 2011). Similar restriction can be found in the use of the Dutch *een beetje* and the Japanese *chotto* (Sawada 2011).

Beaver (2013) classifies verbs that have different impacts of affectedness into 4 types ("the affectedness hierarchy", arranged in descending order of affectedness): (i) The change is quantized if x reaches a specific, unique result state (e.g. kill x); (ii) The change is non-quantized if a result is entailed to exist, but is not uniquely specified. (e.g. stab x); (iii) A potential for change is a non-quantized change at some possible world. (e.g. hit x); (iv) Unspecified for a change is where no transition is necessarily possible (e.g. see x).

The "adversative" –*can1* is only compatible with type (ii) and type (iii) verbs.

Following Hay, Kennedy and Levin (1999) and Beaver (2013), we analyze the 4 classes of verbs using a scalar mode. We claim that the adversative -can1 provides a value on a scale for verbs that either entail a result or are compatible with a potential result. The "adversative" -can1 is not compatible with verbs encoding quantized change because they include a lexically encoded end-point. It is also not compatible with verbs that are not specified for change as these verbs are not compatible with a scalar reading. The adversative usage and the habitual usage of -can1 are connected via the meaning of "a small degree". The habitual *can1* in (2) is compatible with all dynamic verbs and *dou1* is obligatory. The reading of *-can1* in this usage is in fact not habitual. We analyze the so-called habitual *-can1* as a polarity item, in particular, a minimizer. We assume that the minimizer *-can1* contains a variable and must be bound by an operator (Giannakidou 2001), *dou1* in this case. Following Cheng (2009), we assume that *doul* is a maximality operator. In (2), it creates the maximum sum of all the "small-degree" mango-eating events. Semantically, (2) should only mean all small mangoeating events would upset the speaker's belly, but it in fact means all mango-eating events would upset the speaker's belly. This is a result of pragmatic entailment. The minimizer *can1* on the scale forces an entailment along the entire scale (Fauconnier1979). This is a case where a minimal denotation contributes to the expression of a maximally emphatic proposition (Israel 2001).

Keywords: Cantonese, post-verbal particles, minimizers

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Social Deixis and Grammatical Gender

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Aikhenvald (2012:33) observes that 'the concept of gender has thee faces: (i) Natural gender (Ngender or sex); (ii) Social gender (S-gender), reflecting the social implications of being a man or a woman, and (iii) Linguistic gender (L-gender)'. According to Aikhenvald (2012, 2016), Lgender tends to mirror social and cultural stereotypes of S-gender. With this respect, the following question arises: How is the connection between S-gender and L-gender formally established? This research is conducted within the framework of Distributed Morphology and presents a novel approach to the question of how social status affects the usage of grammatical gender across languages. This multidisciplinary research is relevant to the fields of general linguistics, sociocultural linguistics, and sociolinguistics.

In many languages of the world, the use of L-gender directly depends on the social status of the referent. A change in social status immediately leads to a change in L-gender. For example, in Manambu (Papua New Guinea), feminine is the unmarked L-gender (it is used in neutralized contexts, or when one does not wish to be specific). Thus, a young child of either sex can be referred to with the feminine L-gender, as shown in (1).

(1) *Manambu*

kwasa-ø ñan small-FEM.SG child 'young and small child, baby, or fetus (of either sex)' Aikhenvald (2012:43)

Aikhenvald (2012) observes that one can also refer to a non-initiated male using the feminine Lgender. This is directly related to his lack of social status in the Manambu community. In traditional New Guinea societies, children and non-initiated men have not achieved their social status within the community. Social manhood is achieved only through initiation, after which the masculine L-gender can be used.

In Lokono Arawak (South America), a man from the speaker's tribe is referred to with the masculine L-gender. Males of a different tribe are referred to with the non-masculine (unmarked) L-gender. If a male of the speaker's tribe is despised, his status is lowered and the gender changes to non-masculine. On the other hand, if a male of a different tribe becomes a close friend of the speaker, his status is elevated and the gender changes to masculine.

(2) Arawak

a.	li	wadili	b.	to	wadili
	ART.MASC.SG	man		ART.NON.MASC.SG	man
	'the man (Araw	ak or a male friend)'		'the man (non-Arawa	ak or a despised male)'
					(Pet 2011)

(Pet 2011: 18)

When social roles are already established among adult individuals in a society, a change in Lgender can indicate inappropriate social behavior of an individual. For example, in Manambu, a woman who sported an extensive knowledge of totemic names was considered to have behaved inappropriately, because such knowledge is traditionally only the domain of males. She was referred to with masculine L-gender, as in (3), with negative connotations. (3) Manambu

kə-də	numa -də	ta:kw		
this-MASC.SG	big-MASC.SG	woman		
'this (unusually) b	oig, boisterous, o	or bossy woman'	(derogatory)	(Aikhenvald 2016:103)

Such changes in L-gender is called 'gender reversal' or 'gender switch' and is cross-linguistically connected with expressive attitudes of the speaker. Expressive attitudes vary across languages: In some languages they are positive (expressing prestige, endearment, solidarity), while in others they are negative (expressing derogation, distress – see Aikhenvald 2016:108-9).

Thus, we observe two different types of change in L-gender able to directly reflect a change in the social status of the referent: (i) unmarked L-gender changes to marked L-gender (when new social status is acquired, e.g., through initiation, friendship); and (ii) two different L-genders are switched or reversed (which is always accompanied by expressive attitudes of the speaker). Following Kramer (2015), I assume an inventory of gender features, as in (4), where the 'plain' nhas no gender feature and results in gender by morphological default.

b. n i[-FEM] Male natural gender

- (4) INVENTORY OF FEATURES (Kramer 2015: 37)
 - a. n i[+FEM] Female natural gender
 - c. n No natural gender (or it is irrelevant/unknown)

I will propose that in the first type of gender-change, the plain n (unmarked gender) is replaced by n with an interpretable gender feature, as n i[-FEM]. In this case, acquiring a new social status equals reaching manhood, which formally results in the acquisition of a new interpretable feature. The second type of gender-change is always expressive in nature. I will show that such data can be accounted for by assuming a distinct grammatical feature [EXPR] that can merge with ni[+FEM] or n i[-FEM] and can change a value of the feature for the opposite, which results in an expressive derivation. I will argue in favor of the following universal structure of gender reversals (5).



Keywords: social deixis; grammatical gender; gender reversal; default gender; morphosyntax

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Agreeing to Disagree or Disagreeing to Agree?

The Realisation of (Dis)agreement in Trial Discourse

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Agreement, it may be argued, is not something achieved individually, but rather, something which is negotiated in interaction and which may involve both acknowledging and countering moves. In spoken discourse, agreement-disagreement schemata depend, to a large extent, on the speakers' communicative ends as well as the situational contexts in which the speakers interact. To date, spoken argumentative practices have been the focus of numerous studies, including those informed by conversation analysis (Pomerantz 1984), (im)politeness theory (Locher 2004) and discourse-functional approaches (Couper-Kuhlen and Thompson 2000).

The realisation of (dis)agreement in spoken legal communication has, too, received much attention; however, it is not too often viewed from a corpus perspective. Therefore, drawing on the existing research and following CADS methodology (Partington et al. 2013), this study seeks, on the one hand, to explore the way in which participants in a trial offer and negotiate differing viewpoints and, on the other, to demonstrate the pragmatic effect of the identified argumentative patterns. More precisely, the analysis focuses on three clusters: I agree, I do not agree and I disagree as well as the co-occurring discourse items and the interactional frames in which the clusters are found. Following a preliminary analysis of the data which shows that *I agree* is far more frequent than *I do not agree* and *I disagree* taken together, it is posited that – despite the speakers' conflicting interactional goals – agreement is a preferred strategy, while (explicit) disagreement is dispreffered. More specifically, it is predicted that by contrast to non-competitive settings, in the courtroom, agreement marked with I agree tends to precede countering moves (alignment-disalignment pattern), and thus it only prefaces the speaker's actual viewpoint. It is also predicted that disagreement signalled with I do not agree and I disagree is followed by elaboration rather than mitigation, unlike out-ofcourtroom contexts, where the disalignment-alignment pattern is found. Needless to add, total agreement with an opposing party is expected to be rare.

To verify the above claims, I will look at the concordance lines of selected items with a view to identifying recurrent argumentative patterns. I will also examine the deployment of the analysed items within the speakers' turns-at-talk, with emphasis being placed on their turn-initial uses. In sum, the study is expected to show that in a confrontational institutional setting, turn-initial *I agree* tends to mitigate subsequent disagreement, while turn-initial *I do not agree* and *I disagree* tend to be unmitigated.

Keywords: agreement, CADS, disagreement, trial discourse

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I agrees with you Object agreement and permissive *hagy* in Hungarian

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Hungarian verbs show agreement with their object in a) definiteness and b) person and number properties (see first person singular subject and second person object agreement forms, which are expressed using the -lak/lek marker on the verb). Interestingly, a finite verb taking an infinitival complement often agrees with the object of the infinitival verb. The groups of verbs showing these two agreement types differ, which indicates that we are dealing with different underlying mechanisms (Szécsényi and Szécsényi 2017). Our talk focuses on -lak agreement (1). Since the verbal inflection expresses the relevant person and number information, the pronominal forms are dropped unless they are stressed.

(1)	(Én)	szeret-né-lek	meglátogat-ni	(téged).
	I.NOM	like-COND-LAK	visit-INF	(you.ACC)
	'I would like like to visit you.'			

Permissive sentences containing the verb *hagy* 'let' show –lak-agreement only when the matrix clause does not have an overt dative or accusative nominal (2) (Den Dikken 2004).

(2) a.	*(Én) nem	hagy-lak	Mari-nak/Mari-t	átver-ni	(téged).
	I.NOM not	let-LAK	Mary-DAT/Mary-ACC	c deceive-INF	you.ACC
	intended me	aning: 'I will r	not let Mary deceive yo		

b. (Én) nem hagy-lak átver-ni (téged).'I will not let anyone deceive you.'

We claim that agreement with hagy 'let' is not an instance of ordinary object agreement between the finite verb and the object of its infinitival complement but the result of passivization and what agree are the subject and the derived object of the matrix verb. The claim is based on the following observation: in *hagy*-sentences reflexive objects in the infinitival clause that are coreferent with the subject of the matrix verb are allowed **iff** –LAKagreement is also allowed (3).

(3)	a.	*(Én) nem	hagy-om	Mari-nak/Mar	ri-t	átver-ni	magam.			
		I-NOM not	let-1sG	Mary-DAT/Mary-ACC		deceive-INF	myself			
		intended me	aning: 'I will n	ot let Mary dec	ceive m	e.'				
	b.	(Én) nem	hagy-om	átver-ni	magan	n.				
		I-NOM not let-1SG		deceive-INF myself						
		intended meaning: 'I will not let anyone deceive me.'								

Since the distribution of reflexives has been extensively discussed and accounted for in terms of Principle A of the Binding Theory, using notions associated with reflexivity can also shed light on this type of object agreement in Hungarian. Though Hungarian has no passive in finite clauses, in order to derive the patterns presented above we assume that the infinitival construction undergoes a process of passivization in (2b) and (3b).

Keywords: object agreement; reflexivity; clause union; Hungarian

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Towards describing the extremely multifunctional Hungarian discourse marker hát

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In our paper, we intend to give account of the meaning and function of the most frequent discourse marker in Hungarian spontaneous speech (e.g. Schirm 2007-2008). We could point out pairwise significant differences in the temporal characteristics of five functions of hát, such as the duration (see 11, 12, 13, 14, 15) and pausing after hát (see 11', 12', 13', 14') expressed in milliseconds. In contrast to Dér and Markó (2017), who examined (essentially) distinct turn positions (turn-initial, turn-medial and turn-final ones), our testing method is as follows. We have described five different (but uniformly) turn-initial positions, of which four are sentence-initial (1b) and one is sentence-final (1c'). Their difference lies with the "semaphore effect" attributed to certain discourse markers by Alberti (2016): they basically signal how easy/difficult it will be for the listener to digest the message. The investigated types of the discourse marker were embedded in test situations with well-defined stories to evoke the appropriate mental state of the subjects.

The data of our pilot study have come from 9 subjects who read out such short dialogues as the one presented in (1) and been analyzed by Praat. The prosodic characteristics of the following five *hát*-functions have proved to be significantly different, at least in one parameter: 1. straightforward answer (with 11 as the duration of *hát* in this case, which never evokes a pause after the discourse marker (11'=0)), 2. uncertain answer (with 12 and 12' as the duration of *hát* and the pausing in this case), 3. answer which the speaker considers uneasy or embarrassing (see 13 and 13', which can often be a filled pause (AK5 and AK7: cells with grey background color in Table 1.)), 4. teasing/badinage (see 14, 14'; Schirm 2017), 5. confirmation, sentence-finally (see 15).

In our talk, we will give a more precise theoretical description in the pragmasemantic framework ReALIS (Alberti et al. 2016). Furthermore, we will discuss the other suprasegmental parameters, such as pitch and intensity.

- (1) (a)Na, melyik filmet választottad?
 - so which film.Acc chose.Past.2Sg 'So which film have you chosen?'

(b) Hát a krimit

[no punctuation is given, because it can have an unwanted influence on the subjects] well the detective_story.Acc

'Well, the detective story.'

Azmindkettőnknekbeszokott jönni[no punctuation is given]thatboth.Datintend.Past.3Sg come.Inf

'We both have the hots for detective stories.'

(c) A krimit?!

the detective_story.Acc

'Is it really true that you have chosen the detective story?'

(c') A krimit hát!

the detective_story.Acc yeah

'Yeah, the detective story.'

	AK1	AK2	AK3	AK4	AK5	AK6	AK7	AK8	AK9	mean	var.
l1	286	227	229	157	170	208	207	251	167	211,33	39,95
11'	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,00	0,00
12	432	551	383	1007	580	377	599	515	515	551,00	178,37
12'	0	0	0	0	0	0	42	0	0	4,67	13,20
13	397	589	330	1712	877	622	981	736	652	766,22	386,68
13'	0	15	0	337	193	102	491	123	0	140,11	163,63
14	292	253	227	253	824	728	211	1136	201	458,33	326,35
14'	0	0	0	0	0	75	0	0	0	8,33	23,57
15	420	386	280	533	459	559	505	453	419	446,00	79,30
l2-l1	146	324	154	850	410	169	392	264	348	339,67	204,20
l3-l1	111	362	101	1555	707	414	774	485	485	554,89	413,82
13-12	-35	38	-53	705	297	245	382	221	137	215,22	222,96

Table 1. Duration data (11-15) and the data of pausing after hát (11'-14')

Keywords: pragmatics; semantics; DRT; Praat

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The acquisition of Double Negation in Italian

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Background

In natural languages, the interpretation of multiple negative structures does not always follow the rules of formal logic. Zeijlstra (2004, 57-80) made a typological distinction between *double negation* and *negative concord languages*: in the former, the Law of Double Negation always applies, and the two negative elements cancel each other out yielding a positive meaning. In the latter, this law of propositional logic does not work, and two or more negatives are needed within the same sentence to express a single semantic negation. However, there is a subset of *non-strict* negative concord languages, that allows a double negation reading of specific syntactic constructions (Giannakidou 2000, 457-523). For example, a sentence conveys a positive meaning in Italian when the n-word is placed in subject position and is followed by a negative marker:

(a) Nessuno non ha telefonatoN-body neg-has calledDN reading: Everybody called

Different acquisitional studies show that children initially provide a negative concord interpretation of all the multiple negative structures including those that are properly double negation (Sano, Shimada, and Kato 2009, 232-240; Van Kampen 2010, 321-329; Zhou, Crain, and Thornton 2014, 333-359). This cross-linguistic preference seems to occur in both negative concord and double negation languages, regardless of how the target language commonly uses and interprets multiple negative structures. Zhou, Crain, and Thornton (2014, 333-359) conducted two experiments to evaluate both the comprehension and the production of double negation sentences by preschool Mandarin Chinese speaking children in pragmatically felicitous contexts. The findings seem to support the hypothesis that also in a double negation language such as Mandarin Chinese children pass through a stage in which double negation is analysed as a single negation: as a matter of fact, Chinese children master the concept of double negation by age 5;6.

Research questions and predictions

In the present study, the experimental protocol proposed by Zhou, Crain, and Thornton (2014, 333-359) has been adapted to Italian with the aim to investigate the age of acquisition of double negation in a *non-strict* negative concord language. This work, specifically, aims to answer the following research questions: first, at what age do Italian children master the law of double negation? Second, do Italian children, like Chinese children, pass through a developmental stage in which they provide a default negative concord interpretation also in

those contexts that are properly double negation? Finally, to what extent does a predominant negative-concord input affect age of mastery of double negation?

Methods

36 monolingual Italian speaking children aged between 3;10 and 8;2 were divided into three groups of age (3;10-5;6 / 5;9-7;2 / 7;3-8;2) and tested through a *truth-value judgement task* and an *elicited production task*, to understand at what age they are able to correctly interpret and produce double negation sentences on their own.

Results and discussion

The group of children ranging in age from 7;3 to 8;2 correctly interprets double negation sentences 81,9% of the time (10 out of 12 subjects have 100% correct response rate). Moreover, older children produce these sentences 79,1% of time. Children aged between 5;9 and 7;2 have significantly lower correct response rates: 9,7% in the comprehension task and 30,6% in the production, respectively. Younger children (3;10-5;6) never interpret double negation sentences correctly and they produce these structures only 9,1% of the time.

The results show that in Italian the acquisition of double negation occurs at around 7;3 years. Moreover, they confirm the hypothesis that also in Italian there is a developmental stage in which all multiple negative structures are interpreted as yielding a negative concord meaning, i.e. a single negation meaning. The results also support the assumption that younger children's errors in both the comprehension and the production of double negation sentences might be due to a difficulty in the processing of the logical concept of double negation (i.e. a performance deficit due to limitations in their working memory capacity) and not to the lack of the concept itself (i.e. a competence deficit).

Keywords: double negation; negative concord; logic; child language; Italian

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How do translators and translation students revise?

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Translation revision plays an essential role in assuring high quality of translations (Canfora and Ottmann 2015). In recent years, the field of translation studies has increasingly acknowledged revision as an important part of the translation process and has integrated it in its research (i.e. Künzli 2014; Mossop 2014). In this presentation, we want to focus on the behaviour of translators during the revision process to explore, with the help of eyetracking and keylogging data, how professional translators and translation students behave when they encounter and correct an error during the revision task.

To explore the translators' behaviour, we chose six manually translated texts - one translation per text - to provide natural translations from English into German. The texts and their translations were taken from a subset of the CRITT-TPR Database (Carl et al. 2016). We made sure the translated texts contained no errors before we manipulated them and inserted errors according to the error types proposed by Mertin (2006): orthography, grammar, sense, omissions, consistency and coherence. Per translation, a total of three to five errors were added with no sentence containing more than one error. The error types were equally distributed across the texts. We created two translation versions of each text (version A and B) to distribute the errors equally, to have enough material for each error type, and to avoid overloading the texts with errors. The participants were given either version A or B. The sequence in which the texts were presented was randomized. In total, 38 translators participated in this study (23 professionals, 15 students). All participants are German native speakers and have English as one of their working languages. The sessions were recorded with an Eyetracking device (SMI red mobile, 250Hz), which was connected to the keylogging software Translog-II (Carl 2012). The typing and gaze data will be triangulated in our statistical analysis.

In this study we aim to find certain gaze and typing patterns for the corrected errors and whether they differ depending on the type of error and the status of the participant. For the analysis, we look at the recorded activity units (continuous streaks of reading and/or typing) during and prior to correcting an error. Schaeffer et. al. (2016.) differentiate between seven different activity units which contain so-called scanpaths. Scanpaths can be analysed either according to the word/phrase that includes the error or the surrounding words/phrases, so we coded the activity units in bigrams or trigrams (Schaeffer et. al. 2016.). We expect an increase in eye movements surrounding the detected errors and that different error categories cause different scanpath patterns. We will analyse the length and duration of the scanpath, the number of fixated words and how often the error word was fixated in the respective

scanpaths. Finally, we will explore whether student and professional translators do behave differently.

Keywords: Revision, Scanpaths, Eyetracking, Keylogging, Translation process research, Expertise

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Here, there, where

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1. Claim. The words *here, there, (every)where* (henceforth HTW) are traditionally taken to be adverbs. Evidence shows that they behave distributionally like locative or directional PPs. I argue that HTW are not adverbs, nor prepositions, nor PPs, but are decomposable into a deictic/wh part h-/th-/wh- and a locative/directional part -*ere*. The -*ere* part is the phrasal spellout of an abstract set of features expressing direction and location, and the abstract noun PLACE.

2. Data. The table below (based on Burton-Roberts 1991) shows schematically how HTW pattern systematically with PPs, and unlike adverbs.

	Adv	PP	HTW
complement of V	X	1	1
modify Adj/Adv	✓	X	×
postmodify N	×	1	1
complement of P	×	1	1
take PP complement	×	1	1
take right, straight, just	×	✓	1
locative inversion	X	1	1

HTW furthermore correspond with a subclass of the PPs, those with a locative or directional meaning.

3. Direction and Location. Certain types of P only have a locative meaning (e.g. *in*), others are directional (e.g. *to*), see (1). English HTW can have both a locative or a directional meaning (see (2a)). English HTW differ from their Dutch counterparts, which can only express a location (see (2b).

- (1) (a) the train in_{LOC}/to_{DIR} Paris
 - (b) She walked in_{LOC}/to_{DIR} the park.
- (2) (a) She walked there_{LOC/DIR}.
 (b) Ze liep daar_{LOC}/*DIR/daarheen_{DIR}.

Numerous authors have argued that DIR contains LOC (e.g. Den Dikken 2010, Cinque 2010, Svenonius 2010, Caha 2010, Pantcheva 2011, Radkevich 2010, Kracht 2002). The English/Dutch difference can now be seen as a lexical difference in size: English HTW are larger than Dutch HTW. The difference between locative and directional Ps is likewise one of size, as shown schematically in the representations below (English left, Dutch right):

DIR	LOC	PLACE	DIR	LOC	PLACE	
to		school	na	ar	school	
	at	school		ор	school	
here/there/where			heen	hier/	daar/waar	

4. Analysis. English HTW can occur in all the slots where locative and directional PPs can occur, Dutch HTW only in slots where locative PPs can occur. This distributional pattern is accounted for by assuming that HTW are the phrasal spellout of a constituent corresponding to a directional PP (English) or locative PP (Dutch). In English, there is a syncretism between directional and locative HTW. Standard Superset Principle logic accounts for this syncretism: the lexical entry for HTW contains the features DIR+LOC+PLACE, and given that there is no competing lexical item that just spells out LOC+PLACE, the larger lexical item may spell out the smaller syntactic structure that is contained in its lexical entry.

The evidence for decomposing HTW as $\{h-/th-/wh\}$ -ere comes both from their form and their meaning. The first element is responsible for the semantic differences between *h*-ere (deictic proximate), *th*-ere (deictic distal), and *wh*-ere (interrogative, or indefinite in complex forms like *some-wh-ere*, every-wh-ere). The second element (-ere) spells out the features relating to location and direction discussed above. Except for *now*, the temporal triplet *now/th-en/wh-en* is subject to a similar decomposition, with the second part (-en) referring to time rather than to location/direction.

Keywords: adverbs, prepositions, location, direction, nanosyntax

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The Structure and Categorial characteristic of pro

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In the presentation I will address the (a) categorial status and (b) complexity of *pro* and PRO, proposing a uniform treatment of both 'empty categories' in terms of a broad Minimalistic framework.

In Chomsky's (1981) classification of empty categories, three labels are used for the categorial status of empty categories: R expression (Wh-trace), Pronoun (little *pro*), and Anaphor (NP-trace), all of which are subsumed not uncontroversially under 'noun' types. However, since the 80's, the categorial system has developed substantially and the classification based on two features (\pm anaphoric and \pm pronominal) is now not used. Therefore several attempts have been made to re-classify the empty categories, with attention concentrating on the *pro*/PRO pair. Hornstein (2003) unifies them in terms of movement (allowing multiple theta roles), in Radically Minimalist terms Krivochen and Kosta (2013) eliminate empty categories and replace pronouns by D-types/D-tokens, and in the DM framework Mc Fadden and Sundaresen (2017) propose one single underspecified nominal pro-form ('Upro') interacting with structural environment and language-specific rules of morpho-phonological realization. As for the categorial labels, present day authors assume that both *pro* and PRO are equivalents of some kinds of nominal elements (explicitly, *pro* is an NP for Borer and Roy (2006) or a minimal *n*P for Barbosa (2017)). In my presentation I will briefly sum up this existing variety of proposals, pointing out their strong and weak points.

To derive the characteristics (feature content) of *pro* I will use empirical data which come from mostly Czech examples of subject-predicate agreements esp. those showing apparent violations of feature matching. A typical example (1) below shows the pronominal subject vy 'you_{2P}' that agrees with the Aux clitic (in Person and Number) and the phonetically empty nominal complex *Petr Novák* 'Peter N_{·MS}' that agrees with the participle (in Gender and Number). Notice that the parts of the predicate disagree in all features.

(1) (Vy,) (Petr Novák), jste poškodil sám sebe. you/pro_{2P} Peter Novák/pro_{MS} AUX_{2P} hurt_{MS} you-yourself_{MS} 'You, Peter Novak, have hurt yourself.'

Veselovská (2002, 2018) provides a range of similar examples claiming that the feature distribution pattern is quite systematic and it shows that the N and D features of subjects are (sometimes separately) distributed to V and/or T of the finite predicate. The claim is summarised in (2).

(2) Analytic subject-predicate agreement:

Subject-predicate agreement is a combination of two agreement relations targeting two distinct sets of features. The domain for the agreement is twofold: (a) lexical domain, $V \rightarrow \phi N$; [$_{\phi N}$ Gender, Number]; (b) functional domain, $I \rightarrow \phi D$; [$_{\phi D}$ Person, Number].

Based on the above conclusion, I will reconsider the concept of *pro*-drop. The phenomena are discussed with respect to a wide range of languages since Jaeggli and Safir;

1989 (see e.g. Rohrbacher, 1999; Müller, 2005, 2007; Biberauer et al. 2010; Johns, 2012), and the analyses always depend on the assumed characteristics of *pro*. The *pro* drop is traditionally discussed in terms of some specific characteristics of morphology (see Rizzi, 1986) or recoverability (Holmberg, 2005). My proposal will not stipulate any new categories for *pro* and PRO. I will show that what is called little *pro* is a complex structure, consisting of two parts: the empty category representing the lower, lexical ('n/N(P)') structure (which in fact is PRO), and a more complex 'D(P)' type, which is *pro*.

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Logical metonymy in Czech and Dutch

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The paper presents a corpus-based analysis of constructions usually labelled *logical metonymy* (lm) and aims to balance the underrepresentation of explanations of this phenomenon in Czech linguistics. The paper adopts cognitive approach (Barcelona 2015; Sweep 2012) that considers these constructions a predicative metonymy based on a temporal-eventive gestalt. On the basis of the sample of Czech and Dutch data, the conditions of use and the probability of their occurrence are investigated.

Prototypically, logical metonymies are demonstrated by examples as (1) *John began the book*, where a verb requiring an eventive complement occurs with an object. Based on the object involved we interpret the sentence (1) like (2) *John began reading/writing the book*. The shift from object-complement to the eventive one has been traditionally explained by Pustejovsky's notion of *qualia structure* (1995). A qualia structure represents the lexical meaning of a noun and is composed of several roles. Concerning logical metonymy two of them are of relevance: the agentive and the telic role describe typical events in which the object is involved. The agentive role describes how the object is made up; the telic role states what the purpose or function of the object is.

Recently, a growing number of studies criticizing the Pustejovsky's model for providing a psychologically inadequate explanation have appeared within Cognitive Linguistic approaches to logical metonymy (Ziegeler 2007; Falkum 2011). These studies show the need for both empirical evidence (either corpus-based or experimental) and extension of the sample of studied languages. Only few corpus studies were conducted so far (namely Sweep 2012; Briscoe et al. 1990; Rüd & Zarcone 2011; Verspoor 1997). Most recently, Sweep (2012) investigates German and Dutch equivalents of prototypical English examples of logical metonymy (i.e. *begin, finish* and *enjoy*).

Within this framework, I have conducted a corpus-based survey inspired by Sweep (2012). For a heterogeneous set of lm-verbs, I have collected extensive data from Dutch and Czech to compare how metonymy operates on two typologically different languages. A sample of concordances extracted from corpora of the respective languages was manually coded for (i) semantic features of NP and VP and (ii) various syntactic and discourse features. Since Czech data hadn't been studied in connection with logical metonymy before, the corpus analysis is of a qualitative nature.

Results of the analysis are expected to show in particular that a) interpretation of logical metonymy on the basis of qualia structure is not sufficient (actions in which an object is involved overstep the lexical boundaries given by its agentive and telic roles); b) there is a cross-linguistic similarity between Dutch and Czech mirrored in similar categories of nouns, which occur in logical metonymical constructions, and in similar context, in which these nouns are used.

Keywords: logical metonymy; qualia structure; corpus analysis

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Grammatical gender meets classifier semantics: Evidence from the virile/non-virile alternation in Polish cardinals

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Introduction. For a long time, the relationship between gender and classifier systems has been subject to extensive typological investigations. It is commonly argued that both systems play a similar role in grammar in that they reflect the classification of the nominal lexicon (Dixon 1982, Corbett 1991, Aikhenvald 2000). However, one function of classifiers that is commonly assumed not to be shared with gender is their behavior in languages such as Mandarin where they allow for numerals to modify nouns. In spite of that view, recent proposals suggest that gender in Arabic and Serbo-Croatian can be interpreted as a mode of quantification or a grammaticalized classifier system (Fassi Fehri 2016, Arsenijević 2016). In this paper, I provide novel evidence concerning the relationship between gender morphology and classifier semantics. The core evidence comes from the virile/non-virile alternation in Polish cardinal numerals (Miechowicz-Mathiasen 2011). The main claim is that Polish virile (marked) cardinals have a built-in classifier whereas non-virile (unmarked) cardinals do not.

Data. I start with an observation that Polish virile and non-virile numerals differ in their distribution in a way that cannot be reduced to syntactic agreement. Rothstein (2013, 2017) distinguishes between several semantic functions English numerals can have: i) nominal modifiers, ii) predicates, and iii) names of concept numbers. While in Polish both virile and non-virile forms can modify NPs and occur in predicate position, (1), only non-virile cardinals can be used to name numbers, (2a), and do not fit contexts that clearly call for numeric arguments such as (2b). Moreover, they cannot appear in a counting list. For instance, (3b) cannot refer to abstract objects and presupposes counting male individuals.

- (1) a. Pięć dziewczyn / pięciu chłopców przyszło. / five_v five_{NV} girls_{NV} **boys**_v came b. Tych dziewczyn / chłopców było pięć / pięciu. these girls_{NV} $/ boys_v$ was five_{NV} / five_v (2) a. liczba pięć / *pięciu (3) a. jeden, dwa, trzy, cztery, pięć...
 - number five_{NV} / five_V one_{NV} two_{NV} three_{NV} four_{NV} five_{NV} b. Dwa razy pięć / *pięciu to dziesięć.
 - b. #jeden, dwaj, trzej, czterej, pięciu two times $five_{NV}/five_{V}$ is ten one two_v three_v four_v

five

Furthermore, non-virile cardinals used as names of number concepts exhibit distinctive properties. For instance, unlike nominal modifiers they resist adjectival modification (Babby 1987), (4), and are incompatible with the universal quantifier (Gvozdanović 1999), (5).

(4)	a.	dobre _i pięć _i but	telek	(5)	a.	wszystkie	e pięć	butelek
		good five bot	ttles			all	five	bottles
	b.	*liczba dobre _i	pięć _i		b.	*liczba	wszyst	kie pięć
		number all	five			number	all	five

Finally, virile forms are both morphologically and semantically marked, e.g., dw-a-j vs. dw-a ('two') or *pięci-u* vs. *pięć*- \emptyset ('five'), i.e., numeral roots are often homophonous to non-virile forms and never homophonous to virile forms.

Cross-linguistic perspective. The observed asymmetry is not a Polish idiosyncrasy. For instance, Arabic distinguishes between morphological forms that can only be used as modifiers and those that can also function as names of number concepts (Fassi Fehri 2017). Distinct forms of a particular numeral specialized either for nominal modification or for reference to integers are found in such diverse languages as German, Hungarian, Mandarin, Maltese, and Basque (Hurford 2001). Even more interesting, the difference between Polish virile and non-virile cardinals resembles to some extent the behavior of numerals in classifier languages. In Japanese bare numerals cannot be used as nominal modifiers or predicates (Sudo 2016) whereas classifier constructions do not fit unambiguously numeric contexts. Another important fact is that classifiers are often suffixes on numerals (Aikhenvald 2000).

Analysis. Though it is standardly assumed that in modification contexts classifiers compensate semantic deficits of nouns (Borer 2005, Chierchia 1998, Scontras 2014), an alternative view posits that it is the semantic properties of numerals that require classifiers in such environments (Krifka 1995, Bale & Coon 2014, Sudo 2016). In the light of the discussed data and cross-linguistic facts I propose that in Polish gender on cardinals should be analyzed as a simple grammaticalized classifier system. In particular, I posit that virile numerals include an incorporated classifier dedicated to counting male individuals whereas non-virile cardinals involve a covert general classifier when used as modifiers and in predicate position. First, I assume that numeral roots are category-free, as often claimed (Halle & Marantz 1993), and argue that they are always born as names of number concepts, i.e., abstract objects of a primitive type *n*. In addition, I postulate an element **CL** (`classifier') which shifts abstract singular terms into modifiers, i.e., cardinal predicates of the same type as intersective adjectives (Landman 2003), and introduces a measure function # which maps a plurality into a natural number (Krifka 1989). The composition of cardinals proceeds as follows, (6)–(7). The gender value is associated with a numeral head. In non-virile cardinals it contributes no additional meaning and the resulting phrase is still of type *n*. Such a structure can be used to refer to abstract numbers. However, a bigger structure can be derived by employing CL which can shift the singular term to the type (e,t). The classifier semantics enables the numeral to be used predicatively or as a modifier. In virile cardinals the *numeral* head also introduces CL but this time augmented with a special presupposition. As a result, the *numeral*P is of type $\langle e,t \rangle$, and thus the virile form cannot be used as a name of a number concept. Furthermore, the classifier semantics determines the virile form to count male individuals.



Keywords: numerals; classifiers; grammatical gender; cardinal predicates

Spell-out driven extraction

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The goal of this paper is to modify the existing methodology of nanosyntax by adding extraction to the list of spell-out driven operations. Extraction of a previously spelled-out constituent is necessary to derive an instance of analytic vs. fusional realization of morphological categories found in what we can call semelfactive-activity alternation in Czech and Polish verbs, as in (1)-(2). In this process, a semelfactive verb stem such as Polish *kop-n-q-ć* 'give a kick' alternates with the activity stem *kop-a-ć* 'be giving kicks', which is morphologically less complex than a semelfactive. This alternation is paradoxical given the analysis of activities (iteratives and habituals) as categories that are more complex than semelfactives.

(1) Czech

- (a) kop-n-ou-t kop-a-t
 kick-GIVE-OU_{theme}-INF kick-AJ_{theme}-INF
 'give a kick' 'be giving kicks'
- (b) štěk-n-ou-t štěk-a-t
 bark-GIVE-OU_{theme}-INF bark-AJ_{theme}-INF
 'give a bark' 'bark repeatedly'

(2) Polish

- (a) kop-ną-ć kop-a-ć
 kick-GIVE-OU_{theme}-INF kick-AJ_{theme}-INF
 'give a kick' 'be giving kicks'
- (b) liz-n-ą-ć liz-a-ć
 lick-GIVE-OU_{theme}-INF lick-AJ_{theme}-INF
 'give a lick' 'lick repeatedly'

Descriptively speaking, Czech and Polish semelfactives comprise a tri-morphemic verb stem made of a nominal root (e.g. *kop* 'kick', *štěk* 'bark', *liz* 'lick') and two suffixes: -*n* and -*ou* (where -*ou* surfaces in Polish as a nasalized vowel -*q*). If we follow the description of the synsem properties of these stems in Taraldsen Medová and Wiland (2016), the -*n* morpheme in semelfactives spells out the light verb Give, which is responsible for their Give-readings (e.g. 'give a kick'), while -*ou* is a thematic suffix (or a 'theme vowel'), a verbalizer which spells out argument structure properties of Slavic verbs. Following the roll-up derivation, a fully lexicalized structure of an (uninflected) semelfactive verb stem looks in Taraldsen Medová and Wiland (2016) as in (3), where NP is a representation of the nominal root, GIVEP of the light verb GIVE, and VP of the thematic morpheme.

$$(3) VP$$

$$GiveP VP$$

$$NP GiveP -ou$$

$$\widehat{kop} -\widehat{n}$$

An essential property of the *-aj*-stems like in (1)-(2) is that they form iteratives and habituals by adding iteration to the semelfactive stems while preserving Give-readings and the argument structure property of the semelfactive stemthey are based on (e.g. a transitive *kop-nou-t* forms a transitive *kop-a-t*, an unergative *štěk-n-ou-t* forms an unergative *štěk-a-t*, etc.).¹ We can capture these facts by representing such activity stems as structurally bigger than semelfactives as in (4-a), where the relevant difference is pre-theoreticallymarked as an extra Asp⁰ on top of the semelfactive stem. But how can this structure be spelled out such that the NP root is preserved while the light Give morpheme *-n* and the *-ou* theme are replaced by a singleton *-aj* suffix?



The work on nanosyntax has recognized two types of movements that can lead to spell-out (Starke 2018, Baunaz and Lander 2018): the evacuation of the specifier of the previously spelled out constituent (i.e. the movement of kop-n in (4-a)) and the movement of its complement (i.e. the movement of *kop-n-ou* in (4-a)). None of these movements will result in the reduction in the number of morphemes. Instead, the bi-morphemic stem *kop-aj* (of the infinitive *kop-a(j)-ć*) can be derived if the NP root kop is extracted from within the specifier of the previously spelled out VP *-ou* as in (4-b) and AspP is spelled out as the *-aj* theme. If this analysis is on the right track, then extraction should be added to the repertoire of spell-out driven operations in nanosyntax, along spec-to-spec movement and snowballing.

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¹ The final glide in the *-aj* theme is always deleted before the infinitive suffix *-t/-ć* due to the pre-consonantal Glide Truncation in Slavic.

Right dislocations in spontaneous Czech: what do speakers achieve by employing them?

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The aim of our paper is to provide a functional corpus-based analysis of RIGHT DISLOCATIONS (RDs) in Czech spontaneous interaction, a phenomenon understudied not only in Czech, but in Slavic languages in general. RDs (also TAILS, ANTITOPICS or POST-PREDICATE CONSTITUENTS, cf. Lambrecht (2001)) have been addressed for several decades from various perspectives (Ashby 1988; Ziv 1994; Givón 2001; Kalbertodt et al. 2015 among others). They are best defined as constructions whose argument or adjunct is extracted from their position in the sentence structure (MATRIX CLAUSE) outside its boundary, specifically to the right of the predicate (see (1)).

In our study, we adopt a constructional approach (Goldberg 2013) in order to provide a complex description of the use of RDs in Czech spontaneous speech, with a particular emphasis on its discourse function and prosodic features. Whereas syntactic and morphological characteristics of RDs are essentially agreed upon by linguists (Givón 2001; Lambrecht 2001), functional characteristics of discourse functions vary between "comment emphasizing" device (Kalbertodt et al. 2015), "chain-final" device (Givón 2001) or a device typically used while referring to entities present in the situation of speech (Ziv 1994). Thus, no satisfying description of RDs' discourse behaviour has been offered up to date. Our contribution aims at filling this gap.

We analysed data extracted from the Czech corpus of spontaneous speech ORAL 2013 (Benešová et al. 2013). Each instance of RD (cf. e.g. (2) below; around 50 concordances in total) was manually annotated by two independent coders and analysed qualitatively according to several criteria: activation of its referent, continuousness/density of its previous mentions, discourse/pragmatic function of RD and prosodic rendering of the construction (intonation contour, depth of prosodic boundary between the matrix clause and the detached constituent, type of nuclear accent etc.).

Our results suggest that the RDs in Czech may be divided into three distinct categories: (i) THEMATIC-BREAK RDS, refocusing the interlocutors' attention to a new aspect of a currently discussed subject; (ii) CHECKING-QUESTION RDS, whereby the hearer requests immediate clarifying of a just given piece of information; and of the most frequent (iii) ARGUMENTATIVE RDS, attested in argumentative/adversative contexts whereby the speakers advocate for the appropriateness of their view. Typically, argumentative RDs are linked to highly activated and repeatedly mentioned topics and rendered by complex intonation contour with only a weak prosodic boundary between the matrix clause and the detached constituent, with a strong (marked) nuclear accent on the last constituent in the matrix clause. As an outcome, we provide a constructional description of salient and relevant features (both shared and distinctive) of all constructional types of RDs in Czech. Our findings strongly support the assumption that RDs are employed under specific discourse circumstances and for specific discourse purposes, which might later evolve into fully grammaticalized constructions, as it is the case, e. g., in some Romance languages (cf. Villalba 2011; Crocco 2013) and in German (Kalbertodt et al. 2015).

Examples:

- (1) I've met him recently, Peter. (Kalbertodt et al. 2015, 1)
- (2) no tak sem ji zase votočil nazpátek tu štyřkolku (ORAL2013) So I turned it back again, the four-wheeler

Keywords: right dislocation; discourse function; corpus-based analysis; Czech

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Chicken à la Nanosyntax

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In Czech, nominal inflectional morphology consists of a stem followed by a case ending. Prototypically, the stem appears invariable in a paradigm, as is illustrated in (1). From this perspective, nouns like 'chicken' in (2) are exceptional because case endings are concatenated with three stems in the paradigm, i.e. [kuře], [kuřet] and [kuřat]. Our aim is to capture both the phonological relatedness of the stem forms and their morphosyntactic properties, as revealed in their distribution. The main idea, summarized in (3), is that there are just two stems underlyingly, one for the plural and one for the singular. The variation of the singular stem will then be analyzed in purely phonological terms as linking of the floating final coda.

On the phonological side, prosodic structure is decomposed into strictly alternating C- and V-slots (Scheer 2004) and melodic structure into privative elements (Backley 2011). Under this decomposition, both alternations involved in the three-stem pattern can be derived phonologically. As for the t-zero, we postulate a floating t-segment stored in the stem-building affix which either gets associated with its C-slot (the t is pronounced) or it remains floating (the t is silent). The association line is created before vowel-initial case markers and before the Gpl zero $(ku\check{r}[at]-\emptyset)$; in the N/Asg, on the other hand, which is zero-derived as well, the t is silent $(ku\check{r}/e]-\emptyset$). To capture this contrast we propose that the Gpl zero is an empty V-slot (4b) whereas the N/Asg zero has no phonological identity at all (4a). We argue that postulating two phonologically different zeros is not an *ad hoc* solution for this particular paradigm, but it enables us to explain the contrastive behavior of other types of stems; see (5). As for the vocalic alternation $e \sim a$, we build on the insight of Element Theory that [e] is a compound of a low vowel [a] (represented by an A-element) and a high vowel [i] (i.e. I-element). Granted this, we propose that the surface alternation $e \sim et \sim at$, distinguishing the 'chicken'-stem allomorphs, involves two affixes: the /At/-affix in (6a) (which surfaces with [a]) and the floating /I/-affix whose merger with the /At/ in (6b) gives rise to both [e]-allomorphs, i.e. [e] and [et]. The /I/-affix not only derives the mid vowel [e] from the low vowel [a], but it also gets materialized as a glide [j] after labials in the [et]-stem allomorphs. As is illustrated in (7), the palatal glide is missing in the [at]-stem.

The proposed scenario assumes that the stem forms are in the containment relation, which we take to indicate a syntactic containment. We thus propose that the syntactic tree spelled out by the [a]-stem is involved in the [et]-stem tree. In particular, we assume a binominal structure, in which the suffix /At/ spells out the fully-fledged nominal tree, i.e. with a NP phrase at the bottom; this suffix nominal tree is then adjoined to a nominal tree spelled out by a root. We further postulate a syntactic head IM(mmature) to capture the fact that 'chicken'-type nouns typically denote immature objects; this IM-head is then present in both the root-tree and the suffix-tree. The binominal structure in (8a) and its cyclic spell out, as is defined in Nanosyntax (Caha 2009, Starke 2009), enable us to explain at least two things that would have been otherwise mysterious. (1) There are nouns like *prase* 'pig' whose forms

follow the 'chicken'-pattern, but they do not have an immature meaning. Our explanation: they are binominals lacking the IM-head. According to the Superset Principle, their right-hand tree can still be spelled out by the affix /At/ which is lexically stored as in (9). (2) There are three-stem nouns such as 'calf' (with stems [tele], [telet] and [telat]) involving suppletive roots with respect to their age-unmarked cousins ('cattle, Bos Taurus' is spelled out by a phonologically unrelated form [tur]). Our explanation: these nouns are binominals in which the right-hand "immature" tree [IMP IM [NP N]] is spelled out by the /At/ and the left-hand one by the suppletive root form, i.e. the [tel] in this particular case.

When the tree in (8a) is merged directly with a case tree, particular plural case forms are obtained involving the [at]-stem allomorph. However, if a feature ATOM(ic) (see Harbour 2007 or Acquaviva 2008) is merged first, the /I/-affix is inserted and the [et]-stem allomorph, seen all singular case forms, is derived; see (8b).

(1)	د	sea'		'world'		'tray'	
	S	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
	N/A /:	moř/- <i>e</i>	/moř/- <i>e</i>	/svjet/-Ø	/svjet/-y	/plat/-o	/plat/- <i>a</i>
	G /:	moř/- <i>e</i>	/moř/- <i>í</i>	/svjet/-a	/svjet/-ů	/plat/- <i>a</i>	/plat/-Ø
	D /:	moř/- <i>i</i>	/moř/- <i>ím</i>	/svjet/-u	/svjet/- <i>ům</i>	/plat/- <i>u</i>	/plat/- <i>ům</i>
	L /:	moř/- <i>i</i>	/moř/- <i>ích</i>	/svjet/-u	/svjet/- <i>ech</i>	/plat/- <i>u</i>	/plat/-ech
	I /	moř/- <i>em</i>	/moř/- <i>i</i>	/svjet/-em	/svjet/-y	/plat/- <i>em</i>	/plat/-y
(2)	Sg	Р	1	(3) Sg		P1	
()	N/A /kuř	e/-Ø /1	kuřat/-a	kuř-/A	t-I/-ending	<i>kuř-</i> /At/-en	ding
	G /kuř	et/-e /1	kuřat/-Ø		<u>З</u>	Û	8
	D /kuř	et/- <i>i</i> /1	kuřat/ <i>-ům</i>	[et]	[e]	[at]	
	L /kuř	et/- <i>i</i> /1	kuřat/- <i>ech</i>	L 3			
	I /kuř	et/- <i>em</i> /l	kuřat/-y				
(4)	a N/Aso	v V-final s	tem b G	nl: <i>t</i> -final ster	n		
(.)	V V	C		V C - V	V		
	1	C	••	. i ↑	•		
	V	t		Vt			
(5)	Neg Del	+w] Ø	ve Cpl	Poltarl	\emptyset – cullo	bio liquid vo	apanthasis
(\mathbf{J})	Geo Pot	ij-ø [trl_a	vs. Opi Nnl	$P_{\rho}[tr]_{\rho}$	– Syna	ole liquid vs.	epentilesis
	usg rei	le name'	пр	female	name'		
	1114		N G				r . 1
(6)	a. V	С b.	V C +	(/)	Nsg pou[pje]-	Ø vs. Npl	pou[pat]-a
		4	A 4	····· T	Gsg pou[pjet]	-e Gpi	pou[pat]-Ø
	A	t	A t	1	(laved)		
	[a]		[e]		bud		
(8)	a.		[a]-stem	b.		[e]-ste	m
		/				\wedge	<
	root <	$\leq IMP$		P => /At/			
	T					[a]-stem	ATOMP => /I/
	I	M NP	IM	NP			
					root <= IMP		IMP = /At/
					IM N	IT IM	INF
$\langle \mathbf{O} \rangle$. F 3,717					

(9) $\langle At /, [_{IMP} IM [_{NP} N]] \rangle$

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