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# Keynote Speakers

**Ángel L. Jiménez-Fernández**

## *An Information-Structure Approach to Null Subjects*

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In this work, I explore the Information Structure-based conditions for licensing null subjects in Spanish. I discuss the type of Topic (Aboutness-Shift-Top, Contrastive-Top, and Given-Top; Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007, Bianchi and Frascarelli 2010) alongside the type of Focus (Information Focus and Contrastive Focus; Kiss 1997) which serve as antecedent for *pro*.

Frascarelli (2007: 694) has claimed that “A thematic NS is a pronominal variable, the features of which are valued (i.e., ‘copied through matching’) by the local Aboutness-shift Topic.” Grimshaw and Samek-Lodovici (1998: 195) also adduces the topic discourse status of the antecedent of *pro* as one factor influencing the interpretation of the NS. Based on Frascarelli (2007), Frascarelli and Jiménez-Fernández (2012) showed that in Italian and Spanish referential *pro* is licensed when coreferential with an AS-Topic. As such the antecedent of a NS must be a [+specific] DP. Consequently, a *pro* cannot corefer with a [-spec] DP since AS-Topics always get a specific interpretation.

I will pose two challenges to this analysis: 1) In NS languages other than Italian the antecedent of *pro* may be other types of Topic (G-Top and C-Top), and even a focused element. 2) In Spanish the antecedent of *pro* can be [+specific] or [-specific], as illustrated in (1):

- (1) [Muchos profesores]<sub>k</sub> se han puesto de huelga, y *pro*<sub>k</sub> han tomado el Rectorado.  
many professors CL<sub>Ref</sub> have put of strike, and have taken the Rectorate

Quantified subjects are taken to be ambiguous with respect to a [+/-spec] interpretation (Suñer 2003) and they can qualify as antecedent of *pro* and still be ambiguous in Spanish. I assume Frascarelli’s idea that *pro* can only be interpreted as coreferent with a local AS-Tops, be it explicit or null (Erteschik-Shir 2007; Lahousse 2013). But I implement this proposal by putting forth the following three working hypotheses:

1. In Spanish (as opposed to Italian, but alongside Portuguese and Polish) the antecedent of *pro* must simply be a topic, regardless of the type (AS-, C-, or G-Top).

2. Since Spanish may have post-verbal G-Tops (which are in situ, spec-vP), it could be the case that the antecedent topic may be either in the LP or in situ.
3. Spanish is more permissive with the coreference of NS. Hence, other types of discourse categories (CF and IF) can serve as antecedent for *pro*.

I test these hypotheses with native speakers of Spanish, Polish and Portuguese by means of a survey. The results have shown that the antecedent of NSs in this language can be any type of topic or focus. To explain this permissive nature, I propose that the three types of topic share a [+given] feature (in line with Frascarelli and Ramaglia 2013), which agrees with the [+given] feature of *pro*. Hence, the IS-role of *pro* is constrained to one specific type of topic, namely G-Top. The same analysis is proposed for CF, since one component of its featural set is that of [+given]. So far, Frascarelli's analysis in terms of null AS-Tops can account for the coreference of *pro*. However, the situation with IF is different because it does not comprise any [+given] feature. For this new picture I maintain that a null AS-Top is generated in the clause containing *pro*, thereby licensing the coreference between the NS and IF.

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## Markus A. Pöchtrager

### *Phonology Goes Syntax*

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In this talk I will present some key assumptions of current research into an improved version of Government Phonology and the implications of those assumptions. In particular, I will make two claims:

- (i) Phonological theories have not reached the correct level of granularity yet. The objects that we have been dealing with so far are too big. Structure extends to a much deeper level than assumed so far.
- (ii) Structural asymmetries play a crucial role in phonology.

The two claims, (ii) more so than (i), make phonology very similar to syntax in several respects - counter the arguments presented in Neeleman and van der Koot (2006), but similar in spirit to Anderson's (2003) Structural Analogy Assumption.

As for (i), the claim is somewhat reminiscent of Nanonsyntax, which assumes that morphemes have intricate syntactic structure inside them. Applied to phonology, this means that many issues analysed as melodic (in terms of elements or, earlier, features) in the past can be shown to have to do with structure. This idea has been around for a while and has been worked out to varying degrees: Jensen (1994) argued that the stop element (**ʔ**) should be replaced by a particular structural configuration, making stops structurally bigger than their complement set (e. g. fricatives, glides etc). Bachmaier, Kaye and Pöchtrager (2004) and Pöchtrager (2006) implemented that proposal as well as the idea that the element **H** ("voicelessness") must rather be understood as structural. This entails that, say, an English *t* is the bigger version of *d* etc. This explains, amongst other things, why in pairs like *bit-bid* the first vowel is shorter: More room is taken up by the following consonant. Furthermore, this is not an isolated phenomenon of English, but rather provides the key to the allegedly unusual length system of Estonian (Pöchtrager 2006).

Similar considerations apply to **A**, the element contained in non-high vowels and coronal consonants: in English, a long vowel can only be followed by a coda-onset cluster if both members of the cluster contain **A** (with basically all of the exceptions to this involving *s*), examples: We find *fiend*, *paint* or *field*, but no *\*fieng*, *\*paimp* or *\*fielk*. Coronality (i. e. **A**) can license more complex structures, which is one (of the many) reason(s) suggesting that **A** itself is a structural configuration that provides the extra room for long vowels etc. Again, similar restrictions keep coming back all over the Germanic languages but also outside (e. g. Finnish).

As for (ii), structural asymmetries can be seen very clearly in English diphthongs. English has a diphthong *oi* (**U** in the first member, **I** in the second) but no *\*eu* (**I** in the first member, **U** in the second). What is becoming clear is that such asymmetries have structural reasons; particular (combinations of) elements can only occur in certain positions, they can only be arranged in certain configurations with respect to each other. Even more interestingly, the same restrictions keep coming back in at least Putonghua and Japanese.

The common denominator of all this is of course a movement away from melody and towards more (and more sophisticated) structure. All this makes clear that we can only arrive at an understanding of element behaviour by paying attention to their structural needs.

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# Oral and poster presentations

**Magdalena Biegajło**

***Is a Sophisticated Understander a Vigilant Hearer? On the Relevance-Theoretic Comprehension Processes in Jokes***

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The study of canned jokes within the theory of relevance, conceptualised and developed by Sperber and Wilson (1986 [1995], 2004), is a burgeoning area of scholarly investigation garnering attention of a number of linguists, to mention but a few proponents: Yus (2003, 2004, 2008, 2012a, 2012b, 2013a, 2013b), Jodłowiec (1991a, 1991b, 2008) and Curcó (1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1997). The principal objective is to shed light on the comprehension of jokes in the context of relevance-based approach with a special emphasis on the three ways of utterance interpretation (naive optimism, cautious optimism, sophisticated understanding) (Sperber 1994) and epistemic vigilance (Sperber et al. 2010). Also, attention will also be paid to other conceptual tools which are productive in the explanation of the occurrence of humorous effects on the part of the hearer. The secondary aim of the presentation is to show that the conflation of several conceptual tools enables a linguist to present a broad panorama of humour-generating strategies and to describe the path of comprehension favoured by the hearer who analyses the text of a joke.

In my opinion, the study of jokes with regard to the three-fold categorisation of the hearer's expectations may provide satisfactory results and establish a new way in a dynamic process of joke interpretation. As regards the relationship between jokes and the three patterns of interpretation, humorous texts are going to be comprehended as any other type of ostensive-inferential communication with no special mechanisms underlying humorous effects. It is argued that the naive optimism pattern is the least crucial in the process of interpretation since the hearer may access cognitive effects but they are not humorous ones. Accepting cautious optimism enables the hearer to entertain humorous effects but still successful attribution of the speaker's intentions is at stake. Following the sophisticated understanding path, the humorist successfully attributes humorous intentions and subsequently the hearer formulates the humorous interpretation when the punchline is processed.

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**Janayna Carvalho**

***A Parallelism Between vP and DP in Partial Pro-Drop Languages: The Case of Number in Brazilian Portuguese***

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**Hypothesis:** In this paper, I defend the hypothesis that there is a parallelism between bare singular nouns (BSNs) and the null non-referential 3rd person in partial-pro-drop languages, such as Brazilian Portuguese (BP). Differently from previous analyses, I claim that these phenomena arise together due to the loss of a specific type of number feature.

**I. BP** has been described as a partial pro-drop language by several authors (Kato 1999, among others). The core defining property of partial pro-drop languages is the behavior of 3rd person: referential 3rd person pronouns must be overt, whereas non-referential 3rd person may be null. See BP data in (1a) and (1b). In addition to this characteristic, it has been noted that languages with null non-referential 3rd person employ BSNs. This correlation has led authors to hypothesize a common source for the two phenomena. Building on Tomioka, Barbosa (2010) proposes that what characterizes partial-pro-drop languages involves a null anaphora that licenses the interpretation of BSNs and null 3rd person. Barbosa also assumes that the lack of articles in BSNs is compatible with lack of D(eterminers) in languages under study, BP included. However, BSNs in BP do contain D. Example (2) shows that if there were no D in BP BSNs, reference with the pronoun *elas*, a D category, would not be possible, given the fact that an anaphor must employ projections subsumed in the structure of its antecedent.

**II. BSNs in BP:** Recently, BSNs were argued to behave as mass nouns (Pires de Oliveira and Rothstein 2013). Syntactically, this fact could be interpreted as suggesting that BP lacks a Number projection (Ritter 1991) that hosts a feature responsible for individuation in BSNs. Importantly, the number feature introduced in the NumberP differs fundamentally from the number feature on D in Romance languages, the latter refers to the number of entities (a cardinality number). The data in (3) show that BP DPs can lack the number feature on NumP but have Number on D.

**III. vPs in BP:** If there exists a relation between BSNs and null impersonal morphology as Tomioka and Barbosa argue, the *se*-clitic, which is in process of disappearing, would have to be a number feature of the same type projected by NumP inside DPs. We show that this is the case. The *se*-clitic is merged in a different projection in the verbal domain, but the feature it represents is the same merged in NumP (see *Megerdomian (2008)* for an account of parallelism between vP in the verbal domain and NumP in the nominal domain). Assuming with Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998), that verbal morphology is interpretable and comparable to pronouns, we depart from the fact that the *se*-

clitic is an instance of 3rd person morphology. Based on Harley and Ritter’s (2002) approach to the feature make-up of pronouns, we claim that BP full 3rd person pronouns can have number (singular, group), and class features (gender). Comparing the se-clitic with a full 3rd person pronoun, we observe that this is much less specified. The se-clitic does not inflect for gender or plural. Therefore, the only representation for this impersonal morphology is a singular number feature, giving us the representation in (4), where Minimal stands for the type of number feature (non-plural).

**IV. The parallelism:** The result obtained with respect to the se-clitic reflects the situation of BSNs in BP discussed in **II**, where an individuation number (not cardinal) is disappearing. As I claimed above, the se-clitic in the specifier position of a vP is a number feature (non-referential and not cardinal) and it is disappearing from the eventualities built upon this resource. Therefore, I observe that BSNs and null impersonals arise together in BP (possibly in other partial pro-drop-languages) because they are a manifestation of the loss of the most unspecified type of number phi-feature.

Referential 3rd person	Non-referential 3rd person
1a. *(Ele) já chegou.	1b. Não (se) usa mais saia.
* (He) already arrived.	Not (se) wear more skirt.
‘He has already arrived.’	‘One does not wear a skirt anymore.’

2. Criança lê revistinha. Elas gostam dos desenhos.  
 Child –sg-fem read comic-book. They-fem like-PL of-the-PL-masc drawings.  
 ‘Children read comic books. They like its drawings.’ (Cyrino and Espinal, to appear)
3. As criança/crianças comeram  
 The-fem-PL kid-SG/kid-PL eat-PAST-PL.  
 ‘The kids ate.’
4. [Individuation[Minimal se]]

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## Hui-Ching Chen

### *The Information Structure of the Chinese It-Cleft Construction Shi...(De)*

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**Keywords:** discourse function, corpus, topic, comment, focus, presupposition

The aim of this study was to investigate the discourse function of the Chinese It-cleft construction *shi...(de)* based on the corpus data from CWS (Chinese word sketch) engine. Although a number of observations on syntactic and semantic views for the Chinese cleft construction were carried out (cf. Huang 1982, Lee 2005, Cheng 2008; Paul and Whitman 2008 and Hole 2011 among others), considerably less was said about the reasons for the use of this construction and that therefore this topic demands further investigation.

In order to achieve the study purpose, 381 sentences were extracted from the corpus data. Four discourse-functional types of the Chinese It-cleft were found viz. (a) the all-new cleft (62%), (b) the informative-presupposition cleft (27%), (c) the stressed-focus cleft (6%), and (d) the emphatic cleft (5%), as shown below examples (1)-(4). Concerning the occurrence frequency of these four types, the all-new cleft was far higher than the one of the stressed-focus cleft. The result is contradictory to the traditional view that the stress-focused cleft should be the prominent type (cf. Prince 1978).

The findings of this present corpus-based study suggest that the *shi...(de)* constructions do not only serve to emphasize what the speakers say, but they are also used for other purposes e.g. the propositional assertion (Paul and Whitman 2008) and the relative-like *shi...de* construction (Cheng 2008). Moreover, it is shown that the bipartition of the Chinese It-cleft construction is 'topic' and 'comment' instead of 'focus' and 'presupposition' in English, and this finding correlates with Hole's observation (2011). Therefore, the Chinese It-cleft turns out to be quite different from the English one.

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### Examples:

- (1) All-new cleft (context: talking about a proposal)

*Cǐ tiān shì zài quán-guó jiào- wù- chǎng huì-yì*

This proposal COP at national educational administration president conference

*tǎo-lùn chū lái de.*

discuss come out DE

'It was in the conference of the educational administration that this proposal by the president was discussed.' (Token number: 2251461)

- (2) Informative-presupposition cleft

(context: talking about the Mantovani orchestra and a special style of music)

*Zhè zhǒng shǒufǎ zhèng shì Mǎndōuwǎnì dà yuètuán jiànli de.*

This CL technique exactly COP Mantovani big orchestra establish DE

'It is exactly this technique that Mantovani, the big orchestra, established.'  
(Token number: 9508997)

- (3) Stressed-focus cleft (context: talking about drinking tea)

*Wǒmen bù yīdìng shì xīn-qíng hěn hǎo cái hē chá de!*

1PL NEG certainly COP mood very good then drink tea DE

'It is certainly not in a good mood that we are drinking tea.' (Token number: 273655)

- (4) Emphatic cleft (context: talking about the shopping culture in Japan and an interview with a young Japanese woman)

*Shìjiè shàng de shèjì shī jīngpǐn yǒu 60 -70% shì rìběnrén mǎi de.*

World on DE design master high quality goods have 60-70% COP Japanese buy DE

'It is Japanese who buy between 60 and 70% of the world's designers' high quality goods.' (Token number: 8952465)

**Table:** Information structure types of Chinese cleft construction

	The initial bare <i>shi</i>	The initial <i>shi...de</i>	The medial <i>shi...de</i>	Mean
All-new cleft	55%	75%	57%	62%
Informative- presupposition cleft	38%	21%	23%	27%
Stress-focus cleft	3%	2%	13%	6%
Emphatic cleft	4%	2%	7%	7%

## João Paulo Lazzarini Cyrino

### *Anticausatives and Passives as a Case of Pseudo-Incorporation*

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Anticausative and Passive morphology have been often related to an exponent of a Voice category with specific properties that could restrict the projection of an external argument (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 2004; Doron, 2013; Doron and Labelle, 2010; Embick, 2004; Kallulli, 2006, among others). However, this kind of approach does not comply with some cross-linguistic properties of such kind of morphological marks. First, since Voice is the category responsible for projecting the external argument of the verb, it is also the category responsible for transitivity. Hence, according to such analyses Anticausative/Passive morphology is in complementary distribution with Causative morphology. This complementary distribution actually derives non-directed valence alternations (see Haspelmath, 1993), while anticausative marks only surface in directed alternations, in opposition with the unmarked causative member of the alternation (Nedjalkov and Silnickij, 1969), the differences are illustrated in (1) and (2).

Moreover, causative marks tend to surface in any kind of morphological shape: affix, clitic, light verb, independent particle, etc. On the other hand, decausative marks are always morphologically dependent (cf. Lazzarini-Cyrino, to appear), which indicates the crosslinguistic need of such marks to be somehow incorporated to the verb.

Taking these and other properties into account, I propose an alternative analysis for anticausative and passive morphology considering them as pseudo-incorporated (Massam, 2001) expletives and impersonal NPs, respectively, that absorb or take the external thematic role of the predicate, assuming a neo-davidsonian approach to thematic attribution (see the schema in (3) and also

Öztürk, 2005 for agent pseudo-incorporation in Turkish). This explains the need of incorporation of this kind of morphology and its need to be in a transitive syntactic environment in order to surface. Also, the property of these morphology of being theta-role checkers gives them an argument status, which can explain - through an underspecification approach such as Distributed Morphology - the frequently observed syncretism these marks present with reflexive ones.

This analysis comply with the general semantics of pseudo-incorporation as described in Dayal (2003), showing pseudo-incorporated elements bear narrow scope, no prominence and no individuation. Pseudo-incorporation of objects is being seen as an explanation for bare nouns in romance languages (Espinal, 2009; Espinal and Mateu, 2011) and agent pseudoincorporation seems to be seen in many languages where ECM is weak, such as Turkish, Hungarian and Hindi. Thus, the reason why anticausative/passive marks can be incorporated in external argument position even languages where ECM is a strong feature is that they are poor NPs not eligible for checking the ECM feature.

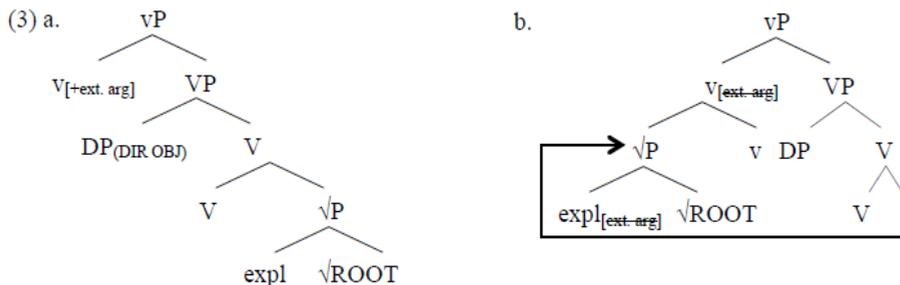
The present account is based on the comparison of Indo-European, Semitic, Turkic and Kartvelian languages and also explains the lack of these marks in isolating and highly analytic languages such as English and Brazilian Portuguese. I believe this kind of approach can be a step forward in understanding what is behind the voice systems and related phenomena cross-linguistically.

(1) Non-Directed Valence Alternation (Persian)

- a. Kimea kare **ab kard**.  
Kimea butter melt-CAUS.  
'Kimea melted the butter.'
- b. Kare **ab shod**.  
Butter melt-PASS.  
'The butter melted.'

(2) Directed Decausativisation (Turkish):

- a. Mehmet kapı-yıkapa-dı.  
Mehmet door-acc close-PAST3S.  
'Mehmet closed the door.'
- b. Kapı kapa-n-dı.  
Door close-PASS-PAST3S.  
'The door closed.'



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**Paweł Tomasz Czerniak*****Is Welsh a CV Language and Why Not? Evidence from Bangor Welsh***

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Welsh, a Celtic language belonging to the Brittonic family, underwent two important weakening phenomena – the First and the Second British Lenition. (McCone 1996: 17-21). These changes have been indicative of the consonantal weakness in different positions (e.g. V\_V, V\_R, V\_#). What is particularly interesting about the initial position of Modern Welsh is that it is capable of accommodating a broad spectrum of consonants ranging from glides, liquids and nasals (traditionally deemed weak) to fricatives, stops and recently affricates (referred to as strong) (Awbery 1984: 81; Jones 1884: 4; Hannahs 2013: 14-20). Moreover, the aforementioned alternations are still active in the language in the initial position but they have lost their phonological triggers and are now lexically, morphologically and syntactically induced (Borsley, Tallerman and Willis 2007: 19).

This paper, using the Lateral Theory of Phonology (LTP), will try to prove that the diachronic influence upon the word-initial clusters in Welsh does not end with the grammaticalisation of the Initial Consonant Mutation. LTP (Scheer 2004, 2012) employs a template of strictly alternating Onsets and Nuclei which may or may not be empty and recognises a strong position after an empty Nucleus. Scheer (2004: 95-100) proposes a two-fold language typology: one type of languages starts a domain with an empty CV which needs to be properly governed, another type of languages never starts a domain with an empty CV. There are three criteria determining the existence of the initial CV in a language: (i) the language has only TR clusters, (ii) the first vowel of a word never alternates with ‘zero’, (iii) the initial consonant is strong.

There are at least three pieces of evidence that Welsh used to be an initial-CV language, namely the phonological origins of the Initial Consonant Mutation, the loss of the prosthetic <y> before sC(C) clusters, instability of the word-initial vowel. First, consonant-initial words underwent lenition if the preceding item, usually a clitic, was vowel-final (Jaskuła 2008: 133). This means that the initial empty CV was occupied by a grammatical item filling the empty Nucleus, which made the following consonant stand in a strong position no more. Second, words such as [əskəʃ] *ysgall*, ‘thistles’ or [əskol] *ysgol*, ‘ladder’ developed a prosthetic vowel [ə] <y> to avoid sC clusters. However, their respective forms [skəʃən] *ysgallan*, ‘thistle’ and [skoljən] *ysgolion*, ‘ladders’ delete the antepenultimate syllable allowing the sC clusters to occupy the initial position. Third, words like *difetha*, ‘to waste’ or *cynnefin* ‘accustomed’ have alternative pronunciations [diveθə] or [dveθə] and [kənevin] or [knevin] respectively, which excludes the existence of another empty Nucleus to its left. Moreover, the weakness of the

melody of the initial consonant also indicates the lack of the initial CV which has its implications for all Celtic languages (see, Anderson 2011).

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## Anna Dąbrowska

### *Personal and Place Names in English and Polish Fixed Phrases*

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This paper focuses on English and Polish fixed phrases involving personal and place names. First, the definition of a *name* and the distinction between *proper* and *common nouns* (Quirk *et al.*, 1985) or *proprial lemmas* and *proper names* (Van Langendonck, 2007) are provided, following a short overview of theories that constitute the basis for any discussion related to proper names (Frege, Russell, Mill, Kripke, Peirce, Katz, and Chalmers among others). Next, subcategories and sources of names, together with their linguistic characteristics are presented (Thrane, 1980; Carroll, 1983; Huddleston, 1984; Anderson, 2003). Afterwards, the study is undertaken of personal and place names in fixed phraseological units, surveying a broad list of English and Polish fixed entities that are classified according to five syntactic patterns: phrases with (1) NPs, (2)

VPs, (3) PPs, (4) clauses, and (5) similes. Additionally, the biblical, literary, classical, cultural and historical origins of these expressions are pointed out. Finally, in the light of the examined data, the predominance of personal over place names is noticeable, while the items with NPs constitute the vast majority of the phraseological units. Investigating corpus and dictionary evidence, fixed elements typical either of English or only of Polish, or those common to both English and Polish are listed. The most frequent are the units from biblical and mythological sources, while the least popular are the expressions with historical and literary background, as these aspects are unique for each country. With regard to the meaning of the fixed phrases containing proper personal and place names, the data reveal that the units do convey information, recall connotations that arose some time ago in relation to the biblical, mythological, literary, cultural, and historical background, and are still relevant today.

**Keywords:** phraseology, phraseological units, fixed phrases, personal names, place names, etymology, syntactic patterns.

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**Annemarie van Dooren**  
***Root Modality and the Diagnostic of Non-Verbal***  
***Complementation***

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**1. Background:** Verbs expressing deontic (1a) and dynamic modality (1b) are often labelled together as ‘root modals’ or ‘non-epistemic modals’ (Ross 1969, Brennan 1993, among others).

(1) John can sing now. a. ‘John is allowed to sing now.’ b. ‘John is able to sing now.’

**2. Claim:** Dynamic and deontic modal verbs need to be strictly separated because of the different distribution of complements. Modal verbs expressing an obligation/permission do not have argument structure (2) (Feldman 1986, Klooster 1986, Bhatt 1999, Wurmbrand 1999), and as such can only be complemented by phrases that satisfy the EPP. Like raising verbs, they can have verbal (3a) or Small Clause (3b) complements (Stowell 1981, 1983).

(2) There may be singing but no dancing on my premises. Wurmbrand 1999

(3) a. John seems [TP John to win] b. John seems [SC John nice]

Modal verbs expressing volitionality/ability have argument structure (4) (Palmer 1979, Eide 2005), and as such c- and s-select different complements (Chomsky 1965, Grimshaw 1979).

(4) \*There dares to be singing but no dancing on my premises.

**2. Initial support:** A survey among native speakers of 16 Modern European languages and a corpus study on the *York Corpus* and the *Penn Parsed Corpora* supports the claim: First, nominal (5)-(6) and sentential (7)-(8) complements are only available with dynamic modal verbs (table 1).

(5) Ég vil þennan bíl. **Icelandic**  
*I want this-ACC car*  
‘I want this car.’

(7) Voglio che tu mi dica la verità. **Italian**  
*want-1.SG that you me say-INF the truth*  
‘I want you to tell me the truth’

(6) þæt ic grecisc cunne **Old English**  
*that I Greek can-SBJ*  
‘that I know Greek.’

(8) hwile þe God wille ðæt deara ænig sie **Old English**  
*while the God will that there any is*  
‘while God wants there to be someone’

Second, verbal, adjectival, prepositional, and particle complements are available with dynamic and deontic modal verbs in most languages. Do (9)-(10) contradict the claim that deontic modal verbs do not have argument structure? No, as these sentences are compatible with a raising analysis as they are structured as Small

Clauses (10a) (Barbiers 1995) or as verbal phrases with a silent infinitive GO (10b) (Van Riemsdijk 2002).

- (9) ne hi swa fule ne motan into his fægeran healle. **Old English**  
 not they so foul not must-PL into his beautiful hall  
 ‘they who are so foul must not go into his beautiful hall’

- (10) Jan moet naar huis. **Dutch**            a. [TP Jan moet [SC Jan naar huis]]  
*Jan must to house*                            b. [TP Jan moet [vP Jan [VP [naar huis] GO]]]  
 ‘John must go home.’

**3. Further support and consequences:** The 2000 sentences collected from the older stages of English show that modal verbs lost the ability to combine with PPs and ParticlePs long before their ability to combine with NPs and CPs was reduced (figure 1) (Lightfoot 1979, Roberts 1985, 1993), and that the rate of the change is significantly different for the PP and ParticleP complements (Kroch 1989). The loss of the NP and CP complements can be linked to the loss of dynamic interpretations of the modal verbs (Plank 1984) and as such shows the universal link between the interpretation of the modal verbs and their underlying structure. This link has consequences for the thematic structure of Small Clauses, as well as for CP complements of deontics in Afrikaans, and NP complements of deontics in Dutch, which are analyzed as full VPs with a silent infinitive MAKE (Biberauer and Oosthuizen 2011) or HAVE.

Group	Language	Dynamic Modality	Deontic Modality
1.	Romanian, Irish, Scottish Gaelic	X	X
2.	Modern English, Early Modern English, Middle English, Icelandic, French, Italian, Welsh	NP/CP	X
3.	Old English, Afrikaans, Dutch, Frisian, German, Luxembourgish, Swiss German, Danish, Norwegian	NP/CP/PP/PartP/(AdjP)	PP/PartP/(AdjP)

X = no non-verbal complement possible.

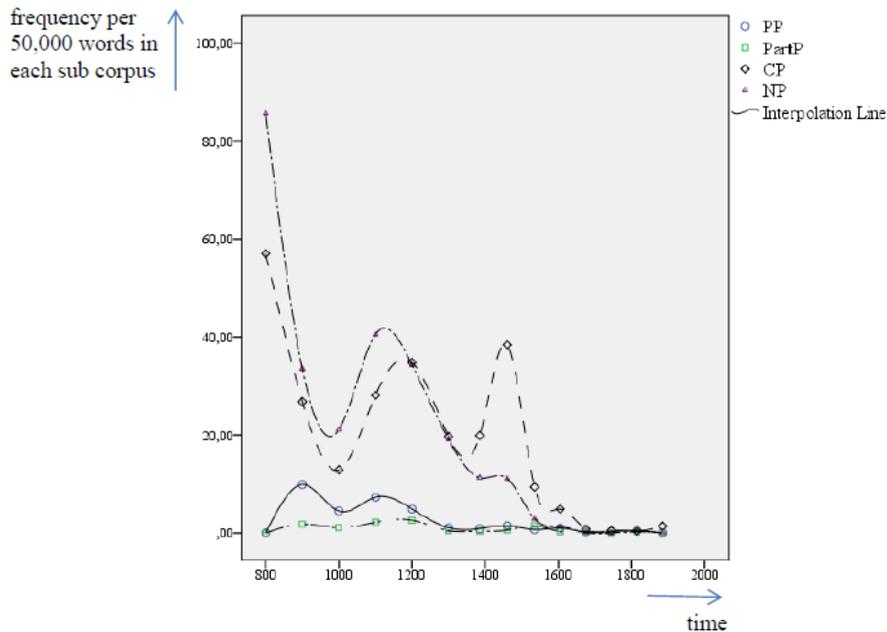


Fig. 1: Decrease of non-verbal complements in English

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**Laura Dörre**

***The Processing of German Modal Particles and Their Homonymous Counterparts***

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**Introduction.** German is rich in modal particles (hereafter MPs) like *bloß*, which can lead to ambiguous sentences (1, 2). In theoretical linguistics, it is assumed that the counterpart, *bloß* as a focus particle in (1), is the historical origin from which the MP derives and that the counterpart triggers the dominant reading. Since the dominant meaning is often related to the most frequent meaning, in a corpus study, following the methodology of [1], we collected frequency data of 12 lexemes with a MP/counterpart meaning by searching the German DWDS corpus [2]. These data indicate that the counterpart meaning is not always the most frequent meaning. Rather, the lexemes have a biased MP meaning, a biased counterpart meaning, or a balanced meaning. The questions that arise are: How are sentences like (1) and (2) processed? How does the meaning frequency of the lexemes influence this interpretation?

**Method.** 58 German native speakers participated in a self-paced reading experiment. We created 55 sentence pairs as in (3, 4). The target sentences (underlined) contain a homonymous target word (bold). We included 10 target words with either a biased MP meaning, a biased counterpart meaning, or a balanced meaning. The preceding contexts triggered either the counterpart meaning (3) or the MP meaning (4). We created further sentence pairs with the same contexts following the target sentence, leading to sentence quartets and therefore to 220 experimental sentences. We added 285 filler sentences.

**Predictions.** If the MP and the counterpart meaning are processed differently, we expect different reading times between target sentences preceded by a context that triggers the MP meaning and the counterpart meaning. We expect longer reading times if the context follows the target sentence, because of a lack of disambiguating information, than if it precedes the target sentence. If the meaning frequency of the target words has an influence, reading times should be faster if the contextually triggered meaning of the target sentence matches with the biased meaning of the target word.

**Results.** For the target word, we found an interaction between frequency and context position: if the context precedes the target sentence, reading times for words with a biased MP meaning are longer than for words with a biased counterpart or a balanced meaning. For the first word following the target word, we found a main effect of context position: reading times are longer if the context precedes the target sentence than if it follows it. There is an interaction

between frequency and context position: if the context precedes the target sentence, reading times for words with a balanced frequency are longer than for words with both a biased counterpart and a biased MP meaning, and reading times for words with a biased MP meaning are longer than for words with a biased counterpart meaning. For the second word following the target word, the main effect of context position is still present. Additionally, there is an interaction between context position and meaning: reading times are longer if the preceding context triggers the MP meaning than if it triggers the counterpart meaning.

**Discussion.** The processing of ambiguous target sentences does not differ until the second word following the target word is encountered. This late effect indicates that the MP meaning

leads to higher processing costs than the counterpart meaning. These results support the assumption that the meaning of sentences containing MPs is multidimensional, with a truth conditional and an expressive (alias 'use-conditional') dimension [3]. Against our expectation, reading times are faster when the context follows the target sentence. Thus, we suggest that there is one default meaning that is present if no information guides the interpretation.

Meaning frequency influences the interpretation very early and only if the context precedes the target sentence. There is no processing advantage if the biased meaning of the lexeme matches with the respective meaning triggered by the context. Hence, meaning frequency seems to have an influence on the processing of ambiguous target words, but it is not crucial for the processing of the whole sentence meaning.

## Examples

- (1) Wer hat *bloß* den Flur gewischt?  
'Who wiped *only* the corridor?'
- (2) Wer hat *bloß* den Flur gewischt?  
'Who wiped the corridor? (*I am wondering*)'
- (3) *Die restlichen Zimmer sind auch schmutzig, wer hat bloß den Boden im Flur gewischt?*  
'The other rooms are also dirty, who wiped only the floor in the corridor?'
- (4) *Hier ist noch Matsch von draußen, wer hat bloß den Boden im Flur gewischt?*  
'Here is still mud from outside, who wiped the floor in the corridor (*I am wondering*)?'

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**Karolina Drabikowska**

***Melodically Close but Structurally Separate – GP 2.0  
Interpretation of the West Saxon Digraphs***

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The present study addresses the problem of the interpretation of two West Saxon (WS) digraphs, namely <eo> and <ea>. The major question regarding their phonetic realisation is whether the digraphs standing for short vowels should be interpreted as diphthongs (proposed by Kuhn and Quirk (1953, 1955), Kuhn (1961) and Stockwell (1996, 2002) among others) or monophthongs (proposed by Stockwell and Barritt (1951, 1955), Hockett (1959) and Antonsen (1961) Reszkiewicz (1971, 1998) among others).

The analysis will be conducted within the model of Government Phonology (GP) proposed by Pöchtrager (2006), Žianovič and Pöchtrager (2010) and Pöchtrager and Kaye (2013) among others, the so-called GP 2.0, whereby the phonological representation resembles the structure used in syntax. For WS digraphs we propose a structure where the consonants following the vowels in question, i.e. /r/, /l/ or /x/, have labial element that defines their secondary articulation, hence, their onset complement is annotated with the element **U**. As the head of the structure itself is not annotated (coronals with adjunction and the velar /x/ with no element as in standard GP), it has no licensing power over its complement. In search of the licenser the complement m-commands the head of the preceding nucleus, which results in the melody (and possibly length) transfer (figures 1-3 below show examples of such structures). Similar proposal was put forward by Stockwell (2002, 131), who argues that the digraphs might be front vowels followed by round glide. As a result, on the one hand, we can explain the somehow delayed pronunciation of the second element (reflected in spelling) and show its structural separation as it belongs to the following onset. On the other hand, the close relation that holds between the preceding nucleus and the following onset complement is also accounted for.

The study will also touch upon the issue of back mutation (vowel harmony), since this process also contributed to the emergence of the so-called short diphthongs. We will put forward a hypothesis that the process producing the same results as the m-command described above might have involved the same mechanism of melody transfer, but the trigger of vowel harmony was inherently different.

### Figures

Fig. 1. The representation of *eard* (relevant part)

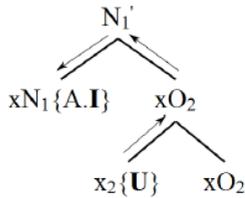


Fig. 2. The representation of *eolth* (relevant part)

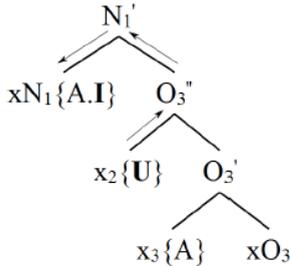
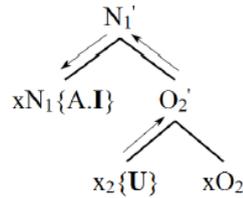


Fig. 3. The representation of *seah* (relevant part)



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**Natalia Dudek*****The Element Structure of Schwa in English***

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The main aim of this presentation is to investigate the behaviour and the element structure of the English reduced vowel schwa. It is worth mentioning that the schwa vowel is slightly problematic because of its unclear nature when compared to the other English short vowels, which are easier to represent in terms of phonological primes.

It is also sometimes assumed that [ə] is the unstressed equivalent of the English vowel [ʌ], which may occur in either stressed or unstressed position. With respect to Element Theory, which is part of Government Phonology (Kaye, Lowenstamm and Vergnaud 1985, 1990), these two should be distinguished since they are two different phonetic and phonological objects. This is also why there is a clear-cut distinction between [ə] and [ʌ] in terms of complexity in different element analyses, e.g. Harris (1994) or Backley (2009, 2011).

I would like to postulate in this presentation that [ə] and [ʌ] are two dissimilar phonetic identities, but phonologically they share one representation, i.e. [ʌ] is a stronger version of [ə] and it surfaces phonetically only when [ə] is too weak to appear before or after some clusters (Cyran 2003), or in words with secondary stress. Therefore, the element structure of [ə] should be identical to the prime composition of [ʌ].

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**Tamás Fekete*****Code-Switching in English-Scandinavian Hybrid Place-Names***

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In my presentation I wish to investigate the nature of code-switching and code-mixing found in English-Scandinavian hybrid place names chiefly, though not exclusively, from the Danelaw area. I wish to analyze these phenomena in the framework of contact linguistics, as described by Thomason & Kaufman (1991), and specifically in the light of the contact situation between Old English and Old Norse, as described by Townend (2002) and Lutz (2012), that existed from the 8th century onwards, bearing in mind, however, that the Scandinavian place names may not necessarily be direct indicators of the nature and extent of the Scandinavian settlement itself. Analyses of code-switching are usually and generally focused on describing intersentential and intrasentential code-switching, and with my presentation I intend to include onomastics in the study of CS, and to examine the nature of the Anglo-Scandinavian mixed place-names, which can be taken to represent instances of language mixing within the boundaries of lexical units. The main focus of the paper and the presentation would be the so-called Carlton-hybrids, or appellative hybrids, which contain an English element (either a generic or a specific) and an element of Scandinavian origin, and their first element (the specific) is not a personal name. It will be argued that these hybrid place-name formations are indeed brought about through code-switching. Owing to the fact that the vast majority of such names are first attested only in 1086, in the records of the *Domesday Book*, there is no reliable data available about any earlier forms in which these names could have occurred.

The analysis will be chiefly based on the data drawn from the *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Mills 1998), containing over 12,000 entries, about 13% of which can be traced back to Scandinavian influence or origin. Furthermore, data on lost and depopulated settlements is gathered from Gillian Fellows-Jensen's three regional studies on Scandinavian settlement names in Yorkshire (1973), the East Midlands (1978) and the North West (1985). The primary focus of the investigation will be those place names which

- (i) contain both Scandinavian and English elements,
- (ii) used to contain at least one Scandinavian or English element which was replaced by an element from the other language,
- (iii) contain at least one element which had undergone a transformation to accommodate to the phonological system of the other language and
- (iv) contain elements which could belong to either of the languages but cannot be decided with absolute certainty.

These hybrid place-names, along with all other Scandinavianized or Scandinavian-related settlement names, have been organized into a corpus, which altogether contains 1915 instances of relevant names.

Finally, with this presentation I wish to argue that names (and specifically the above mentioned place-names) can conform to Muysken's (2000) category of congruent lexicalization and that word-internal code-switching, which in the present case likely takes the form of cognate substitution, and CS in general, are

in fact phenomena that can occur in the case of hybrid place-names and proper names.

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## Kateřina Havranová and Anna Kozánková

### *Default Case: Spanish and Dutch vs. English*

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Spanish and Dutch are languages with “vestigial” case, which means that only pronominal forms show variation in their morphological case (like Italian, Danish and Swedish) and they do not show it in nominal structures (unlike German, Icelandic or Romanian). In the framework of Minimalism (1995) and DM (1993), it is possible to identify subject form of these pronouns as its default cases (Schütze 2001) both in Spanish and Dutch.

Emonds (1986), Schütze (2001), and Parrott (2012) have explored different constructions to determine whether a hypothesis of default case can be sustained cross-linguistically. The default case becomes prominent in elliptical constructions, left dislocations and certain prepositional contexts in Spanish and in modified pronouns and predicate nominals in Dutch. These tests demonstrate that the default case is the subject form in both languages.

- (1) a. *Según tú/ \*tí deberíamos ir.*  
 according to you<sub>SF</sub> you<sub>OF</sub> should<sub>1ST-PL-COND</sub> go<sub>INF</sub>

- b. According to me/ \*I, we should go.
- (2) a. *De echte ik/ \*me komt eindelijk boven.*  
 the real I me come<sub>3RD-SG-IND</sub> finally above  
 b. The real me/ \*I is finally emerging.

However, the evidence is robust only when we compare the two languages with English which has object form as its default case, often in the same environments.

English shows the default case in many more constructions and presents itself as a robust representative of languages where the object form is the default case, e.g. Danish. English shows case variation in coordinate determiner phrases but Spanish and Dutch do not. In Spanish, the invariability is strengthened by the obligatory presence of the preposition in front of DP where other languages do not require prepositions.

- (3) a. *Habló de John y de tí.*  
 talk<sub>3RD-SG-PAST</sub> of John and of you<sub>OF</sub>  
 b. She talked about John and you.

This confirms Parrott's (2012) hypothesis that the variation is restricted to the languages which use OFs as the default case.

This paper exemplifies the default case hypothesis on three different languages, and thus provides a number of tests for Romance and Germanic languages which differentiate the OF default systems from the SF default systems.

**Key words:** default case, distributed morphology, Spanish, Dutch, English, case system, vestigial case, object form default, subject form default

**Linguistic field:** morpho-syntax

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## Guglielmo Inglese

### ***Connectives and Discourse Markers in Ancient Greek: The Development of Atár from Homeric Greek to Classical Greek***

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In this paper I propose a new descriptive frame for the particle *ἀτάρ* (*atár*) in Ancient Greek, providing a detailed account of its functions in a diachronic corpus with texts ranging from the earliest stages of the language, namely Homeric Greek, to Classical Greek.

*Atár* has traditionally been described as a particle, or sentence connective, whose function is to establish a “progressive” or an “adversative” relation between sentences (e.g. Denniston 1954, Chantraine 1968). This traditional interpretation is to be questioned in a number of ways. First, I show that these variations in meaning, as described by Denniston, are better understood as different diachronic stages of the history of this connective. Moreover, following Sweester (1990), I refuse a polysemous description of *atár*. Instead I describe its functions in terms of pragmatic ambiguity, assuming that connective elements display a core semantic meaning from which other meanings can be pragmatically inferred in specific contexts. In order to provide a new description of *atár* I have undertaken a corpus analysis based on a sample of 100 occurrences of *atár* in the Homeric poems (VIII B.C.) and on all the occurrences in Euripides (V B.C.) and Aristophanes (V-IV B.C.). My analysis of the function of *atár* is based on the recent literature on connectives (Mauri 2008, Mauri and Van der Avera 2012) and on discourse markers (Fraser 1999, Schrifin 2003, Blackemore 2008, Diewald 2011, Heine 2013).

First, based on the evidence in my corpus, I suggest that the basic function of *atár* in Homeric Greek is that of a connective, establishing a coordination relation of oppositive contrast, that is, a relation described by Mauri as a type of

coordination relation “where two SoAs are opposed to each other by virtue of their being parallel but different” (Mauri 2008:122). This type is exemplified in (1). Furthermore, I argue that in Homeric Greek *atár* performs a function of boundary marker, as described by (Bakker 1993), introducing a sentence with a contrastive sentence topic and signalling a local switch reference. The topicality of the element introduced by *atár* in Homeric Greek has been evaluated mainly following the parameter proposed by Dik (1995, 2007). The corpus of Classical Greek shows a radically different state of affairs. I have found only a few occurrences that show a function similar to the aforementioned usage in Homeric Greek. In the majority of the cases it is more accurate to interpret *atár* as a discourse marker. I suggest that *atár* performs a function both at the thematic and at the interactional level of discourse, signaling a break on the thematic continuity and at the same time indicating a transition between different conversational moves, as defined by Andorno (2003). In particular, I argue that it indicates the closing of a background move and the opening of a new foregrounded thematic section. This function is best exemplified in (2), where it's clearly impossible to classify *atár* as a connective, since the sentences connected by it shows different illocutionary force, in contrast with the definition of coordination relation between two SoAs given by Mauri (2008).

Finally, I propose a diachronic explanation of differences in use between Homeric Greek and Classical Greek. It is now commonly agreed that discourse markers can develop out of sentence connectives, following specific path of grammaticalization, as discussed by Traugott (1995, 2010a), Giacalone and Mauri (2009), Diewald (2011) and Heine (2013), among others. I try to show how such a diachronic development could have taken place in the case of *atár*, discussing some of the critical contexts where the new function could have arisen, and showing how dialogicity (Traugott 2010b) plays a key role in explaining the motivations and the direction of such change.

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## Examples

- (1) Ἀυτομέδων δὲ μὲν σῖτον ἑλὼν ἐπένειμε τραπέζῃ  
καλοῖς ἐν κανέοισιν: **ἀτὰρ κρέα** νεῖμεν Ἀχιλλεύς.  
*Automédōn dè mèn sítōn helōn epéneime trapézēi*

Automendon:NOM PTC PTC food:ACC take:PTCP.AOR.NOM distribute:IMPF.3SG table:DAT

*kalois en kanéoisin: atar kréa némen Achilleús*

beautiful:DAT.PL in basket:DAT.PL CONN meat:ACC distribute:IMPF.3SG Achilles:NOM

“Then Automedon took the bread and served it on the table, in beautiful baskets. As for the meat, it was Achilles who served it.” (*Il.* 24.625-626)

- (2) {Με.} ἔσται· πόνους γὰρ δαίμονες παύσουσί μου.  
**ἀτὰρ** θανόντα τοῦ μ' ἐρεῖς πεπυσμένη;

*estai. pónous gàr da mones paúsousí mou.*

be:PRES.SBJ.3SG pain:ACC.PL PTC god:NOM.PL end:FUT.3PL 1SG.GEN

*atàr thanónta toú m' ereís pepusménē?*

DM die:PTCP.AOR.ACC who:GEN 1SG.ACC say:FUT.2SG be.informed:PTCP.PF.NOM.F

Menelaus: “And so may be. For the gods will end my sufferings. However, from whom will you say to have received the news of my death?” (*Hel.* vv.1075-1076)

## Magdalena Hądzlik-Dudka

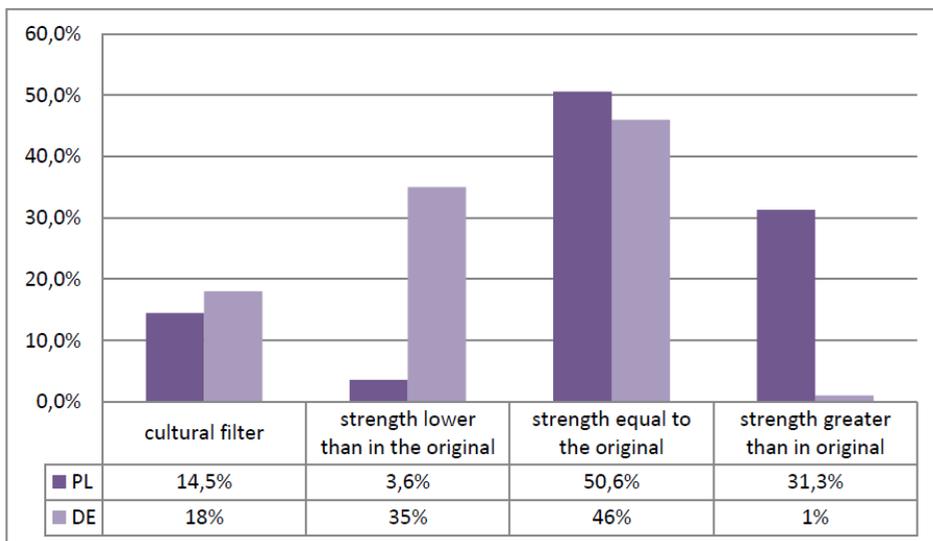
### *Vulgarisms in Fansubbing*

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Vulgarisms gain more and more importance in the modern communication. This situation is visible above all in films and TV shows as well as in their translation and especially in its non-professional type, namely fansubbing.

Fansubbing first appeared in 1980s as an answer to the growing need of translation of manga and anime. At first it was an informal movement in which people gathered in groups to discuss the current manga and anime publications and popularize the culture. Together with the expansion of the Internet the phenomenon of fansubbing underwent a rapid development. Nowadays it is a worldwide movement which provides translations for films and TV shows in very short time. When it comes to popular shows the translation may appear in the Internet even several hours after the show is aired. This is much faster than the professional translation.

An important feature of fansubbing is the fact that it is not restricted by any rules either professional or legal. Non-professional translators do not experience any limitation of the choice of words or phrases. Yet the translations may vary significantly. For example non-professional translators who provide translation from English into Polish are more likely to use vulgarisms that are stronger than the ones that appeared in the original. When it comes translation into German the situation is the exact opposite – coarse phrases are alleviated. The diagram below shows the differences between non-professional translation of vulgarisms from English into Polish and German.



The source of these statistics is author's own research carried out on the basis of non-professional translation from English into Polish and German of the TV show *Dexter*. On the basis of this study certain socio-cultural processes may be discussed.

The paper will present the most important aspects of translation of vulgarisms as well as the cultural and social reason for such translation choices in the non-professional translation.

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## Dawei Jin

### *Rethinking "Aboutness" as a Semantic Licensing Condition*

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The similarities between topic-comment and restrictive relative clause constructions have prompted proposals to unify both using the notion of "aboutness" (Kuno, 1976). One motivation for this unification is that both constructions can occur in *gapless* environment in East Asian languages such as Chinese (Xu, 2006). For example, in (1a) the topic in a Chinese topiccomment construction doesn't link to (coindex with) an argument slot within the comment. Correspondingly, relative head may not link to an argument of the relative clause, as (1b) shows. According to the "aboutness" approach, both *gapless* constructions are good because the *gapless* clauses are *about* the topic/the relative head (Xu and Langendoen, 1985).

However, formulation of the "aboutness" relation has not been very precise (Hu & Pan, 2009). Moreover, the "aboutness" approach faces empirical problems (Huang et al, 2009). There are cases where the topic in *gapless* topicalization cannot be the head of a corresponding *gapless* relative (compare (2a) and (2b)), also there are cases where the head of a *gapless* relative can't be the topic for a corresponding *gapless* comment (compare (3a) and (3b)). Since the "aboutness" approach presupposes a uniform "aboutness" relation to underlie both constructions, such discrepancy is unaccounted for. This paper proposes an alternative approach: there is no uniform "aboutness" constraint, each construction is subject to a construction-specific constraint.

First, the “aboutness” constraint in topic-comment construction is determined by the semantics of topicalization. The process of topicalization can be seen as the comment updating a property to the object denoted by the topic. Importantly, update only attributes a property via the predication relation within the comment (Heim, 1982; Reinhart, 1981; Kamp and Reyle, 1993), thus the “aboutness” relation holds only if the predicate relates to the topic at the semantic level.

In gapless topicalization, the predicate in the comment doesn't overtly take the topic as its argument. However, a nominal phrase in a predication relation isn't interpreted as an encapsulated whole, instead the predicate must have access to a set of sublexical nominal features (Beard, 1991). This decomposition of nominal phrases is independently motivated. For example, to interpret (4), the predicate itself is “underspecified”, in the sense that full interpretation requires filling out an “ellipsed” predicate of *landing/taking off*. One obtains the knowledge about the activities of landing/taking off because the nominal arguments *Kennedy* and *Heathrow* project their sortal typing of *airport*. According to Pustejovsky (1991), sortal typing is part of the set of lexical features relevant for interpretation (*i.e.*, qualia structure). Specifically, it is projected by an NP as its FORMAL role (which encodes the category description that distinguishes an object from a larger set) to interact with predicates. In (4), *landing/taking off* is filled out because *prefer* is predicating a property of *Heathrow/Kennedy as an airport*, *i.e.*, the predicate must relate to the FORMAL role of *Heathrow/Kennedy*. This enables the FORMAL role of an argument to stand in an “aboutness” relation with the predicate and serves as topic. Thus, (2a)'s acceptability is explained: the predicate *enjoy* needs to be further specified with an “ellipsed” predicate, *e.g.* *eating. Banana* belongs to the category of *fruit*, therefore it projects *fruit* as its FORMAL role. The predicate relates to the FORMAL role of *banana*, and the “aboutness” relation holds. Contrarily, (3a) fails to work this way: *bookstore* is the location of the event *he buys books*. It is not a property of any event participants, as such it doesn't belong to the qualia structure of the argument *book*. When the predicate *buy* predicates a property of *books*, it doesn't relate to *bookstore*. No “aboutness” relation exists.

Second, restrictive relative clause serves a different semantic function, which necessitates a different constraint. A relative doesn't predicate a property of its head, but narrows down the range of referents of its head (Prince, 1990), *i.e.* “aboutness” holds when the relative head denotes only those referents that are associated with the property denoted by the relative clause.

This is impossible for (2b). It makes no sense to say that the property of *I enjoy banana* are associated with *some fruit*, because *I enjoy banana* is a generic statement about *fruit*, which describes *fruit* as a generic kind. In (3b), however, we can associate the routine activity of *he buys books* with *some bookstores*, as opposed to all the other bookstores.

The similarities of topic and relative constructions simply follow from the fact that, in most cases, when a clause expresses predication over an object, it

also distinguishes that object from others (such as the case in (1)), so that there is considerable overlapping between the two “aboutness” constraints. As such my approach achieves better empirical coverage by accounting for both the similarities and the dissimilarities.

## Data

- (1) a. Gapless topic-comment construction  
 Nei ge shudian, ta zai liutongchu gongzuo.(DEM:demonstrative;CLF: classifier)  
 DEM CLF bookstore, he LOC circulation.desk work  
 ‘That bookstore, he works at the circulation desk.’
- b. Gapless relative clause construction  
 Ta zai liutongchu gongzuo de nei ge shudian (LOC: localizer; REL: relativizer)  
 He LOC circulation.desk work REL DEM CLF bookstore  
 ‘The bookstore that he works at the circulation desk’
- (2) a. Gapless topic-comment construction  
 Shuiguo, wo zui xihuan xiangjiao.  
 Fruit, I most enjoy banana  
 ‘(Speaking of) fruit, I enjoy (**eating**) banana most.’
- b. Gapless relative clause construction  
 \*[Wo zui xihuan xiangjiao] de shuiguo  
 I most enjoy banana REL fruit  
 #‘the fruit that I enjoy (**eating**) banana most’
- (3) a. Gapless topic-comment construction  
 \*Nei ge shudian, ta mai shu.  
 DEM CLF bookstore, he bought books  
 ‘That bookstore, he bought books.’
- b. Gapless relative clause construction  
 [Ta mai shu] de nei ge shudian  
 He buy books REL DEM CLF bookstore  
 ‘the bookstore that he buys books’
- (4) Most commercial pilots prefer Kennedy to Heathrow.  
 Interpretation:Most commercial pilots prefer (**landing/taking off**) at Kennedy to Heathrow. (Pustejovsky, 1991)

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## Dara Jokilehto

### ***Finnish Contrastive Topics Get Passports to the Left Periphery: Refining an RM Approach.***

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The fronting of Contrastive Topics (CT's) in Finnish poses a challenge to accounts attempting to reconcile the problematic distribution of Contrastive Topics in embedded contexts. I argue that the Finnish data provides a strong counter-example to Bianchi and Frascarelli's (2010) approach and proves to be an interesting challenge for Haegeman's (2010) syntactic account of the *irrealis* operator (previously proposed by Bhatt and Pancheva 2002) in Central Adverbial Clauses (CAC's). Finally, I propose that a more refined approach to Relativised Minimality (à la Starke 2001, building on Rizzi 1997) should solve the outstanding issues raised for a syntactic analysis of the phenomena.

After a short introduction to the Finnish Left Periphery (LP), this paper compares two different approaches, which make predictions about the behaviour of Contrastive Topics (CT's) in certain types of embedded clauses, namely Central Adverbial Clauses (CAC's; in the sense of Haegeman 2004).

The first approach, proposed by Bianchi and Frascarelli (2010), adopts an update semantics approach (Stalnaker 1978). It builds on Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) and the strategy of inquiry analysis (Roberts 1996; Büring 2003) and employs a semantics-oriented account of Contrastive Topics, in order to account for their specific distribution. After examining different types of topics in Italian, where they are realised as Clitic Left-Dislocations (CLLD's; e.g. in (1)), they propose that CT's are only felicitous in clauses with propositional status, which, they claim, excludes CAC's, explaining the poorness of CT's in English and Italian in the relevant *if/when* clauses, as in (2).

The second approach examined is the one pursued by Haegeman (2004; 2010), which builds on Bhatt and Pancheva (2002). In this syntactic approach, CAC's are derived by movement of an *irrealis* operator which moves from the Moodirrealis projection (Cinque 1999, as in example (3)) past the high modal

field. The ungrammaticality of CT's in English would then be due to an intervention effect caused by said operator.

Both approaches predict CT's to be poor in CAC's. Data from Finnish (example (4), however, directly contradicts this. Under the assumption that the semantics of if-clauses with identical interpretations should be the same, I dismiss the Bianchi and Frascarelli approach in favour of a movement approach. Even this approach, however, needs to be modified in order to obtain the data. Starke's (2001) approach allows a more fine-grained analysis of intervention effects, a form of which I employ (5).

Another challenge facing Haegeman's approach concerns the position and distribution of high modal adverbs with respect to CT's. While the Finnish data would be accounted simply establishing a hierarchy of the three elements in terms of richness of features, the English data gives a contradictory result, such that CT's would be both the richest and the poorest in features of the three elements.

I propose a solution to this by positing two different classes of features, which do not interact with each other in terms of RM intervention effects (6). I then suggest a possible implementation of this to account for the variation in distribution of CT's in CAC's cross-linguistically, which depends on a different feature configuration of the lexical item spelling out the *irrealis* operator.

- (1) **francesek** I<sub>k</sub>' ho fatto alle medie per tre anni  
*French it.CL have.1SG done at.the school for three years*  
 'French I have studied at school for three years [...].'  
*Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010:57)*

- (2) \*If *these exams* you don't pass, you won't get the degree.  
*Haegeman (2004:159)*  
*Cinque (2004:133)*

- (3) MoodP<sub>speech act</sub> > MoodP<sub>evaluative</sub> > MoodP<sub>evidential</sub> > ModP<sub>epistemic</sub> > TP(Past) > TP(Future) >  
**MoodP<sub>irrealis</sub>** > ModP<sub>alethic</sub> > AspP<sub>habitual</sub> > AspP<sub>repetitive</sub> > AspP<sub>frequentative</sub> > ModP<sub>volitional</sub> >  
 AspP<sub>celerative</sub> > TP(anterior) > AspP<sub>terminative</sub> > AspP<sub>continuative</sub> > AspP<sub>retrospective</sub> >  
 AspP<sub>proximative</sub> > AspP<sub>durative</sub> > AspP<sub>generic/progressive</sub> > AspP<sub>prospective</sub> > ModP<sub>obligation</sub> >  
 ModP<sub>permission/ability</sub> > AspP<sub>completive</sub> > VoiceP > AspP<sub>celerative</sub> > AspP<sub>repetitive</sub> > AspP<sub>frequentative</sub>

- (4) Jos *näitä tenttejä* et läpäise, (niin) saat vain suorituserkinnän.  
*if these exams not.2sg pass, then get.2sg only passing-grade*  
 'If you don't pass *these exams*, (then) you will only get a passing grade.'

- (5) a. \*α ... αβ ... α b. αβ ... α ... αβ  
*Starke (2001)*

- (6) Adv<sub>high modal</sub> [a]  
 Op<sub>irrealis</sub> [a], [α]  
 CT [αβ]

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## Katarzyna Kokot-Góra

### *Zoom on Prize – Lexical Collocation as a Realization of the Semantic Structure of a Lexeme (Collocations with the Noun Prize).*

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The paper will present conventionalized and partly phraseological collocations of an abstract noun *prize* concentrating on the realisation of its semantic structure, with an emphasis on connotation of argument positions - obligatory ones (such as subject, addressee/ beneficiary, object, reason/ basis) and non-compulsory (such as benefactor/donor, decision maker/expert etc.). The data for the analysis has been excerpted from Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA).

The procedure of the analysis

1) Excerpt from the (COCA) source, actual material corpora, including lexical phrases which comprise collocations of the noun *prize* such as: *Peace Prize, prize winner, prize money, prize idiot* etc.

2) The analysis of the corpora dealing with semantic functions of the lexical collocations of the noun *prize* with a noun. It was assumed after Jurij Apresjan that *prize* < *awarding a prize* is the noun form of higher order predicate which opens or connotes four obligatory argument positions:

P (x, y, p, q)

where *x* is the subject of the action (who is giving the prize), *y* - the addressee/beneficiary (who is being awarded), *p* - the object which is given as a prize and *q* - the reason for giving the prize.

Moreover, collocational positions can fill in other arguments as well (object or propositional), connoting in a non-compulsory way, those that loosely result from the semantic structure of a predicate such as: *the Nobel* [donor] *Prize, prize winner* [addressee and reason] etc.

3. Apart from the introspective analysis, quantitative method is used to analyze the data. Tables and graphs will portray the frequency of each noted type of collocation. This analysis will be contrasted and compared with the data obtained from NKJP (National Corpus of Polish) which dealt with the lexical collocation of the Polish word *nagroda* (prize, award).

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### Corpora:

COCA: Corpus of Contemporary American English

NKJP: National Corpus of Polish

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## **Vasiliki Kyriakou**

### ***Greek Children's Acquisition of Reference in Narrative Development***

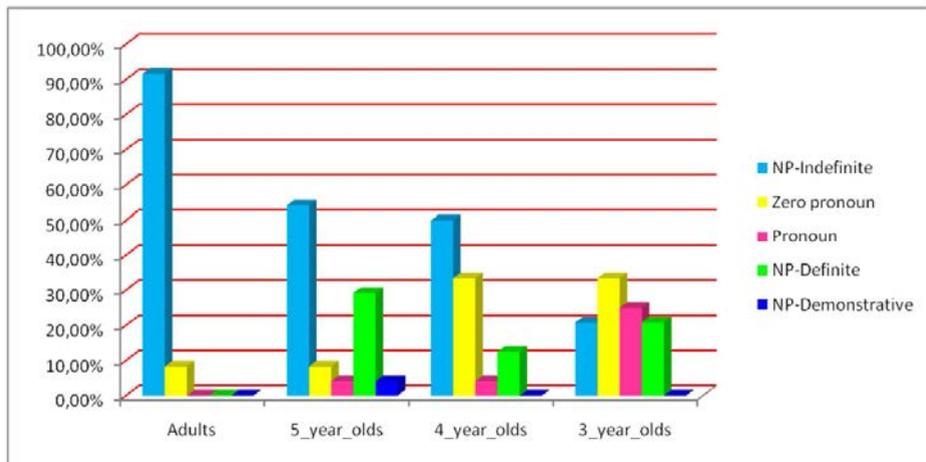
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Narratives illustrate story-telling abilities and presuppose a certain level of language ability as well as an ability to integrate language with discourse information (Reese, Haden, Baker Ward, Bauer, Fivush, Ornstein, 2011). Moreover, universal cognitive constraints affect “[c]onnectivity in narratives and its ontogenetic development” (Kati and Kantzu 2004).

The aim of this study is to investigate the narrative abilities of 3-, 4- and 5-year old monolingual Greek children (24 participants for each group) with a focus on character reference. Four stories based on picture sequences (Tsimpli, Papakonstantinou, Nicolopoulou, 2010) were narrated in Greek by the children and audio-recorded by the researcher-interviewer. Screening tools including versions of sentence repetition tasks and animal memory-span tests (tests that demanded normal and backward repetition of animals) were also administered to the participants. Similarly, previous work has been done with picture-stories examining children's “referencing” ability in other languages too, such as English, Danish, Slovak, Turkish, and Mandarin. Character reference was analyzed in terms of Introduction, Maintenance(s) and Reintroduction(s) for each (main and secondary) character in “subject” position of the clauses. A control group of 12 adults was also presented.

Results reveal that for the function of Introduction adult controls prefer indefinite to definite noun phrases. Children, however, showed a developmental pattern in the use of indefinite noun phrases, meaning increase in the use of indefinite over definite noun phrases and zero pronouns. Definite noun phrases for the Intro function are also (inappropriately) used even by 5-year olds. The difference between adults and 5-year old children in the Introduction function can be attributed to an immature perspective-taking ability (Theory of Mind).

## Appendix (sample): Introduction of Main Character in the Balloon Story

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**Agnieszka Leks*****Euphemisms as Ad Hoc Categories/Ad Hoc Concepts***

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The main goal of this paper is to characterize the process of euphemisation within two contrasting linguistic frameworks - one based on the cognitive approach to human mental processes and the other rooted in the Relevance-Theoretic model of communication. The analysed data, collected from dictionaries and other sources on euphemisms, concentrates mostly around metaphorical euphemisms, which seem to be especially frequent among euphemistic expressions.

In the first part of the paper the author attempts to define the process of euphemisation as an act of categorization, basing on the ideas presented by

Lawrence Barsalou, and later by Douglas Hofstadter and Emmanuel Sander. It is argued that euphemisms (or groups of euphemisms with the same denotation) may be seen as ad hoc categories, which are organised around category prototypes. The latter may be described as more concrete than the ad hoc, abstract uses of a particular category. Thus, the prototypes of euphemistic, ad hoc categories may be seen as their non-euphemistic counterparts.

The second part of the paper depicts euphemisms as ad hoc concepts within the Relevance-Theoretic framework, created by Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson and developed, among others, by Robyn Carston. It is shown that euphemistic ad hoc concepts are created by the speakers by means of narrowing or broadening of the linguistic meaning. As a result, a euphemistic ad hoc concept is either more specific (in the case of narrowing) or more general (broadening) than the initial, encoded concept.

By discussing the two possibilities of integrating linguistic frameworks with the phenomenon of euphemising, the author does not aim at opting for one of the presented approaches. The purpose of the comparison is to show the pros and cons of applying both frameworks to the process of euphemisation. Unfortunately, as some of the examples discussed in the paper prove, none of the discussed approaches seem to be entirely suitable for the analysis of euphemistic expressions.

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## **Kinga Lis**

### ***'The Simplest and Most Proper English' of the 14th-Century Richard Rolle's Psalter Rendition***

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The fourteenth century was a remarkable period in the history of English Bible translation in that it witnessed the emergence of four prose Psalter renditions into the vernacular: Richard Rolle's translation, the so-called *Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter* and two renditions contained in the Early and Late Wycliffite Bibles.

Inevitably, almost every work dealing with the history of biblical translations, and especially with the history of English biblical translations, mentions and comments, at least succinctly, upon all these four texts. What seems, however, to be problematic is the fact that virtually all of them reiterate the same time-worn categorical statements expressed tens of years earlier and based upon subjective opinions of the people who discovered these medieval texts anew in the 19th century. In other words, those 19th-century highly evaluative views are still present in the 21st-century literature and are uncritically accepted as valid.

All four Psalters in question are, therefore, thickly enveloped in sets of assertions whose validity has in fact never been tested and it is the purpose of the present paper to endeavour to verify one of such preconceived notions concerning Richard Rolle's Psalter rendition. More specifically, the paper will focus on the claim phrased by Partridge (1973: 21) in the following manner: 'Rolle adhered with fidelity to the Latin original, using the simplest and most proper English wherever possible, except when his native language failed him, and he was compelled to latinize'. Such an opinion identifies Rolle's translation as most exceptional in relation to the Wycliffite Bibles and the *Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter* of which the former are asserted to be overtly influenced by the Latin text they render and the latter deeply indebted both syntactically and, more importantly, lexically to a 'French source'. Hence, it seems necessary to analyse the lexical layer of the text in search of the evidence, or lack thereof, which sets Rolle's translation lexically apart from the other renditions. Such a study is to be conducted on the basis of the nominal layer of the first fifty psalms of the four relevant texts analysed in relation to their common Latin text source as only the juxtaposition of all of these enables one to (dis)prove the claim cited above. To provide a wider context from which to view them, the findings will be

presented in relation to an overview of the contemporary theory of translation and set against a broadly sketched linguistic map of contemporary England.

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**Richard Madsen*****Statistical Model of Learning Descriptive Grammar***

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My proposed presentation concerns itself with a part of my PhD project, whose overall topic is the difficulties that Danish university students encounter in the acquisition of English. My PhD project is thus within the field of second/foreign language acquisition and teaching with heavy focus on cross-linguistic influence. My primary data consist of written home assignments and exam papers of Danish students of English Business Communication. The students are expected both to master English in use and to learn basic descriptive grammar and have to pass exams within both these subfields of study.

The part of my PhD project that I intend to present focuses on the learning of descriptive grammar. I will introduce a statistical model of the students' learning of descriptive grammar. My purpose is to find out whether there is an implicational relationship between subareas of grammar, such as recognising parts of speech, clause constituents, phrase constituents, etc. The motivation for this study is to assess assumptions that textbooks and teachers seem to have concerning in what order it is best to teach the various areas of grammar, implying that some of the fields of grammar are more basic than others and are therefore need to be learnt before the other fields can be acquired. For instance, there has been a years-long tradition in my department to start with parts of speech, then introduce clause constituents, then phrase constituent, and so forth. Besides validating or falsifying this pedagogical approach to teaching descriptive grammar, the model can also be used to identify students early who are at risk of failing the grammar exam.

The model to be presented is constructed on the basis of analysing the performance at the grammar exam of about 300 freshmen from the years 2009-2013. The grammar exam, to be passed in the first semester, tests knowledge within 14 different fields of descriptive grammar. In order to build the model, I calculate the subscores for each of these fields and then these subscores' correlations with the other subscores and with the overall result, i.e. the grade given. The correlation calculations are then supplemented with a regression analysis.

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## **Carmen González Martín**

### ***Pragmatemes in Second Language***

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This proposal presents pragmatemes in second language. Pragmatemes are compositional phrasemes restricted in its signified and its signifier by the extralinguistic situation in which they are used. A sequence is compositional if its meaning is the result of the sum of the meanings of its lexical components. Some examples, *You're welcome* [as an answer to *Thank you*], *Wet paint* [written on a panel to indicate that the object has been paint recently], *Good evening* [greeting used to say 'hello' in the evening], etc. In these examples, the extralinguistic situation is explained in brackets. The main characteristic of pragmatemes is that they are linked to a communication situation; if that situation doesn't exist the pragmateme has no sense.

As we can see, pragmatemes are used in everyday life. When we are studying a second language we always start by learning the greetings and civilities, and apparently that is not complicated, but we will see is not always easy to choose the correct one. These cases are more interesting, because the native-speaker who usually doesn't know that greetings are Phraseological units make a literal

translation. When we use pragmatemes in a foreign language we have to find an equivalent because usually literal translation is not an option. For example in Spanish we don't say *Wet paint* but *Recién pintado*, which means 'freshly paint'. In English we could use *#Fresh Paint*; this utterance is grammatically correct but pragmatically deficient and that's why is marked with a #. A native speaker would not choose the second one to advise someone that the object, the wall has been painted recently.

So, when the communicative situation requires a more precise utterance it is usually complicated for a non-native speaker; in many cases he has to look for an appropriate expression that suits in each specific situation. Some pragmatemes are essential in the early stages of learning a second language, but the lexicographical treatment is very simple. When we are studying a second language we use a lot the dictionary, so it's very important that lexicographical treatment of this phraseological units is suitable. For that, we'll analyse some dictionaries to check if the lexicographical treatment of these utterances is satisfactory and if it's not we'll provide some suggestions to improve the description of pragmatemes. These kind of expressions are so common and so used that they are difficult to describe them.

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## Abir Medini

### *A Corpus-Based Analysis: Nafs from Reflexive to Non-Reflexive*

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This study was motivated by proving that in languages with morphological difference between their reflexive markers and their intensifiers, e.g. in French, a reflexive anaphor can be used only in cases expressing transitivity, whereas in languages where reflexive anaphors are morphologically similar to intensifiers, e.g. in English, they fail to express intransitivity. Several studies analysed reflexivity in various languages among which we cite Geniusene (1987), Kemmer (1994), Steinbach (1997), König and Siemund (2000), Chung (2008), etc. The problem resides in the fact that the English reflexive pronoun appears to be used in nonreflexive cases though, where it encodes cases of anticausatives, facilitatives, lexicalisation, etc. The British National Corpus (BNC) has detected around 1056 non-reflexive *itself* cases (Siemund 2008).

This study aims to investigate this phenomenon in Modern Standard Arabic so to find out whether the polyfunctional use of *nafs* can extend to the middle domain.

This study relies on data taken from the Arabic Gigaword Corpus. The data has been classified into three categories Intensification, Reflexivity and Non-reflexivity with the aim to detect the use of *nafs* over time, starting from Classical Arabic to Modern Arabic.

The results showed that similar to *itself* in English, *nafs* developed from a reflexive anaphor to non-reflexive, mainly since the 18th century. The non-reflexive use has been recognised notably in grammaticalisation and lexicalization cases, where the meaning has diverged from its literal meaning (e.g. *faradha nafsahu* / impose itself, *rakkaza nafsahu* / concentrate itself, *tarjama nafsahu* / translate itself). Based on these findings, this phenomenon might be due to loan translation (Brinton and Traugott 2005) and influence of foreign languages on Modern Standard Arabic, which is undergoing changes anyway.

**Keywords:** Reflexivity, Middle domain, Corpus Linguistics, Transitivity, *nafs*.

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### Figures

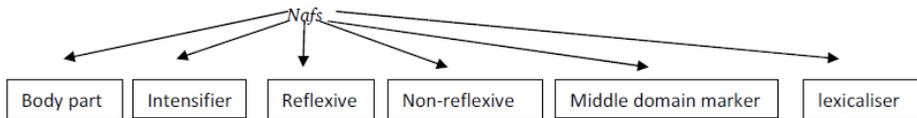


Figure 1: The development of *nafs* in the Arabic language

	Classical Arabic		Middle Arabic			Modern Standard Arabic		
	1st Century	5th Century	16th Century	17th Century	18th Century	19th Century	20th Century	21st Century
Nafs Intensifier								
Nafs Reflexive pronoun								
Nafs non-reflexive pronoun								
Grammaticaliser								
Lexicaliser								

Figure 2: A diachronic overview of *nafs* in Arabic

## Pascal Montchaud

### *Reciprocal Connectives in French*

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Discursive markers such as *on the one hand-on the other hand*, or *not only-but* share at least one feature with their French equivalents *d'une part-d'autre part*, *d'un côté-d'un autre côté*, *non seulement-mais*. Namely, they differ from regular pragmatic connectives like *and* or *therefore* because they own the specific property of projecting next to them, respectively presupposing before them another marker of the same series. Example (1) shows a canonical configuration preceded by an undefined NP containing a number (*double*) announcing the two-item list to follow. The first item is indicated with a projecting device, *on the one hand*, which creates the expectation of a second item to be performed afterwards, because *one hand* presupposes “other hands”, *i.e.* the existence of at least one object of the same category. This expectation is fulfilled with the utterance of *on the other hand*, a marker indicating the second item of the list, and whose adjective *other*, whose meaning presupposes a paradigm of same nature elements [Nølke, 1983], also presupposes a former reference object.

Due to this property, these configurations are often referred to as *correlation*. In example (2), both members are related to the other one by a logical relation of *implication*. This is a case of reciprocal grammatical dependency, where both parts implicate the utterance of the other part, otherwise the sentence has no

complete meaning and no achieved syntactic structure. At discourse level however, reciprocal connectives do not logically implicate each other. That is to say that *on one hand* is not necessarily followed by the “normatively co-occurring marker” *on the other hand*, as example (3) illustrates, where there happen to be another marking device instead, namely *but also*. It also means that the utterance of an opening device presupposed by a “closing” or “relay-” marker can fail to occur ; see example (4). At discourse level indeed, the reciprocal link between items is achieved through pragmatic features regarding projection and presupposition.

According to Auer [2002, 1], projection is “the fact that an individual action or part of it foreshadows another” thanks to “some kind of knowledge about how actions (or action components) are typically (*i.e.* qua types) sequenced, *i.e.* how they follow each other in time”. When presupposition is “what is taken by the speaker to be the common ground of the participants in the conversation, what is treated as their common knowledge or mutual knowledge”, according to Stalnaker [1978, 151]. Opening markers such as *on the one hand* or *not only* thus project the realization of an action to occur, when relay markers such as *on the other hand* or *but also* presuppose the utterance of a former action, so that their relevance (within the meaning of Sperber and Wilson [1989]) is ensured in the shared knowledge.

Based on a corpus of more than 100 established items of spoken French data taken from OFROM and CFPP2000 databases, and about the same number of written authentic items from the database called FRANTEXT, the aim of this contribution is to take an inventory of the main linguistic devices used to make relevant projecting and presupposing markers, focusing on cases where the projected or presupposed connective fail to occur.

I will show that the main processes used to retain the information structure are syntactic parallelisms (see underlined parts of (5)), semantic (dis)similarities (names of places in (5)), and projecting or presupposing material, such as the NP *other area* containing a “paradigmatizing adjective” [Berrendonner and Béguelin, 1996] which presupposes an antagonistic object formerly put into the common ground by the speaker itself. Back to canonical examples such as (1), I will argue that the presence of projecting or presupposing connectives is not always necessary to the comprehension of the utterance, and that the use of marking devices only serves to underline the information structure of that kind of discourse configurations.

## EXAMPLES

- (1) Cela dit, la question du cancer se présente d'une **double manière**: **d'une part** c'est une maladie du corps, dont il est bien probable que je mourrai prochainement, mais peut-être aussi puis-je la vaincre et survivre ; **d'autre part**, c'est une maladie de l'âme, don't je ne puis dire qu'une chose : c'est une chance qu'elle se soit enfin déclarée. [E. Carrère 2009: 139 < Frantext]

That said, the matter about cancer shows a **double side face: on the one hand** it is a physical disease, that I might possibly soon die of, though I could as well survive; **on the other hand**, it is a spiritual disease, that I can only say one thing of it: it is a chance that it eventually occurs.

- (2) **The** faster he runs, **the** further he moves on.
- (3) alors + **d'une part** parce j'ai + oui on a travaillé l'un et l'autre à + à Paris **mais aussi** parce qu'on on sort pas mal on a une vie culturelle assez forte et donc heu + [CFPP2000 (05-01) : 87-131]  
so + **on one hand** because I've + yes we've worked both of us in + in Paris **but also because** we we use to go out quite a lot we have quite an exciting cultural life and so uh +
- (4) L2 : quand on passe quatre heures sur Internet on pen- on a plus beaucoup d'temps pour ouvrir un livre  
L1 : absolument  
L2 : donc euh + et et ça ce sont des jeunes qui sont vraiment génération image + bon puis **d'autre part** y'a un problème d'horaire hein je +  
L2: when they spend four hours on the Internet they don't thin- they don't have much time to open a book  
L1: that's right  
L2: so mmh + and and that these are people who really are an image generation + so and **on the other hand** there's a matter of time isn't it I +
- (5) d'accord + d'accord donc euh + + tu es satisfaite du du déménagement par rapport à + enfin + **d'une part par rapport à** Garches + *et* euh par rapport à l'autre quartier où tu habitais à Suresnes [CFPP (SU-01): 61-85]  
alright + alright so uh + + are you satisfied of the of the move relative to + well + **on one hand relative to** Garches + *and* uh relative to the other area where you did live in Suresnes

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**Katarzyna Nosidlak**

***Modelling the Personality Traits of a Foreign Language Learner  
for the Tasks of Second Language Teaching***

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The following paper deals with some postulated properties of a good language learner from the perspective of psychological theories devoted to personality traits which may be deduced from selected textbooks on the methodology of foreign language teaching (FLT). In particular, it focuses on personality related factors contributing to the differences among foreign language learners which have been intensively studied by representatives of applied linguistics since the late 1970s, in the 1980s and 1990s. In conformity with the opinions widely known from the works of respective representatives of FLT methodology, it holds the view, on the one hand, that personality traits may condition the linguistic performance of human individuals, and that they, similarly to, for example, learning styles, usually affect motivation of foreign language students and enhance also their progress in language learning.

On the other hand, this paper consequently expresses the conviction that it is difficult to discover the relationship between particular personality traits of foreign language learners and their success in acquiring a language. As far as methodological issues pertaining to the role of the personal individuality of foreign language learners are concerned, practitioners working in the domain of language teaching should be aware, as it will be argued, that particular personality factors cannot be treated as separate variables influencing attitudes, knowledge and linguistic skills of those who acquire a foreign language. Since they interact with each other, and, in the case of each person, form a unique constellation of interdependent variables, this paper speaks in favour of a comprehensive approach to the personality of foreign language learners against the background of individual differences among human individuals in general.

Thus, this paper constitutes a report of studies on the importance of personality variables as psychological conditionings of language learners conducted in the educational discourse of applied linguistics on the basis of selected methodological treatises, instructional directives and handbooks meant for language teachers. Research questions posed in this paper have been formulated as follows: (1) which personality traits are considered to be important from the point of view of a foreign language learner compared to those personality traits which are listed and described by psychologists, (2) what is the hierarchy of personality traits taken into account in foreign language pedagogy, (3) what are the common elements of the hitherto proposed trait models of the language learner personality, and (4) which conclusions concerning the personality of a language learner can be drawn, for necessity of foreign language educators, from the collected investigative material.

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## Veronika Pap

### *Temporal relations in Hungarian preschoolers' language*

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In this study, I investigated how temporal relations are encoded by linguistic expressions in child language. The main questions were: 1., Is there any demonstrable change in their language from younger age to older one in using temporal relations? 2., Can we find any data to support that hypothesis that spatial relations are primary to temporal relations in child language development – as proposed by Bowerman (1983)?

Bowerman (1983) examined child language development by monitoring two little children's everyday language. She found that, when preschoolers talking about temporal relations, they use spatial expressions, but sometimes incorrectly. She observed that, they can't use them well in temporal meaning, although they understood their spatial meanings. Therefore, based on this fact, the spatial meanings could be primary. Szamarsz (2006) came to a similar conclusion in her article about conceptual metaphors: We use spacial terms to understand and express *time*. Each time we say „*years passing*” or „*at this point in time*”, we're

using THE TIME IS SPACE conceptual metaphor to express our thoughts. She sais that in child development, understanding space is primary to understanding time.

We designed two experiments. The first one was a directed conversation, where we asked the children about their daily routine. We used a puppet in this task, who talked to the child about his daily routine, but the puppet did everything in the wrong order. For example, the puppet said: „*I always brush my teeth before dinner*”. The children’s task was to correct him, and tell him how they’re doing this daily routine. There were four questions like this and additional six filler questions. The second experiment was story-telling based on pictures. We showed them six pictures about a little bear doing his daily routine, and we asked them to relate what the bear is doing in the afternoon. We asked three more questions about the pictures, pointing at them. (E.g., *When does the bear go to sleep?*) 37 Hungarian children participated in the experiment, aged 3;4 to 6;10. The children were interviewed individually; only the interviewer, the child, and a supporter, who was moving the puppet, were present. I made this experiment with three contoll adults, aged 23, 24 and 26.

The results are very variable. In the first task, the younger children expressed themselves more schematically than the older. They mostly used only *reggel* ‘in the morning’ and *este* ‘in the evening’ when talking about daily events. The younger children still did not use these expressions as adverbial modifiers; they used subject-predicate constructions in subordinate clauses instead, e.g. *amikor este van* ‘when evening is’. In the second, story-telling task, 22 children were able to tell the story independently. But many of them used words corresponding to „*here*”, „*there*” when telling a story about the pictures, instead of „*then*” or „*after that*”. When I asked them about the first picture (*When does the bear go outdoor?*), which was on the left-hand side, 7 children answered „*in the morning*” despite the fact that they were told that the pictures represent events of an afternoon.

The results provide the following answers to the research questions: There are demonstrable differences between the younger and the older children’s language: we attested a gradual understanding of temporal relations The fact that they used more spatial expressions in the story-telling, and the fact that they associated leftness/first position with the morning, support Bowerman’s and Szamarasz’s hypotesis about the primacy of spatial relations.

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## Sylvia Pielecha

### *The Semantics of Reflexive Verbs in Old English: A Corpus Study*

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The main aim of the paper is to offer a new semantic classification of reflexive verbs in Old English. The study will try to explain what actually reflexivity means and how it is perceived by various scholars. In general, reflexivity can be understood as a co-reference of the two arguments of a verb. In Modern English, reflexivity is mainly rendered by a set of *self*-pronouns which refer to the Subject. But the definition cannot apply to Old English, because that language lacked specialized reflexive pronouns. Instead, the personal pronouns, co-referential with the Subject, were employed to convey reflexivity. Over time, the Old English personal pronouns started being accompanied by structures with the pronoun *self*, which otherwise played the role of an intensifier. As the paper will show, not all the uses of co referential personal pronouns guaranteed the verb to demonstrate a truly reflexive meaning. For instance, the personal pronouns could be used in reciprocal situations or could be only benefactors of an action, but the action itself would not exert any impact on the Subject. Moreover, the employment of personal pronouns, like in Modern English, was not the only way of rendering reflexivity in Old English as some body action verbs, despite having no object pronoun, could also express reflexivity. An instance of such a verb is OE *gerestan* 'to rest'. The data for the present study come from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*.

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**Anna Prazmowska**

***Is Unlike Coordination Against the Law (of the Coordination of Likes)?***

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The paper examines the possibility of reconciliation between the existence of a wide range of unlike coordination in Polish, and the Law of the Coordination of Likes.

The Law of the Coordination of Likes states, in general, that only conjuncts of the same type can be coordinated, while „unlike coordination“ refers to coordination where conjuncts are of different types. The Law has its roots in the traditional approach to the structure of coordination regarded as flat with structurally equal conjuncts, in the sense that no conjunct is more salient than others. In compliance with this symmetrical approach to the structure of coordination, it has been assumed that, in order for the conjuncts to be grammatically coordinated, they have to be the so-called like conjuncts.

The notion of the „likeness“ of conjuncts has been variously interpreted in the literature. For example, Chomsky (1957) postulated the „likeness“ of syntactic categories of conjuncts. Schachter (1977), observing the insufficiency of Chomsky’s (1957) proposal, extended the notion of „likeness“ by including the semantic (and pragmatic) factor. There have also been some attempts to force „likeness“ onto unlike conjuncts by unifying their categories by means of introducing a single category subcategorized by a certain groups of verbs (cf. Jacobson’s (1987) [PRED] category subcategorized by the copular „be“). A somewhat similarly, Johannessen (1998) renders the difference of categories of conjuncts irrelevant by proposing that a coordinate complex forms a CoP (Conjunction Phrase) headed by a Co(n)junction), which is a coordination-specific category capable of being subcategorized by any verb. On the other hand, Munn (1993) and Zhang (2010) postulate that only the category of the first conjunct is visible to syntactic operations that apply to a coordinate complex, which makes the category of the second conjunct, whether the same or different, irrelevant.

The author examines the above proposals with reference to some Polish data (grammatical and ungrammatical coordination of unlike and „like“ coordination), points to their shortcomings, and attempts to establish whether there exists a way to account for unlike coordination in Polish, while assuming the adjunction structure of coordination (where the *and*-phrase (*i*-phrase in

Polish) is adjoined to the first conjunct) and retaining the Law of the Coordination of Likes.

It is concluded that none of the abovementioned solutions can successfully and in a unified manner account for a number of cases of unlike coordination in Polish. It is also proposed that the existence of a wide range of unlike coordination and the varying acceptability judgements of unlike coordination (at least in Polish) is evidence that there is no Law (of the Coordination of Likes), but rather there is only a well-established generalization stating that most grammatical coordinations involve conjuncts of the same category.

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## **Katarzyna Rogalska and Natalia Pałka** *The Influence of Entrenched Linguistic Structures on Iterated Learning in Children*

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The evolution of language can be investigated at three levels – phylogenetic, ontogenetic, and glossogenetic (Hurford, 1999; see also Kirby & Hurford 2002 and Wacewicz 2013). Thanks to studies in the Iterated Learning methodology, the cultural transmission of linguistic signs has been investigated via experiments involving human agents (Kirby, Cornish, Smith, 2008a; Cornish, 2010). The methodology in question seems to be a perfect paradigm for empirical research related to the development of structure at the glossogenetic level, as it has been commonly accused of being only theoretical in nature. The original experiments by Kirby et al. focused on investigating the cultural transmissions of *evolects* in adults. As human agents (past the critical age) may be influenced by previously acquired cognitive structures which, in turn, bias the emerging *evolect*, we went a step further and conducted a modified version of the experiment with children between 5 and 7 years of age. For the purpose of our study, instead of using the term “languages”, we decided to refer to sign-based systems evolving via the vertically transmitted chains as “*evolects*”, i.e. “mathematical constructs [signified-signifier pairings rather than fully-fledged

systems] used for modelling processes of structure emergence and evolution (...) under various adaptive pressures“ (Jasiński, in prep). The present pilot study turned out to be giving results similar to our previous replications of the experiment with adults, i.e. showing effects of native language interference, while there was no direct reference to such influences on the iterations in the original research. Essentially, it emerged from the data analysis that similarities between units of the evolct and the child’s entrenched linguistic structures made a given unit easily learnable and successful in the following iterations. For such emergent signals, i.e. those exhibiting entrenched linguistic structures bias and immediately proving highly adaptive and successful across the subsequent generations, we would like to introduce the term of “trend-setters”.

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### Marietta Rusinek

#### ***Theoretical Controversies in Conceptual Metaphor Theory: A Critical Evaluation***

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Although the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, henceforth referred to as CMT, propagated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 2003) and Kövecses (1986, 2000, 2002) can be conceived of as the most widely known account of metaphor as

thought and is believed to be the standard view of metaphor within cognitive semantics, the theory has been subject to severe criticism.

The present paper is devoted to a discussion of the criticism that has been leveled at CMT. In particular, we will take into consideration the objections voiced by Strugielska (2012), Givón (2005) and Haser (2005). A number of linguists (cf. Strugielska, 2012, Givón, 2005, Haser, 2005) believe that CMT, despite its declared integration, is a top-down, competence-driven, minimalist and isolated approach, and therefore should be placed outside the realm of cognitive linguistics. With the aim of bringing attention to the problematic nature of CMT, not only will the paper discuss the problems that CMT may potentially entail, but it will also attempt to critically respond to a number of reservations so as to suggest possible directions for future research. The paper will try to answer the following questions: Is CMT an isolating, top-down approach? Is CMT based on a dichotomy principle? Is there a monosemy constraint in CMT?

When it comes to the first question, the notions of isolating and integrating grammars will be brought into focus (cf. Geeraerts, 2003, 2010). Moreover, we will try to determine whether CMT is a deductive, top-down approach relying on idealized examples disconnected from the context of actual use, and if so, whether it is possible to apply CMT to analysis of linguistic data in a bottom-up way so as to reach some conclusions and make generalizations not dependent on earlier assumptions.

As far as the dichotomy dilemma is concerned, Strugielska (2012) believes that the dichotomous nature of conceptual domains constitutes the linchpin of CMT. However, we will try to demonstrate that CMT hinges upon the idea of the relationship between the two domains, rather than their differentiation. Such oppositions as the source/target dichotomy and the static/dynamic dichotomy imputed to CMT (cf. Strugielska, 2012) will be discussed in order to determine whether CMT is indeed based on the dichotomy principle.

CMT has been criticized for understanding and determining the conventional meaning of a linguistic unit via one perspective, i.e. the perspective of the source domain, which promotes clear distinction between competence and performance. Therefore, last but not least, the arguments for and against treating CMT as monosemous in nature will be presented.

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## Tomislav Socanac

### *Balkan Subjunctive: The Problems of Distribution*

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In my presentation, I propose to deal with the subject of subjunctive complements in the languages of the Balkan region (Greek, Romanian, Serbian/Croatian a.o.). Balkan languages exhibit several differences in this context with respect to Romance languages, where the subjunctive has been most widely studied. The first difference concerns the morpho-syntactic realization of the subjunctive: in Romance, this mood is marked on the verb (1a), whereas in the Balkan languages, it is marked by a separate lexical item, which resembles a complementizer and occurs at the beginning of the embedded subjunctive clause (1b):

- (1) a. Je veux que tu **viennes**. (French)  
I want that you comeSUBJ.
- b. Thelo **na** kerdisio Pavlos (Greek)  
want1.sg. SUBJ. win3.sg. the-Paul

The second difference between Balkan and Romance languages in this context, which will be the focus of my presentation, concerns the distribution of the subjunctive, i.e. the linguistic contexts in which subjunctive complements appear and the type of predicates that select them. In this sense, Balkan subjunctive is distributed much more widely than its Romance counterpart, because, in

addition to typical subjunctive contexts, it also appears with predicates that introduce infinitives in Romance (as well as in most other languages):

- (2) a. O Janos bori            **na**            odhiji. (Greek)  
       the-John can3.sg.    SUBJ        drive3.sg.  
       b. Ioan a reusit            **sa**            vina. (Romanian)  
       John has managed    SUBJ        come3.sg.

As a result of this wide distribution, Balkan subjunctive is much more semantically diverse and heterogeneous than its counterparts in other languages. This, in turn, makes it very hard to reach a coherent analysis of the Balkan subjunctive.

In my presentation, nonetheless, I intend to put forward such an analysis, which will allow me to take into account both the common properties of the Balkan subjunctive complements, which distinguish them from indicatives, as well as explain the observed diversity between them. I will couch my analysis within the theoretical framework of minimalism (Chomsky 1995, 2001). One of the basic claims of minimalism is that the linguistic properties of clauses are determined by underlying *features* present in the syntactic structure. Thus, I intend to explain the heterogeneity of Balkan subjunctives by referring to the differences in the featural composition that underlies them.

First of all, subjunctive and indicative complements are introduced by two different types of C(omplementizer)P(hrase), which accounts for the observed differences between the two types of clauses (e.g. the fact that subjunctive complements in general have more anaphoric properties than the indicatives). The subjunctive CP consists of a series of underlying features which determine the type and the complexity of the event denoted by the subjunctive clause. These features are organized in a hierarchical configuration, with higher features dominating the lower ones. In this sense, they correspond to a scale- which I call the *subjunctivity scale*- with each feature denoting a separate layer of meaning related to subjunctive clauses:

- (3) Directive (imperative) > World shift/irrealis > Modality > Tense(future) > Aspect

I intend to show that, despite their apparent heterogeneity, all Balkan subjunctive complements can be made to fit this common semantic scale. Those that contain more of the features that underlie the subjunctivity scale will be more specified semantically and closer to the *core subjunctive meaning* (as in Kempchinsky, 2009), whereas those that contain less of them are less specified and can hence occur in more diverse semantic contexts. It will also be shown that these semantic differences between subjunctive complements are accompanied by predictable syntactic differences as well, which further reinforces the analysis.

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**Monika Szuryn*****Learners' Semiotic Agency in the Language Classroom:  
Recognizing Students' 'Voice' as an Important Factor of a  
Positive Learning Experience***

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Multimodality and multiple competences (Pinnow, 2011) have been recently receiving increasing attention in the area of second/additional language teaching. Instead of viewing language learners through a deficiency model, which focuses on students' linguistic insufficiencies, recent teaching approaches start acknowledging their multiple competencies and recognizing various multimodal resources (Wei, 2011), which learners bring to the classroom and use in the negotiation of meaning in interpersonal exchanges. However, the nature of these resources has not been sufficiently explored from a social semiotic perspective and learners' semiotic agency still seems somehow marginalized, if not unnoticed, in the language classroom.

Throughout this paper, I argue that teachers' absence of acknowledgement of learners' semiotic agency and semiotic resources in the second/additional language classroom dilutes the quality of the overall learning experience, and consequently leaves students' 'voice' unheard in their pursuit for recognition. The purpose of this article is, thus, to explore the importance of recognition of language learners' semiotic agency and their various multimodal semiotic resources, which, purposefully and skillfully used, express students' multiple identities and desired social (self)positioning in classroom-related interactions (Budach, 2013). I base my analysis on the framework of social semiotics within the context of the second/additional language classroom, which is influenced by Van Lier's (2004) work on semiotics of language and ecological approaches to language learning (Van Lier, 2004).

In order to understand the extent to which the lack of acknowledgement of learners' semiotic agency affects the learning experience, I examine this concept in detail, and show how closely it is linked to language users' 'voice' and expression of the 'self'. According to Van Lier (2004) the idea of a 'self' is manifested through learners' 'voice', which is influenced variably by socioculturally and environmentally constructed parts of a 'self'. Subsequently,

based on a social semiotic perspective, learners' 'voice' implies a network of co-constructive elements, which involve: social class, status, gender and ethnicity-dependent (re)negotiating identities (Block, 2012), and well as personal experiences, stories, goals and social selfpositioning (Van Compernelle and Williams, 2012). Furthermore, for the purpose of this analysis, it is important to establish that 'voice' is a driving force for learners' agency, and is crystalized through the use of various available multimodal semiotic resources. Taking a social semiotic approach into account when investigating the expression of the 'voice', a term 'semiotic agency' needs to be introduced. I define semiotic agency as language users' 'behavior' driven by a combination of affordances available in the learning environment, and students' volition to act in order to express their 'voice'. According to Van Leeuwen (2005), affordances, also called *semiotic potentials* from the ecological point of view (Van Lier, 2004), are "the potential uses of a given object", whose availability depends on: its apparent attributes, situational context and classroom participants' needs and interest. In addition, Kress (2012) states that accessibility to/of affordances is primarily determined by sociocultural factors, which can potentially restrain or facilitate meaning-making processes. Therefore, when applying a social semiotic perspective in the multicultural and class-diverse classroom, it appears clear that the realization of semiotic potentials can be problematic for both groups, teachers and students.

The idea of semiotic agency in the second/additional language classroom requires, thus, some further investigation, and the variable accessibility of/to affordances, realized through the use of multimodal semiotic resources, needs to be taken into consideration, especially when aspiring for a positive classroom learning experience and successful expression of one's 'voice'.

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## Gergő Turi

### *Two Types of Unaccusative Subjects: Sub-Extraction from Subjects in Hungarian*

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**1 Claims** In this presentation I argue that unaccusative predications constructed with verbal particles (1) have a structure that is different from that of *seem*-like (secondary) predications (2). This differs from analyses where the two are

analyzed syntactically in a parallel fashion, namely as both involving secondary predication, with the verbal particle as the secondary predicate in the former case (cf. Hegedűs 2013). I base my argumentation on the results of two acceptability judgment experiments on sub-extraction out of Hungarian subjects. I assume that *seem*-like predications form a secondary predication phrase: PrP (cf. Bowers 1993). Their subject occupies the subject position of the secondary predication: Spec,Pr, leading to a degradation of sub-extractions out of it. On the other hand, verbal particles form a complex head with the verb. In the case of unaccusative predicates the subject is a sister of the (complex) verb in an internal argument position, from which sub-extraction results in a well-formed structure (cf. Chomsky 2008).

**2 Background** Subjects used to be treated as an opaque strong island (Ross 1967) for subextraction. However, deeper cross- and intra-linguistic analyses uncovered that subjects of different predicates show variation regarding their opaqueness. For instance Russian subjects are transparent, while English subjects are not (Phillips 2013). On the other hand, subextraction from the in situ subject of the existential sentence is acceptable in English (Stepanov 2007), similarly to subjects of unaccusatives and passives (Chomsky 2008).

The competing approaches consider the subject's position in the derived or base structure. According to the freezing approach (going back to Ross 1974) and the VP internal subject hypothesis (Koopman-Sportiche 1991), only a subject that remains in situ can be transparent. A moved NP becomes opaque (gets 'frozen') for further movement operations. Chomsky (2008) considers the base position of the subject: movement out of the external subject position of transitive predicates is degraded, while sub-extraction out of the internal subjects of unaccusatives and passives is acceptable.

**3 The experiments** The two experiments tested sub-extraction out of the subjects of unaccusative (UaS (3a)) and transitive (TrS (3b)) predicates and out of objects (TrO (3c)). In both experiments the statistical analysis found that sub-extraction out of the transitive subject is the least acceptable, while out of the object is acceptable. The status of the unaccusative subject differed in the two experiments. The first experiment contained *seem*-like predications in this condition and it differed significantly from the TrS (UnS TrS:  $p < .05$ ), and the TrO (UnS TrO:  $p < .001$ ) condition as well. On the other hand, the internal arguments (UaS TrO:  $p = .165$ ) differed significantly only from the external argument (TrS UaS:  $p < .001$  TrS TrO  $p < .001$ ) in the second experiment, in which the UaS condition contained verbal particles.

According to these findings, it seems that sub-extraction out of the *seem*-like predication is less acceptable than out of the predication with verbal particles. This phenomenon can be analyzed considering the subjects' base positions: *seem*-like predications involve the subject of genuine secondary predication, while predications constructed with verbal particles have an internal argument subject that is base generated as sister to the verb.

**4 Examples**

- (1) [<sub>TopP</sub> *János*<sub>i</sub> [<sub>PredP</sub> [<sub>Pred'</sub> *meg-érkezett*<sub>j</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V'</sub> *t<sub>j</sub>* [<sub>NP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* ]]]]]].  
 John PRT-arrived  
 ‘John arrived.’
- (2) [<sub>TopP</sub> *János*<sub>i</sub> [<sub>PredP</sub> [<sub>Pred'</sub> *beteg-nek*<sub>k</sub> [<sub>Pred'</sub> *látszik*<sub>j</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>V'</sub> *t<sub>j</sub>* [<sub>PrP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>Pr'</sub> [<sub>AP</sub> *t<sub>k</sub>* ]]]]]]]]]].  
 John sick-DAT seems  
 ‘John seems sick.’
- (3) **Melyik politikussal szeretnéd, hogy ...**  
 ‘With which politician do you want that ...’
- a. Unaccusative subject in post-verbal surface position:  
 ... megjelenjen a sajtóban [**egy izgalmas vita** \_\_ ]?  
 ... [**an exciting debate** \_\_ ] should appear in the press?
- b. Transitive subject in post-verbal surface position:  
 ... megváltoztassa a közvéleményt [**egy izgalmas vita** \_\_ ]?  
 ... [**an exciting debate** \_\_ ] should change the public opinion?
- c. Object in post-verbal surface position:  
 ... megjelentessen az újság [**egy izgalmas vitát** \_\_ ]?  
 ... the newspaper should publish [**an exciting debate** \_\_ ]?’

**5 Data**

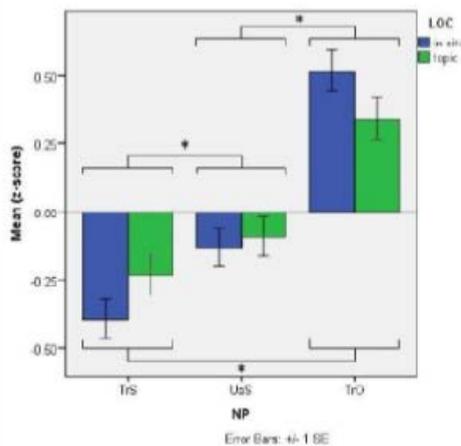


Figure 1. Mean values of the first experiment

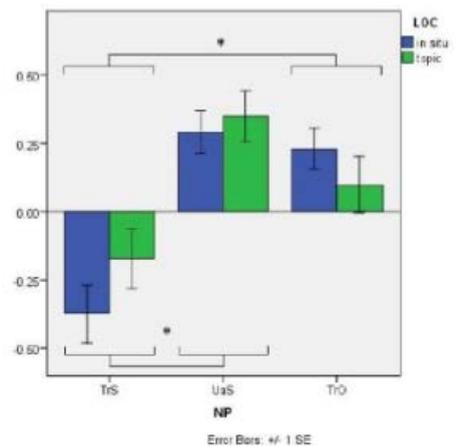


Figure 2. Mean values of the second experiment

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## Yvonne Viesel

### *Embedded Discourse Particles – German Ja in DPs*

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German *ja* ('yes') in its use as a discourse particle is clause-type sensitive and, at the CP level, restricted to declaratives. However, *ja* may appear in interrogatives (cf. 1) within DPs, where it relies on the presence of non-intensional adjectival modifiers. The latter can be analyzed as reduced relative clauses (Kayne 1994; cf. Alexiadou et al. 2007), in which *ja* takes scope.

General consensus holds that discourse particles are possible in appositive relative clauses but not in restrictive ones (e.g. Coniglio 2011) because only the former have an independent illocutionary force domain. Corpus evidence on DP-internal *ja*, recently collected in the DWDS ('Digital Dictionary of the German Language', cf. Klein & Geyken 2010), shows that this observation needs to be refined. While most adjectives occurring with *ja* are indeed appositive, speakers display a strong tendency to add grading, adverbial or negational elements (2), and when they do, the question of appositive vs. restrictive adjective loses its significance (3).

Accounting for the variety of 'extra' elements in APs and the apparently exceptional cases of 'bare' adjectives under *ja*, the common core is that speakers make explicit, almost metalinguistic, reference to properties. In a typical case like (2), where a gradient adjective introduces a scale (Kennedy & McNally 2005, Kennedy 2007, Rett 2007, Solt 2013), this means, bottom-up, that the speaker employs the negational affix *un-* to denote the endpoint of the scale of delicacy, then points to this degree on the scale again by using *ganz*, only to negate it at last (*nicht*), thus pointing from zero to another degree somewhere higher on the same scale. Adjectives that, rarely, appear under *ja* without such explicit reference to the property denoted are not only appositive but also characterized by, e.g., noteworthy scale structures (*mikroskopisch* – 'microscopic': very, very low on the scale of smallness), by an ability to carry iconic stress (*lange* – 'long': improving when pronounced *laaange*), or by already referring to a property that is not inherent to the entity denoted by the

head noun but to the minds of the interlocutors (*bekannt* – ‘notorious’; featuring in 1 of 10 instances without any additional material).

Interestingly, if adverbials such as *immer* (‘always’) or focus particles like *nur* (‘only’) are added, even restrictive relative clauses as in (4) may contain *ja*, as also observed by Hinterhölzl and Krifka (2013) for different particles and clause types. Obviously, speakers make use of a variety of grammatical tools that enable them to use of *ja* in embedded contexts. However, it cannot simply be assumed that *ja* gains access to the Force domain of the matrix structure as this would predict that *ja* were ungrammatical in interrogatives. Neither can it be argued that every DP has its own illocutionary domain (this would overgenerate), and maintaining that *ja* is good in appositive modification would ignore findings like (3) or (4).

Granted that adding ‘extra’ elements, which can be shown to not render a property’s description any more precise, can be used to compensate for lack of (declarative) Force as present in appositive modification, it becomes clear that *ja* “in embedded contexts” operates on conventionally implicated (CI) content. That appositive structures are CIs is a standard view (e.g. Potts 2005), and that (subparts of) APs under *ja* are non-embedded is demonstrated by speakers’ creative punctuation (5 and 6): Speakers enforce access to the CI dimension. This analysis fits into a line of research on items of mixed at-issue and CI content (e.g. McCready 2010 on discourse markers in Quechua and a Japanese evidential) and makes perfect sense in light of *ja*’s semantic contribution: Requesting the hearer to add a proposition to the Common Ground without discussion, as if factive, in order to evaluate what is the actual Question under Discussion at the discourse level (Hinterhölzl and Krifka 2013), or, at the sentence level with *ja* in a DP, to evaluate against the background given in DP what is at-issue in the containing utterance (cf. (3), where the at-issue meaning even relies on the truth of the proposition under *ja*).

- (1) *Wie kommen Sie mit Ihren ja ganz hübschen Ideen an dieser gewaltigen Kraft*  
 how come you with your JA entirely pretty ideas at this enormous power  
 des Marktes v orbei? (Die Zeit, 10/21/2004)  
 the.GEN market. GEN past  
 ‘How can you with your rather neat ideas get around this enormous power of the market?’

→ **ja in DPs, even in interrogatives**

- (2) *ja nicht ganz unheikel* (cf. Die Zeit, 03/13/1964)  
 JA not entirely non.delicate  
 ‘not completely non-delicate’

→ **stacking of ‘extra’ elements**

- (3) *Wenn wir nicht die Marktordnung hätten, würden wir bei den [gegenüber 1914 [ja sehr viel] ungünstigeren] Verhältnissen bereits längst in einer Verpflegungskatastrophe drinstecken* (Darr, Richard. 1935.)  
 ‘If we did not have the market regulation, we would have long been in a provision

catastrophe considering the conditions [that are [very much] more unfavorable in comparison to 1914].' → **non-apositive adjective**

- (4) *Mit Herrn K. bekommt die Firma einen Angestellten, der ja <sup>?</sup>(immer) pünktlich ist.*  
'With Mr. K. the firm gets an employee, who (JA) <sup>?</sup>(always) is on time.'  
→ **non-apositive relative clause**
- (5) *[die] von den Deutschen wie von den Russen gleichermaßen (undzwischen 1939 und 1945 ja nicht zum ersten Mal) überfallene[...] Nation* (Die Zeit, 08/12/2004)  
the by the Germans like by the Russians equally and between 1939 and 1945 JA not to.the first time invaded nation  
'the nation which was invaded by the Germans and the Russians alike (and not for the first time in between 1939 and 1945)' → **subpart of AP in brackets**
- (6) *in seinem, ja keineswegs wissenschaftlichen, Bewußtsein*  
in his JA not.at.all scientific consciousness  
(Bloch, Ernst. 1955. *Das Prinzip Hoffnung II*, 199. Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag.)  
→ **AP in (false, but telling) commas**

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**Anna Zagórska**

***Semantic Prosody in Languages for Specific Purposes on the Example of Legal Language***

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Semantic prosody is defined as “a consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates” (Louw 1993: 154). The presentation will address the issue of semantic prosody in languages for specific purposes (LSP) on the example of legal language. It is intended to present a study which attempts to discover whether semantic prosodies in LSP texts, such as legal texts, differ from semantic prosodies in general language texts and what is the nature of the differences under discussion, provided that they do exist.

In the first part of the talk the presenter will focus on the notion of semantic prosody, taking into consideration both synchronic and diachronic perspective. Besides, attention will be devoted to previous research on semantic prosody in LSP texts as well as to practical applications of the phenomenon under discussion.

In the second part of the talk the presenter will discuss the results of a study of semantic prosodies of several English verbs. The study is carried out on the basis of the English component of *Bononia Legal Corpus* (BOLC), which consists of texts of a legislative, judicial and administrative nature. The verbs chosen for the analysis were already examined for their semantic prosodies by Ellis and Frey (2009), who conducted their research based on the British National Corpus, which is a corpus of general English. The researchers concluded that the verbs under discussion had strongly negative semantic prosodies. The present study follows the methodological procedures adopted by Ellis and Frey (2009) as faithfully as possible in order to ensure detailed and interesting comparison of semantic prosodies in general language and legal language.

**Key words:** semantic prosody, language for special purposes, legal language, language corpus

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**Joanna Zaleska**

***In Defence of the Coda s: Word-Initial #sT Sequences in European Portuguese***

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In the present paper I offer a reanalysis of a set of SSG-violating words in European Portuguese, for which an empty-nucleus insertion rule has been postulated by Mateus and d'Andrade (2002). I argue that even though these words should be viewed as containing a word-initial vowel at the underlying level, they nevertheless do not lend support to a recent claim by Vaux (2014) that adjunction into the appendix is a universal strategy for dealing with initial #sT sequences (as opposed to attaching the /s/ sound into the coda of a syllable formed around an empty nucleus). European Portuguese obeys the Sonority Sequencing Principle (Jespersen 1904, Selkirk 1982), which demands that clusters in syllable onsets rise in sonority in syllable onsets and fall in syllable codas. As a result, words such as these in (1) are invariably syllabified with the clusters broken up into two separate syllables. Mateus and d'Andrade (2002: 44) enumerate three different situations where the SSG is disobeyed, one of them being words that begin with the coronal fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ (derived from underlying /s/), illustrated in (2). The authors argue that the offending cluster is supported by an empty nucleus inserted in the course of derivation. I show that their rule of empty nucleus insertion derives incorrect results in words such as *pasto* [páʃ.tu] 'pasture', where, given the order of rules they propose (with Coda Rule applying only at the postlexical level), an empty nucleus would have to be inserted in a word where the /s/ could be syllabified into the coda. Additionally, their analysis presupposes that Portuguese has two separate rules of empty nucleus insertion, sensitive to the voicing specification of the extrasyllabic consonant. The authors have to stipulate that coronal fricatives are underspecified for voicing in order to enforce empty nucleus insertion to their left and insertion to the right elsewhere. Given that voicing is contrastive in the onset position, as evidenced by the words in (3), this proposal is problematic. Finally, under this analysis it remains unexplained why the empty nucleus is filled with melodic material when the word is preceded by the negative prefix, as illustrated by the words in (4), while it remains empty in other contexts where empty nucleus insertion has been postulated, such as *abstrair* [əbʃstrɛir] 'to abstract'.

The data presented in (2) receive a straightforward account if it is assumed that at the underlying level they contain a word-initial vowel. The deletion of the vowel is justified, inasmuch as /l/ never appears word-initially in European Portuguese. Such a reanalysis, however, does not mean that, the fricatives could be viewed as attached to syllable appendix, contra Vaux (2014). First, word initial #sT sequences in European Portuguese pattern with word internal ones, as

in *abstrair* [əbʃstrɛir] ‘to abstract’. To provide a uniform account of these two environments, it would be necessary to postulate that the ʃ in *abstrair* is also attached to a higher prosodic node. This, however, would mean complicating the rule of Palatalization, which turns /s/ into /ʃ/ in the syllable coda. Under the appendix hypothesis the context of Palatalization would have to be disjunctive, with the rule applying to /s/ in the coda (to account for words like *pasto* [páʃ.tu] and to extrasyllabic sounds attached to the appendix (to account for words like *abstrair* [əbʃstrɛir], where there is no evidence for an underlying vowel between /b/ and /s/).

Another argument against the appendix approach comes from the behaviour of the negative prefix in rapid speech, when the vowel /i/ is frequently deleted. Although fast speech vowel deletion normally feeds the coalescence of a nasal with the preceding vowel, as illustrated in (5), it counterfeeds it when the deleted vowel stands before an #sT sequence, as shown in (6). This contrast would be difficult to explain if ʃ had to be attached to the appendix following i-deletion.

To sum up, the European Portuguese data seem to lend support to the claim that at least some language use empty nuclei to repair illicit syllable structures when no overt strategies (like deletion or insertion) are observed.

### Examples:

- (1) caldo kát.du ‘broth’  
 porto pór.tu ‘harbour’  
 asfalto əʃ.fát.tu ‘asphalt’
- (2) estar [ʃtár] ‘to be’  
 esperado [ʃpíradu] ‘expected’  
 eslavo [ʒlávʉ] ‘Slav’
- (3) chà [ʃà] ‘tea’ jà [ʒà] ‘already’  
 acha [àʃvə] ‘s/he finds’ hajà [àʒvə] ‘there may be’ (subj.)
- (4) esperado [ʃpi.rà.du] ‘expected’ vs. inesperado [iniʃpi.rà.du] ‘unexpected’
- (5) Careful speech                      Fast speech  
 fome ‘hunger’                      [fómɨ] [fõ:]  
 telefone ‘telephone’              [tɨlɨfoni] [tlfõ:]
- (6) Careful speech                      Fast speech  
 inesperado ‘unexpected’ [iniʃpi.rà.du]              [inʃpi.rà.du]

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