

CECILS'S 2

Second
**Central European Conference in Linguistics
for postgraduate Students**

Booklet of Abstracts



24–25 August 2012
Piliscsaba, Hungary

Pázmány Péter Catholic University

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Welcome

It is a great pleasure to welcome you to the Second Central European Conference in Linguistics for postgraduate Students, or by her maiden name: CECIL'S 2.

We initiated CECIL'S as a project last year because we had felt a growing need for an international forum for the presentation and discussion of work by graduate students in linguistics that is organized in the Central European region, in particular, in one of the V4 (Visegrad) countries.

In our region, since the early 1990s, the professional contacts of linguists working in the fields of modern linguistics are and have been mostly directed (in terms of research visits, studies and training, co-operation, etc) towards research centers in Western Europe or overseas. Partly due to these relations, the profession of modern linguistics in countries of V4 region has improved greatly in the last two decades.

We felt it was high time we turned to each other, both to establish stronger contacts across our own region, and also to attract and be host to some enthusiastic colleagues from those universities in the wider Central European region and research centers elsewhere in and around Europe that have been serving as a model for many of us in our studies and research.

Where such a broadening of attention and interest may be stimulated in the most effective way is the open, new, upcoming generation of junior linguists, that is: you, our student presenters. The CECIL'S conference last year was a first attempt at bringing us together to discuss our work and results, and establish fruitful professional personal contacts that may last.

In view of the great success of last year's inaugural CECIL'S, it became our firm belief that this should not be a one-off event. Rather, we would like to see it developed into a recurrent student conference that would offer a regular common forum for the best of our postgraduate students to share and discuss their research ideas and results with their peers from the region, with students of other languages from Europe, and with the invited professors. Last year all of

these three parties contributed in a big way to the educational, workshop-like character of the event, and the overall constructive professional atmosphere that made the inaugural conference a uniquely helpful discussion forum, and an outstanding opportunity for the new, young generation of linguists of the Central-European region to gain international professional experience.

We thank you all for your interest in our project, and for coming to share your ideas. We also thank those many other submitters who sent us great abstracts that we were unable to accommodate within the narrow bounds of the two days of the conference. We would also like to express our gratitude to all the abstract reviewers who have participated in the selection process. Last but not least, we are grateful to the Visegrad Fund for supporting our endeavor.

We wish all of us a great conference!

Balázs Surányi

conference chair

(on behalf of CECIL'S 2 organizers)

CECIL'S 2 VENUES

Main venue

Stephaneum building

Faculty of Arts Campus, Piliscsaba

Pázmány Péter Catholic University

Registration:

main hall, Stephaneum building

Oral presentations:

Pilinszky lecture hall

Poster sessions:

main hall

Coffee breaks:

main hall

Evening reception on 24th August:

outside Stephaneum's main entrance (at the fountain) and in main hall
(depending on weather conditions)

Lunch:

western wing of Stephaneum

Accommodation on campus:

Iosephinum Dormitory (on the other side of the main road)

Conference Program

23rd August, Thursday

12:00-20:00 *Registration*

24th August, Friday

8:30-9:10 *Registration and coffee*

9:10-9:20 *Conference opening*

9:20-10:20 Invited speaker:

Christopher Piñón (Université de Lille 3)

An occasional talk

10:20-10:55 **Anna Prażmowska** (John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin)
Polish coordination as adjunction

10:55-11:10 *Coffee break*

11:10-11:45 **Adina Camelia Bletou** (Universita Ca'Foscari, Venezia)
I Incorporate Nouns of Various Structural Positions and Thematic
Roles, Therefore I Am (The Verb)

11:45-12:20 **Georg Höhn** (University College London)
The 'case' system of Basque: A non-paradigmatic approach

12:20-12:55 **Tamer Akan** (İstanbul Şehir University / Ankara University)
Scrambling in Turkish

12:55-14:00 **Lunch break**

- 14:00-14:35 **Marcin Fortuna** (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)
Syllable theory and representational approaches to Icelandic vowel length
- 14:35-15:10 **Hannah Paton** (Bangor University)
Influence of Welsh Immigration on the Accent of Liverpool
- 15:10-15:25 *Coffee break*
- 15:25-16:00 **Katerina Braunova** (Palacký University Olomouc)
English learners' perception of Czech palatal stops in high-front vs. other vowel contexts
- 16:00-16:35 **Nasir Abbas Rizvi Syed** (Newcastle University)
Learning L2 consonants without formation of a separate category
- 16:35-16:50 *Coffee break*
- 16:50-17:50 **Poster Session 1**
- 18:00- *Conference reception (buffet style)*

25th August, Saturday

- 9:00-9:30 *Registration and coffee*
- 9:30-10:05 **Tamás Halm** (Pázmány Péter Catholic University)
Free choice and focus: the distribution and quantificational force of FCIs in Hungarian
- 10:05-10:40 **Kateřina Danielova** (Palacký University in Olomouc)
On-line Chatting with People of Public Importance: A Case Study

10:40-10:55 *Coffee break*

10:55-11:30 **Júlia Bácskai-Atkári** (Eötvös Loránd University)

The Diachronic System of the Left Periphery of Subordinate Clauses in Hungarian

11:30-12:05 **Miklós Jancsó** (Pázmány Péter Catholic University)

The birth of the preposition like through categorial reanalysis

12:05-13:10 ***Lunch break***

13:10-13:45 **Mirjana Mandić** (University of Nis)

Agreement Morphology in Early Serbian Child Language

13:45-14:20 **Márta Szücs and Eszter Nagy** (University of Szeged and Pázmány Péter Catholic University)

The connection between Theory of Mind and the comprehension of metaphor and irony in typically developing children

14:20-14:30 *Coffee break*

14:30-15:30 **Poster Session 2**

15:30-15:45 *Coffee break*

15:45-16:20 **Susanne Genzel** (Potsdam University)

The prosodic realisation of Yes-No questions in Akan

16:20-17:20 Invited speaker:

Shinichiro Ishihara (Goethe Universität Frankfurt)

On the Clause-Mate Condition in Japanese:
Implicit Prosody and Argument Structure Parsing

17:20-17:30 *Conference closing*

Poster presentations:

Poster Session 1 (16:50-17:50 Friday)

Alicja Dziedzic-Rawska (John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin)

Slang exocentric compound nouns in English: statistical analysis

Bernadette Balázs (Eötvös Loránd University)

Creative prefix derivatives in English – a cognitive linguistic approach

Costin Valentin Oancea (University of Bucharest)

Gender-related variation in the speech of Romanian adolescents

Cristina Canhetti and Paulo Menegon (Catholic University of São Paulo)

Effects of voice quality based on metaphors instruction: an acoustic-phonetic study

Gabriela Slezakova (Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica)

Sociolinguistics, semantics and pragmatics in toponymy (on material of Horná Orava region, Slovakia)

Jae-young Song (Yonsei University)

A Feature of Korean Pronouns – Based on an English-Korean Parallel Corpus Analysis

Georgy Moroz (Russian State University for the Humanities)

The Slavic and Lithuanian adverbials of time frequency “(X) what X” ‘every X’: areal distribution, morphology, syntax and semantics

Noémi Oláh-Nagy (Pázmány Péter Catholic University)

Cultural differences in the mental lexicon - Word association test and cluster analysis

Ilina Ekaterina (Russian State University for the Humanities)

The main types of repairs in the corpus of spoken Russian narratives “Stories about presents and skiing” and a comparative analysis of parallel Italian and Japanese corpuses

Kaidi Rätsep (Tartu Ülikool)

Some remarks on gender differences in colour listing and naming in Turkish

Zsuzsanna Góg (Pázmány Péter Catholic University)

The Rearrangement of the Argument Structure in Hungarian Causatives. Where Does the Agent of the Base Verb Go?

Poster Session 2 (15:55-16:55 Saturday)

María Evelyn Gandon Chapela (University of Vigo)

A Corpus-Based Analysis of Predicate Ellipsis in Late Modern English

Urbánné Kuba Cecilia Éva (Pázmány Péter Catholic University)

An empirical examination of Szilágyi N. Sándor’s Lingual World Model

Petra Martinková (Palacký University in Olomouc)

Means of Coherence in Written and Spoken Discourse

Cristina Canhetti (Catholic University of São Paulo)

Acoustic analysis and images of the vocal tract during the use of metaphors in classical singing: a preliminary study

Ali Algryani (Newcastle University)

On the Syntax of Sluicing and Pseudosluicing in Libyan Arabic

Mária Patona (Pázmány Péter Catholic University)

Topic-markers in Polish

Rudmila-Rodica Ivan (University of Bucharest)

Wondering about OARE: Is it a Q-particle for Romanian?

Yulia Taran (Saint-Petersburg State University)

Perfect in Ingrian Finnish

Magdalena Koper (Adam Mickiewicz University)

Bound words in German and Polish phraseological units - a unique mystery among the lexemes

Ksenia Ershova (Russian State University for the Humanities)

Reported speech in Besleney Kabardian

Ágoston Nagy (University of Szeged)

A statistical analysis of the distribution of pre- and postnominal adjectives in French

Abstracts

You'll find the abstracts of all presentations in the following pages, including both oral and poster presentations. The abstracts, many of which are versions prepared specifically for this booklet, are listed in an alphabetic order of the surnames of the (first) authors.

On Scrambling in Turkish

Tamer Akan

Introduction: The canonical word order is considered to be SOV for Turkish (Erguvanlı, 1984). However, as seen in (1), the application of certain movement operations may yield six different word order patterns, namely OSV, OVS, SOV, SVO, VOS and VSO, which indicates that Turkish is a scrambling language. With respect to the nature of scrambling in Turkish, it has been argued by Kural (1993) that scrambling is an instance of A-bar movement. Contrary to Kural (1993), Öztürk (2005) has argued that clause-internal scrambling can also be an instance of A-movement as well as A-bar movement.

The problem: The problem with previous accounts is that none of them seems to explain the scrambling phenomenon in a unified way and it has always been assumed to be optional. However, this conflicts with the last resort principle of the minimalist program, according to which an element cannot move unless it has to do so. Thus, in this study, I try to propose an analysis that could possibly make scrambling in Turkish compatible with the last resort principle of the Minimalist Program and eliminate optionality from scrambling.

Proposal: In this study, it is claimed that information structural elements like topic and focus are features and they need to check their features against the relevant head. The arguments for the present analysis come from binding as in (2) below, scope and weak crossover effects. The crucial data from binding in favor of this analysis are (2a) and (2b) and (2c). In (2a), the subject has informational focus; the object seems to have undergone A-movement, violating Condition A. However, when the subject is contrastively focused as in (2b) or topicalized as in (2c), the sentence is grammatical, which needs explanation. Thus, scrambling is in close relation with focus and topic features. The idea of relating information structure to scrambling phenomenon is not a new one (İşsever; 2003, Miyagawa, 2004; Özsoy, 2005). In this study, I assume that EPP on T attracts an element bearing the same feature only when a higher topic or focus projection is projected. More precisely, I will argue the features of identificational focus and informational focus are checked at different positions in the structure. Identificational focus triggers movement to FocP and checked at this position, contrary to previous accounts (Göksel and Özsoy, 2000), which argues that focus stays in-situ in Turkish. Informational focus does not trigger movement and is checked via the operation AGREE. Topic feature of arguments will also be checked via overt movement to the specifier position of the relevant head. Thus, in both (2b) and (2c), the subject first moves to specifier position of T, which is resorted for subjects only, and then overtly moves to Spec, FocP or TopP respectively to check their focus and topic features. As for scope, this analysis predicts that any quantifier that is informationally focused has to be in the scope of negation since the surface position of quantifiers decides on their scope (Kural, 1997). However, when the quantifier is identificationally focused, it should take scope over the negation since it will c-command the negation in PF. This prediction is borne out in (3a) and (3b), respectively. In (3a), the numeral quantifier has informational focus and it gets narrow scope with respect to negation. In (3b), the quantifier has identificational focus and gets wide scope over negation, expectedly in this analysis. Thus, in this analysis, all scrambling operations are claimed to take place to check an uninterpretable feature. Following Miyagawa (2004), I argue that EPP is a feature dependent on information structure. We can see how that kind of idea can work in a scrambling language like Turkish and this study can be a step to shed light on the idea of whether different focus types are also realized in different positions in the syntax of Turkish.

- (1) a. Ali kitab-ı oku-du Ali book-ACC read-PAST
“Ali read the book.”
c. Ali ti okudu kitabıı. d. Kitabı Okudu Alii.
e. ti t_j okudu Alii kitabı_j. f. ti t_j okudu kitabı_j Alii.
- (2) a. *Birbirleri-ni adam-lar ti gör-müş
each other-acc Men-pl see-past
“The men saw each other.”
b. birbirleri-ni ADAMLAR ti ara-dı (kadınlar değil)
each other-accmen-pl call-past (women not)
“The men called each other, not the women”
c. birbirleri-ni adam-lar ti ARA-DI
each other-accmen-pl call-past
“The men CALLED each other.”
(adapted from Öztürk, 2005)
- (3) a. [_{TopP} O test-e [_{VP} beş öğrenci gir-me-di]]
that test-DA T five student take-Neg-Past
“Five students didn’t take that test.”
(neg > five, *five>neg)
b. Ali [_{FocP} BÜTÜN TEST-LER-E gir-me-di]] (bazılarına değil)
Ali all test-Pl-DAT take-neg-past (some not)
“Ali did not take all the tests.”
(*neg>all, all>neg)

References:

On the Syntax of Sluicing and Pseudosluicing in Libyan Arabic

Ali Algryani

This study provides a general overview of the syntax of sluicing in Libyan Arabic (LA) with special focus on two issues. First, the present study investigates the sluicing phenomenon and seeks to determine whether what appears as sluicing in LA, e.g. (1), is an instance of sluicing or pseudosluicing. It is worth noting that sluicing and pseudosluicing can be indistinguishable in some contexts in LA. This can be ascribed to several factors. For instance, this language has no equivalent to the expletive ‘it’, and it has no present-tense copula forms in cleft structures. Furthermore, case is not marked morphologically in the language and thus there is no indication of whether or not the case of the sluiced wh-phrase is identical to that of its correlate.

- (1) Ali zār waʔəd, lakən miš ʔarəf man.
Ali visited.3MS someone but NEG know.1MS who
‘Ali visited someone, but I don’t know who.’

Second, Libyan Arabic is a non-p-stranding language that seems to display preposition stranding (p-stranding) under sluicing, as in (2), despite the fact that it is prohibited under regular wh-movement. This instance can be taken as *prima facie* evidence against the p-stranding generalisation, which is considered as an argument for deriving sluicing by wh-movement followed by TP deletion at PF (Merchant 2001). Taking into account the properties of clefts, resumptive wh-questions and the functions of pronominal copulas, it is proposed that sluicing under p-stranding derives from a copular source, and thus is an instance of pseudosluicing despite its superficial appearance as sluicing.

- (2) hiyya galət inn-ha təkəllmət mʔə waʔəd, lakən
she said.3FS that-she talked.3FS with someone but
ma-galət-š (mʔə) man.
NEG-said.3FS-NEG (with) who
‘She said that she talked with someone, but she didn’t say (with) who(m).’

The reason why pseudosluicing displays p-stranding effects can be attributed to the fact that the wh-pivots of clefts cannot be headed by a preposition. The deletion of the preposition alongside the relative clause leads to the illusion that sluicing exhibits p-stranding effects. This analysis, if on the right track, provides novel evidence based on sluicing facts for the claim that Arabic resumptive wh-questions are copular clauses (Shlonsky 2002).

References

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The Diachronic System of the Left Periphery of Subordinate Clauses in Hungarian

Júlia Bácskai-Atkári

Adopting a minimalist framework, my talk investigates the diachronic changes affecting complementisers and relative operators in Hungarian subordinate clauses, showing that the elements of the present-day system are derivable via the same mechanisms and that the different positions are chiefly due to different timing. Though the main focus will be on Hungarian, I will also demonstrate that the processes in question can also be traced in English, albeit with a different outcome, which will also be accounted for.

Regarding the structure of the left periphery, I adopt the cartographic approach, according to which there are two CP layers (cf. Rizzi 1997), the upper C head being responsible for Force and the specifier of the lower CP hosting relative operators. The development of present-day Hungarian complementisers involved two stages (see Figure 1): first, they were reanalysed from operators to lower C heads, following the mechanism of the relative cycle (cf. Roberts and Roussou 2008; van Gelderen 2009). Second, from lower C heads they were reanalysed as (inherently Force-marking) higher C heads, just in the way Old English *that* did (cf. van Gelderen 2009).

Although the processes are fundamentally the same, there was a considerable difference with respect to timing: while the changes affecting *hogy* ‘that’ and *ha* ‘if’ took place mostly before the Old Hungarian period, the ones affecting *mint* ‘than’ and *mert* ‘because’ happened during the Old and Middle Hungarian periods. Hence in Old Hungarian *hogy* and *ha* were typically higher C heads already, while *mint* and *mert* were either still operators or lower C heads. Interestingly, this allowed for the co-appearance of two complementisers, or of a higher complementiser and an operator within the same left periphery. The order of such combinations was naturally fixed (i.e. higher C + lower C, or higher C + operator).

However, the underlying order could change if the lower C head moved up to the higher C head position even if the latter was already filled by another element. In this case, due to Kayne’s Linear Correspondence Axiom (Kayne 1994), the element moving up is adjoined from the left, hence changing an underlying XY order (such as *hogymert* ‘that because’) into YX (such as *merthogy* ‘because that’). Though initially derived via movement, such complex complementisers could later be grammaticalized into a single unit. These processes are shown in Figure 2. Naturally, as ordinary relative operators such as *ki* ‘who’ did not develop into C heads at all, there are no inverse order variants for combinations like *hogy ki* ‘that who’.

Two observations must be made here. First, only fully grammaticalized complex units could remain in the grammar: the sequence of two separate C heads is no longer allowed. This is because, as will be shown, after a while no complementiser was base-generated in the lower C head. Second, most combinations involved *hogy* ‘that’ without any semantic change with the addition of *hogy*: this was because *hogy*, having lost many of its specific functions (e.g. the comparative marker) was extended as a general marker of declarative Force in a wide range of clauses (including relatives). However, as other complementisers came to mark declarative Force inherently too, *hogy* gradually disappeared from these structures.

I will show that this is not all unique to Hungarian but in fact double complementisers did arise in English too, as described by van Gelderen (2005) – e.g. *for that* or *if that*. Moreover, the appearance of *that* in a number of structures suggests that it was a general marker of declarative Force too. However, in English, as will be demonstrated, the movement of *that* from the lower to the higher C head was prohibited when the latter already contained another complementiser. Hence the movement of *that* was possible only in the absence of an element in the higher C head: consequently, when *that* was already reanalysed as a higher C head, it could by no means co-occur with other complementisers. Hence English has no grammaticalized complex complementisers in the way Hungarian does.

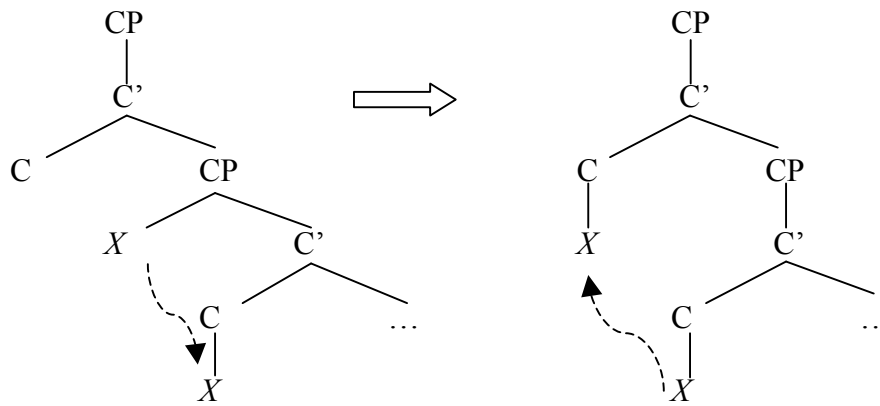


Figure 1

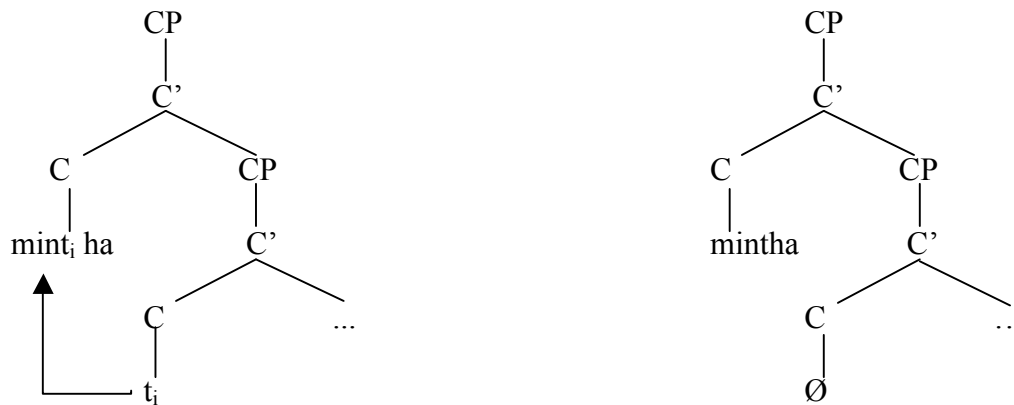


Figure 2

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Creative prefix derivatives in English – a cognitive linguistic approach

Bernadette Balázs

Although traditional descriptive morphological approaches do make note of certain semantic inconsistencies within prefixation (see, e.g., Marchand 1969, Matthews 1973, Adams 1973), the topic has largely been dealt with in a straightforward and category-based manner. Accordingly, prefixation represents a subgroup within affixation, and it is supposed to follow predictable word-formation rules. More recent approaches (Adams 2001, Lehrer 1999) tend to question the classical categorisations behind affixation and word-formation categories in general, erasing the “classical” boundaries between, e.g., derivation and compounding. As a result, the very status of prefixes has become a matter of debate (Bauer 2003): the traditional category of ‘bound morpheme’ is shifting towards lexeme-like considerations concerning prefixes. This shift in typology is induced predominantly from a semantic perspective, generating differing standpoints concerning what a prefix might be. A metonymy-based concept of grammar (Langacker, 2009) —within the wider context of cognitive linguistics— might fill in some of the spaces left open by traditional approaches, as it emphasizes the role of vagueness and indeterminacy as structuring elements and questions compositionality as the focus of meaning making. Treating prefixes therefore on the basis of definite, limited meanings, with compositionality as the starting point, does not simply pave the way for creating meaning in a number of prefix-derivatives.

Acquaintance with the postulated cognitive notions behind ‘creative noun-noun compounds’ (Benczes, 2006) makes a related phenomenon apparent in case of prefix derivatives as well: not all prefix formations are transparent. In fact, understanding them might require elaborate cognitive processes. The presentation will focus on examples that demonstrate non-conventional, creative language use, which has traditionally been either neglected or treated as a phenomenon falling outside the scope of examination.

The examples to be discussed in the presentation are gathered from dictionaries and internet sites. They serve two purposes: on the one hand, they exemplify some of the problems not dealt with within traditional approaches concerning prefixes. On the other hand, they show that even though English has a strong preference for suffixation, creative prefix formations are regularly used to come up with words for current, culturally conditioned concepts.

‘I Incorporate Nouns of Various Structural Positions and Thematic Roles, Therefore I Am’ (The Verb)

Bleotu Adina Camelia

The aim of this paper is to clarify the concept of ‘incorporation’ in the context of noun-incorporating verbs in English and Romanian (*a face*, ‘to do’, *a pune*, ‘to put’, *a da*, ‘to give’ a.o.) and to try and solve certain problems faced by the conflation theory proposed by Hale & Keyser (2002). From a theoretical perspective, the paper sets out to establish what elements incorporate and what elements do not incorporate, both from a semantic point of view (what theta-roles) and from a syntactic point of view (what structural positions), and also, to put forth an analysis that can account for the empirical data.

In the framework proposed by Hale & Keyser (2002), incorporation is defined as a syntactic process that takes place in the lexicon, at l-syntax (lexical syntax), by means of which a category becomes the sister of another category, and the two categories are spelled out as a new item (through the phonological process of conflation). The verb *sing*, for example, is formed through the conflation of the noun *song* into the light verb *do*.

However, this process is subjected to its constraints. Structurally, specifiers can never incorporate, only complements can ((deep) direct objects in Baker’s (1988) terms). Thematically, Agents can never incorporate, only nouns bearing theta-roles such as Theme (1), Location (2) and Locatum (displaced Theme) (3) can:

- (1) My mother smiled (*My mother gave a smile.*)
- (2) He shelved the books. (*He put the books on the shelf.*)
- (3) Minnie saddled the horse. (*Minnie fitted the horse with a saddle.*)

Nevertheless, this is not the only proposal on the market. Damonte (2004) proposes an analysis of incorporation in which the only structural constraint is that there be a c-command relation between the head being incorporated and the head that incorporates (Fig 1). This analysis allows for the incorporation of specifiers, thus explaining multiple incorporation verbs. Moreover, it explains why Agents do not incorporate (they are specifiers above the verb)ⁱ.

In this paper, we aim at bringing both theoretical arguments and empirical data to support Damonte’s proposal, and try to refine it. From a theoretical perspective, Hale & Keyser’s (2002) approach to conflation clearly needs revisiting, given the fact that it projects complements sometimes as ‘complements’ of heads, and sometimes as specifiers (the nearest specifiers), and there is a ban on the incorporation of specifiers. In addition, Damonte (2004)’s idea ties in very well with Kayne’s (1994) antisymmetry, namely, the idea that there is only one Specifier per head and no (multiple) adjuncts. Empirically, we look at various types of incorporation verbs in English and Romanian (activity verbs, ‘animal birth-giving’, verbs of ‘dining’, verbs of harvesting, weather verbs a.o.), supporting Damonte’s analysis. The existence of verbs such as *fish* in *We fished the salmon yesterday.* brings evidence of an extra-nominal layer for the complement, suggesting that the analysis requires both silent (light) verbs and silent nouns (*fish*).

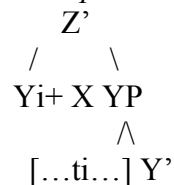
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i. Tentatively, we also explore the possibility of a different parameter value setting explanation for the existence of Agent-incorporating verbs in a language such as Chuckchee (isolate, Siberia).

Figure 1

Incorporation out of a specifier position



English learners' perception of Czech palatal stops in high-front vs. other vowel contexts

Kateřina Braunová

The present study is focused on perception of Czech palatal stops /c/ and /ɟ/ by native English learners. According to Best and Tyler (2007, 28-29) either only one member of non-native contrast could be perceived as exemplar of native category or both members of contrast could be perceived as exemplars of native category; one of them as more deviant, which would result in more or less easier perception. However, perception of this non-native contrast could be also possibly influenced by its context: by preceding or following vowels. For English learners of Czech palatal stops it could be more difficult to distinguish palatal stops if the stop is followed or preceded by high front vowel /i/ or /i:/ than by other vowels (as suggested by some findings by Atkey, 2001) because the locus of /c/ of second-formant C-V transitions is in the same place as F2 of /i/, therefore there are not going to be any large and audible CV formant transitions.

The present study tested this hypothesis on a group of twelve native speakers of American English (L1en speakers) between 20 and 46 years and a control group of fourteen Czech native speakers, students at Palacký University in Olomouc, between 22 and 29 years. L1en speakers' length of exposure to Czech varied from one year and two months to twenty years. They identified tested segments /t/, /d/, /c/, /ɟ/, /k/ or /g/, which occurred word initially, medially and finally (with exception of voiced stops /d/, /ɟ/ and /g/ because in Czech they are subjects to final devoicing) in Forced Choice Phoneme Selection Task (FCPS) task, which consisted of 250 disyllabic nonsense words stimuli produced by two female native Czech speakers.

Repeated-measures ANOVA found no significant ($p > .1$) difference between L1en speakers' perception of palatals preceded by high front vowels and by other vowels. However, a repeated-measures ANOVA with Voice and Following Vowel as within-speaker factors revealed that there was a significant main effect of Following Vowel $F(1, 11)=19.775$, $p=.00098$. It was also found (see Figure 1) that there was no significant interaction between Following Vowel and Voicing [$F(1, 11)=3.8862$ $p=.07436$] and that the L1en speakers' responses to voiceless and voiced palatal stops did not significantly differ.

L1en speakers did not have major problems with perception of palatals in context of different preceding vowels. They probably identified them by different acoustic cues than by transitions into a consonant. However, they had problems with perception of palatals in context of different following vowels. They had problems with perception of both voiced and voiceless palatals followed by high front vowels. In spite of the fact that voiceless palatal stops have stronger burst and so the speakers could possibly have less problems with perception of voiceless palatal stops, the difference between perception of voiceless and voiced palatal stops was not significant.

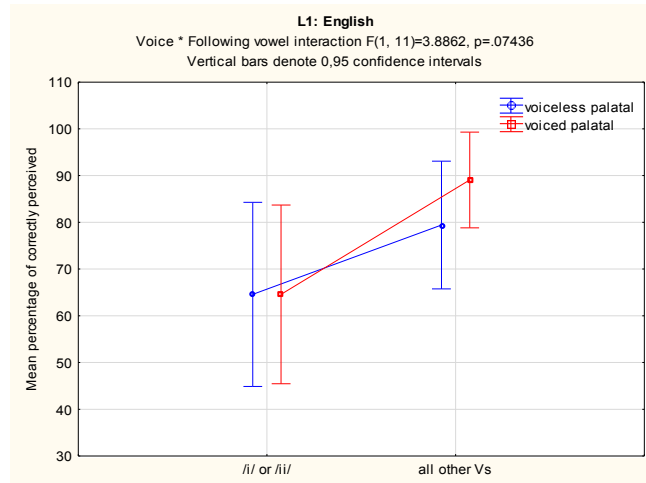


Figure 1 The mean percentage of incorrectly perceived voiced palatal /tʃ/ and voiceless palatal /ç/ followed by either /i/ or /ii/ or other vowels by L1en speakers.
/ii/ high unrounded vowel /i:/

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Effects of voice quality based on metaphors

Paulo Menegon and Cristina Canhetti

OBJECTIVE: to investigate, in singing samples, some acoustic characteristics (long-term average spectrum, f_0 , formant frequency (F1, F2 & F3) and spectral slope measurements) related to phonoarticulatory changes in voice quality settings.

METHODS: two female subjects (S1 and S2), with no training in singing, listened three times to a recording, performed by a professional singer, of a well-known folklore song named "Sapo Jururu" and then made three recordings of it: the first with no instructions (NI), the second and the third following instructions based on the prism (MP) and the cathedral (MC) as metaphors. The acoustic analysis was carried out by means of the PRAAT software. A script was applied in order to plot the formant frequency measures. All the acoustic measures underwent statistical analysis: mean comparison test and the discriminant analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: fundamental frequency (f_0), formants (F1, F2, F3) and spectral slope measures indicated that the MP and MC productions showed lower values of spectral slope (p value = 0, F : 78.31 and F critical: 4.96), suggesting that the pattern of glottal adduction was modified in a higher degree by glottal closure, especially in S1. The results of the statistical tests run separately by each subject showed p value of 0.005 (F : 30.66 and F critical: 7.70) for S1 and 0.0002 (F : 159.10 and F critical: 7.70) for S2. The increased f_0 measures in the singing samples obtained after the introduction of the metaphors correlated with the findings on laryngeal activity, especially in the case of the second metaphor in S2. The formant frequencies values of the samples varied under the influence of metaphors, and these correlations were confirmed by discriminant analysis (F1 and F2 measures showed 65% of capability of detecting in cathedral metaphor). For S1 (figure 1), the two metaphors resulted in the expansion of the area of the vowel trapeze, but for S2 (figure 2), only the prism metaphor had such an effect besides showing a tendency to backward productions. The results indicated that the metaphors were influential.

CONCLUSION: the results showed that the metaphors induced changes in the use of laryngeal (as indicated by spectral slope and f_0 measures) and supralaryngeal (as indicated by F1 and F2 formant frequencies measures) voice quality settings.

Figure 1. S1 vowel chart: without metaphor, prism metaphor and cathedral metaphor.

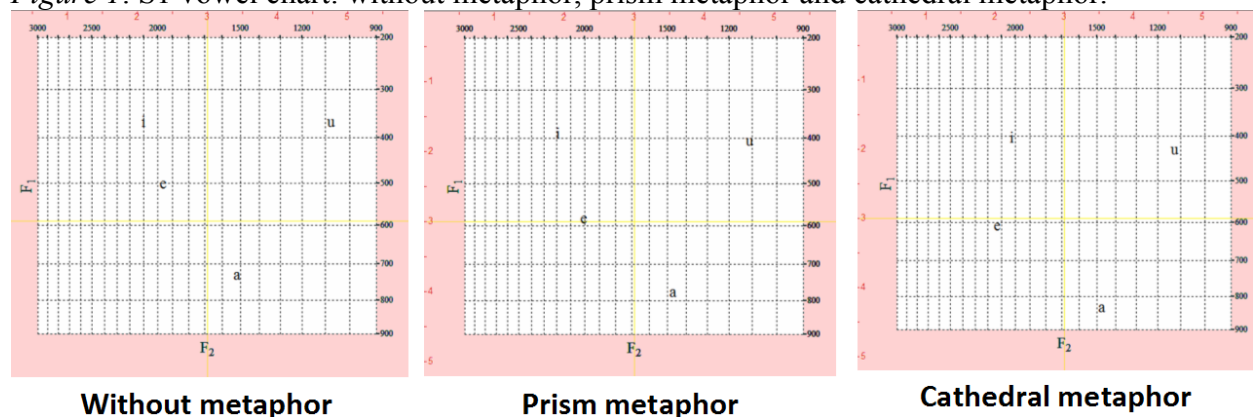
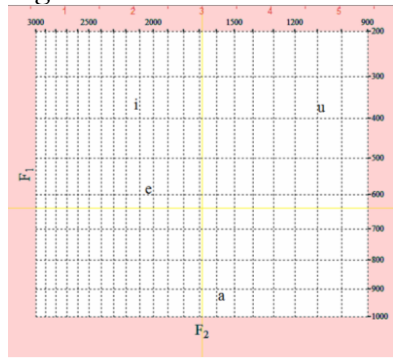
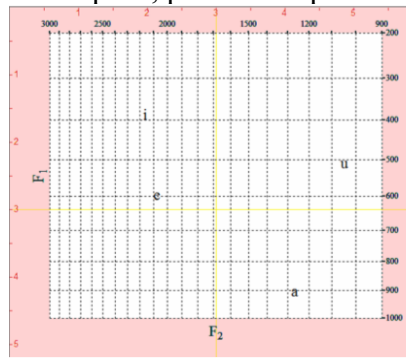


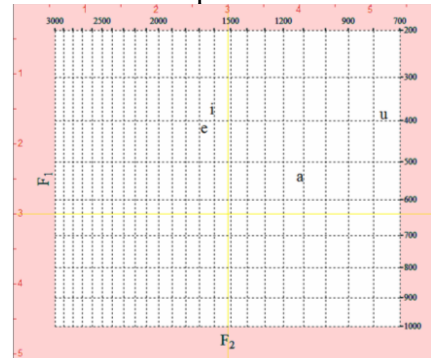
Figure 2. S2 vowel chart: without metaphor, prism metaphor and cathedral metaphor.



Without metaphor



Prism metaphor



Cathedral metaphor

Acoustic analysis and vocal tract images

Cristina Canhetti

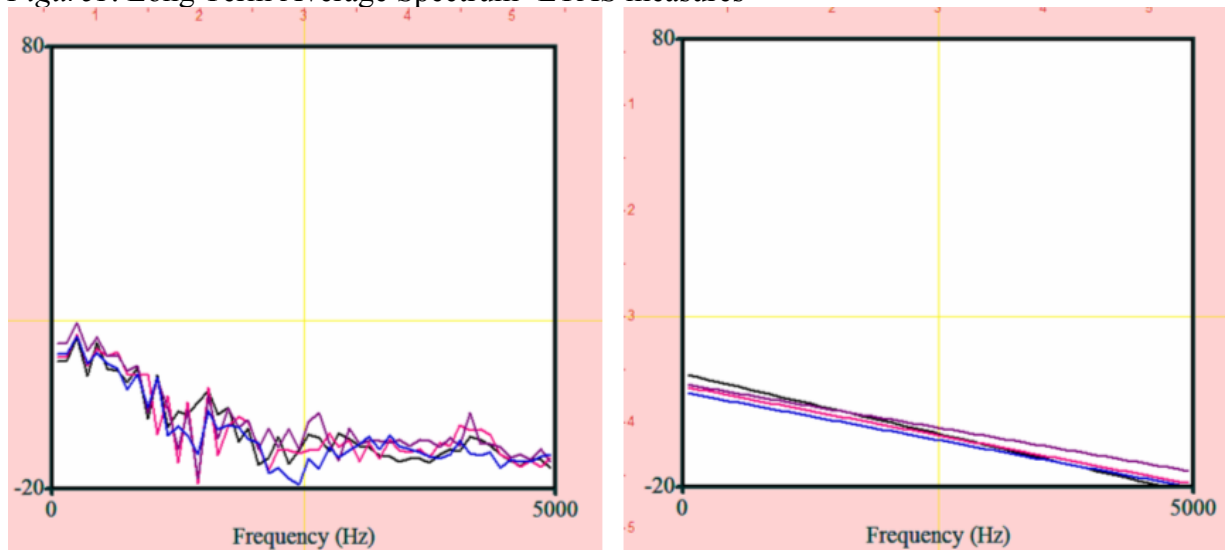
OBJECTIVE: to investigate, on singing data, the acoustic characteristics (long-term average spectrum-LTAS, f_0 , first f_0 derivate, vocal range, intensity, spectral slope and formant frequencies measures) and articulatory (vocal tract images) settings of voice quality produced under the influence of instructions based on metaphors.

METHODS: the corpus comprised acoustic and videofluoroscopic recording (simultaneous) by one subject, female without experience in singing. Recordings of a well-known folklore song named "Sapo Jururu" were performed in four tasks: the first without instructions, the others followed an instruction based on the prism, the cathedral and ufo as metaphors. For the acoustic analysis, the utterance: "Sapo Jururu, da beira do rio" was selected. The LTAS were generated and measures of vocal range and formants frequencies (F1, F2 and F3) were extracted. The same samples were submitted to the script Expression EvaluatorbySG running in PRAAT software, for automatic extraction of f_0 and 1st f_0 derivate, intensity and spectral slope measures. The formant frequencies measures were submitted to a script in order to built the vowel chart. The videofluoroscopic images were submitted to frame-by-frame analysis. The articulatory and acoustic data were related to each other.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: fundamental frequency (f_0) and formant frequencies (F1, F2 and F3) measures showed distinct mobilizations when performing tasks elicited by metaphors, compared to the neutral task. These findings were also evident in the LTAS (figure 1). Singing samples obtained after the introduction of the metaphors showed increased spectral slope values compared to neutral emission, suggesting a lower level of glottal adduction. In terms of acoustic indexes of laryngeal activity, there were similar f_0 values for the passages with the use of metaphors cathedral and ufo. On the vowel trapeze (figure 2), the prism metaphor resulted in reduced area of the vowel chart, with a tendency to advanced vowel productions, while the cathedral metaphor lead to the expansion of the vowel trapeze area, also with a tendency to more advanced vowel productions. Finally, the ufo metaphor was related to the reduced area of the vowel trapeze, showing a tendency to backward productions. The vocal tract images analysis revealed, for the prism metaphor, settings of closed jaw and raised larynx, when compared to the neutral task. The cathedral metaphor lead to settings of open jaw, pharyngeal expansion and lowered larynx. The ufo metaphor was related to pharyngeal constriction and raised larynx settings.

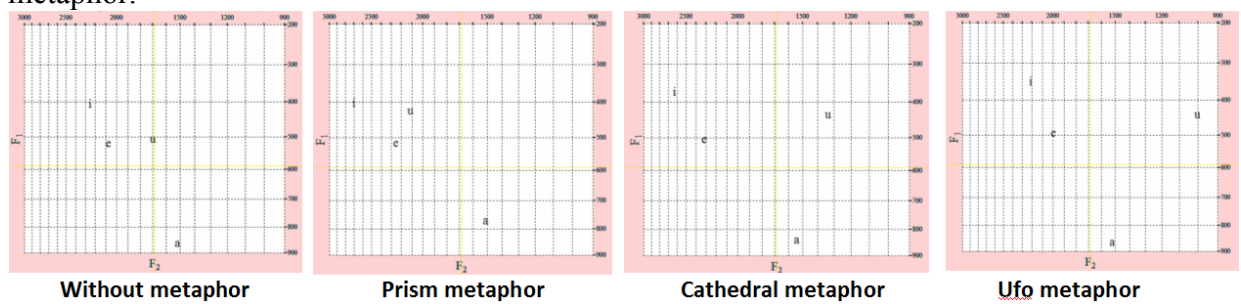
CONCLUSION: the results showed congruence between acoustic and articulatory findings, reinforcing the integration of differentiated laryngeal and supralaryngeal settings of voice quality changes in singing voice samples produced under the influence of metaphors.

Figure1. Long Term Average Spectrum- LTAS measures



Black: Without metaphor; **Pink:** Prism metaphor;
Purple: Cathedral metaphor; **Blue:** Ufo metaphor

Figure2. Vowel Chart: without metaphor, prism metaphor, cathedral metaphor and ufo metaphor.



On-line Chatting with People of Public Importance: A Case Study

Kateřina Danielov

The paper deals with specific features of on-line communication on moderated chats provided by a news server *Novinky. cz*. Complete archival records of the interaction conducted in 2010 were analysed. The material database consisted of 40 records with 41 VIP guests involved. The ratio of men and women invited as chat guests was 3:1, respectively. Chat is treated as a specific form of communication with respect to both face to face communication and typically informal on-line chat communication. Theoretical basis for mutual comparison of different communication modes is provided by Kořenský et al. 1999 and Jandov et al. 2006.

The paper aims to analyze the influence of the communication medium on the communication process. Formal features that may influence the shape of the interaction include partial anonymity of the one communicant. Anonymity is provided by the communication medium itself, moreover, it is supported by the nicknames used. The analysis focuses on the percentage of replicas posted under nicknames; furthermore, features identifying the gender of communicants are traced. Attention is mainly paid to nicknames underspecified with respect to gender.

The interaction is monitored with respect to the total number of replicas answered within one hour communication time. The influence of the time of chatting may be monitored, as the ratio morning and afternoon sessions is approximately 1:1. From the viewpoint of communication contents, the chats differ from debates by the occurrence of replicas that do not require an informative reaction of the guest. These replicas express personal attitudes (usually regarding support or critique of the guests or their activities). The percentage of such replicas is monitored; attention is paid to the assumed gender of their authors.

The paper aims to state whether there are gender specific differences in the strategies used to communicate (dis)agreement. The informativity of the dialogues is measured as the ratio of informative and phatic replicas. The language used is analysed with respect to the features of spoken discourse, spontaneity and informality. Epistemic modality is regarded a vital part of information structure. The degree of cohesion and coherence is also focussed upon as it may be influenced by the spontaneity of the interaction. The analysis results will be compared with chat interaction within 10 selected episodes of an interactive programme Hyde park broadcasted in 2010 to allow for generalizations of the results obtained.

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Slang exocentric compounds in English: statistical analysis

Alicja Dziedzic-Rawska

In the development of linguistics in general, little research has been done into one of language fastest developing areas, namely slang. Reaching cross-sectional resources in this language area is of utmost difficulty. Furthermore, little attention to this topic is given in schools. However, many slang dictionaries in different languages are available, which makes more research possible. The technological revolution at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, e.g. access to the internet, made rapid evolution of informal language possible. Informal language cannot only be found in internet forums and blogs, but more frequently it appears in advertisements and newspaper articles. To full comprehension of the writer's idea it is unavoidable to understand the most recent slang expressions. Because of the fact that slang evolves in time, to achieve the aforementioned goal, it is also crucial to have knowledge about slang in the past.

The most enigmatic in slang, for unprepared member of audience, are exocentric compounds. Little research has been carried out to thoroughly investigate them. Therefore the aim of this study was to investigate slang exocentric compound nouns in the English language used in Great Britain, Canada and USA, Australia, New Zealand and other English speaking countries. A selected group of words was first classified into semantic groups and later divided according to two figures of speech: metaphor and metonymy. Careful analysis of the meaning of the compounds in question was conducted, taking into account the constituent meanings in Standard English and in slang. Results of the analysis showed that correct examination of the meaning of many slang exocentric compounds is not possible without, at least partial, knowledge of numerous slang expressions. Moreover, compounds with similar meanings often have at least one of the constituents identical. The second classification concerned the usage period of the terms. Making such categorization revealed that the most of the considered slang compounds emerged in 20th century. In the case of all of the abovementioned classifications, statistical studies were conducted and summarizing charts were created.

What results from the analysis that has been carried out is that often the creation of new slang compound expressions is based on the already existing compounds by resemblance. The most developing semantic groups are the ones connected to addictions, crime, intolerance and racism, which are mainly negative and are not publicly expressed as an opinion. Slang compounds are more and more important in human relations. In understanding of their meaning, it is helpful to have knowledge about the place where particular slang expressions have originated and about the group of people who use them. However, pinpointing their emergence in time is even more crucial to fully understand the subject.

Reported speech in Besleney Kabardian

Ksenia Ershova

Reported speech has been a topic of interest for many researchers of linguistics and philosophy in the past years. The interface between the actual and reported speech acts, the differences between direct and indirect speech, strategies that are intermediate between direct and indirect speech, the phenomenon of so-called “indexical monsters” have been subjects of both theoretical and typological work [Güldeman, von Roncador 2002; Schlenker 2003; Toldova 1999; Coulmas 1986].

This work focuses on one of the strategies of conveying reported speech in the Besleney dialect of the Kabardian language (Circassian < Northwest Caucasian): a construction involving a converb formed from the verb *ž'jerjə*- ‘to speak’ combined with a finite predicate in the subordinate clause (1). This strategy is interesting in the sense that it displays features of both direct and indirect speech. Strategies that are intermediate between direct and indirect speech are typologically common (see [Arutjunova 1992] about Russian, [Daniel 2008] about Daghestanian languages, [Maier (to appear)] about ancient Greek; [Güldeman, von Roncador 2002] and [Coulmas 1986]). I argue that the construction with the converb *ž'jerjə* exhibits a nontrivial combination of traits, which may provide new data for the typology of reported speech.

The construction with the converb *ž'jerjə* is analyzed based on the criteria offered in [Toldova 1999]:

- 1) The form of the predicate: non-finite subordinate form in indirect speech and finite form in direct speech;
- 2) Expressing coreference with the speaker of the reported speech act: deictic pronouns in direct speech and anaphoric or logophoric pronouns in indirect speech;
- 3) The possibility of using categories such as vocatives and imperatives in direct speech.

The construction with the converb *ž'jerjə* has several direct speech features: the verb form is finite (as in independent clauses), and vocatives may be used in this construction (2). The construction in question exhibits so-called “monstrous” behavior (as defined in [Kaplan 1989]): first and second person pronouns used in this construction may refer either to the speaker or addressee of the reported speech act, or to the participants of the actual speech act (such constructions are ambiguous) (3). It is interesting to note that no deictic shift in respect of the speaker of the reported speech act takes place: first person pronouns may not be replaced by anaphoric demonstratives (4) and spatial reference must be deictic and not anaphoric.

It is also worth noting that the converb *ž'jerjə*, on the one hand, does not exhibit typical features of a reportative element, i.e. it takes different personal forms (see (2) for third person plural) and cannot be used without a matrix predicate. On the other hand, the converb shows a certain degree of grammaticalization: it can be used not only with utterance predicates, but also with some mental predicates (4).

Thus, we can see that the construction with the converb *ž'jerjə* is a strategy that is intermediate between direct and indirect speech. It is interesting that the converb, having different verbal forms and thus not showing morphological signs of grammaticalization, has undergone partial de-semantization. Similar constructions are present in other Circassian languages (see [Jakovlev, Aškhamaf 1941: 137-138] for Adyghe and [Jakovlev 1938: 54-55] for Standard Kabardian), but have not been analyzed in detail. It would be interesting to collect similar data for these languages and compare them with our construction. This construction may also provide new typological insight into the phenomenon of deictic shifting and the grammaticalization of reportative markers.

- (1) [we wə-djele ž'-je-r-jə]
 you 2SG.ABS-stupid mouth-3SG.A+speak-CNV-ADD
 qə-z-ž'-jə-ŋ-a aslen
 DIR-1SG.IO-mouth-3SG.A-speak-PST Aslan
 "‘You’re stupid”, Aslan said to me’
- (2) a-xe-r qe-wəpč-a-xe [ahmed hjenape
 that-PL-ABS DIR-ask-PST-PL Ahmed disgrace
 də-p-šə-n-wə wə-qe-č'a-wə-ra
 1PL.ABS-2SG.A-do-POT-ADV 2SG.ABS-DIR-come-ADV-PRED
 ž'-a-r-jə]
 mouth-3PL.A+speak-CNV-ADD
 'They asked: "Ahmed, you came to disgrace us?"'
- (3) [se sə-djele ž'-je-r-jə]
 I 1SG.ABS-stupid mouth-3SG.A+speak-CNV-ADD
 qə-z-ž'-jə-ŋ-a aslen
 DIR-1SG.IO-mouth-3SG.A-speak-PST Aslan
 1. 'Aslan_i said to me_j, "I_i am stupid"'
 2. 'Aslan_i said to me_j, that I_j am stupid'
- (4) [a-r djele ž'-je-r-jə] j-we-gŋəšəps
 that-ABS stupid mouth-3SG.A+speak-CNV-ADD DAT-DYN-think
 'He_i thought, "He_{*ij} is stupid"'

Abbreviations

SG – singular; ABS – absolutive; DAT – dative; A – agent; CNV – converb; ADD – additive; DIR – directive; IO – indirect object; PST – past tense; PL – plural; POT – potential; ADV – adverbial; PRED – predicative.

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Syllable theory and representational approaches to Icelandic vowel length

Marcin Fortuna

The purpose of the paper is to test two modern representational theories of phonology (Standard Government Phonology and Scheerian Strict CV) against the phenomenon of vowel length distribution in Icelandic. It will be argued that neither SGP nor Strict CV (as it stands now) successfully explains the distribution of vowel length in Icelandic when all facets of the phenomenon are taken into account.

The regularity seems very simple at the first glance: stressed vowels are lengthened in open syllables (where an *open syllable* denotes also a syllable with a single consonant in the coda). Additionally, there is a group of consonants clusters before which the vowel is also long: *p, t, k, s + j, v, r*. These are believed to be branching onsets of the next (unstressed) syllable. The phenomenon has provoked a lot of research in many different frameworks.

Gussmann (2002, 2006ab) described the problem within the framework of SGP. He formulated one statement which captures most of the examples: „stressed rhymes in Modern Icelandic must branch either in having a long nucleus or in having a short vowel and a consonant in the rhymal position” (2006a: 23). However, if a closer look at the data is taken, two theory-internal problems arise. First, the interaction of consonants in such coda-onset clusters violates the commonly accepted principle in GP, according to which the onset cannot be less complex than the coda – vowel is short in words like *biðja* [bʰiðja] ‘to ask’, *hafra* [hafra] ‘oat, gen. pl.’, *emja* [ɛmja] ‘to wail’, *fegra* [feyra] ‘to beautify’. This suggests that an approximant can govern a more complex fricative or a nasal in the coda. Consequently, Gussmann suggests even that the complexity condition on coda-onset clusters should be abandoned (2006a: 32). Although it could be tempting to call the above mentioned clusters *bogus clusters*, such a move destroys the generalisation - why should a nucleus not be allowed to branch before a bogus cluster? There is no mechanism in SGP which could serve to express this kind of relation. The second (and bigger) problem is that the rule of lengthening introduces alternations into paradigms: *finir* [fi:nir] ‘fine, nom. masc. pl’ vs. *fiñt* [fiñt] ‘fine, nom. neut. sg.’. One of the cornerstones of GP is *the Projection Principle* (KLV 1990: 221), which bans resyllabification. Such examples fly in the face of the Projection Principle – resyllabification seems to be ubiquitous in Icelandic. In order to avoid this problem, Gussmann relegates the alternation to morphophonology by saying that the two alternants do not have the same representations in the lexicon. This means that almost every Icelandic lexeme has two allomorphs: with a long and with a short vowel. Although this conclusion saves the Projection Principle, it is unacceptable, since the alternation is purely phonologically conditioned and phonological means should be exploited to express it. However, this is impossible if one endorses the SGP view of syllabic interaction.

Scheer (2004: 255-259) also formulates his own explanation of Icelandic tonic lengthening, couched within the Strict CV theory. He proposes that stress projects an empty CV unit, to which melody of the preceding vowel is spread in case this CV is licensed by the following nucleus: therefore the vowel can be long in *finir* (the [i] licences the preceding CV slot), but not in *fiñt* (the nucleus between [n] and [t] is properly governed, therefore it cannot contract lateral relations). Although Scheer’s account does not aim at descriptive exhaustiveness and Icelandic examples are used alongside examples from other languages, it will be demonstrated that lengthening does not depend on licensing. First of all, source of licensing is unknown in monosyllabic words, e.g. *bú* [pu:] ‘farm’. Second, the theory predicts a different behaviour of TR clusters involved in Infrasegmental Government (over which licensing can apply) than of clusters which arise on the surface due to vowel-zero alternations: the vowel should be short in words like *akri* [a:kri] ‘field, dat. sg.’, which alternates with *akur*

[a:kʏr] ‘ibid, nom. sg.’. In the former case the [kr] is not a licit branching onset – between the consonants there is a floating vowel, which is struck by Proper Government coming from [ɪ]. Hence it should be unable to licence the CV projected by stress. This is indeed what happens when other consonants are involved: cf. *hamar* [ha:mar] ‘hammer, nom. sg.’ ~ *hamri* [hamrɪ] ‘ibid, dat. sg.’. Strict CV, with its impoverished mechanisms of consonantal interaction (limited only to Infrasegmental Government), is unable to grasp the difference between *akri* and *hamri*. Another drawback of Infrasegmental Government is that it does not explain the relation between plosives and semivowels (semivowels are not complex enough to impose Infrasegmental Government on a plosive). This indicates that a different analysis is necessary to explain the regularity.

Although no full-fledged analysis will be put forward, some suggestions will be made as to what a satisfactory explanation should contain. It will be argued that the rejection of the traditional notion of the syllable, the constituents of which were derived rather than stored in the lexicon, was too hasty, and that it may let us capture the generalisation better than the current representational approaches. This is evident especially from the apparently surface-based and dynamic nature of the lengthening: e.g. [kr] induces lengthening of the preceding vowel regardless of whether it is a ‘true’ branching onset, arises after syncope, or after a concatenation of an inflectional ending which begins with [r]. All these structures should have different phonological representations, and it is a challenge to find one representational mechanism which derives a long vowel in a non-disjunctive manner. The paper will demonstrate a need for either accepting a syllabically-based generalisation or for devising a good representational equivalent thereof, which would overcome the shortcomings of the existing ones.

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A Corpus-Based Analysis of Predicate Ellipsis in Late Modern English

Evelyn Gandón-Chapela

There have been numerous theoretical studies that have described the properties of VP Ellipsis (cf. Lobeck 1995; Johnson 2001; Merchant 2007; Aelbrecht 2010; van Craenenbroeck and Merchant 2011). Although not many empirical studies have addressed this strategy from a syntactic perspective, there have been some recent studies (cf. Hardt 2001; Nielsen 2003; Bos and Spenader 2011) that have offered methods and algorithms which help retrieve the ellipsis data from corpora data belonging to Present Day English. This paper, couched in a larger project on the diachrony of ellipsis in English, takes these studies as the starting point and undertakes a corpus-based analysis of Predicate Ellipsis (PE henceforth) in Late Modern English (LModE henceforth), where PE is used in those cases of ellipsis of a VP, PP, NP or AP after one of these licensors: modal verbs, auxiliaries *be*, *have* and *do*, infinitival marker *to* and negator *not*.

More specifically, in this paper I analysed 12 raw data files, from different genres and periods, amounting to 112,347 words from the LModE period of the Penn corpora of historical English (PPCMBE). The examples of PE which have been retrieved manually, including contexts of Antecedent-Contained Deletion and comparative constructions, have been compared with the results from the automatic search of all of the parsed version files (102) by means of CorpusSearch. The precision achieved by CorpusSearch has been 0.86, while its recall has been 0.84. This analysis has made it possible to deal with frequency and variation of the different licensors across time. For example, it has been attested that auxiliary *do* is the most frequent licensor of PE by far in both the manual and the automatic analysis. In addition, it has been found that there used to be licensors for PE in LModE that are absent in Present Day English, such as the following: causative *make*, auxiliary *dost*, and the modal auxiliaries *durst*, *shouldest*, *ought*, *shalt* or *be able*. In addition, the distribution of ellipsis across genres merits attention here. The results of both analyses indicate that PE is more frequent in the proceedings-trials and the drama-comedy genres.

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The prosodic realisation of Yes-No questions in Akan

Susanne Genzel

Speech acts play an important role in communication. Prosody is one grammatical device to distinguish Yes – No questions (request) from statements (declaratives) in Akan. Akan is a terracing (Clements, 1979) Kwa language with two contrasting tones, L and H, spoken in Ghana. Rialland (2007; 2009) classifies Akan as member of the “lax prosody” languages, on the basis of the existing literature. The term subsumes languages from the African Sudanic belt which realize Yes – No questions with final falling F0, final lengthening, breathy termination and insertion of a final [open] vowel. A “lax prosody” language may use all phonetic cues or a subset. Furthermore it has been reported that Yes – No questions are uttered in a higher pitch register (Dolphyne, 1988). A higher realization of F0 somewhere in questions is expected from the prediction of the frequency code (Ohala, 1994; Gussenhoven, 2002) especially when syntactic and morphological cues are absent (Haan, 2002). Global raising phenomena are usually reported in connection with high boundary tone (H%) (Myers, 2004). Akan exhibits thus a fascinating combination of final falling pitch and higher register, which is challenging for scholars who attribute a higher register to principles of economy when producing H% (van Heuven & Haan, 2002).

This paper experimentally examines and compares the initial and terminal F0. Duration, intensity and formants, for final L and H tones separately, using string identical question-statement pairs produced by 17 native speakers. The results show that Yes – No questions are uttered in a higher pitch register: both L and H tones are raised, see figure 1 for illustration. The effect is analyzed as phonetic satisfaction of the frequency code. Final H toned vowels show a strong decrease in F0, whereas final L tones lack final lowering. This is analyzed as right edge L boundary tone attaching to the IP (intonation phrase) node. Furthermore we observed a lengthening effect in the final vowel of Yes – No questions. We argue that the effect cannot be attributed to mora insertion and arises during phonetic implementation of the additional tonal target (L%) at the right edge of Yes – No questions. Vowel quality does not show any effect of sentence type. The final vowel in Yes – No questions exhibits a higher intensity which prevents final L tones in Yes – No questions to undergo final lowering.

We find that Akan belongs to the group of “lax prosody” languages in employing falling intonation. However, we interpret the fact that the terminal element in Yes – No questions is lengthened and louder as an enhancement of articulatory effort, thus we conclude that the lowering is not caused by relaxation. We propose that Akan belongs to a new subgroup of the “lax prosody” languages called “low tense”.

Figures:

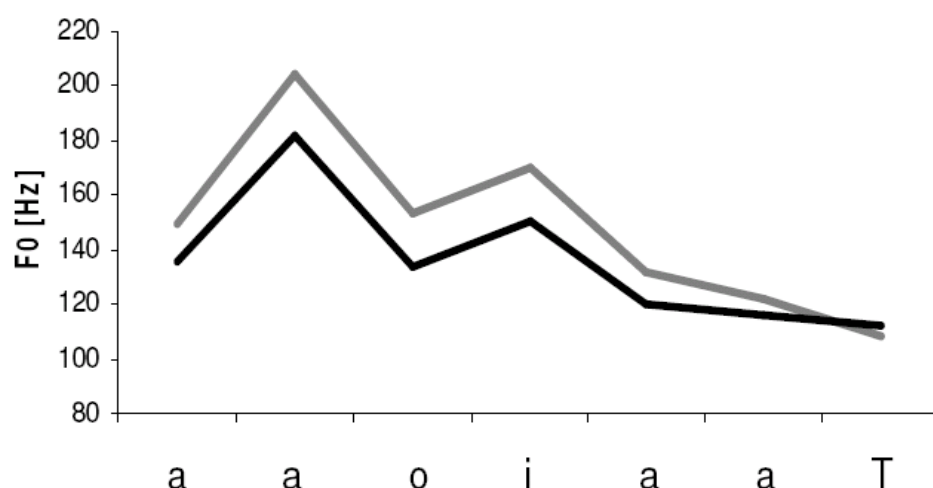


Figure 1: Time normalized course of F0 aggregated over speaker and repetition for sentence Pàpá Kòfí kàsá./? ‘Father Kofi talks./?’, statement black line, Yes – No question grey line, T terminal F0; n=6.

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The Rearrangement of the Argument Structure in Hungarian Causatives Where Does the Agent of the Base Verb Go?

Zsuzsanna Góg

The main purpose of the research is to explore whether the agent of the transitive base verb preserves its prominent position or occupies a lower position than the patient in the factitive causative construction. In fact, in the causative construction the argument structure of the base verb undergoes a transformation: an external argument is added to the structure. Consequently, the agent of the base verb – the so-called *causee* – is realised in the causative construction as an argument with –vAl suffix (Komlósy 2000). Regarding its position, Bartos (2011) argues that it can be found in VoiceP, which projects CauseP containing the causer, while Bene (2008) claims that the causer occupies the position of the agent and the causee becomes an optional adjunct.

The so-called factitive causative construction of Hungarian can be interpreted as ‘someone makes someone do something’, which usually provides the base verb with a –tAt morpheme (Komlósy 2000). In the rearranged argument structure the patient of the base verb occupies the object position – gets Accusative case –, meanwhile, the agent, which gets Nominative case in the base structure, is provided with Instrumental case in the causative construction (Nemesi 2003). The question is whether the constituent with Instrumental case can be considered a structurally more prominent argument than the patient (1a) or rather less prominent than the obligatory arguments (1b):

- (1) Base structure: agent>patient
 Causative: a. causer>agent>patient
 b. causer>patient>adjunct

In order to determine the argument hierarchy, first I apply the Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981), Binding Principle A in particular. According to Binding Principle A, an antecedent can bind only an anaphor that it c-commands (2).

- (2) a. Megveretem őket_i egymással_i.
 make beat-1SG-PRES them-ACC each other-INSTR
 b. ??Megveretem velük_i egymást_i.
 make beat-1SG-PRES them- INSTR each other-ACC
 ‘I make them beat each other.’

Following Larson’s (2004) hypothesis that adjuncts occupy a lower position than the arguments, I conclude that in the case of 2b the antecedent (*velük*) cannot bind the anaphor (*egymást*), because it is in an adjunct position. Further evidence for this assumption is that the presence of the causee is optional similarly to that of the agent of the passive construction.

Another device for testing c-command relations can be pronominal variable binding which I also test in sentences such as (3):

- (3) a. Megkerestettem mindenkit_i a pro_i anyjával.
 have find-1SG-PAST everybody-ACC their mother-INSTR
 ‘I had everybody be found by their mother.’
 b. ??Megkerestettem mindenkivel_i a pro_i anyját.
 have find-1SG-PAST everybody-INSTR their mother-ACC
 ‘I had their mother be found by everybody.’

Following Bródy-Szabolcsi (2001), further analysis is conducted on the scopes of quantifiers *minden* ‘every’ and *kevés* ‘few’ with sentences as in (4), where the question is whether the counting quantifier *kevés* can take the distributive quantifier *minden* under its scope.

- (4) Tavalý olvastattam el minden cikket kevés
 last year make read-1SG-PAST every article-ACC a few
 diákkal a vizsgára.
 student-INSTR the exam.

‘Last year I made a few students read every article for the exam.’

These sentences were tested with 50 native speakers, who were asked to rate the acceptability of them under the intended interpretation on a scale from 0 to 5.

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**Free choice and focus: The distribution and quantificational force of FCIs
in Hungarian**
Tamás Halm

This paper concerns the behaviour of free choice items (FCIs) in Hungarian and puts forward the main claim that these items have the capacity to display both universal and existential quantification, depending on their exact syntactic position, especially their optional association with the focus position.

FCIs such as *any* have been at the forefront of research interest in the several past decades (e.g. Ladusaw 1979, Kadmon-Landman 1993; see Vlachou 2007 for an overview). Some of the most vexed questions has been the characterization of the quantificational force (if any) of these items (e.g. Lee-Horn 1994, Giannakidou 2001, Chierchia 2006), and the exact status of free relatives with a free choice reading (*wh-ever* words) in relation to simple FCIs (such as *any*) (e.g. Dayal 1997, von Stechow 2000).

Similarly to unrelated languages such as Japanese or Lithuanian (Kratzer-Shimoyama 2002), FCIs in Hungarian are morphologically made up of the morpheme *akár* ('even') or *bár* ('even though') and a *wh*-indefinite (such as *-ki* 'who'), yielding the FCI: *akárki/bárki* ('anyone') (Abrusán 2007, Lahiri 1998). While in many respects, FCIs in Hungarian behave similarly to their peers in other languages (e.g. availability in modal, negative, imperative contexts); their optional association with focus (a much studied phenomenon in Hungarian, see É. Kiss 2010a for a recent overview) produces unique effects.

In general, syntactic tests indicate that FCIs occupy the canonical position of quantifier phrases (QPs) via adjunction in Hungarian (É. Kiss 2010b) and display a corresponding quasi-universal quantificational force. While FCIs and more generally, universals are usually taken to be nonfocusable; it will be shown that FCIs in Hungarian can in fact be focused in certain constructions. In such cases, two presuppositions arise: one of existence and another of uniqueness; and a reading similar to English free relative (*wh-ever*) constructions is elicited.

These results present a useful contribution to the general debate on FCIs in many ways: 1) they present a clear-cut case of the universal/existential reading of an FCI being constructed compositionally on the sentence level, and 2) show that the free relatives with an FCI flavour (*wh-ever* words) can either be encoded in the lexicon separately from general purpose FCIs (a strategy employed by English) or can be brought about compositionally, by using the focus construction and exploiting the presuppositions of existence and uniqueness associated with it.

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The “case” system of Basque: a non-paradigmatic approach

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The locative is identified as the source of some idiosyncrasies of the Basque case system.

Case paradigms De Rijk (2008) argues that the “locative case system” of Basque (fig. 1) should be distinguished from the “basic” one (fig. 2) for two reasons. A comparison of figures 1 and 2 shows the lack of the definite singular article *-a* in what constitutes de Rijk’s locative system. Moreover, the locative, but not the basic system is sensitive to animacy. Animate nouns follow a special paradigm for the local cases (fig. 3). While the paradigmatic view seems descriptively adequate, apparent relations between forms remain unexplained. I assume with Embick & Marantz (2008) that paradigms do not have an independent theoretical status, hence an alternative approach is desirable.

Locative and linker Another puzzle associated specifically with the locative concerns the adnominalizing linker *-ko*. While it can generally be used with adverbial cases (1-a), including the locative (1-b), the definite singular form of the locative marker, *-an*, cannot appear in the context of the linker, (1-c) vs. (1-d).

- (1) a. Thessaloniki-ra-ko hegaldi-a
Thessaloniki-ALL-KO flight-DET
“the flight to Thessaloniki”
- b. hainbat lantegi-ta-ko tximini-a-k
many factory-LOC.INDEF-KO chimney-DET-PL
“the chimneys in many factories”
- c. *lantegi-an-(k/g)o tximiniak
factory-LOC.DEF.SG-KO chimney-DET-PL
intended: “the chimneys in the factory”
- d. lantegi-∅-ko tximini-a-k

Proposal Adopting the Distributed Morphology framework (Halle & Marantz 1993), I suggest an analysis of the morpheme *-ta(n)* (fig. 1) as the unmarked realization of the locative. In line with Eguzkitza (1993), the adverbial (i.e. the non-grammatical) “cases” are analyzed as postpositions. Moreover, I propose that they are exponents of functional heads in the extended nominal projection of Basque (2) [_# hosts number, p_{loc} the locative, p_{dir} directional postpositions and C/Mod the linker *-ko* (cf. de Rijk 2008 for why it is no case/postposition)].

- (2) [[[[[NP #]_{#P} D]_{DP} p_{loc}] _{$p_{loc}P$} p_{dir}] _{p_{dir}} C/Mod]_{C/ModP}

This captures the insight that directional adpositions select for locative projections (e.g. Cinque & Rizzi 2010). Under this assumption, both phenomena introduced above can be explained as results of idiosyncratic properties of the locative morpheme p_{loc} .

The sensitivity to animacy is explained if p_{loc} cannot select projections with a [+animate] feature. It needs to be blocked by a proxy morpheme leading to the emergence of the paradigm in fig. 3. The absence of a locative marker and the article in the singular directionals and under the linker is due to the principles in (3).

- (3) a. p_{loc} has an overt realization only if it does not dominate a singular feature or if it is the highest head in the extended nominal projection.
- b. If p_{loc} is structurally present, but not realized, then the article is not realized either.

Independently of whether these are better implemented as cases of context-sensitive spell-out (Ackema & Neeleman 2003) or as contextually conditioned allomorphy (Embick 2010), the present analysis provides an argument in favour of treating the emergence of paradigms as a

result of interactions of structure building and spell-out, instead of endowing them with theoretical status of their own.

Figure 1: Local “cases” (adapted from Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003:173, Table 59)

	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE SG	PL		Translation
			GENERAL	PROX	
LOCATIVE	lekutan	lekuan	lekuetan	lekuotan	at/in a place
ABLATIVE	lekutatik	lekutik	lekuetatik	lekuotatik	from a place
ALLATIVE	lekutara	lekura	lekuetara	lekuotara	to a place
DIRECTIONAL	lekutarantz	lekurantz	lekuetarantz	lekuotarantz	towards a place
TERMINATIVE	lekutaraino	lekuraino	lekuetaraino	lekuotaraino	up to a place

Figure 2: Grammatical cases and non-local adverbial “cases” (adapted from Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003:173, Table 59)

	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE SG	PL		Translation
			GENERAL	PROX	
ABSOLUTIVE	leku	lekua	lekuak	lekuok	-
ERGATIVE	lekuk	lekuak	lekuek	lekuok	-
DATIVE	lekuri	lekuari	lekuei	lekuoi	-
GENITIVE	lekuren	lekuaren	lekuen	lekuon	of a place
BENEFACTIVE	lekurentzat	lekuarentzat	lekuentzat	lekuontzat	for a place
COMITATIVE	lekurekin	lekuarekin	lekuekin	lekuokin	with a place
INSTRUMENTAL	lekuz	lekuaz	lekuez	lekuoz	with a place

Figure 3: Local markings of mutil ‘boy’ (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003:176, Table 64)

	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE SG	PL	
			GENERAL	PROX
LOC	mutilengan	mutila(ren)gan	mutilengan	mutilongan
ABL	mutilengandik	mutila(ren)gandik	mutilengandik	mutilongandik
ALL	mutilengana	mutila(ren)gana	mutilengana	mutilongana
DIR	mutilenganantz	mutila(ren)ganantz	mutilenganantz	mutilonganantz
TERM	mutilenganaino	mutila(ren)ganaino	mutilenganaino	mutilonganaino

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The main types of repairs in the corpus of spoken Russian narratives “Stories about presents and skiing” and Comparative analysis of parallel Italian and Japanese corpuses

Ilina Ekaterina

A repair is understood here as the cancellation of a certain fragment of discourse considered by the speaker to be inappropriate or incorrect and its total or partial substitution or repetition. This paper follows the methodology of classifying repairs set out in [Kibrik, Podlesskaya (Eds) 2009].

My work is a part of a research project examining spoken Russian discourse. This project is supported by the Basic Research Program of the Presidium of RAS "Corpus Linguistics" [<http://www.corpling-ran.ru/>, <http://www.mib431.ru/corpus/>]. I analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively two main types of repairs in the corpus of spoken Russian language “Stories about presents and skiing” (collected and described by [Khurshudian 2006]). The corpus consists of 20 telling and 20 retelling of stories. The total duration of the corpus is 35,49 min of sound. On the first day two pictures were shown to 10 respondents and they were asked to describe the pictures in the form of a story. On the second day respondents were asked to retell the stories without looking at the pictures.

According to the research conducted, two main types of repairs are shown: on-line correction (immediate correction after detection of a problem - 90% of all repairs) and editing (correction of a totally completed fragment - 10% of all repairs). There are four parameters for analyzing on-line corrections, such as structural coverage, volume of reparandum [Levelt 1989], linear disposition and operation type (repetitions, deletions, modifications etc). The most common type of repair was identified (the contact repetition of a small fragment, ex.(1)) and supports the hypothesis [Kibrik, Podlesskaya 2009.; Levelt 1989, Bresser 2006] that the speaker prefers repairs which require less cognitive effort; to correct himself immediately after the detection of an error; and to correct small fragments of discourse rather than big ones.

- (1) \-Пья-аный ||..(0.1) \пьяный едет...(0.7) по /горке,
drunk.M.NOM.SG || drunk.M.NOM.SG go.PRES.3SG prep.LOC hill.LOC.SG
‘He drunk || drunk goes down the hill’

The parallel corpuses “Stories about presents and skiing” were collected and analyzed for Italian [Ilina 2011] and Japanese languages [Podlesskaya Komarova 2010]. The duration of the Japanese corpus is 44,25 min, while the duration of the Italian is 28,42. The results of the analysis of Russian material were compared with the results of the analysis of the Italian and Japanese studies. All corpuses showed homogeneity in distribution by structural coverage, volume of reparandum, and linear disposition, but there is a difference in main operation type. In Italian material the main type of correction is a deletion (ex 2), while in Russian and Japanese it is a repetition.

- (2) tutti || tanti /-orolo-ogi(0.2) tante cose
all:PL.M || a.lot-PL.M clocks:PL.M, a.lot.PL.F thing. PL.F
sul /comodino,
on+DEF:SG.M bedside.table.SG.M
‘All || a lot of clocks, a lot of things on the bedside table.’

Distribution of different types of repairs in Russian, Japanese and Italian.

		Russian	Japanese	Italian
Total self-repairs		90	88	72
	Editing	10%	14%	3%
	On-line Correction	90%	86%	97%
Structural coverage	macrocorrection	no	6%	26%
	microcorrection	100%	94%	74%
Linear Disposition	Distant	6%	17%	13%
	Contact	94%	83%	87%
Operation type	Repetitions	42%	54%	35%
	Modifications	22%	31%	24%
	Deletions	27%	14%	41%
	Left-extensions	9%	no	no
Volume of reparandum	Big	25%	50%	49%
	Small	75%	50%	51%

m- masculine; f - feminine; 3-third person; nom - nominative; pres - presence tens; loc - locative; sg - singular; pl - plural; def - definitive article; || - point of interruption

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Wondering about *OARE*: Is it a Q-particle for Romanian?

Rudmila-Rodica Ivan

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the behavior of the interrogative particle *oare* in Romanian and its contribution in terms of meaning. What actually started off the interest in researching this fragment of language is that very few languages seem to show a direct counterpart of *oare*. German does have a discourse particle, *wohl*, which is similar to the behavior of *oare* in interrogative sentences, this particle is however much less restrictive in German, unlike *oare* which pertains only to questions. Semantics aside, the point of interest is finding out the exact connection of *oare* to Q-particles and seeing if it could be possible for *oare* to be a type of Q-particle for Romanian. The main theoretical concepts that are important to our analysis of *oare* are Hagstrom's (1998) and Cable's (2007) descriptions of overt Q-particles, Zimmerman's (2004) analysis of *wohl* and Sava's (2012) account of the behavior of the restrictive focus particle *numai* 'only' in Romanian. We will first look at the distribution of *oare*, show its lack of preference for a pinpointed location within the sentence and then compare it to *wohl*. This comparison will lead to the semantic discussion of how this lexeme modifies the interpretation of its context, discussion which will mainly deal with the relation of *oare* with focus positions. This section will also include an attempt to see how *oare* affects focused elements in different question types, a comparison to *numai* and a discussion on *oare* and *ori* 'or' in Romanian, which will provide arguments in favor of the hypothesis that *oare* may be some type of overt Q-particle. In this sense, the last section of this paper will attempt to provide an account of the syntax of *oare*, starting from the syntax of Q-particles and the semantics previously discussed. Although the question in the title may not yet find a definite answer, this paper will hopefully point in the right direction and share some insight on the particularities and peculiarities of *oare*.

The birth of the preposition *like* through categorial reanalysis

Jancsó Miklós

Main claim: In PdE, *like* is a preposition in sentences like these:

(1) John is like his brother Paul, he speaks like him.

(2) John looks like what you often call "strange".

(3) John feels like going out.

In OE, these sentences¹ would have been impossible, while in ME, *like*-structures sometimes looked superficially the same as in modern times, e.g.:

(4) Whiles a man lyves he is lyke a man, when he es dede what es he lyke dan? (1340, Hampole *Pr. Cons.* 830-1)

However, the predecessor of *like* was not a preposition, it was an adjective or an adverb (both taking dative case on their complement), so the distribution of *like* was different from that in modern times, and would be unpredictable if one used the rules referring to modern *like*.

(5) In this world was ther noon it lyche. (1386, Chaucer *Sqr.'s T.* 54)

I claim that *like* reached its present-day prepositional status through a reanalysis of the former head position of an AP/AdvP into a prepositional head:

$[[\text{him}_{\text{DP}}](\text{ge})\text{lic}_{\text{AP}}] \rightarrow [\text{AP}(\text{ge})\text{lic}_{\text{DP}[\text{him}]}] \rightarrow [\text{P}_{\text{like}}[\text{DP}[\text{him}]]]$ ²

This is only a rough sketch of the syntax of the reanalysis. I argue for a PP→P change - as in my analysis all adverbs are syntactically PPs³ -, so this change must have been preceded by a "wavering" phase between an adjectival and an adverbial status of *(ge)lic(e)*. In the fine structure of the PP, I presume the existence of a functional head hosting dative case, which is later grammaticalized into a fusion with the higher P-head.

This reanalysis has only taken place fairly recently. Today, however, *like* firmly displays all properties of a preposition. I propose the idea that the grammaticalization path *like* is on is quite typical for prepositions, also in cross-linguistic perspectives.

Background: Following Asbury (2008), I suppose that PP is the extension of NP/DP, and that syntactic case is not an abstract feature but can be attributed to the existence of heads in the finer structure of NP/DP/PP. All adverbs are syntactically PPs. In accordance with Svenonius's (2008) KP-theory, I suppose there are also P-heads which host non-spatial case. I describe the extension of the PP-structure and the fusion of heads in the manner Waters (2009) describes it.

Analysis: Sentences (1), (2), and (3) satisfy the criteria of descriptive grammars (e.g. Quirk 1985) regarding what complements a preposition might have, i.e. an NP, a wh- nominal clause or a gerundival nominal clause, respectively. What prepositions cannot have as complements is a that-clause, an infinitival clause or a nominative personal pronoun. *Like* meets all these requirements.

Like, as a preposition, is usually stranded in wh-questions yielding e.g. the familiar *what ... like* structure, however, although less commonly, there occur pied-piped sequences too.

(6a) Like which celebrity do I look? (Facebook) = (6b) Which celebrity do I look like?

(7a) Like who are you today? (Facebook) = (7b) Who are you like today?

Modern *like*, like all prepositions in PdE, cannot really be modified by *very* any more, which readily modifies adjectives and adverbs.

(8) (??) I am very like him.

¹ With OE cognates of the PdE words, of course.

² The unstressed prefix *-ge* underwent palatalization in OE, that is why it is always spelt as *ye-*, *y-* or *i-* later. In most cases its destiny then was attrition through lenition.

³ The traditional label "Adv" is only used as a kind of shorthand in this abstract. This "double talk" will be clarified.

Like - as opposed to adjectives or adverbs - cannot take suffixal comparative or superlative:
(9) *I am liker/ the likest him.

In OE, the place of *like* was invariably to the right of a dative DP. In ME, this situation was changing, with *like*+ DP(-Dat) first recorded in 1297 in OED, and DP(-Dat)+*like* last recorded in 1470. Simultaneously - presumably triggered by the decline of dative (Allen 1995) - a ME innovation *like*+*to/unto/as*+DP(-Dat) appeared, first recorded in 1377 in OED, and surviving in parallel with the *like*+DP(-Dat) form well into the 19th century.

In all these variants, the predecessor of *like* could be used in comparative and superlative forms:

(10) Him of eagum stod ligge gelicost leoht unfæger. (Mitchell, *Beowulf* 18a/727)

him of eyes(pl.dat) stood flame(s.dat) most like light(s.nom) terrible

Out of his eyes, terrible light beamed, most similar to flame.

(11) lyker to madnesse (1514, Barclay *Cyt. & Uplondyshm.* (Percy Soc.) 28)

more like madness(s.dat)

more similar to madness

(12) what we have the likest God within the soul (1850, *Τεννυσσον* *In Mem. IV. 4*)

what we have within the soul that is most similar to God

Modification with *very* was also possible:

(13) Addison's sister is a sort of a wit, very like him. (1710, Swift *Jml. to Stella*, 25 Oct.)

In OE *like*, if it was an adverb, bore the adverbial suffix *-e*, which further supports its adverbial status.

(14) Ac nænig hwædre him ðæt gelice don meahte. (Mitchell, *Bede* 9:11)

but no one however him(s.dat) that(s.acc) similarly do could

But no one could do it like him.

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Bound words in German and Polish phraseological units - a unique mystery among the lexemes

Magdalena Koper

The aim of this poster presentation is to discuss German and Polish bound words, i.e. lexemes which occur only in one or a small number of phraseological units and are characterized by severe restrictions in use. The restricted use of a phraseological bound word leads to its unique status among other lexical units and results in the fact that speakers often do not understand the meaning of a single bound word.

Presenting the complexity of the discussed linguistic phenomenon requires the application of a number of criteria. This poster presentation aims at discussing the results of a contrastive German-Polish study of bound words. The aspects taken into account concentrate on the morphosyntactic characteristics of phraseological units containing bound words, the representation of parts of speech among bound words, their origin and morphological form. As a result, the accordance to the tendencies among phraseological units and lexemes can be proved. It will be also shown how a given lexeme may become a bound word.

An empirical examination of Szilágyi N. Sándor's Lingual World Model

Cecília Kuba

The purpose of this paper is to examine Szilágyi N. Sándor's Lingual World Model (1996) empirically. Szilágyi N. Sándor describes the language as one of the areas of human behaviour, which is connected to the mental activities and cognitive structures. In his theory one relates to his surroundings with the help of well-drawn up semantic structures projected as an interpretational net onto what one has to say. These semantic structures together create a model constructed into the language. That model is implicit but well identifiable and can be directly expressed simply.

It is possible to identify a specific space structure in the lingual word in which single elements according to their polarity in the field of value meaning (Hung. *értékjelentés*) cluster into two opposite groups. This space structure is organized by both denotative meaning and value meaning, the structure can be interpreted solely with joint consideration.

In our research we examined the quantifiability of this specific space structure of Szilágyi N. Sándor's Lingual World Model with working out an adequate content analysis method. Based on this new developed content analysis method the relationship between the meaning structures described by Szilágyi and some sociological variables of participants (sex, age, education, location) were investigated.

Our study is related to a psychological research. The participants were asked to write stories based on the pictures of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). The stories based on the first picture of TAT were coded along meaning-structures of the vertical space dimension, and the groups of the participants were compared with regard to this quantification.

Agreement Morphology in Early Serbian Child Language

Mirjana Mandić

Previous research on language acquisition has shown that children acquiring non null-subject languages pass through a grammatical stage of language development in which they produce main clauses containing an infinitive verb (e.g. bare verbs or root infinitives) rather than a finite one. According to the maturational account (Radford 1990, Mesiel & Muller 1992) these findings suggest that children's earliest utterances lack tense and agreement markers, which implies the absence of functional categories at early ages. On the other hand, in languages with overt agreement morphology children almost always use agreement morphemes appropriately. According to the continuity account (Hyams 1996, Poeppel & Wexler 1993, Guasti 1993/1994), these findings suggest that children's grammars do not differ from the adult ones and that all functional categories are present early in the grammatical system.

The aim of this research is to investigate the acquisition of agreement morphology in early Serbian. The data were taken from the Corpus of Early Serbian Child Language (Anđelković, Ševa & Moskovljević 2001). The analysis was conducted on the sample of 4 monolingual Serbian children. The analysis was provided for ten different ages (age range 1;6–3;0) and included all verb-containing utterances (total number of 5480 utterances).

The results are in line with previous research on null-subject languages and support the continuity approach. Finite main clauses are attested from the earliest stages of production and constitute a majority of sentences produced by the children in the sample: almost 90% of the verbs are correctly inflected in the overall sample (cf. Table 1). This indicates that Serbian-speaking children have the knowledge of the agreement morphology from early on and we therefore argue that the initial structure of children's clauses includes functional categories (at least IP level in early Serbian). Children's ability to make agreement contrast and use different inflections with age also proves that verbs are not learned by rote.

Nevertheless, children make errors (non-adult-like forms), especially at early ages (cf. age 1;6 in Table 1). The overall proportion of errors (7.6%) is higher than the one reported for other null-subject languages (less than 4% in the research of Guasti 1993/1994, Buesa García 2007, Kallestinova 2007, Rus 2006). Examples of different types of agreement errors will be discussed. The most frequent error is the inflectional marker omission (also reported in Philips 1995). The omission of an inflectional marker frequently leads to the use of a form identical to the 3rd person singular of the present tense. In addition, the incorrect distribution of 3rd person singular markers instead of other agreement markers is also quite frequent.

Furthermore, two types of nonfinite forms were attested: bare participles and root infinitives. Although their percentage is small and decreases with age, in addition to other types of errors they might show that agreement paradigms are not fully available to children at the earliest ages. Given that only few examples of root infinitives have been found in the speech of only one child (0.3% of the overall verb use), it seems that the root infinitive stage does not exist in early Serbian. We argue that low frequency of infinitives in adult language, as well as very distinctive markers for infinitive in Serbian might be the reason for this. However, it seems that children use another form (3rd person singular of present tense) instead of root infinitives. Therefore the 3rd person singular form might be taken as the default form which Serbian L1 learners use whenever they fail to provide an appropriate verbal inflection.

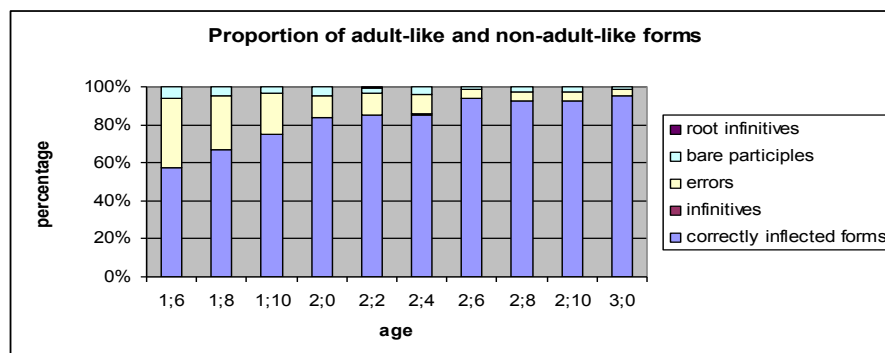


Table 1. Proportion of different forms in early child Serbian.

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Means of Coherence in Written and Spoken Discourse

Petra Martinková

This paper deals with a linguistic experiment which has been conveyed under the influence of the research of coherence and cohesion in authentic written texts and spoken dialogues and monologues. Coherence is one of general and widely discussed concepts in the international linguistic community.

Our research is based on spoken narratives to which speakers have additionally provided a written version. The material allows us to compare means of coherence of the same content differing in the way of production.

Author of this paper asked respondents in a month's advance to allow for being recorded in unspecified future; thanks to this they were natural in their speech. The analysed dialogues and monologues belong to spontaneous common conversation among friends, family or classmates and workmates. The recorded and collected material consists of 50 spoken texts and 50 written texts from 50 different respondents. The main difference is in communication situation, because the speeches were unprepared and written texts were prepared, so the respondents had time to order their ideas.

The objective of this work is to extend previous similar linguistic experiments (Müllerová 1989; Alexová 2000; Hoffmanová 2011) and bring more experimental material to compare results obtained for the means of coherence research. This paper is focused on syntactic means of composition the texts, their cohesion and influence, on the comparison of explicit and implicit of the vocabulary used and other problems involved in this field. It is interesting to observe how texts with the same topic and ideas differ with respect to the mode of their production. It has been supposed that coherence took different means in spoken and in written discourse.

In this paper, our research also aims to explain basic principles that make the texts understandable for their recipients. Special attention has been paid to the thematic development of texts, because the concept of thematic progressions (Daneš 1968, 1974) can reveal important cohesive chaining.

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The Slavic and Lithuanian adverbials of time frequency “(X) *what* X” ‘every X’: areal distribution, morphology, syntax and semantics

George Moroz

This work focuses on the Slavic and Lithuanian adverbials of time frequency using the schema “(X) *what* X” with the meaning ‘every X’. The constructions under investigation relate to English sentences (1) “*I pay the bills every month*” and (2) “*Every five days I pay the bills*”. In the languages where such construction are attested there are two different ways to express ‘every X’ meaning: first, with the common Slavic determiner “*každy(j)*” ‘every’ or Lithuanian “*kiekvienas*” ‘every’, second with the constructions with interrogative/relative pronoun Slavic “*co/čo/š’o/što*” ‘what’ and Lithuanian “*kas*” ‘what’. My study is concerned with the latter type of construction.

My research revealed that there are 7 languages of Eastern Europe out of 18 where adverbials of time frequency “(X) *co/čo/š’o/što/kas* X” appear (see Map 1). The distribution of these languages mostly correlates with the languages of Grand Duchy of Lithuania (12th cent. -1569) and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (1569-1791): Byelorussian, Kashubian, Lithuanian, Polish and Ukrainian. A little aside are Czech and Slovak where constructions involve repetition of the variable component: “X *co/čo* X”.

The determiner found in the frequency adverbials in Slavic and Lithuanian is formally identical to the inanimate relative/interrogative pronoun ‘what’ (this is not relevant for Lithuanian, where there is no animate vs. inanimate opposition) frozen in the nominative case. The determiner combines with noun phrases generally expressing time intervals (day, year, 5 minutes). Such NP can appear in three cases: nominative (3), accusative (4) and genitive (5) (see Map 2). In Byelorussian, Czech, Slovak and Ukrainian NP appears only in one case, but in Polish and Lithuanian NP appears in different cases depending on the properties of that NP and some other conditions.

- POLISH
- (3) ...*bo* *matk-a* *Nie budz-i* *nas* *Co* *godzin-a.*
 Because mother-NOM.SG Not wake.up-3SG.PRS we-ACC.PL What hour-NOM.SG
 ‘...because mother doesn’t wake us up **every hour**.’

- LITHUANIAN
- (4) *Kas* *kel-is* *met-us* *kosmetik-os* *koncern-ai* *skelb-ė,* *kad...*
 What several-ACC.PL year-ACC.PL cosmetics-GEN.SG concern-NOM.PL announce -3.PST that
 ‘**Every several years** cosmetics concerns announced that...’

- UKRAINIAN
- (5) ...*tak* *ja* *sob-i* *š’o-z’im-y* *obic’a-ju.*
 that.way 1SG RFL-DAT.SG what-winter-GEN.SG promise-1SG.PRS
 ‘...**every winter** I promise myself that way.’

In terms of their syntactic positions, such frequency adverbials do not differ from other time adverbials in the languages under investigation.

Adverbial constructions of the type “*co/čo/š’o/što/kas* X” are attested in four different meanings:

1. lexicalized use (*što.dz’onnik* – what.day+nominalization ‘datebook’ BYELORUSSIAN);
2. time frequency, as in examples (1) – (3);
3. metaphoric time frequency (filling NP does not denote a time interval per se);

- LITHUANIAN
- (6) ... *būri-ai* *keis-dav-o-si* *kas* *penki-os* *myli-os...*
 detachment-N.PL change-HAB-PST-RFL what five-NOM mile-NOM.SG
 ‘...detachments changed **every five miles**...’

4. non-time frequency with ordinal numerals (the construction is a nominal modifier and not an adverbial).

POLISH

- (7) *Szuka-l* *material-ów* *w Co piąt-ej* *książc-e.*
 search-PST material-GEN.PL in what fifth-LOC.SG book-LOC.SG
 'He searched materials in **every fifth book.**'

1 – first person; 3 – third person; ACC – accusative case; DAT – dative case; GEN – genitive case; HAB – habitual LOC – locative case; M – masculine gender; NOM – nominative case; PL – plural; PRS – present tense; PST – past tense; RFL – reflexive; SG – singular.

Map 1:



Map 2:



A statistical analysis of the distribution of pre- and postnominal adjectives in French

Ágoston Nagy

According to Cinque (1998), Riegel et al. (2009) and many grammar books (e.g. Kelemen 2002) or linguistic publications (e.g. Laenzlinger 2003), French is a language in which adjectives can either precede or follow the nominal head in a noun phrase. However, the position of adjectives is not always optional, as it is constrained by morphotactic, semantic and syntactic features (e.g. Bouchard 1998). Only classifying adjectives (that designate subjective properties) can be placed both before and after the noun, the other ones, in principle, can only be either pre- or postnominal.

Most of previous research done in this field and most grammar books focus on the syntactic and semantic impacts on the distribution of adjectives, mentioning examples that may not be the most frequent ones for a specific adjective type in a specific position. In addition, quantitative analyses are badly needed with respect to the proportion of pre- and postnominal adjectives. Riegel et al. (2009) states that on average one adjective out of three is placed before the noun but there are huge differences between different types of texts (in literary discourse one adjective out of two is placed before the noun but this proportion is one to ten in scientific language).

One aim of the analysis is to show whether the above mentioned proportion of pre- and postnominal adjectives is true for a randomly selected literary and scientific corpus. It was also examined what are the most frequent adjectives that precede the noun and what type of adjectives they represent. It was also determined what are the proportion of adjectives that are used in the corpus both as a pre- and a postnominal adjective, and whether they reflect the most frequently mentioned examples in grammar books. The other aim is to search for examples in technical corpora for prenominal adjectives within nominal terms because nominal terms tend to have postnominal adjectives (L'Homme 2004).

As literary corpus, the digital version of *1984* by George Orwell and as specialised corpus, ten description parts of IT domain patents were used. These raw texts were annotated automatically by the *TreeTagger* that segmented the text into sentences and tokens, and identified the part-of-speech and stem of the latter ones. This annotation was then manually reviewed and corrected, and then a finite state automation was applied to the tagged corpus in order that adjective+noun and noun+adjectives be found. Finally, the results were examined manually in order to find correlations between pre- and postnominal adjective frequency.

The correction of the automatic part-of-speech tagging and the manual review of adjective distributions is still in progress; however, nearly definitive results (for example 35% for the prenominal and 65% for the postnominal adjectives in the Orwell novel) almost confirm the above mentioned proportion of Riegel et al. (2009). In most cases, adjectives are preposed because of morphotactic reasons (i.e. short adjectives tend to be prenominal), and from among the adjectives having different meaning depending on their position, it is only a few (e.g. *seul* meaning 'only [e.g. the only child in a group]' when preposed and 'solitary/lonely' when postposed) used in the corpora. The analysis of the scientific corpus clearly supports the fact that nominal terms rarely contains prenominal adjectives, and if they contain, these are only preposed because of morphotactic constraints.

The research proves that quantitative analyses should always accompany grammar book theories, as the former may contribute to the fine tuning of rules with providing statistical numbers in order that not frequent phenomena should not be laid so much stress on. The other advantage of the study is the examination of potential prenominal adjectives within nominal terms.

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Gender-related variation in the speech of Romanian adolescents

Costin – Valentin Oancea

Ever since Labov's (1966) pioneering study on the English spoken in New York City, linguists have become more aware of the variations in language use and started correlating linguistic variables with extralinguistic factors (i.e. age, sex, social class, ethnicity, etc.). This study is motivated by the belief that variation is an inherent characteristic of natural language, and that a full understanding of language must include an understanding of the nature and function of variation.

In the studies carried out in the English-speaking communities (Cheshire 1982, Eisikovits 2006, Holmes 1995) it was revealed that there are gender differences between the speech of men and women and they are phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical. This paper offers an quantitative analysis of gender preferential differences in Romanian. A questionnaire was devised incorporating certain lexical variables (e.g. swearing, taboo language, certain adjectives, tag questions, etc.) and the purpose was to notice whether adolescents are aware of the language they use and how they use it. The informants taking part in the research include 100 individuals (50 males and 50 females) belonging to two age groups (12-14; 15-17). They all live and study in Constanta.

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Cultural differences in the mental lexicon
Word association test and cluster analysis
Oláh-Nagy Noémi

Goal: The aim of this paper is to compare the overlapping communities (clusters) containing the word *arany* in the mental lexicon of Hungarian native speakers with the results of an experiment involving the word *gold*, carried out with English native speakers, aiming to reveal possible cultural differences in the organization of the mental lexicon. The study is based on a word association test and a clustering algorithm.

Background: Palla et al. (2005a) illustrated the function of CFinder algorithm, which is used to detect overlapping communities in networks, on the database of the South Florida Word Association Norms (Nelson et al. 1998). Kovács (2011) pointed out that translating the words appearing in the clusters around *gold* in figure 5 in Palla et al. (2005b) from English to Hungarian is probably not a correct way of modelling how the semantic fields around *arany* are organized in the mental lexicon of Hungarian native speakers, though the figure has been published in Hungarian in exactly this way (Derényi et al. 2006). My experiment aimed to validate Kovács's hypothesis.

Method: For my research 100 participants completed a discrete association test with 81 words. Out of the 81 cues, 41 words were the Hungarian translations of the English words from the clusters containing *gold*, 39 were randomly selected "expletive words" and the list also contained *János*.

Results: I have found differences between the two experiments not only in the size and the number of the communities, but also in the cue-target associations themselves. By considering only the words given as answers to *gold* and to *arany* we can see that approximately half of them appear on both lists (e.g. *medal* and *érem*). The differences can be caused by lexical reasons (e.g., the English equivalent of the association *arany* – *rúd* 'gold bar' may be blocked by the primary meaning of the English *bar*). It is three words (*János*, *bulla* and *alma*) that do not have a pair in the English experiment for obvious cultural reasons. As for the clusters detected by CFinder, we can't find any in the Hungarian database with the parameters used by Palla et al. That can be explained by the high density of the network around *arany*.

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Influence of the Liverpool Welsh on Lenition in Liverpool English

Hannah Paton

The accent in Liverpool is considered a koine due to mass immigration from many different areas both within Britain and overseas during the 18th and 19th century (Honeybone, 2004). Immigrants mainly came from the British Isles, China and the British Empire and because of this, there was not one single, overwhelming force that replaced the local people but a mixing of many cultures, languages and dialects. This means that the accent and dialect of Liverpool has a mixture of features from different accents. The aim of this research is to assess whether the Welsh language has had any effect on the accent of Liverpool.

A feature that has been of interest to researchers in Liverpool in the last decade is lenition (Honeybone, 2001; Marotta & Barth, 2005; Watson, 2002, 2007). This involves the weakening of a plosive to an affricate or a fricative and is a prominent feature in the voiceless plosives of the Liverpool accent of English. The lenition of /t/ is attributed to the Irish migrants but lenition of /p, k/ does not occur in Irish English (Kallen, 1997). Research by Penhallurick (1991) does show lenition of /p, k/ in addition to /t/ in North Wales English during the 1980's but there has been no up-to-date research on North Wales English since then.

Based on this, the hypothesis was: 'If lenition of voiceless plosives is related to language contact, then Liverpool English voiceless plosives will show similar lenition to Welsh voiceless plosives.'

Participants were recruited from Liverpool and North Wales and were asked to read out a passage containing the target phonemes. The voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ were each represented six times with each phoneme produced word initially, post-vocally and word-finally and preceded by either the low vowel [a] or the high vowel [ɪ]. Monitoring the preceding vowel prevented any fricative-bias in the results due to articulatory undershoot. Each of the key words containing the sounds was included twice so any anomalies could be highlighted. A total of 278 sound files were analysed.

Lenition in Liverpool English was found to occur more often and to a further stage than previous research had suggested (Honeybone, 2001; Watson, 2002, 2007). It is suggested that divergence may be the cause of this due to the popularisation and spread of Liverpool English over the borders and into Halton and the Wirral. Lenition was also found to occur in North Welsh English and the Welsh participants were just as likely to lenite the voiceless plosives as the participants from Liverpool were. The lenition of /t/ in Liverpool English has been attributed to the migration of Irish into the city from the 18th century onwards. However, lenited /p/ and /k/ are not found in Irish English. From the data, it showed that this did occur in the speech of the Welsh and Scouse participants and at an extremely similar rate. Due to the similarity of the extent of lenition between the two accents and the fact that this phenomenon does not occur in any other accent of English it can be fair to say that Welsh has had some influence on the lenition of /p/ and /k/ in Liverpool English.

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Topic-markers in Polish

Mária Patona

1. Claim: In my presentation, I claim that the constructions *jeśli chodzi o [kogoś / coś]*, *co do [kogoś / czegoś]* and *co się tyczy [kogoś / czegoś]* (all having the approximate meaning of ‘as for’) are sentence topic-markers in Polish. They select a contrastive topic since the contrast-marker *to* (Patona forthcoming) can appear in sentences containing these topic-markers. On the basis of Polish National Corpus, I distinguish two types of such Polish topic-constructions (similar to the Hungarian data cf. Bodányi 2011): a type containing a pronoun in the main clause which is coreferential with the topic of the dependent clause introduced by a topic-marker, and a type being independent from the main clause, which does not contain an empty argument place. I claim that the first type is a TopP with *to* functioning as a relator (Den Dikken 2006) mediating between the logical subject in the specifier of TopP and its predicate in the complement of TopP, whilst the second is a case of independent subordination (Kenesei 1995) with the dependent clause right-adjoined to the main clause.

2. Data: The topic marked by an overt topic marker is contrastive. The peculiarity of the type containing a coreferential pronoun is that it can contain a pronoun overtly (1) or covertly (2), but it allows only one type of sentence order: the dependent clause has to precede the main clause. In the case of overt realization of the coreferential pronoun, the occurrence of the inherent lexeme *to* is optional (3), however, if the pronoun appears covertly, the optionality of *to* ceases, and its occurrence becomes compulsory (2). In the second type (4) the main clause can precede the dependent clause, in which case the lexeme *to* cannot appear.

- (1) **A jeśli chodzi o poselstwo, zawsze spełniam je jak najlepiej.**
but if goes about legation always I.fill it-ACC.NEUT as the best
'However, as for the legation, I always fill it as best as it is possible.'

- (2) **Co do psów, to są na ogół bardzo mądre.**
what to dogs TO are usually very clever
'As for dogs, they are usually very clever.'

- (3) **A co się tyczy kraju Mieszka, to jest on najrozleglejszy ze słowiańskich krajów.**
but what REFL.PRON regard country-GEN Mieszko-GEN TO is he-NOM the most extensive of Slavic-GEN.PL country-GEN.PL
'However, as for Mieszko's country, this is the most extensive country of Slavic countries.'

- (4) **Adam Małysz był najlepszy jeśli chodzi o polskich skoczków.**
Adam Małysz was the best if goes about Polish-PL.ACC ski-jumper-PL.ACC
'Adam Małysz was the best as for the Polish ski-jumpers.'

3. Analysis: I propose two different semantic characterizations and syntactic structures of the above presented two constructions. The analysis of the type containing a coreferential pronoun is motivated by the lexeme *to* appearing optionally in them. *To* can be identified as a relator (Den Dikken 2006), responsible for mediating between the topic and the comment. *To* is located in the topic head and it has a contrast feature to assign to the topic. The specifier of TopP is occupied by the dependent clause. This proposal assimilates this construction to simple contrastive topic structures with a DP in Spec,TopP and a *to* in Top, thereby explaining its logical subject - predicate interpretation and the optional appearance of focus in these clauses. The most relevant semantic constraint on the second type is that the set evoked in the main clause has to be a subset of the set generated by the theme of topic-markers (Pan-Hu 2008). I analyse this type on the pattern of independent subordination where the dependent clause is interpreted as an adjunct attached to the main clause (Kenesei 1995).

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Polish Coordination as Adjunction

Anna Prazmowska

The article aims at determining whether the structure of Polish coordination is an adjunction structure (after Munn (1993), as in (1a)), rather than Spec-Head-Complement (SHC) structure (as in (1b)) and, consequently, whether Polish coordination (just like adjunction) can be analyzed under Hornstein's (2009) theory of Decomposed Merge (DM).

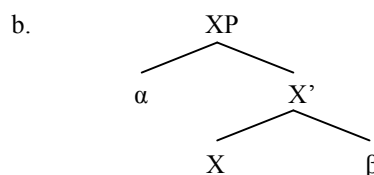
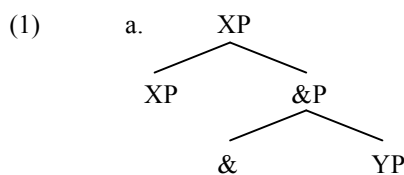
The most significant difference between the two competing approaches to coordination is the status of the *i*-phrase (Polish *and*-phrase, i.e. the constituent of the coordinator and the second conjunct). In the SHC analysis, the *i*-phrase is an intermediate projection which renders is unable to move (as opposed to maximal projections' freedom to move), hence the ungrammaticality of (2b). However, it fails to account for the grammaticality of (3) where the first conjunct and the *i*-phrase are separated.

The adjunction analysis of coordination combined with Hornstein's (2009) theory of DM offers an interesting solution to this problem.

The resemblance between the properties of traditional adjuncts and *i*-phrases (such as lack of influence on the category of the host phrase, optionality, iterativity, permutability, etc.) motivates the adjunction analysis of coordination. In turn, treating adjunction as coordination makes it possible to analyze them by means of the same tool, i.e. the theory of DM (as observed by Larson (2010, 2012)). Decomposing Merge into Concatenate and optional Label makes it possible to explain why the first conjunct and the *i*-phrase in (2) must move together, whereas in (3) they can be separated.

Moreover, the optionality of Label can account for the possibility of singular agreement with post-verbal coordinate subjects in Polish (first observed by Larson (2012) for Arabic), as in (4).

To conclude, it appears plausible to treat the structure of Polish coordination as adjunction. Analyzing Polish coordination as adjunction under the theory of Decomposed Merge accounts for the extraposition facts and Polish coordinate subject-verb agreement patterns which pose problems for the SHC analysis.



- (2) a. Jakkolwiek [wysoka i piękna]_i Helena by nie była _i, nigdy nie zostanie modelką.
however tall and beautiful Helena would-not-be never will-become model
'However tall and beautiful Helen is, she will never become a model.'
b. *Jakkolwiek [i piękna]_i Helena by nie była [wysoka _i], nigdy nie zostanie modelką.
however and beautiful Helen would-not-be tall never will-become model
- (3) Janek kupił chomika w sklepie i klatkę.
Janek bought hamster in shop and cage
'Janek bought a hamster and a cage in the shop.'
- (4) Do pubu wszedł/ weszli Janek i Marek.
to pub entered-SG/entered-PL Janek and Marek
'Janek and Marek entered the pub.'

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Some remarks on gender differences in colour listing and naming in Turkish

Kaidi Rätsep

The purpose of this research is to illustrate the usage of Turkish colour terms (cf. Özgen & Davies 1998, Rätsep 2011) in order to give some information about subjects' colour naming differences according to their gender (cf. Samarina 2007).

The list and naming tasks based on the fieldwork method of Davies & Corbett (1995) were conducted in Ankara and Antalya (2007). The fieldwork consisted of two parts: 1) oral list task, where the subjects were asked to name as many colours as they knew; 2) naming task, where the subjects were asked to name 65 standard and 17 additional Color-aid tiles. 56 informants (30 females, 26 males) participated in the colour listing and naming tasks. Subject's colour vision was tested with *City University Colour Vision Test* (Fletcher 1998).

In list task females listed 146 and males 72 different colour terms. Females used the following terms more frequently in the list task *pembe* 'pink' (by 36%), *lila* 'lilac' (33%), *turkuaz* 'turquoise' (29%), *bej* 'beige' (25%), *yavruağzı* 'peach' (23%), *mor* 'purple' (21%). Males used the following terms more frequently *koyu yeşil* 'dark green' (by 12%), *haki* 'khaki' (9%), *açık sarı* 'light yellow' (8%), *ela* 'hazel' (6%), *kırmızı* 'red' (6%), *mavi* 'blue' (6%). Some - mostly specific or descriptive - terms appeared only in female usage in the list task, e.g. *çimen yeşili* 'grass-green', *füme* 'smokey', *kiremit rengi* 'brownish orange', *parlament mavisi* 'cobalt blue', *şampanya rengi* 'champagne coloured', *askeri yeşil* 'soldier-green', *camgöbeği* 'pale bluish green', *petrol mavisi* 'petroleum-blue', *turkuaz* 'turquoise'. *Bronz* 'bronze' and *metalik gri* 'metallic grey' appeared only in male usage.

In the colour naming task females named the tiles with 481 and males 274 different colour terms. Males were relatively more inclined to use a generic term or a generic term with a modifier. For some tiles males used general terms with modifiers while females used specific or descriptive terms, e.g. *açık sarı* 'light yellow' vs *krem* 'cream' or *kavuniçi* 'light pinkish yellow', *açık mavi* 'light blue' vs *turkuaz* 'turquoise', *koyu yeşil* 'dark green' vs *petrol yeşili* 'petroleum-green' or *askeri yeşil* 'soldier-green'. In some instances females' most frequent designation for a tile was a descriptive term while males used a general term, e.g. *kiremit rengi* 'brownish orange' vs *kahverengi* 'brown', *yavruağzı* 'peach' vs *turuncu* 'orange' or *pembe* 'pink'. In some cases, however, the males' preference for modifiers eventuated in a more complex name.

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**Sociolinguistics, semantics and pragmatics in toponymy
(on material of Horna Orava region – Slovakia)**

Gabriela Slezakova

(short abstract)

Nowadays modern linguistics concentrates on interdisciplinary research. The presented article offers an interdisciplinary view on toponymy. Toponymy, usually perceived only as the scientific study of place names, cooperates not only with dialectology, geography and general linguistics, but also with sociolinguistics, semantics and pragmatics (disciplines currently being in the centre of modern linguistic research). That is the reason why concrete toponymic research cannot focus only on etymological interpretation, place names motivation, original lexicological meaning or lexical, typological, paradigmatic characteristics of place names. Attention should also be paid to the functioning of toponyms in modern society, their pragmatic function in communication and their content-semantic component part. Our paper aims to point out how important toponyms are in social communication of different social groups.

A Feature of Korean Pronouns
- Based on an English-Korean Parallel Corpus Analysis -
Jae-young Song

The purpose of this study is to examine a unique feature of Korean pronouns. This can be done through comparing English pronouns with Korean pronouns in parallel corpus. The parallel corpus built by The National Institute of the Korean Language in 2007 was used for this study. Initially, this study will investigate and highlight the system of Korean and English pronouns in general. Secondly a detailed analysis will explore each languages use of pronouns in the parallel corpus; such factors will include speaker-hearer relationships, cultural differences, etc. Even though a number of previous studies have focused on the meaning and system of Korean pronouns since Choi (1937), there have been very few studies done whereby a foreign language has been employed to highlight a target language. However, features of Korean pronouns can be examined more clearly through such a study.

- (1) a. I will go home now. How about you?
b. na-nun cikum cip-ey kal keya ne/apeci-nun
I-Top now home-to go-will. You/ father-Top
“I will go home now. How about you/father?”

English 2nd person pronoun ‘you’ is equivalent to 2nd person pronoun ‘ne’ in Korean. However, since in the Korean pronoun system [±honorific] takes a very important role, the usage of 2nd pronoun does not correspond. If the listener is older or higher in social status than the speaker, a general noun tends to be used instead of a pronoun; in (1b) if the listener is a speaker’s father for example; ‘father’ is used instead of ‘you’. This is due to the differing Korean and English pronoun systems.

However, we can also find examples that are not caused by grammatical differences.

- (2) (I will tell you why I joined the Foreign Legion.)
a. You must have been wondering about this.
b. tangsin-to kukes-i kwungkumhayssul theynikka
You-Top that-Nom woner-have been must
“You must have been wondering about that.”

‘This’ in English is analogous to ‘ikes’ in Korean. However, in (2b) ‘this’ is translated into ‘kukes’, which means ‘that’. This is because of the psychological distance between the speaker and the topic. In (2a), English speakers consider ‘this’ referring to the previous sentence. Because it was just mentioned, ‘this’ can be used. However, in (2b), Korean speakers distinguish between ‘discourse time’ and ‘event time’. Since the event: ‘I joined the Foreign Legion;’ had happened previous to the current conversation, Korean speakers consider the event as far away, so ‘that’ is used. Even though the English and Korean system of pronouns is quite similar, there are still fundamental grammatical and pragmatic differences; some of them are described above. In order to capture these kinds of differences, two English novels, were selected. “The Desert Island” and “Tobermory” were chosen along with their corresponding translated Korean corpus. The English corpus totaled 20,430 words and the parallel Korean corpus totaled 11,590 *ecel*.

Through the comparative study on Korean pronouns with English, I will examine the grammatical and pragmatic features of the Korean pronoun. Even though this study focuses exclusively on Korean and English pronouns, the results can be expanded into other languages. It can shed light on a field of teaching Korean as a second language.

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Materials

“The Desert Island” and “Tobermory” from <21C Sejong Project> built by The National Institute of the Korean Language in 2007.

Learning L2 consonants without separate category formation

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The speech learning model (SLM: Flege 1995) predicts that if L2 learners cannot perceive the difference between an L2 and the corresponding L1 sound, they develop 'equivalence classification' between the two sounds. In such a situation, though the learners do not develop a separate phonetic category for the L2 sound, learning may continue. As a result the learners have same phonetic representation for both sounds, which lies between the L2 and the corresponding L1 categories of monolingual speakers of these languages. This is called 'merger hypothesis' in the speech learning model (Flege 1987).

Previous studies have found that Spanish (Flege & Eefting 1987), Italian (MacKay et al 2001) and Dutch (Simon 2009) learners whose L1s have pre-voiced stops are not successful in suppressing the negative L1 transfer in the acquisition of English voiced stops. A voiced English plosive produced as pre-voiced is still perceived as a voiced stop. Thus there is no 'communication pressure' on such learners to produce English stops with short lag VOT (MacKay et al 2001). Therefore, the negative L1 transfer and absence of any perceptual motivation cause equivalence classification in the L2 phonemic inventory of these learners. The SLM predicts a 'merger' of VOT values of the L1 and L2 voiced stops by such L2 learners. To test these predictions, a production test was conducted with 81 adult Pakistani learners of English who speak Saraiki as L1.

Saraiki is a Pakistani language having pre-voiced [b g] sounds in its phonemic inventory. It is hypothesized that the Saraiki learners of English will produce [b g] with pre-voicing in English. For the experiment, three groups of learners, two from Pakistan and one from the UK were asked to speak English words 'beak' and 'geese' each six times (3 times in words exclusively and 3 times in a carrier sentence). The productions were recorded. One of the Pakistan-based groups comprised of 29 students of MA English from Pakistani Universities and the other was of 30 Teachers from colleges. The UK group consisted of 22 participants who spoke Saraiki as L1 and before migrating to UK had been living in the same areas from where the Pakistan-based learners were selected. Ten Saraiki monolinguals and ten native speakers of English were also recorded for getting VOT values of L1 and L2 of the learners. VOT values were taken using Praat (Boersma & Weeninck 2012).

The results show that in average all the bilinguals had produced [b g] in English with negative VOT. It confirms equivalence classification between the L1 and L2 voiced stops. Neither the effect of place of articulation nor that of (word-sentence) context on VOT was significant ($p > .1$). However, the UK group had produced [b g] in English with significantly smaller pre-voicing duration than the Pakistan-based learners ($p < .01$). The average VOT of [b g] in English produced by the Pakistan-based learners was not significantly different from the L1 VOT values for [b g] ($p > .1$) but those of the UK-based learners were between the average L1 and L2 VOT values. In other words, the VOT of the UK learners in [b g] consonants was a merger of the L2 and L1 voiced stops. Thus the findings of this study confirm the 'merger hypothesis' that learning continues despite equivalence classification between an L2 and the corresponding L1 sound.

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The connection between Theory of Mind and the comprehension of metaphor and irony in typically developing children

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The relevance theory (Sperber–Wilson 1986/1995) assumes the role of mind-reading in human communication. The comprehension of explicatures or implicatures involves an inference process embedded within the overall process of constructing a hypothesis about the speaker's meaning. On one hand, metaphorical utterances convey an array of weak implicatures, therefore, metaphors cannot be fully understood without a first-order theory of mind (ToM). On the other hand, the verbal irony is treated as the expression of an indirectly dissociative attitude to an attributed utterance or thought, thus irony involves a higher order of metarepresentational ability than explicatures or metaphor.

The predictions about the degree of theory of mind necessary for understanding metaphor and irony were confirmed in typically developing children and children with autism by Happé (1993). However, recent findings provide evidence that ToM is not sufficient to understand these nonliteral forms: children with language impairment and autistic spectrum disorder have difficulties in understanding metaphorical language, even though they have relatively intact ToM abilities (Norbury 2005), and Sullivan et al. (1995, 2003) show that the second-order mental state is necessary to distinguish lies from ironic jokes but the second-order mental state precedes the ironic joke comprehension by approximately 2 years.

The aim of the present study is to investigate how close the connection between the degree of theory of mind and the comprehension of metaphor and irony is: the prediction that comprehension of metaphor requires first-order ToM ability and irony requires second-order theory of mind ability was tested in typically developing children.

Thirty-three typically developing children (aged 4–7) participated in the experiment. Children were tested on two first-order and two second-order false belief tests and they were selected to form three groups on their results of these tests (noToM, 1st ToM, 2nd ToM group). Materials consisted of five short stories illustrated with four pictures for each of them. The stories had a metaphorical and an ironic ending. After listening to a story children were asked what the story characters meant by their metaphorical and ironic utterance, then they had to choose an answer from a multiple-choice task.

The results have shown no significant difference either between noToM group (mean=3,2) and 1st ToM group (mean=3,6) for metaphor ($F(9,279)=6,278$; $p=0,767$) or between 1st ToM group (mean=2,8) and 2nd ToM group (mean=2,5) for irony ($F(0,168)=0,279$; $p=0,293$). These findings suggest that the relationship between theory of mind and the comprehension of the two nonliteral language forms may not be so close in typically developing children: metaphor understanding can precede first-order ToM ability and second-order ToM ability is not sufficient to ensure better irony comprehension.

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Perfect in Ingrian Finnish

Iuliia Taran

The evolution of periphrastic past constructions and perfect forms in particular has been a subject of many typologically oriented studies.¹ The case of Ingrian Finnish, an endangered Finnish variety in contact with several languages, provides the possibility to observe the ongoing changes in its tense-aspect system with the particular focus on a generally diachronically unstable category that is the perfect tense.

Ingrian Finnish is a common term used in reference to the group of closely related dialects of the Finnish language, spoken in historical Ingria, or Ingermanland (now the central part of Leningradskaya oblast', Russia) by the ethnic minority of Ingrian Finns. The dialect situation in the region is very complex with attested influence from contacts with other Finnic languages of the adjacent regions (Karelian, Estonian) and indigenous languages of Ingria (Izhorian and Votic) (see Muslimov 2009 for a recent dialectal classification of Ingrian Finnish dialects).

The data discussed below were collected from 11 informants during two expeditions to the Gatchinsky district of Leningradskaya oblast' (Central Ingria) which took place in summer 2010 and 2011. There are only several hundred of Ingrian Finnish speakers left in Ingria, all of them bilingual and showing signs of L1 attrition. The use of Ingrian Finnish in everyday life is very limited and only possible when speakers have relatives and friends who also speak or understand the language. Russian is the language largely preferred in every context except during church service which, with frequent participation of Finnish missionaries, would also lead to use more standardized Finnish rather than Ingrian Finnish.

Morphology of Ingrian Finnish is in many regards similar to Standard Finnish. The tense-aspect system of Standard Finnish includes four grammatical tenses: present (non-past), past, perfect and pluperfect. Standard Russian distinguishes between present for imperfective verbs, future for perfective verbs and past for both perfective and imperfective. Therefore, Perfect being a highly unstable category in languages of the world, the question arises of the status of the Perfect (and therefore Pluperfect) in Ingrian Finnish and the extent of influence of the Russian tense-aspect system on Ingrian Finnish.

The Standard Finnish perfect is often described as the tense of 'present relevance' (cf. Comrie 1976; Karlsson 1999). The possibility of applying the same definition to the Ingrian Finnish perfect could be considered. All four traditionally distinguished types, or uses, of perfect (cf. Anderson 1982; Dahl 2000) are possible both in Standard Finnish and in Ingrian Finnish: perfect of persistent situation, experiential perfect, perfect of result, perfect of recent past.

However, even if the use of Perfect in context of continuing present relevance is possible, the data show that it is not usually preferred by the speakers of Ingrian Finnish. Moreover, some informants allow the use of Perfect in such contexts only under the reportative reading.

Therefore, it could be argued, first, that the tense-aspect system of Ingrian Finnish is undergoing considerable changes under the influence of the dominant language and, second, that the Ingrian Finnish Perfect in its evolution took one of typologically possible paths developing evidential functions.

- (1) *Mie tänäpäin jo ole-n halko-nt pu-i-ta.*
I today already be-PRS.1SG split-PST.PTCP.SG tree-PL-PART
'I have already split logs today'

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- (2) *Tiäl ole-n kasva-nt, tiäl ole-n elä-nt koko...*
 here be-PRS.1SG grow.up-PST.PTCP.SG here be-PRS.1SG live-PST.PTCP.SG whole
 ‘I have grown up here, I have lived here all the time...’
- (3) *Mie huonost ole-n makka-nt, nyt kivistää piä-tä.*
 I badly be-PRS.3SG sleep-PST.PTCP.SG now hurt.PRS.3SG head-PART
 ‘[They say] I have slept poorly and now I have a headache’

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Experimental Evidence in the Semantic Analysis of Positive Polarity Items in Romanian

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1. Aim and Claim: The aim of this paper is to examine the lexicalization patterns of Positive Polarity Items (PPIs) in Romanian, arguing in favour of a unifying account of positive and negative polarity, analyzing positive polarity items as double negative polarity items (cf. Szabolcsi, 2004), in data such as the following:

- (1) a. *Enache: «Mă curtează o grămadă de femei»*
Enache: 'CL-1st.p,sg.Acc court-3rd.p.pl. a bunch DE woman-pl.
'Enache: Tons of women pay court to me.'
- b. *Poate printre toate răutățile, mai găsim și o fărâmbă de bunătate*”.
Maybe among all malice-pl still find-1st.p.pl also a crumb/shred DE kindness.
'Maybe, among all the bad things around us, we can find a bit of good kindness.'
- c. *toate visele si sperantele tale se pot stinge într-o clipita*.
All dream-the.pl. and hope-the.pl. your CL-refl.,3rd.p.pl. cvanish in a moment.
'All your dreams and hopes can vanish in a jiffy.'

2. Analysis: This paper starts by analyzing Polarity Sensitive Items (PSIs) as scalar operators which must be interpreted with respect to an appropriately structured scalar model. In the beginning of we claim that polarity sensitivity is a sensitivity to scalar reasoning, and the inferences relevant to polarity licensing do not depend on semantic entailment alone, but on a general ability for scalar reasoning.

This paper claims that expressions like 'in the twinkling of an eye', in (1c) cannot be fully accounted for according to the hypotheses of the Scalar Model of Polarity, because this expression describes a low quantity but whenever used in discourse it creates an emphatic effect, which should be a diagnosis for an NPI and not for a PPI.

Thus, this paper will argue for a unifying account of positive and negative polarity (cf. Szabolcsi, 2004), showing that expressions like 'in the twinkling of an eye', among other PPIs in Romanian, are sensitive to the semantic property antimorphy (cf. Falaus, 2008). This paper will also provide a classification of PPIs, in the lines of the analyses proposed by Ton van der Wouden (1997) or Zwarts (1997), looking at the different types of licensing contexts where the PPI's presence is blocked or not.

The present paper will also provide experimental data which show that speakers of Romanian as L1, confirmed the hypothesis that PPIs are scale preserving and that the items and expressions we analyzed in this paper qualify as PPIs and that lexical PPIs in Romanian exhibit an emphatic or attenuating rhetoric effect.

3. Conclusions: This paper examines the lexicalization patterns of Positive Polarity Items (PPIs) in Romanian, claiming that the distribution of PPIs can be accounted for in terms of negative polarity items-licensing (cf. Szabolcsi, 2004). The present proposal is not necessarily incompatible with the scalar insight, but the fact that there are NPIs like 'in years' or 'either' that the scalar approaches cannot account for, we may assume that perhaps the scalar semantics is parasitic on the system of polarity licensing, instead of driving it.

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