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**The disintegration of the nominal declension in Anglian:  
The case of i-stems**

Elżbieta Adamczyk (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

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The *i*-stem nominal paradigm, though abundantly attested, represents one of the minor declensions, deemed entirely unproductive in the Old English times. The prevalent tendency which can be observed in the behaviour of nouns belonging originally to this declensional type is that they reveal a marked fluctuation between the inherited paradigm and the innovative, productive type, shown in their adopting the inflectional endings of both. The apparent hesitation between the two types of inflection can be seen, for instance, in forms of the nominative and accusative plural of masculine paradigm, where alongside the expected OE *-e* ending, forms in *-as*, extended from the productive *a*-paradigm, are attested (e.g. OE *wine* ~ *winas* 'friends'). Similarly, the *-a* ending in nominative/accusative plural of feminine *ō*-stems is commonly found instead of the expected *-e* (< *-i*) (e.g. *dāda* ~ *dāde* 'deed'); and the genitive plural ending *-a* regularly alternates with the productive *-ia/-īga* markers (*wina* ~ *winiġa*). An example of a more radical restructuring within the *i*-stem paradigm are the light syllable feminine nouns in which the endings of *ō*-stems must have been generalized very early, thus the nouns of this type cannot be distinguished from those representing the regular strong feminine paradigm other than by the mutation of the root vowel (e.g. *denu* 'valley', *fremu* 'benefit'). In fact, the confusion of the inflectional paradigms may go as far as to obliterate the origin of a given inflectional ending. Such is, for instance, the case with the *-e* ending on dative singular of masculine nouns, the origin of which can be traced back to two sources: it may constitute a regular continuation the Indo-European *i*-stem ending (*\*-ēi*), or may well be an ending extended from the productive *a*-stem paradigm.

It is believed that through various phonological processes actively operating within the paradigm and leading to the generalization of the *-e* ending, this declensional type very early lost its communicative function and was ready to appropriate endings from the stronger, more influential paradigms, i.e. *a*-stems and *ō*-stems. The frequent and notable fluctuation within the inflectional paradigm certainly attests to the ongoing syncretism, resulting in the eventual disintegration of the original (genetic) stem type distinctions.

The present analysis, conducted on Toronto Corpus (*Dictionary of Old English Electronic Corpus*), is intended to be both a qualitative and quantitative study of the *i*-stem type in Anglian dialects, known for displaying considerable confusion in the declensional system. Aimed at presenting a systematic account of the steady disintegration of the nominal paradigm in this dialect, the investigation will seek to determine the exact pattern of dissemination of the productive inflectional endings in nouns belonging to the genetic *i*-type. The study will also attempt to trace the tendencies and peculiarities characteristic of the process of the gradual morphological restructuring within the *i*-stem paradigm, resulting eventually in a wholesale shift from the minor unproductive to the major productive declensional type.

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**The curvilinear hypothesis revisited:  
Sound change in Charleston, South Carolina**

Maciej Baranowski (University of Manchester)

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The dialect of Charleston, SC, long known for the distinctive character of its phonological system, has recently lost most of its traditional features in the process of regionalization operating across American English, whereby small local dialects are losing their traditional features and becoming part of the larger regions. At the same time it is undergoing a number of new changes, some of which are spreading throughout American English, such as the low-back merger and the fronting of the back upgliding vowels. In fact, Charleston, along with the South Midland, is leading the rest of American English in the fronting of /uw/ (GOOSE) and /ow/ (GOAT). In the traditional dialect, the long mid back vowel of GOAT is at the back periphery of the system, with the upper-class speakers over 65 being the most retracted (and often ingliding). The youngest generation of the highest-status social group, on the other hand, has made a sudden jump ahead of everybody else: upper class women around the age of 20, followed closely by young upper-class men, are now fronting the vowel more than anybody else in Charleston and in the rest of the country.

There has been some concern in sociolinguistics recently over the use of social class as a factor because supposedly such categorization does not accurately reflect actual divisions in American society. While this may be true to an extent of some communities in the U.S., it is clearly not true of Charleston, where social class is shown to play an important role in accounting for the linguistic variation and change found in the dialect. However, the specific ways in which social class interacts with the distribution of

linguistic features do not fully conform to Labov's finding known as the curvilinear hypothesis, whereby linguistic change is led by an intermediately located social group, such as the lower-middle or upper-working class, rather than the highest or the lowest-status group. It appears that the fronting of the back upgliding vowels in Charleston is in fact being led by the highest-status social group.

The study is based on a sample of 100 speakers, aged 8-90, representing 5 social classes. The speech of 43 of those speakers has been analyzed acoustically, and the results have been subjected to multivariate analysis.

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## Results and feature specification of Polish prefixes

Adam Biały (Wrocław University)

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The area of interest of this paper is the constructionist view on aspectual interpretation. The theoretical background of the analysis is essentially that of Ramchand (2003), where the (aspectual) interpretation of events is established at the level of the 'first phase' syntax. Because this lexico-structural level determines the aspectual interpretation of predicates, it is expected that a given interpretation is a result of a given structural projection having been licensed. We are going to argue that this licensing proceeds in accordance with feature checking in the course of which [-interpretable] features are deleted (Chomsky 1995, 2000). The aim of this paper is the investigation of Polish prefixes with reference to the more general discussion on the nature of Slavic prefixes and their contribution to the licensing of the Resultative projection (R-projection), which in turn induces telicity. Following Folli and Ramchand (2002), the realisation of this projection may lead to parametric variation, as languages use different means of licensing it. Our interest focuses on what place Polish occupies with respect to this discrepancy. Like many other Slavic languages, Polish makes use of morphological means to induce telic interpretation on a verb. Since Slavic prefixes have received quite a lot of attention in the literature recently, we make use of the theories presented in the most outstanding accounts (e.g. Jabłońska 2004, Ramchand 2004, Svenonius 2004a, 2004b, 2004c).

The realisation of the R-projection by a given language has more general consequences for event augmentation, which is reflected in the licensing of resultatives and double object construction. The analysis presented in this paper will show that Polish shares certain traits with languages like Italian (it specifies verbs with respect to the [R(esult)]-feature, and does not allow simple adjective resultatives), as well as English (it allows the double object construction). We aim at providing an explanation for such a state of affairs grounded on the assumption that Polish uses a combination of structural means for achieving the interpretation associated with the R-projection (i.e. telicity), which in turn leads to an increased number of possible interpretations.

Our analysis contributes to the more general question of event compositionality and the interface between syntax, morphology and meaning. Following the constructionist model, where (event) interpretation is read off from the structural representation, the way a given language realises the R-projection answers a more general question of how it handles event compositionality.

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## The tourist's mind: National stereotypes at heart

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In this paper, I examine Sender's novel *La Tesis de Nancy* (Nancy's PhD) which explores the perception of old Spain in the 50s by an American student experiencing first hand the implications of being familiar with the foreign culture (i.e. national stereotypes) but not aware of the cultural models which govern the behaviour of the people in that culture. I aim to show how language, culture and society are determinant to one's belief system. For this analysis, I focus on the linguistic constructs in the text which are at play when the intercultural communication mismatches happen, especially with regards to the concepts of cultural identity and the feeling of loss or misunderstanding tourists and foreign visitors commonly experience in a foreign country.

The paper analyses the cultural models, metaphors, polysemy, idioms and humour that not only contribute to re-create the national stereotype that Nancy, the graduate visiting student from the United States, has in mind but also prove to be essential when "adjusting" Nancy's beliefs about Spanish culture to the reality of the culture she encounters. In this sense, Sender, who was exiled to the United States, may be considered the cultural mediator in the portrait and conceptualization of his home country from the perspective of Nancy's home country. Living in the US allows Sender to confront the knowledge of his national identity with the knowledge an external observer carries along when visiting a foreign country. On the other hand, the tourist, as previously pointed out, is presented as an active participant that is constantly forced to re-assess her pre-conceptions about the host culture. That is, Nancy has to reconcile the feedback she gets by living in this culture with the national stereotypes which worked as a magnet to attract her to the foreign culture.

Culture, as defined by Shore (1996:44), is "an extensive and heterogeneous collection of models, models that exist both as public artifacts in the world and as cognitive constructs in the mind of members of a community." Although there are several approaches to the investigation of cultural models, I use the one that considers the use of the native-speaker intuitions and the analysis of discourse (supported by linguists such as Lakoff, Kövecses, Sweetser, Kay). From this perspective, the intuitions of native speakers about the language are considered to be heavily dependent on the intuitions of native speakers as culture-bearers (Quinn and Holland 1987:16). As these authors point out, the strategy of building accounts from native speaker's intuitions and testing them against other observations (e.g. discourse analysis) can be a methodological foundation for inquiry into cultural knowledge.

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## Standardising variety in the British Isles: Administration, etymologies and patterns in 16th-century Scots and English

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Lexical differences between Scots and English in official or specialised types of discourse (e.g. law, administration) are often quoted in the discussion of the dubious status of Scots as a 'variety' or 'dialect' of English. The roots of this discrepancy can be traced back to the linguistic situation in the British Isles at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century, which indeed has no later parallels. This is the last moment in which in two separate kingdoms of Scotland and England two different, though related, languages are on their way towards standardisation (Devitt 1989, Bugaj 2004). One of the criteria for a standard, as outlined by Haugen (1966), would be maximal variation in function, which both the English and Scots of the period seem to exhibit in a comparable degree. They are both used, for instance, in specialised discourses, one of them being the discourse of administration.

Administrative texts can be placed under an overarching term: legal language. Among other features,<sup>1</sup> the special nature of legal language is also reflected in the etymological background of its lexicon. In this paper I am going to investigate the etymologies of late medieval/early modern terminology in Scots and English administrative records (acts of parliament, burgh records, etc.).

Following earlier research on discourse-specific vocabulary in Scots texts (Bugaj 2005), I am going to broaden the database and pay attention to differences and similarities between Scots and English on the basis of the material from the Helsinki corpora (HC and HCOS). It is true that vocabulary choices in legal discourse may have been motivated by similar factors in both late medieval Scotland and in contemporary England. The borrowing strategies and sources, however, did not have to be similar at all. Today's differences between Scottish and English legal terminology can be traced back to that situation. The most important extralinguistic factors which would account for lexical differences are: the extent and form of foreign contacts, mostly with France, and the establishment of Latin as the traditional source of legal terminology, going back to classical rhetoric. The present paper is therefore going to address the issue of the extent of Romance influence on administrative text types in Scotland and England.

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<sup>1</sup> Such as institutionalisation, specific rhetoric, specific syntactic constructions and stylistic choices (Goodrich 1990, Görlach 1998, Tiersma 1999).

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### Empty categories revisited and revised cross-linguistically

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Working on the implementation of recent approaches to *pro* (Neeleman and Szendrői 2005, Holmberg 2005, Hornstein 1999), I am going to propose a unified account of this category in English and Polish. Neeleman and Szendrői (2005) notice that the traditional agreement-based theory of *pro* drop developed within GB by Rizzi (1986) faces difficulties with languages like Japanese and Chinese, which lack agreement, and yet allow *pro* subjects. They refer to this phenomenon as 'radical *pro* drop'. Holmberg (2005) advances this view, claiming that null pronouns in languages without Agr are in fact the only true instances of *pro*, that is to say, "*pro* exists, but (somewhat paradoxically, given the traditional view of *pro*) only in languages which do not have agreement". Contrary to Rizzi (1986), Holmberg (2005) argues that languages like Polish (with subject agreement) cannot have a *pro* subject which is inherently unspecified for  $\phi$ -features, and that *pro* cannot be identified by Agr (the  $\phi$ -features of I) since Agr is uninterpretable in Minimalist theory.

Taking the above into account, there are at least two reasons for the need to re-examine the cross-linguistic occurrence of *pro* drop. First, if full lack of agreement allows subject deletion, then the lack of object agreement in English may be expected to license object *pro* in this language. Following Bhatt and Pancheva (2005) and Levin (1993), I would like to demonstrate that actually there are null objects in English, but this is in fact due to other than syntactic factors. In English, the possibility of omitting the object seems to be subject to idiosyncratic restrictions. In Polish, in contrast, null objects with *arb* interpretation seem to be generally available in generic contexts across a wide range of verbs. Therefore, the second issue that needs to be explored further is the role of semantic/pragmatic factor in *pro* licensing, the importance of which for a proper theory and typology of empty pronouns has been underestimated both in GBT and MP. Finally, I will try to check how the deleted subjects *pro* are related to PRO, the null subject of non-finite clauses. Hornstein (1999) assumes that PRO is small *pro* in cases where movement is prohibited. He refers to this phenomenon as non-obligatorily controlled (NOC) PRO:

- (1) It was believed that [NOC PRO shaving was important].

However, following Bhatt and Pancheva (2005), 'uncontrolled' PRO does not always have an arbitrary interpretation. The *arb* interpretation is available only in generic environments; in episodic environments, the 'uncontrolled' PRO picks its interpretation from the local context, which is demonstrated in English and Polish examples below.

- (2) It is difficult [PRO<sub>arb</sub> to dance the tango].  
Trudno jest [PRO<sub>arb</sub> tańczyć tango].
- (3) This morning it was difficult [PRO to dance the tango] since the floor was slippery and we were all tired].  
Tego ranka trudno było [PRO tańczyć tango, ponieważ podłoga była śliska i wszyscy byliśmy zmęczeni].

This is part of the general context-sensitivity of null arguments, which once again proves the importance of pragmatic component in the investigation of empty categories.

All in all, I will propose that Polish and English partially behave according to the predictions made by Holmberg (2005). Namely, I will claim that agreement-based null subjects in Polish are not instances of *pro*, but regular, carrying a full set of phi-features pronouns that fail to be spelled out at PF. Nonetheless, if *pro* underlies NOC readings, and *-ing* and *to* can license *pro* in English, as suggested by Hornstein (1999), then it may be the case that gerundive *-nie/-cie* nominals and infinitival constructions in Polish could also license *pro*. Then, contrary to Holmberg's (2005) hypothesis, it may turn out that Polish actually has a *pro* subject of the type defined by Rizzi (1986), but in non-finite, and not finite clauses, as it has always been thought. What is more, another empty category that can be observed both in English and Polish is object *pro*, dependent on verb classes. There is merely a difference in the productivity of the null object option in the two languages, which is semantically/pragmatically determined. In fact, it seems highly probable that both subject and object *pro* are strongly influenced by some extra-syntactic factors.

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## Comparing the Old English and Old Norse syntax of hypotactic structures

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In the past decades study of the Old Germanic complex sentence has largely been focused on the word order patterns, the issues under consideration being the history of basic word order patterns, the verb-final rule in subordinate clauses, extension of the SVO-order of the main clause to dependent clauses, brace-construction, etc. Conflicting views on the subordination and word order change in English together with their thorough analysis were presented in Stockwell, Minkova 1991, Traugott 1996 et al. In recent typological studies, like Graeme Davis 2006, it is emphasized that "the similar word order of Old English and Old Icelandic lead us to stress similarities between the two languages" well known for their common lexis and very similar morphology.

This paper deals with the peculiarities of the hypotaxis arrangement in Old English and Old Norse supported by the relevant data from literary monuments. My objective is to prove that the named languages belong to the two typologically different areas due to their complex sentence specifics, i.e. West Germanic and Gothic Scandinavian respectively. WG continuum exhibits an advanced stage of development relative to the Old Norse one. The latter is confirmed by a set of WG hypotaxis surface markers:

1. conjunctions;
2. contrast between the V-2 of the main clause and the V-final of the dependent one, brace construction as WG-specific phenomenon;
3. dependent verb is subjunctive.

The inconsistent appearance the named marker was due to the transition period specifics (from asyndetic hypotaxis and coordination to grammaticalized hypotaxis). The structural markers paradigm included particles, pronouns, adverbs (copy correlatives), complementizers of the Indo-European and Germanic origin. The majority of these units had contaminated semantics, their functions were unlimited.

Old Norse like Gothic exhibits SVO-order of the main and subordinate clause. The use of subjunctive mood in WG dependent clauses is motivated by the content of the main verb or its structure. Negative

complement clauses or other kinds of negative clausal structures are typically subjunctive. Old Norse displays a high share of structurally unmarked hypotaxis, where the relation is inferred from the meaning of the juxtaposed clausal structures.

The use of coordination or unmarked hypotaxis, i.e. a juxtaposition of two or more clauses that share a common subject (*apokoinou*), in parallel with semantically transparent complex sentences is determined as a coexistence of archaisms and innovations in the Old Germanic syntax. The asyndetic hypotaxis of the named type is limited by the WG continuum of languages, mostly OE.

Thus, I would conclude by refuting the aforementioned thesis about the seemingly evident similarity between the Old English and Old Norse syntax.

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### **PTIME transformation of pregroup grammar into CFG and PDA**

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We present a direct construction of a context-free grammar equivalent to a given pregroup grammar. The construction can be performed in a polynomial time.

The calculus of pregroups, introduced by Lambek [3], is a flexible and efficient computational device for parsing of natural languages. Buszkowski [2] proves the equivalence of pregroup grammars and context-free grammars. The proof uses the fact that context-free languages are closed under homomorphic coimages and images. We show that, according to these lines, one obtains a PTIME transformation of a pregroup grammar.

Our construction improves the results of Bechet [1] who provides a construction requiring an exponential time.

We also present a direct PTIME construction of a push-down automaton for a given pregroup grammar.

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### **Syntactic optionality in an Optimality Theoretic framework: Genitive/possessive variation**

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The present paper addresses the question of how syntactic optionality can be expressed within the framework of classic (i.e. non-stochastic) Optimality Theory (OT), e.g. as postulated in Aissen (1999). This issue will be discussed mainly on the basis of the data illustrating variability in English noun phrases, where arguments of the head noun can be expressed either as possessives or genitives, e.g. *the man's left eye* and *the left eye of the man*. Examples will also be given of optionality in Polish event nominals, in which the pronominal internal argument can be syntactically realized either in the pre-head position (as a possessive adjective) or in the post-head position (as a genitive pronoun), cf. *jego uratowanie* 'his being saved (lit. his saving)' and *uratowanie go* 'saving him'.

It will be shown that one way of ensuring syntactic optionality is the recognition of conflicting tied constraints (cf. McCarthy 2002). Such constraints express opposite preferences but have the same rank (e.g. \*Non-Spec<sub>N</sub>/Human and \*Spec<sub>N</sub>/Human). Since the violation of each of those tied constraints is equally costly, rival forms, such as my *sister's hat* (which incurs the violation of \*Spec<sub>N</sub>/Human) and *the hat of my sister* (which violates \*Non-Spec<sub>N</sub>/Human), may be evaluated as equally harmonic and be both regarded as winning candidates.

Instead of employing many tied constraints, one can recognize partially ordered OT grammars, as is proposed by Anttila and Fong (2004), who employ nine constraints and two binary rankings to predict the possessive/genitive variation in English noun phrases.

Furthermore, I will show that some cases of syntactic optionality can be reinterpreted as involving winning outputs of distinct evaluation processes. The phrases *the history of London* and *London's history* may

be related to two inputs, which differ in the discourse prominence of the single argument (cf. Rosenbach 2002, Cetnarowska 2005).

Finally, I will consider the possibility of proposing different constraint rankings for grammars of distinct stylistic varieties in a given language. This can account for the choice of different candidates as most optimal in the formal and the colloquial variety. To illustrate this point, competition will be discussed between two linearization patterns in Polish event nominals, cf. *ich zrozumienie* 'their understanding' and *zrozumienie ich* 'understanding them' (Cetnarowska 2005). Comments will also be offered on the greater frequency of possessives in colloquial English (cf. Taylor 1996, Rosenbach 2002).

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### **Idiom and metaphor comprehension in schizophrenia**

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Edward Gorzelańczyk, Marta Kuklińska (Kazimierz Wielki University, Bydgoszcz)

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Research conducted into the processing of language by individuals with schizophrenia has repeatedly demonstrated that such patients experience difficulty comprehending nonliteral forms of discourse such as metaphors, idiomatic expressions, proverbs or irony (see, for example, Chapman, 1960; De Bonis et al., 1997; Brúne i Bodenstein, 2005). Many current models of figurative language processing emphasize the role of the suppression mechanism (Gernsbacher and Robertson 1999), which is necessary in suppressing the contextually inappropriate literal meaning and constructing the figurative interpretation of a metaphorical utterance (see, for example, *the graded salience hypothesis* put forward by Giora 1997, 1999, 2003).

With regard to patients suffering from aphasia, who, like schizophrenics, frequently fail to comprehend nonliteral language, Papagno, Tabossi, Colombo and Zampetti (2004) have suggested that the major cause of this failure might be a dysfunction of the language suppression mechanism in such patients. If the mechanism of suppression does not aid the language processing system in inhibiting the irrelevant literal meaning, comprehending figurative language becomes a difficult task, especially when discourse pragmatic cues which might suggest a figurative reading of the idiomatic phrase. Some of such cues suggesting the necessity to reject the literal meaning of the idiomatic phrase might be their ill-formedness, opacity, or nonliteralness, where ill-formedness refers to idioms being ungrammatical, opacity indicates inability to infer the figurative meaning of the whole idiom from the literal analysis of its components, whereas nonliteralness refers to those idioms which cannot be understood in a literal fashion. Under this proposal, while processing ill-formed, opaque and nonliteral idioms, the language comprehension system quickly rejects an incorrect literal interpretation and retrieves the idiom's figurative meaning, thanks to the pragmatic cues boosting the suppression mechanism. On the other hand, when faced with grammatically and lexically well-formed idioms, with a logical and coherent literal interpretation and transparent meaning, aphasic patients, lacking the necessary discourse cues, fail to suppress the inappropriate literal sense and experience difficulty in constructing the metaphorical interpretation.

The aim of the study described in this paper is verifying this proposal with regard to the processing of idioms by schizophrenic patients, as well as investigating how schizophrenic patients process metaphors differing in terms of their difficulty. The study consists of two experiments, each of which has been conducted with a different group of schizophrenics.

Experiment 1 aimed at investigating the degree to which such dimensions of idioms as well-formedness, literalness, and transparency influence the ease of their comprehension by schizophrenic patients. Twenty Polish idiomatic expressions, varying in terms of their literalness, transparency and well-formedness, were used in the experiment, which employed the lexical decision priming paradigm. Following the display of the idiom embedded in figurative-biasing context, each participant was presented with one of the three target

types: a word related to the figurative meaning of the whole idiomatic phrase, a word related to the literal meaning of the last word of the idiom, and an unrelated control. Participants' task was to read each sentence carefully and make a lexical decision about the following visual target.

In Experiment 2, the priming sentences included metaphors differing in terms of their difficulty. As in Experiment 1, participants made lexical decisions about targets which were related literally or figuratively to the metaphors, or which were unrelated.

Differences in reaction times obtained for the various target types were used for estimating the activation of literal or figurative meanings in the course of processing idioms and metaphors by schizophrenic patients. The obtained results are interpreted in light of the potential role of various dimensions of idiom and metaphor variability in enhancing the activity of the suppression mechanism and facilitating figurative language processing in schizophrenia.

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### **The patient's perspective (Sociolinguistic analysis of illness narratives)**

Eva Demeter (University of Szeged)

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As a teacher of the language of medical specialities (both English and Hungarian) for the past 18 years, I focused my linguistic research on the verbal application of this specific language.

Research in the social sciences has clarified the nature and problems of doctor-patient communication. My paper can be linked to the patient-centred approach of doctor-patient communication. This approach attaches significant importance to the narration of the patient, which illustrates the illness and its effects in the patient's life context with its various aspects. Rather than putting a hypothesis at test and proving it by means of quantitative research, my qualitative analysis focused on observing and understanding an unpredictable process. I examine ten illness narratives developed in conversations with ten female patients suffering from serious cancerous disease.

The importance of illness narratives lies in the fact that they reveal the subjective feelings of people in trouble, i. e. they give an insight into the ways patients account for their new situation when trying to find an explanation for the break in their life- world. Consequently, an illness narrative is a genre the function of which is the recreation of a balance by the self whose integrity has been lost.

Analysing these narrations I reveal the specific features of the discourse which are present at various stages, and pay special attention to the positions where the complexity of the self's social identity can be detected.

I examined three aspects of the narratives: the role of time factor, the formal features of the discourse (structure and coherence) and the process of meaning construction together with the components of meaning. Time has a special role in illness narratives as the prognosis is frequently uncertain, with the result that the specific events are reevaluated, emphases change. When focusing on the structural components, I examine what narrative genres occurred and also what functions were associated with the complexity of genres. The meaning of illness has a significant importance due to polysemy. The illness is inseparable of a patient's story, thus the illness is accounted for according to various relation systems and meaning is modified parallel with the appearance of further explanatory fields.

Patients' intention to reevaluate identity can be considered as a performative act during which they place themselves, the characters of their narratives and their audience into different positions. The choice of positions has a strategic importance that manifests itself at the different stages of the discourse.

The illness narratives of patients suffering from cancer provide efficient means to understand subjective experiences as they reveal those dynamic processes that patients create in order to adapt to their altered circumstances. Mapping and categorising illness experiences may help medical professionals to understand individual experiences better and also to account for some behaviour of their patients that might seem difficult to understand.

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### **Preliminaries on Old Bulgarian corpus building**

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In this pilot study, we are reporting some recent attempts on processing of diachronic data of Old Bulgarian texts. This includes description of the process of corpus building, annotation strategy and application of extraction rules to corpus data of Old Bulgarian texts based on a text sample from Codex Marianus (Jagic,

1883/1960) and Codex Suprasliensis<sup>2</sup> (Zaimov & Capaldo, 1982; Vulchanov, 2005). The preliminary process in creating a corpus of Old Bulgarian manuscripts includes morphological annotation and the first attempts for nominal phrases extracting (including prepositional, quantificational, and adjectival phrases), using CLaRK system. (Simov et al. 2001)

Due to a number of empirical problems, concerning the raw data, such as defining clause and phrase boundaries, as well as the basic word form (lemma), variation in orthography and errors, we decide to start the process of linguistic annotation with pos-tagging of nominal constituents, using the including mainly specification of grammatical information about a word token, based on a predefined tag-set.

A possible strategy for a semi-automatic tagging is normalization of the texts – a strategy that has not been followed so far. The annotation has been applied manually. However, the process of manual annotation has led us to consider building of a small lexicon that will consist of non-changeable word-forms, such as particles, prepositions, as well as some relatively stable word forms. As a first attempt, it will be possible to build a lexicon for one text.

The process of manual pos-tagging of NP-internal constituents has also led us to a formulation of the basic pattern of NP-internal structure in the sample text (excerpt from Codex Marianus). This stage has been seen as facilitating the semi-automatic annotation of complete NPs, based in concord relations displayed NP-internally. The observations made on the shallow-parsed data from another text (Codex Suprasliensis), consisting of manually extracted nominal phrases (Vulchanov, 2005), have validated most of the proposed NP-internal structure (Dimitrova-Vulchanova, M. & V. Vulchanov 2003; Dimitrova-Vulchanova, M. & V. Vulchanov, in press) for the sample text from Codex Marianus, XML marked-up.

The next step was formulating regular grammars for extracting the NP-phrases, using the CLaRK system (Simov et al. 2001). We have applied grammar rules on a selection of corpus data and compare the extracted phrase units with a selection of manually extracted phrase units. For example, we have applied on the text of (Mar, Mk. 2) a grammar for a nominal phrase with a noun element as a lexical head and an adjectival element in pre- and post-position. The grammar has extracted all 20 NPs, which have been extracted manually, allocated as follows: 19 – with an adjectival element in post-position, and 1 – with the adjectival element in pre-position. The recent grammar has left out the nominal phrase (1) with discontinuous adjectival element.

In this paper, we first explain why the corpus-based approach is relevant for the diachronic data, and discuss some theoretical assumptions about diachronic data. We then introduce the sample corpus data and discuss the principles of annotation in comparison with other pos-annotation schemes for historical language data (for example, Tycho Brahe Parsed Corpus of Historical Portuguese). Finally, we explain the principles of applying grammar rules and discuss the resulting NP-structures extracted, in comparison with manually extracted NP-phrases from the same text.

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### WCO and Focus in Czech

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It is widely accepted that wh-movement and focus movement behave alike, because both types of operations are created by A'-movement. Thus (1) and (2) are bad, since JOHN in (1) moves covertly to some A'-position in the same way as who moves overtly in (2):

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<sup>2</sup> Developed under the Norwegian Research Council Project Grant # 158289/V10.

- (1) \*His<sub>i</sub> mother loves JOHN<sub>i</sub>  
 (2) \*Who<sub>i</sub> does his<sub>i</sub> mother love t<sub>i</sub>?

However there are some data which show that this assumption is not accurate. As can be seen from sentences # like (3), island-creating operators intervening between the operator and the focus do not interfere, but the same sentence with wh-movement would be ungrammatical – (4). The possible solution is to claim that focus configurations consist of a focus licensing operator such as even which has to c-command the focused element.

- (3) Sam even saw the man who was wearing the [<sub>F</sub> RED] hat.  
 (4) \*What<sub>i</sub> did Sam even see the man who was wearing t<sub>i</sub> ?

As can be seen from Czech sentences like (5) and (6) in configuration where wh-phrase or focus stay in situ wh-phrases and focused elements give raise to WCO:

- (5) \*Jeho<sub>i</sub> matka miluje KARLA<sub>i</sub>.  
 His mother loves CHARLES  
 ‘His<sub>i</sub> mother loves CHARLES.’  
 (6) \*Jeho<sub>i</sub> matka miluje koho<sub>i</sub>?  
 His mother loves who?  
 ‘His<sub>i</sub> mother does love who<sub>i</sub>?’

But surprisingly if we move wh-phrase or focused element, then WCO nearly disappears:

- (7) ?KARLA<sub>i</sub> jeho matka miluje t<sub>i</sub>.  
 CHARLES his mother loves t<sub>i</sub>  
 ‘His<sub>i</sub> mother loves CHARLES<sub>i</sub>’  
 (8) ?Koho<sub>i</sub> jeho matka miluje t<sub>i</sub>?  
 who his mother love t<sub>i</sub>?  
 ‘Who<sub>i</sub> does his<sub>i</sub> mother love t<sub>i</sub>?’

Wh-movement and focus movement behave similar in this respect and this poses a problem for the focus operator approach. Apart from that this is also a problem if we assume that focus movement and wh-movement are covert in examples like (5) and (6). We can still claim (as Puskas (1997) does) that in (7) is NP Karla topic and topics are not operators, because topicalized constituents do not lead to WCO like in the following Hungarian sentence:

- (9) Jánost<sub>i</sub> SZERETI az pro<sub>i</sub> anya t<sub>i</sub>.  
 John loves the pro mother t<sub>i</sub>  
 ‘John<sub>i</sub>, his<sub>i</sub> mother loves him.’

But this solution does not work on the example (8), because wh-phrase can hardly be topic. Besides there are Hungarian sentences # like (10) and (11) where Kit is a wh-phrase and Jfnost is a focus expression and they are grammatical:

- (10) Kit<sub>i</sub> szeret az pro<sub>i</sub> anyja?  
 who loves the pro mother  
 ‘Who does his mother love?’  
 (11) (?)JÁNOST<sub>i</sub> szereti az pro<sub>i</sub> anyja.  
 John loves the pro mother  
 ‘His<sub>i</sub> mother loves JOHN<sub>i</sub>’

In my report I will attempt to solve these problems.

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### National stereotypes, mentalities and discourse

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In this paper I would like to discuss questions pertaining to several perspectives on the agenda of the session on pragmatics and sociolinguistics.

First, I would like to show that national stereotypes relate to national mentality and they find a not unambiguous representation in discourse. Hence, outsiders, even if they are linguists of considerable reknown, often engage in generalizations about another nation on the basis of discourses about a certain nation originating both within and outside that nation. A good example is Wierzbicka's (1991) attempt to fathom the mentalities of speakers belonging to Polish, Russian and Australian cultures. I previously tried to show it in previous publications (see, e.g. Dorodnych 1999).

Second, asymmetry of the representation of self and other is present not only on the individual level. Judgements of groups of people about themselves are biased mostly positively while other groups are judged more critically or even negatively. At the time of conflict, one can observe a revival of old, dormant, stereotypes (of course negative) whipped up by the propaganda in the media. This also finds expression in the jokes (old and new) circulated about the 'adversary'.

Some examples will be supplied from recent conflict discourses.

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### Definitness and Clitic Predicativization (GGE) in Slovenian

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One of the striking peculiarities of the Slovenian are elliptical omissions in transitive constructions, in which clitic pronouns of (predominantly) accusative and dative case can overtake predicative functions (see Dvořák 2003, Dvořák/Gergel 2004) forming thus short one-word verbless sentences of the type (1 (B)):

- |     |    |                   |          |        |    |                |
|-----|----|-------------------|----------|--------|----|----------------|
| (1) | A: | A                 | ga       | vidiš? | B: | Ga.            |
|     |    | Q                 | CL.Akk.m | see2   |    | CL.Akk.m       |
|     |    | "Do You see him?" |          |        |    | "Him." (I do.) |

Whereas some initial discussion was dedicated to what should be the possible technical conditions for those constructions in Slovenian so far (Dvořák/Gergel 2004, Bošković 2001, Franks 2000), it still remains unclear in which semantic contexts speakers can apply the pronominal clitic forms in the above verbal function. As the data analysis in Dvořák/Gergel 2004 (where the phenomenon is analysed as a VP-ellipsis and called GGE thereafter) has shown, this is mostly the case if the pronominal clitic already occurs in the question (1), whereas a clitic after an overtly mentioned object shifts the sense of the answer from an affirmative to a

confirmative (and that of the question to a dubitative) meaning, comparable to the German “doch” or the French “si” (2). Those questions are normally answered by full verb forms (except after negated questions – see below);

- (2) A: A poznáš Bóruta? B: Poznám. B' #Ga.  
 Q know<sub>2</sub> Borut-Akk Know<sub>1</sub> Him.  
 “Do You know Borut?” “I do.” “I DO know him.”

Additionally there are some restrictions in the use of clitics with respect to the nature of a verb, as was clearly demonstrated on iméti (to have (3)) and the modal verbs, due to a lack of transitivity or activity;

- (3) A: A ga imàš? B: Imàm. B' \*Ga.  
 Q CL.Acc.m have<sub>2</sub> Have<sub>1</sub> Him.  
 “Do You have him?” “I have.”

Beyond that it can be easily noticed that in certain situations clitics are never used as positive answers even if they are expected to occur with regard to the construction constraints; contrary, they regularly appear in other situations after the same questions;

- (4) A: A ne píšeš vina? B: Píjem. B' #Ga.  
 Q neg. drink<sub>2</sub> vineGen Drink<sub>1</sub> It.  
 “Don't You drink vine?” “I do.”
- (4') A: Ne píšeš tégale vina? B: Ga./Ga, ga./Sevéda ga.  
 Neg. drink<sub>2</sub> dem vineGen It./(redupl.)of course it.  
 “Don't You drink that vine (here)?” “I do./I do, I do./Of course I do.”

A widely productive constraint on whether a clitic may be used as an answer or not by a speaker, is, as we will show in our contribution, that of the definiteness degree of the object in question; the more definite the nature of an object is, the less impediments there are for the elliptical GGE construction to be applied; as can be seen in (4), where the first question addressed to the speaker refers to a general context (drinking vine), while by the second a more concrete object is referred to, namely the vine in a bottle in front of the asked person. In the following we quote some examples out of the big collection, by which we systematically checked out the available data amount. As the occurrence of clitic answers, for economical reasons, can be defined as most stable after negated questions (when used as positive answers, as “yes” is semantically ambiguous in those cases), we particularly considered such data in order to gain a reliable list of „minimal pairs” (see (5) and (6) below);

- (5) A: Saj ne poznáš kakšnega dobrega advokata?  
 part. neg. know<sub>2</sub> someGen goodGen lawyerGen  
 “You certainly don't know a good lawyer?”  
 B: Poznám. B': \*Ga.  
 Know<sub>1</sub>  
 “I do.”
- (5') A: Saj ne poznáš téga dobrega advokata?  
 part. neg. know<sub>2</sub> demGen goodGen lawyerGen  
 “You certainly don't know this good lawyer?”  
 B: Ga. B': Pa ga./Ga, ga. B'': #Poznám.  
 “I do.” “But I do./I do, I do.”
- (6) A: Mi ne odpustiš?  
 Cl1Dat neg. forgive<sub>1</sub>  
 “Don't You forgive me?”  
 B: Ti. B': #Odpustím.  
 Cl2Dat  
 “I do.”
- (6') A: Ne odpustiš prijatelju?  
 Neg. forgive<sub>2</sub> friendDat  
 “Don't You forgive to a friend?”  
 B: Odpustím. B': \*Mu.  
 forgive<sub>1</sub>  
 “I do.”

Though Slovenian doesn't show any formal difference between definite and indefinite objects by a corresponding (in)definite article, there is evidence for a different treatment of them from this very peculiar, typologically unusual characteristic of this language.

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### **On the non-Africanness of A Dictionary of South African English**

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*A Dictionary of South African English* (henceforth *DSAE*) deals with an unconventional part of the English vocabulary – the one which originated in or is peculiar to South Africa. There is little doubt that the African-language borrowings or otherwise Africanized English lexical items that the dictionary provides bear evidence of an important general property of English, its assimilative capacity. While, as could be expected, entries make the origin of headwords or idiosyncrasies of South African English usage clear in every case, the dictionary, a little surprisingly, and, as it might seem – contrary to the implication of the title itself, goes beyond the South African context.

The paper focuses on what the author of *DSAE* herself finds a greatly interesting, though unconventional part of the dictionary, i.e., "references [...] to items and usages from other variants of English comparable in form or idea with the South African terms" (*DSAE*: xx). It is the resulting network of recurrent themes in the English vocabulary matched across the world that constitutes the aspect of the non-Africanness of *DSAE* which is discussed in the paper.

While the author admits that the number of the cross-references to the languages used by speech communities "far apart in space and time" is not sufficient, she stresses at the same time that many "striking parallels" are successfully supplied (*DSAE*: xx). The paper attempts to provide close analysis of those parallels, focusing on both quantitative and qualitative aspects. Thus, once formal and structural facets of the cross-references in question are briefly presented and exemplified, their total number in the dictionary is given. Besides, all the "variants of English", to use Branford's words (*DSAE*: xx), to which the cross-references pertain are specified, and it is indicated which of them predominate. Hong Kong English, Jamaican English, Australian English, Anglo-Indian English or New Zealand English are just a few examples of those which serve as a point of reference. Interestingly, it turns out that the dictionary is in fact more specific than the introduction might suggest, since some of the variants of English which appear in the cross-references are not even mentioned in the front matter, or they are further limited to particular geographical areas. Attention is also paid to what and how often is cross-referenced. In other words, the study answers the question which lexical items, divided also on the basis of part of speech, are cross-referenced most frequently, and in what cases cross-reference is the least frequent. In the end, the information from the cross-references themselves as well as the overall picture of the non-Africanness of *DSAE* are evaluated.

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### **Challenging Labov's account of Negative Inversion constructions in AAVE**

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The Negative Inversion (NI) pattern is probably one of the most distinct grammatical features characteristic of contemporary African American Vernacular English (AAVE). The term NI denotes a phenomenon in which a negated auxiliary precedes a negative quantifier expression in an emphatic declarative sentence, as exemplified by the following:

Ain't nobody in my family Negro. (Labov, 1972a: 60)

Can't nobody say nothing. (Rickford, 1999: 8)

While the syntax of NI constructions does not pose a major problem for linguistic analysis, the process of generating such structures appears to be twofold in nature, thus causing potential economy-related difficulties for speakers of AAVE. It is this very duality of the derivation of structures in question which shall be of interest to us and which shall be challenged in this paper.

One of the earliest accounts of the NI pattern, which we focus on herein, was provided by William Labov (1972b). This informal analysis was an attempt at putting forward an explanation of the way NI constructions are derived by AAVE speakers.

In his investigation, Labov distinguishes two types of NI sentences, namely the copular (cf. (1)) and the non-copular (cf. (2)) instances. This distinction constitutes the basis on which Labov proposes two separate analyses to account for the grammaticality of NI – the Existential analysis and the Subject-Auxiliary Inversion (SAI) analysis, respectively.

The Existential analysis is valid with respect to those NI cases which contain the contracted negative form of the primary auxiliary *be*. The surface structure realized as a NI construction, according to Labov, would be derived from an existential sentence from which the dummy subject *it* has been deleted.

- a. It ain't no Santa Claus. D-structure
- b. Ain't no Santa Claus. S-structure

The SAI analysis, on the other hand, pertains to those NI cases which contain an auxiliary other than the copula *be*. For such instances Labov proposes that they are generated simply by inverting the contracted auxiliary with the quantifier and moving it to sentence-initial position where it precedes the indefinite subject.

- a. Nobody can't tag you, then. D-structure
- b. Can't nobody tag you, then. S-structure

In this paper we challenge both analyses put forward by Labov in the light of the hypotheses supported by the proponents of the GB theory. We also demonstrate certain systematic inconsistencies we have observed with reference to these early accounts. Finally, following Labov's own line of reasoning, we argue that all types of NI constructions can be easily derived via either of the presented accounts, which leaves two individual derivation processes at an AAVE speaker's disposal. The aim of this argument is to show that the NI phenomenon remains to be unaccounted for under a truly unified theory.

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### **The representation of Polish migrants in the UK as constructed in the Polish press**

Małgorzata Fabiszak (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

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The paper is an application of a Blending Theory – informed Critical Discourse Analysis, as suggested in Chilton (2005). It attempts to show how cognitive linguistics can enrich the critical analysis of the media construction of reality (see, e.g. Fairclough 2003). The data for analysis come from the major national quality newspapers *Rzeczpospolita*, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Trybuna* in the period after Polish accession to the EU. A number of articles downloaded from the Internet archives of these newspapers will undergo a qualitative analysis (in the sense of Charteris-Black 2004 and Musolff 2004) The paper will focus on the asymmetry of the representation of the self and the other and frame shifting in the discourse on migration. The concept of frame shifting goes back to Coulson's (2001) analysis of American media discourse on abortion and shows how the construal of counterfactual blends is used in an attempt to convince the interlocutor to the self narrative construal of reality. The present paper aims at answering the question what cognitive and discursive strategies are used in the Polish press discourse on the labour migration to the UK. It will focus

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## **The conceptualization of immigration in children's narratives**

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The formation and development of concepts is one of the most important issues in cognitive psychology. This study focuses on one particular concept - the concept of IMMIGRATION which, though under-represented as a lexical unit in the corpus, is a very popular strand in the collection of more than 300 authentic graded texts for native and ESL children aged 7-11. A comprehensive analysis of the above-mentioned texts demonstrates that the concept can already be found in the lower grade readers and that a net of connections with other word-concepts can be identified.

In the process of going from one levelled/graded story to another, the child goes from stage to stage of its cognitive development (cf. Piaget's stages and Reading A-Z correlations), and may ultimately discover the properties of the concept of IMMIGRATION though there are only eight passages (i.e., 5 texts in 310) that contain the <immigr-> string. The abundance of information to be found in the stories actually lets the concept develop into a stable mental representation.

The study draws on the cognitive processes available to children at Piaget's third stage of development as well as statistical analyses of the categorized data. The features of the 'who', 'when', and 'why', as well as the social relations between the natives and newcomers finally produce a vivid image of an Immigrant Child (its immigrant I.D.). The affective load of the concept shows that emotion and connotation ought to be given a more central position in concept analysis.

These investigations into the representation of the 'native' attitudes towards the 'other' (his/her character, background, language, and emotions) bring to mind the literary types so common in 18<sup>th</sup> century literature. However, a careful reading of the children's literature under analysis shows that the connotative meaning of the concept has changed over time.

Additionally, parallels between dictionary definitions are drawn to illustrate that texts for children are useful for concept formation and development, and that conceptual text mining could be used for electronic dictionary compilation (e.g., the theory behind Longman activator) as well as involving children in critical discourse analysis.

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## **Mapping language in patients undergoing brain surgery**

Itzhak Fried (University of California Los Angeles, Tel-Aviv University)

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Rarely is the relationship between language and medicine more acute and critical than in the operating theatre, where the neurosurgical patient undergoing surgery at the vicinity of the brain language areas is kept awake and cooperative while brain mapping techniques are applied to delineate the individual language map for this patient. This procedure determines the ability to remove a brain lesion while preserving the language capabilities of the patient. We have developed a special anesthetic technique, asleep-awake-asleep (AAA) anesthesia, where the patient emerges out of general anesthesia during the operation to be able to perform complex language tasks awake.

The "gold standard" method of mapping cortical language areas, involves the application of electrical stimulation at the surface of the cortex while the patient, awake and cooperative, performs various language tasks. This method identifies sites where stimulation evokes errors in naming, reading, sentence comprehension, and other language tasks. Maps vary considerably among individuals, reflecting both inter-subject variability in cortical organization and reorganization due to the presence of a brain lesion. Mapping of bilingual patients yields different maps for different languages in the same individuals, but usually with some overlap.

While distribution is often wide spread within the language-dominant hemisphere, the following areas are particularly prone to yield stimulation-evoked disturbances in language functions: (1)The frontal operculum extending to dorsolateral frontal lobe (2)The region of posterior part of superior and middle temporal gyri (3) The posterior basal temporal region (4) The inferior parietal lobe. (5) The anterior supplementary motor area (SMA). Following electrical stimulation mapping, resection often proceeds as the patient performs continuous language tasks in order to detect any change in performance.

When these results are compared with mapping of language with functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), discrepancy exists between the two methods. fMRI is reliable in identifying the hemisphere dominant for language function. However, often the map obtained with electrical stimulation is a subset of the map obtained by various fMRI measures. It appears that fMRI mapping of language function is useful as

preoperative guide, pointing to the dominant hemisphere and to regions within it, which should be further explored with intraoperative electrical stimulation.

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### **Everything you always wanted to know about diphthongs, but were afraid to ask**

Klaus Geyer (Pedagogical University of Vilnius)

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At first glance, discerning, analysing, and describing diphthongs seems to be a simple task. In general, these objects of “diphthongology” are defined as combinations of two vowels which occur within one syllable. But this is where the trouble starts: Is it vowels or rather vocoids that are the basic sound elements of diphthongs? What does two mean in this context? Furthermore, what types of diphthongs can be identified? Finally, how do diphthongs and diphthong types vary cross-linguistically?

The complex diphthong inventories of circum-Baltic languages (including their substandard varieties) seem to be suitable to raise the question about how diphthongs are to be analysed and described adequately. I will examine features like: opening vs. closing; palatalising vs. velarising; rounding vs. de-rounding/spreading; nasalizing vs. de-nasalizing; centralising vs. decentralising; narrow vs. wide; homogeneous vs. non-homogeneous; rising vs. falling; crescendo vs. decrescendo; primary, secondary, and tertiary. It will be shown that these features are (i) in principle independent of each other and (ii) potentially phonologically relevant depending on the respective language. Moreover, questions like the analysis of diphthongs within the non-linear syllable structure, how diphthongs can be generated within a rule-based phonological grammar, and their controversial status (mono- or biphonemic) will be addressed. This presented list of potentially relevant features of diphthongs serves to be a preliminary approach to the subject. Around one third of the world's languages is assumed to have diphthongs as part of their phonological systems (even if by far not so large amounts as many of the circum-Baltic languages possess), but a sufficiently fine-grained means for analysis and description is still lacking. A closer look on the descriptions of the Finnish diphthong inventory or system as provided by grammatical sketches and reference grammars, as an example, shows surprisingly wide differences and even contradictions just in this respect and underlines the need for such a framework.

Finally, phonology is considered an indispensable constituent of every serious grammatical description of a language, as already Georg von der Gabelentz stated in the 19th century (but cf. also the more recent work on the topic by e. g. Ch. Lehmann and U. Mosel), even if phonology (including phonetic realisations) is to be treated outside the grammatical core, consisting of an analytic and a synthetic (i.e. a semasiological resp. an onomasiological) part. Besides that, diphthongs also appear to be a suitable touchstone for phonological arguments, hypotheses or theories.

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### **Annotating prosody: design specifications for a prosodic ontology**

Dafydd Gibbon (Bielefeld University)

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This contribution addresses the problem of developing an adequate ontologybased annotation system for prosody, and deals, first, with widespread annotation schemes; second, with the underlying problems of developing a prosodic ontology (following the example of the the GOLD approach to linguistic ontology development); and third, with a proposal for a prosodic ontology in the form of a semantic network rather than as a classical tree-shaped ontology.

There are several transcription and annotation schemes for prosody, the most well-known of which are the tonetic, ToBI, IntSint and SAMPROSA systems. Each of these systems represents a particular decomposition of the forms of prosody, partly into sequential autosegments (e.g. the ToBI tones), partly into parallel tiers (e.g. the ToBI tones and the break indices), partly into implicit feature bundles (e.g. tonetic specifications such as ‘high-mid fall’). Occasionally functional terminology is found, such as ‘call contour’ or ‘question intonation’, transcribed with punctuation marks of various kinds, but such terminology is holistic, and does not capture prosody as such.

It is shown that a useful annotation scheme for prosody can most appropriately be based on an explicit semiotically based prosodic ontology, rather than on a purely form-based approach. The application of this semiotic approach to examples of typologically different prosodic systems is demonstrated.

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**Measure phrases and negative degrees in Japanese, English and Polish**


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Szymon Grzelak (Kyoto University)

This paper argues for the existence of non-neutral, committed measure expressions in Japanese, in which negative-degree property words can occur with measure phrases (MP). One of the common modification conditions of MPs is that the modified adjective (or other property word) must be of positive degree. For example:

- (1) a. The tree has a height of 2 meters.  
b. \*The tree has a lowness of 2 meters.

According to the semantics of degrees proposed by Kennedy (2001), adjectives denote functions from objects to degrees. Any object  $x$  can have two projections, a positive and a negative one, on a scale  $S$  that are join complementary intervals, covering the whole range of the property, the degree of which is mapped onto scale  $S$ . Positive degrees are represented as intervals ranging from the lower end of a scale to some point, and the negative degrees as intervals ranging from some point to the upper end of the scale (in particular: infinity). Kennedy, referring to von Stechow (1984), argues that ‘functions denoted by MPs are defined only for degrees of particular scales (determined by the head of the MP) and for degrees of particular sorts - closed intervals on the scale.’ The above theory accounts for the oddness of examples like (1b), in the following way: since the negative degrees are represented by open, infinite intervals, they cannot be ascribed real, definite numbers.

This study demonstrates distributional facts from Japanese that are difficult to account for within the above framework. This is especially the case with constructions like (2):

- (2) Empitu wa aru ga san senti no mizikasa da kara kakenai.  
pencil TOP be but three cm GEN shortness COP because cannot.write  
‘I do have a pencil, but since it’s as short as three centimeters I cannot write.’  
lit. ‘the pencil has a shortness of three centimeters’

Genitive phrases of this kind are a very common type of Japanese degree expressions. In the cases where objects denoted by the NP are short, low or narrow (from the viewpoint of the standard applicable to the given class) the extent of their shortness, lowness or narrowness can be specified by means of numerical values and units of measurement (i.e. MPs). In addition, two other related types of structures will be discussed: phrases employing complementizer *toiu* and measure expressions where the MP is directly adjacent to the noun denoting the given property.

This puzzle can be partially resolved by noting that: (i) negative-degree de-adjectival nouns are generally more common in Japanese degree expressions (questions about degrees, ratios, proportions, rankings) than in other languages; (ii) if we adopt a wide definition of measure expressions, saying that they consist of MPs and property words, without being confined to any particular syntax, then such measure expressions can clearly be licensed by negative-degree items even in English. For example: ‘The tree is as low as 2 meters’. (Polish seems to be different in this respect, though).

The argument will be presented against the background of the material of Polish and English as well as results of questionnaire surveys examining the way native speakers of Japanese process/encode the above types of structures.

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## Beats-and-Binding typology of the dispreferred clusters of RP

Małgorzata Haładewicz-Grzelak (Technical University of Opole)

The paper investigates some typological relations between bindings and phonotactics in RP English, exemplified on the so-called ‘dispreferred clusters’ within Beats-and-Binding syllable-less model as developed by Dziubalska-Kořaczyk (1995, 2002). I argue that word-initial and word-final dispreferred clusters have not been properly analyzed within generative and syllable-based models and B&B interpretation was able to capture some important generalizations.

In addition, the paper sketches the achievements of researchers whose ideas in my opinion are compatible with the B&B framework. The researchers are Ludwik Zabrocki (1960 [1980]) and Pierre Delattre (1966) and I will concentrate but on the fraction of their scientific interests, namely Zabrocki’s structural phonetics and Delattre’s syllable-cut. The paper also verifies and corroborates the predictions of B&B model against the work of these researchers.

The *blueprint principle of clustering* which I formulate within B&B framework stipulates that some dispreferred clusters, i.e. those that violate Level 2 preferences, tend to appear in exactly the same sequential order in all three phonotactic positions and the reverses of such clusters do not appear. I argue that as in any movement sequences, the position of articulatory organs naturally forms the starting point for a specific set of subsequent articulations, which in a sense ensue from such a position, as harmonically as for example, the continuum of movements in walking or running. Such a sequence is preferred regardless of the phonotactic position in a word, e.g.

1. /mn/ : Greek *mnémē*, *mnemonic*, *calumny* OE *damn*, (Sp.) *mnemotécnico*, (Pol.) *mnich* ‘monk’, *mnożyć* ‘multiply’.
2. /çtç/ : *ściana*, *ościerznica*, *iść*, *ość*.
- 2a. /zdz/ : *ździerca* ‘extortioner’, *źdźbło* ‘stalk’, *październik* ‘October’ *paźdźerze* ‘harl of flax’, *gwóźdź*.
3. /pt/ : (Gr.) *pterón* ‘wing’ *ptýalon* ‘saliva’, (Pol.) *pteroaktyl*, *raptowny*, (E) *pterodactyl* (Sp.) *pterodáctilo* (E) *chapter*, *apt*, *adapt*.

Word-initial dispreferred clusters are analyzed using Zabrocki’s structural phonetics and the results are compared with the predictions of the B&B model. With respect to word-final cluster repair strategies I suggest enumerating 3 main types, which are discussed in the paper using B&B model.

- (1) a. consonantal beat creation, e.g. *couple*, *button*, *excursion*, *hebdomadad*
- b. elision of a word-final consonant: *long*, *thumb*, *hymn*.
- c. elision of a penultimate cluster member: *sign*, *condign*, *align*.

I interpret the creation of consonantal beats in English as a functional preference, applying regardless of the phonotactic position: Ngumi, student, bottle. The suggested B&B taxonomy of RP’s consonantal beats according to sondis ratios is as follows:

- [1]: VFL: [-f] *artificial*, [-f] *rifle*, [-s] *whistle* [-z] *muzzle* [-v] *festival* [-ŋg] *octangle*.
- [2]: VNL: [-n] *journal*, *heptagonal* [-m] *mammal*
- [3]: VSN [-dŋ] *hidden* [-tŋ] *button* [-pm] *open*, *happen*
- [4]: VAffN: [-tʃŋ] *fortune*, [-dʒŋ] *margin*
- [5]: VFN: [-ðm] *rhythm*, ([-θm]) [-ðm] *fathom* [-fŋ] *excursion*, [-θŋ] *marathon*, [-zŋ] *equation*, [-zm] *capitalism*, [-fŋ] *often*, [-vŋ] *even*, [-sŋ] *Whitsunday*, *oxen*.

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**Silesian and Cashubian ethnolects  
as contrasting types of ethnic identity strengthening**

Małgorzata Haładewicz-Grzelak (Technical University of Opole)

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The research reported in the paper aims at investigating the sociolinguistic factors of ethnic identity change and identity strengthening. The assumption that language is a paramount factor of group cohesion seems self-evident with respect to minority languages. I tried to investigate the issue with respect to the ethnolects which in the past did not manage to coin their standard versions and with the view of occurring changes in language policy, now have the chance to become regional languages.

The research consisted in comparing selected aspects of synchronic and diachronic situation of the two ethnolects in the region of Poland: Cashubian and Silesian, and was supplanted by the field study conducted in 2005 in the region of Cashuby and Silesia, as well as the analysis of internet language data. I tried to avoid passing value judgments (cf. prescriptive versus descriptive linguistics) and hence the term 'ethnolect' (coined by Majewicz) is used instead of the term 'dialect', which is especially important with respect to much itinerated 'language or dialect' discussion on Cashubian. The framework, although the topic is of linguistic nature, is also based on sociological and anthropological theories, e.g. *rational choice theory*, *functionalism* as well as semiotic *rich-get-richer principle*. The referential part of the research is mainly based on elaborations by accomplished scholars investigating the varieties in question: based in Warsaw, Gdańsk and Poznań Universities in the case of the Cashubian (the Poznań contribution includes the research by Ludwik Zabrocki, Gerard Labuda – rector of AMU 1962-65 or Alfred Majewicz) and in the case of Silesian, the researchers based in Silesian Institute in Opole, Opole University as well as many others (Berlińska, Lis, Wyderka, etc.).

The reasons of choosing Cashubian and Silesian for contrastive identity studies are manifold. Most importantly, the question of ethnic identity and identity conflict is most pronounced in the case of these two regions. Moreover, the two ethnolects have undergone similar superstate influences in the past, both from the part of German and Polish languages. The process of suppression of the restricted code and creating subjective language deficiency feelings has also progressed in a very similar way in both cases. However, the concomitant development of ethnic identity progressed in the opposing ways: the Cashubian ethnolect is becoming standardized through language revival process, whereas in the region of Upper Silesia the group identity is overtly build around the language of one-time trespassers (German) giving rise to German Minority in Poland, which is inevitably connected with overt renouncing the identity of a speaker of Silesian.

The two regions are distant enough to prevent any mutual influence and hence enable tracing and comparing the mechanisms affecting identity change. The contrastive analysis I conduct helps to formulate the reasons for such a divergence of identity strategies, rather than formulate any specific predictions, in accordance with the statement by Trudgill (1983: 127): "[i]t is not easy to determine what factors are involved in the establishment of these varying attitudes to language and ethnic group membership. However, the examinations of sociolinguistic situations in which attitudes of this type appear to be undergoing change may be revealing".

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### **Between Hamasstan and Dumbfuckistan: About blends**

Camiel Hamans (European Parliament Brussels/Strasbourg)

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

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

In this paper I want to discuss in how far blending processes are more or less systematic.

I shall start with examples such as:

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

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

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

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

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

The last example under (3) makes clear how complicated the process is, since *infotainment* is a part of a paradigm

- (4) entertainment wintertainment webtainment  
infotainment sportstainment  
emotainment  
edutainment  
littertainment  
psychotainment

The process which operates here might be described in terms of more or less productive forms of blending, just as in (5), (6) and (7). On the other hand it could be considered as a combination of clipping and suffixation, or sometimes of twofold clipping and compounding, as in (8), (9) and (10).

- (5) hotel  
motel motor + hotel  
botel boat + hotel

- (6) Hollywood  
Bollywood Bombay + Hollywood  
Mollywood Moscow + Hollywood



Other rare types: superessive ('upon', 'over'), possessive links, and expressions for additional objects ('extra', 'left').

### 3. My typological study

From a diachronic viewpoint, the non-numeral meaning of elements hints to the conceptual source of the respective construction. I checked prior typological results with a world-wide sample of 281 languages (Hanke 2005).

### 4. The results

It is confirmed that unmarked addition is most common, followed by coordination. As Greenberg correctly stated, only these symmetric constructions are used in all types of sums.

I have not found a single case of a "pure" comitative like *\*twenty with three* – comitatives are only an indirect source via coordination.

The superessive is the most common of a whole cluster of locative sources, including dynamic concepts, and even 'lying, under', explicitly excluded by Greenberg. The augend is always coded like a ground object.

The possessive type includes different source concepts. Besides 'extra', expressions like 'already', 'else' occur.

Greenberg's generalization, that with 'left' augends are always omitted, is apparently based on Germanic and Baltic evidence with 'left' only for +10, cf. *eleven, twelve* < '1-left, 2-left'. The hypothesis is easily falsified by an independent case of 'remain' up to 99.

In some numeral systems, augends based on expressions for 'hand', 'side', 'foot' etc. combine with a variety of additive constructions including specific ones.

### 5. General conclusions

Additive constructions often use simple links, but are not limited to them. More than thought before, numeralization is comparable to the grammaticalization of constructions.

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## **Containers and conceptual blends in immigration discourse: Description and explanation in a cognitive Critical Discourse Analysis**

Christopher Hart (University of East Anglia)

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Following van Dijk's characterization of ideology as shared social cognitions, where social cognition is defined as 'the system of mental representations and processes of group members' (van Dijk 1995: 18), we may conjecture that conventionalised conceptual metaphors are, in social and political contexts, precisely ideologies.

A central tenet in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the dialectical relationship between elite discourse and public representation. This paper will investigate anti-immigration ideologies as a function of metaphorical structure, where for CDA, then, metaphor in elite discourse is both constructed by and constitutive of conventionalised (*entrenched*) conceptual projections. Party political manifestos and keynote speeches during the UK 2005 General Election campaign will provide a corpus of data.

With a focus on instances of discourse (as opposed to discourse in the Foucauldian sense), analysis will be carried out not with the Lakoffian account standard in Critical Metaphor Analysis, but with conceptual blending theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002), a more appropriate model representative of cognitive

operations performed during discourse processing. In conceptual blending theory, since inferences are generated in the blended space (*elaboration*), metaphors in (elite) discourse are significant linguistic structures of ideological consequence.

The state-as-container metaphor will be identified as the most prominent in immigration discourse. Consider by way of example the following reproduced verbatim from the official website of the UK Independence Party ([www.ukip.org](http://www.ukip.org)):

**The trouble is the UK is already full up.** The average population density of England is twice that of Germany, four times that of the France, and twelve times that of the United States. **We are bursting at the seams.** [my emphasis]

The state-as-container metaphor is realised in a variety of linguistic expressions, as will be illustrated in this paper. Common across each case, though, is the container schema in the generic space. Going beyond description, this paper will offer cognitive explanation as to the potency of the state-as-container metaphor in immigration discourse. As a function of the inherent ‘logic’ of the container schema, the state-as-container metaphor signals group boundaries denoting ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’. Here, incorporating ideas from Evolutionary Psychology, it will be postulated that realisations of the state-as-container metaphor in elite discourse are so affective because they connect with an innate ‘fear of outsiders’ module, thus enacting or reproducing anti-immigration ideologies. At this point, it must be made clear that this is not a reductionist argument; the human mind is not determinately indisposed to immigration. The human mind may be predisposed to conceptualise human groups metaphorically in terms of containers. However, where the boundary element of the container schema is situated, for example, in the case of the nation-state, is a product of discourse and culture, and thus a critical discourse analysis is relevant.

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### Consonant dissimilations in Middle English

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Numerous as they were, Middle English consonant dissimilations have never actually undergone thorough investigation in their entirety. One could, of course, object and point to the 1938 paper by Eckhardt (“Die konsonantische Dissimilation im Englischen”), were it not for the fact that, first of all, the paper in question was published well over half a century ago; second, it was written at the time when no tools of the kind of the *Middle English dictionary* or the *Linguistic atlas of Late mediaeval English* were available, and, third, it offers more of a list of the types of dissimilatory phenomena operative in Middle English rather than an exhaustive account thereof. Having provided the definition of dissimilation, as well as an explanation of the nature of the process, class by class Eckhardt (1938) enumerates possible segment modifications and illustrates them with a handful of examples each. What he does not do, though, is support the discussion with analysable, tabulated numerical data, and examine the diatopic aspect of the change(s).

Detailed information on how particular dissimilations diffused throughout the lexicon of English in time and space is likewise difficult to come by in more modern, standard reference books such as Luick (1914-40 [1964]), Jordan (1934 [1974]), Mossé (1952 [1991]), Fisiak (1968 [2004]), or Weřna (1978). Mentions of various dissimilatory alterations surface every now and then, not infrequently scattered among the descriptions of other minor phenomena, but a more comprehensive treatment, backed up by hard evidence, is missing.

The present paper seeks to investigate the temporal and diatopic distribution of consonant dissimilations in Middle English. Searches and counts will, therefore, be done separately for Early and Late Middle English, as well as for each of the five major dialect continua (N, EM, WM, SW, SE). The findings are expected to indicate if the heyday of a given shift belonged to the early or late phase in the development of mediaeval English, and whether there were areas in mediaeval England, where particular changes were implemented with remarkable tempo or ease. The analysis will be carried out on the basis of two large dictionaries available online, namely the *Middle English dictionary* and the *Oxford English dictionary*. Given

the breadth of the topic, the scope of the present paper will be narrowed down to the cases of change in the place of articulation of a segment, leaving aside instances of dissimilatory consonant loss, insertion, and change in the manner of articulation.

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### **Reduction phenomena in Lancashire dialect: Implications for grammaticalisation**

Willem Hollmann, Anna Siewierska (Lancaster University)

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Grammaticalisation theory/the usage-based model predict that constructions with a high token frequency are subject to more morphophonological reduction than less frequent constructions (Bybee/Scheibman 1999, Birkenfield 2001, Hopper/Traugott 2003). We note that the evidence for this is biased towards standard varieties of the languages studied. Birkenfield (2001), for instance, analysed conversations that occurred in a news show. Sometimes the researchers simply do not include information about their subjects' sociogeographic background: Bybee and Scheibman just note that their informants reside in Albuquerque, NM (1999:579). This bias towards the standard and the lack of attention to socio-geographic background is an issue, because in non-standard varieties expressions may acquire particular local significance and 'resonance' (in the sense of Beal 2000:349). This may distort the correlation between token frequency and reduction.

To illustrate this, we present some data from a project on Lancashire dialect, which draws on recordings from the North West Sound Archive (see Hollmann/Siewierska 2006, Siewierska/Hollmann 2006). The non-standard realisation of the definite article—compare the full realisation in (1), to the reduction to a glottal stop in (2), or even zero, as in (3)—is of particular interest, as this has been characterised as “[t]he most stereotypical feature of northern British English dialects, especially those of Yorkshire and Lancashire” (Jones 2002:325).

- (1) ...and then they built *the* school, Townley school.
- (2) And she were harmless enough during *t'* day you see.
- (3) Well colliers were coming on the bottom (.) erm near *t'* bottom of Ø smallholdings...

The speaker from whom these examples are taken systematically reduces the definite article before *smallholdings* (see (3)), whereas in noun phrases with more frequent nouns such as *school* (see (1)) reduction is significantly less common. This goes against one's expectations on the basis of grammaticalisation theory/the usage-based model, but may be more understandable given the local importance of the type of small-scale farming portrayed by the word *smallholdings*. Here, then, the data seem to echo Coupland's suggestion that “regional pronunciation and local experience have a mutually encouraging, we might say symbiotic, relationship” (1988:27).

Grammaticalisation theory/the usage-based model, we conclude, must be modified in light of findings from non-standard data. And these modifications are not trivial, as the majority of speakers of any given language do not speak the standard variety—and the majority of languages in the world do not even have a clearly codified standard.

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### **Finnish verbs of perception in a typological perspective**

Tuomas Huomo (University of Turku)

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Expressions of sensory perception canonically include (at least) two participants, an experiencer E (an animate entity that perceives something) and the stimulus S (the entity perceived by E). In his typological study on verbs of perception Viberg (1984, 124–127; 2001, 1295) argues that these verbs can be divided into experiencer-based verbs which select the experiencer as the subject, and phenomenon-based verbs which select the stimulus as the subject and leave the experiencer outside their argument structure. Experiencer-based verbs are further divided into activities (agentive verbs of perception, e.g., look, listen) and experiences (non-agentive verbs of perception, e.g., see, hear). Expressions with phenomenon-based verbs include, e.g., *Peter looked sad*, *Peter sounded sad*, *The cloth felt soft*. However, in my view the status of this last group of expressions as indicators of basic sensory perception is dubious, since in addition to perception they also code an impression that is evoked in the experiencer by what is perceived. Phenomenon-based perception is more purely coded by verbs with meanings such as ‘be visible; show’ (as in *Does the scar still show?*), ‘be audible’, etc.

In my paper I discuss the Finnish system of perception verbs in the light of Viberg's typology. Finnish codes all sensory domains with separate verbs for activities, experiences and phenomena. The stems of these verbs are: *katso-* 'look, watch', *näke-* 'see', *näky-* 'be visible, show [intransit.]; *kuuntele-* 'listen', *kuule-* 'hear', *kuulu-* 'be audible'; *haistele-* 'smell [agent.]', *haista-* 'smell [agent. or non-agent.]', *haise-* '[emit] smell'; *maistele-* 'taste [agent.]', *maista-* 'taste [agent. or non-agent.]', *maistu-* 'taste [intransit.]', *tunnustele-* 'feel [agent.]', *tunte-* 'feel [non-agent.]', *tuntu-* 'feel [intransit.]'. The harmony is thus broken by the experience verbs of smell and taste which can also have an agentive reading. It is also easy to see that many activity and phenomenon verbs are morphologically derived from the experience verbs by adding the affix *-ele-* vs. *-u-*. Elsewhere the affix *-ele-* indicates iteration (e.g., *hyppä-* 'jump once' => *hyppele-* 'jump repeatedly') and the affix *-u-* reflexivity (e.g., *kaata-* 'fell' => *kaatu-* 'fall').

Viberg notes (2001: 1296) that especially verbs of experience are ambiguous between an inchoative vs. a static reading (e.g., see 'notice by vision' vs. 'perceive a vision continuously') and that they mark their arguments non-canonically by taking a dative subject in many languages. In Finnish the experience verbs are exceptional in that they take the accusative object even when they indicate a state, though elsewhere the accusative is only used with telic verbs indicating an accomplishment or an achievement (thus associated with high transitivity) whereas the partitive marks the object if the sentence is atelic, progressive, or the activity is terminated but not accomplished (low transitivity; see Helasvuo 2001). Thus the non-canonical argument marking shows up not in the subject but in the object.

In my paper I first give an overview of the Finnish system of perception verbs and then discuss the semantic division of labor between these verbs, their aspectual ambiguity, and their argument marking against the background of Viberg's typology.

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### Adjectival inflection in medieval Irish English texts

Piotr Jakubowski (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

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The aim of the present paper is to provide a detailed analysis of the adjectival inflection in Irish English texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Unlike numerous accounts of the disintegration of adjectival inflection in the dialects of Middle English there is hardly any study devoted to the problem in medieval Irish English. The investigation will also focus on the comparison between the use of adjectival final *-e* in medieval Irish English texts and in the texts of south-west Midlands. The dialect of south-west Midlands was the area from which English arrived in Ireland in the twelfth century (Hickey 2002: 39). Thus, it is of interest whether the morphological developments in both dialects display similar tendencies or whether Irish English morphology of that period followed a different route. A preliminary analysis of the texts reveals a rather archaic character of the adjectival system found in the texts of medieval Irish English.

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**Distant countries brought home:  
Linguascaping the exotic in British TV and newspaper travelogues**

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British TV holiday programmes (most notably BBC's *Holiday* and ITV's *Wish You Were Here...?*), as well as the newspaper travel sections (e.g. in *The Guardian* and *The Sunday Times*) are peppered with uses and representations of languages (other than English) local to tourist destinations. Building on the interdisciplinary approach combining frame analysis, language crossing/stylisation, and language ideology, this talk argues that in the context of the British media, the snippets of 'foreign' languages perform a range of symbolic functions such as appropriation and ultimately commodification of local languages; indexing destinations as 'exotic'; positioning the presenters/writers as 'expert' or 'elite'; and, by implication, positioning local people in travel destinations as 'parochial', 'non-elite', and 'othered'.

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**A finite-state approach to super-long German nouns**

Marcin Junczys-Dowmunt (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

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I will summarize the results of my Master's thesis and the main points of a lecture I held at the seminar of the Department of Applied Logic at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. A short overview about the structure of German compounds and newer research concerning the role of the so called interfixes for the segmentation of super-long compounds will be given.

After a short introduction to the concept of finite-state automata and transducers I will describe the construction of a transducer used for a naïve compound segmentation. This transducer will be obtained by building the Kleene-Closure of a deterministic finite-state dictionary of possible compound segments which are either basic, lexicalized nouns or interfixes. I will show that the resulting transducer, which lost its determinism due to the use of the Kleene-Closure, cannot be determinized, which is a direct consequence of the structure of German compounds and their theoretically unrestricted length.

In a second step the identified segments are analyzed in order to obtain additional data for the forthcoming disambiguation process. I will show how transducers can be used to identify segments with relevant suffixes or segments with more than a certain amount of syllables. Both properties have a strong impact on the distribution of the afore mentioned interfixes. The possible occurrence of doubled vowels in the nucleus of a syllable makes it necessary to construct rules for every possible nucleus.

The third step of the analysis uses transducer rules to determine distributional relations between the segments and the interfixes located between them. That is where the final disambiguation takes place. Two types of morphological contexts are modeled: the local relation between a segment and the following interfix and the global relations between two or more basic noun segments.

The three steps of segmentation, analysis and disambiguation are linked by the construction of a transducer cascade, where transducers are interpreted as mappings and the cascade is treated as a composition of mappings from a single input word to a set of tag-annotated segmentations.

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## **Recognizing English contact induced features in medical texts**

Csilla Keresztes (University of Szeged)

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In some speech communities the prestige and socio-economic dominance of English as a foreign language (EFL) can create quite unexpected language contact effects that affect the native language. This paper observes how physicians and medical students in Hungary are influenced by their knowledge of English language in proofreading medical texts.

In the twentieth century the growing dominance of English and its much closer contact with other languages of Europe developed due to new means of communication. The result was a very free and versatile linguistic borrowing of English words by European languages, including the Hungarian language. This phenomenon can be observed in various spheres of everyday life but can be best detected in the field of sciences, especially in the field of medicine. Although this influence occurs mostly in the appearance of English loanwords in Hungarian, it can be detected at all levels of the language and identified in various interference categories: orthographic interference, the use of borrowed words and abbreviations, grammatical interference, and semantic interference. Identifying these language contact effects and their interpretation in the light of contrastive linguistics can help us understand cross-linguistic influences.

Hungarian medics tend to use many English-Hungarian contact induced features when they use Hungarian for professional purposes. I examined controlled processing of visual stimuli by making Hungarian medical doctors and students at one medical school in Hungary proofread Hungarian medical texts, which were mimicking medical research articles and contained several English contact induced features. Participants had limited time for proofreading the texts. They were asked to underline anything in the text that they would change provided these texts were submitted for publication. The type of “errors” they had to look for was not identified.

At the end of the proofreading task participants had to fill in data concerning their sex, age, knowledge of the English language (self evaluation between 0-5; 5 being the highest level), amount of exposure to the English language, and whether they had taken part in the English-Hungarian Medical Translator course optionally available to them during their university studies.

Participants of the Translator course tended to identify more “errors” than non-participants. There is also a direct correlation between the subjects’ knowledge of and exposure to English and the number of spotted contact features. Non-translator professionals with high level (4 or 5) knowledge of English did not tend to identify instances of English interference, not even English words which have Hungarian equivalents, and kept the original English orthography. Age was also of relevance in the distribution of the results as subjects between 30 and 40 spotted the fewest number of items.

While these findings are drawn from a group of speakers of one speech community, the results offer insight into a largely unexplored type of language contact, the one resulting from English as a global lingua franca. The findings presented in this paper might shed light on the need for further research to show what effects EFL exposure can have on the language use of speakers in their native language.

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## **London as the origin of change in British dialects?**

### **Conflicting processes of innovation and levelling in south-east England**

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Sue Fox (Queen Mary, London University)

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The idea of London as generator of change in British English is an article of faith among sociolinguistically-minded dialectologists. Our paper, reporting Phase I of the first variationist study of London,<sup>3</sup> challenges this view. We ask:

- i. What evidence is there that linguistic innovations start in London and spread out from there?
- ii. Does the high degree of multilingualism in London have an impact on London English as a whole? (One-third of London’s inhabitants are not L1 speakers of English.)
- iii. Is there evidence of a ‘multi-ethnic vernacular’ among youth? If so, does it impact on mainstream varieties?

The project examines an inner-city and an outer-city borough. They were chosen:

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<sup>3</sup> Linguistic innovators: the English of adolescents in London, Economic and Social Research Council, 2004–7.

- i. to reflect a high proportion of non-‘Anglo’ inhabitants of immigrant descent (inner London) vs. a low proportion (outer London)
- ii. to reflect a contrast between relatively closed networks (inner London: ethnic group and family based) and relatively open networks (outer London: geographical/social mobility and greater prosperity).

Our previous analyses of the vowels of towns in south-east England (Milton Keynes, Reading and Ashford) demonstrated regional convergence – *dialect levelling*. Our supposition was that these new, levelled (or compromise) vowel qualities originated in and were diffusing from London.

We would expect the teenagers in the new project (N=60, recorded in hour-long ethnographic interviews) to show precisely these levelled qualities, with further progress along phonetic trajectories reflecting the assumed innovatory status of London. However, for the vowels of GOAT, FACE, PRICE, STRUT and FOOT, evidence almost entirely contradicts this expectation. The main patterns are (1) a reversal of ‘diphthong shift’, which had led to broad diphthongs in London English, and (2) a rejection of the ‘levelled’, compromise vowels of the south-eastern towns.

These changes are highly correlated with ethnicity, gender and borough. In general, the frequency of these features patterns according to the following three interacting scales:

1. Caribbean/West African > non-Anglo other than Caribbean/West African > Anglo
2. Male > female
3. Inner London > outer London

– to which can be added:

4. Outer London > London periphery (Milton Keynes, Reading, Ashford)

Our conclusion is that there is endogenous change among non-Anglos in inner London, and that this is only affecting other groups insofar as they have network contacts with them. The ‘levelled’ (perhaps ‘Estuary English’) variants we previously found in the London periphery do not originate in inner London, but are the product of regional supralocalisation in the South East.

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### **Sonorants conspiracy: A unified solution to vowel syncope and bogus clusters in English**

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This paper aims to explore three apparently unrelated phenomena, i.e. syllabic consonants, vowel syncope and bogus clusters. The analysis is couched in the Strict CV approach (Lowenstamm (1996), Cyran (2003), Scheer (2004)) and is based mainly on the examples from English, though some reference to German data is also made. In the analysis of the relevant facts I adopt the lenition theory known as the Coda Mirror (Ségéral and Scheer (1999)).

In this talk I provide some evidence for the intimate relationship of the three phenomena, which, in consequence, allows me to offer a unified solution for them. Moreover, I offer a solution to two traditional problems, that is, an obligatory ‘TR’ character of bogus clusters (obstruent plus sonorant) and the ban imposed on such sequences to appear in the word-initial position. I point out that it is a sonorant which plays a key role in both phenomena, i.e. vowel syncope and bogus clusters, and the promised unified solution relies heavily on the ability of certain sonorants to play the syllabic function. Therefore, after a short introduction of the relevant facts concerning syllabic consonants, I look more deeply at the behaviour of sonorants in two seemingly unrelated structures, i.e. vowel syncope and bogus clusters. It is pointed out that vowel syncope results in the consonant sequence resembling a bogus cluster, that is, a cluster which is neither a branching onset nor a coda-onset sequence. It follows that vowel syncope and bogus clusters are one and the same phenomenon, with the difference that the former, unlike the latter, involves a syncope-prone schwa. Consequently, they are dubbed ‘dynamic’ and ‘static’ bogus clusters respectively. Moreover, it becomes evident that although English abounds in syncope-related and true bogus clusters, their distribution is severely curtailed, that is, they are possible only in the word-internal position. Crucially, I indicate that all the three phenomena, i.e. syllabic consonants, vowel syncope and bogus clusters, have the same origin and stem from the expansionist behaviour of sonorants, which in turn is a reaction of the latter to a positional weakness. The analysis of the phenomena in question contributes to the postulation of the governing-ability scale for

different types of nuclei in English. Specifically, it turns out that in English the application of Proper Government is severely restricted. The only nuclei which can be properly governed are those which are lexically empty or hold the left branch of the syllabic consonant. In other words, in English, unlike in Polish, for instance, lexically present nuclei are never properly governed even by the strongest governors, that is, realised vowels. Finally, it is demonstrated that the postulation of the initial empty CV unit at the beginning of the word in English can predict the ban on the word-initial bogus clusters (both ‘dynamic’ and ‘static’). The latter observation is a direct confirmation of the idea proposed by Lowenstamm (1999) and advocated in Kijak (2005) suggesting that the initial empty CV unit is a phonological object which takes part in syllabification and phonological processes.

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### **Causativization as a de-transitivizing device**

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Causativization is usually understood as a morphologically signalled process which adds an Agent to the valency of verbs (see e.g. Comrie 1975: 2). Moreover, causativization also functions as a transitive device. This is not especially surprising given the fact that the introduction of an agent results in a complete transitive (unaccusative) intransitive clauses. As suggested in the title, this paper is not concerned with these (canonical) functions of causativization, but rather the opposite. In other words, the paper examines the use of causative morphemes as a de-transitivizing device. A couple of examples of the phenomenon are given in (1) and (2) (see the data page). (1a) denotes a typical transitive event, in which a purposefully acting agent acts on a patient that is fully affected by the event in question. In (1b), in turn, the same action is seen as less purposefully initiated, which is expressed by attaching a causative morpheme to the verb. In Kambara, habitual and reciprocal events are expressed by causativized clauses, as shown in (2).

My paper examines the de-transitivizing functions expressed by causative morphemes from a broad cross-linguistic perspective. In addition to the formal illustration of these cases, the paper also discusses their motivation. The differences in the nature of causativization of intransitive and transitive clauses is very important in this regard. As was noted above, causativization transitive (unaccusative) intransitive clauses completely. This follows, because the denoted underlying event lacks all features of agency, which are then introduced via causativization. On the other hand, all the agentive features (and thus all relevant features of transitivity) are present in canonical transitive clauses. This renders transitive causativization impossible. Rather, causativization of canonical transitive clauses results in a division of agentive properties; the introduced agent initiates the event, while the underlying agent is responsible for performing the denoted action. This deprives the underlying agent of complete volitionality and renders it less of an agent. This feature associated with the causativization of transitive events aids us in explaining the seemingly bizarre use of causative morphemes for de-transitivization. If we omit the introduced agent from a causativized clause we are left with an instigator with a reduced degree of agency. This easily explains the use of causative morphemes as a de-agentivizing device which seems to be the most frequent de-transitivizing function expressed by causative morphemes. On the other hand, the use of causative morphemes in cases such as (2b) and (2c) can be explained by referring to the overall decreased degree of transitivity associated with causativized transitive events. In a similar vein, the use of causative morphemes as transitive devices can be explained by referring to the general transitive nature of these elements in the case of causativized intransitive clauses.

Data and references

Finnish

- (1a) henkilö tappo-I kissa-n-sa  
 person.NOM kill-3SG.PAST cat-ACC-3POSS  
 ‘A person killed his/her cat (on purpose)’
- (1b) henkilö tapa-tt-I kissa-n-sa  
 person.NOM kill-CAUS-3SG.PAST cat-ACC-3POSS  
 ‘A person had his/her cat killed/killed the cat accidentally’

Kambera (Klamer 1998: 180, 186f)

- (2a) tila-nanya na njara  
 kick-3SG.CONT ART horse  
 ‘The horse is kicking (now)’
- (2b) rimang, na-pa-tila na njara  
 look out 3SG.NOM-CAUS-kick ART horse  
 ‘Be careful, the horse kicks’ (i.e. it is her character)
- (2c) da-pa-tila  
 3PL.NOM-CAUS-kick  
 ‘They kick (each other)’

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**Sociolinguistic variation in present-day Australian English**

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As Newbrook (2001: 114) points out, Australian English (AusE) has, until recently, largely taken its linguistic norms from British English (BrE) and, therefore, it resembles BrE in many respects. However, American English (AmE) linguistic norms are also becoming more common. According to Leitner (2004: 213), Americanisms tend to be found most often in the informal style and are more easily picked up by young people. This indicates that there are differences in the use of AmE features between age groups. Recent studies on AusE have, however, also shown that AusE does not necessarily follow either of the “main” varieties of English, but makes independent choices instead (e.g. Peters 1992 and 2001).

The topic of my PhD study is social variation in and speaker attitudes towards AusE. I will concentrate on a variety of lexical, orthographic, phonological and syntactic features in which there are differences between BrE and AmE. The aim of my study is to examine to what degree AusE follows either BrE or AmE; how it has changed during the last three generations; and to what direction AusE is possibly developing. In addition, the speakers' attitudes towards AusE will also be examined.

In the present paper, I discuss the results of a pilot study on variation in the use of certain lexical, orthographic, phonological and syntactic features in AusE. The material for the study was collected by using an Internet questionnaire comprising an elicitation test. In this test, the informants were being asked to choose which of the alternative test sentences they were most likely to use in their informal speech. The study included features from areas such as marginal modals, verb morphology, pronunciation and spelling. Additional material will be drawn from interviews that were conducted in a small town of Blayney in New South Wales, Australia in November 2005. Both sources of material include informants in three different age groups (three generations).

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**Do fixed expressions reflect national stereotypes?  
On impoliteness in English, German, and Polish**

Barbara Kryk-Kastovsky (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

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Many national stereotypes originate from the degree of directness which characterizes the everyday communication of the speakers of particular languages. Thus, English is known to be less direct than German or Polish, but more direct than South-East Asian languages, cf. Wierzbicka (1991). The degree of directness is often perceived as being inversely proportionate to the degree of politeness, thus a German or Polish utterance might sound impolite to a speaker of English, if s/he compares it with the English equivalent.

In the present paper I will address the issue of national stereotypes by examining fixed expressions which are products of the three cultures of interest here, i.e. Anglo-Saxon, German, and Polish. My hypothesis is that fixed expressions reflect the stereotypical features associated with a particular language and culture, e.g. the Anglo-Saxon distance and tentativeness, the German directness and some degree of rough humor, and the Polish directness verging on pushiness and even vulgarity. The theoretical framework employed in my analysis will be a modified version of the model of impoliteness due to Culpeper *et al.* (1993). My hypothesis will be tested against data coming from a multitude of sources: spoken language corpora, my own data collected in real life situations, and dictionaries.

It turns out from my analysis that, like spontaneous conversations, also fixed expressions reflect national stereotypes in that Anglo-Saxon data exhibit the highest degree of tentativeness and indirectness perceived as polite among native speakers of English and somewhat overdone (artificially polite) by speakers of German and Polish. This confirms the stereotype of the English "stiff upper lip". On the other hand, the speakers of German are perceived as much more direct, thus less polite by the speakers of English, but still acceptable to the speakers of Polish, whose fixed expressions might be even more explicit. To take one example, in English you elegantly *bore someone to tears*, in German it is a bit more explicit since something can be *sterbenslangweilig* (deadboring), which has an exact Polish equivalent (*smiertelnie nudny*). However, in addition, in Polish you can be much more explicitly described as *nudny jak flaki z olejem* (boring like guts/tripe with oil), i.e. hard to handle and/or indigestible.

Consequently, it follows from my data that fixed expressions are a valuable source of information concerning national stereotypes, probably comparable to spontaneous interaction.

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**Effort management as a lenition/fortition criterion**

Małgorzata Kul (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

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The aim of the presentation is to revise the current typology of phonological processes. The revision is based on the principle of least effort (Zipf 1949/1972) and seeks to develop the new lenition/fortition criteria.

Firstly, the presentation discusses the current approaches to process typology: the traditional, the Natural Phonology (Donegan – Stampe 1979, Stampe 1973/1979) and the Optimality Theory (Boersma 1998, Kirchner 1998) approaches. The discussion reflects the degree of confusion in the area of process typology. The current approaches do not come to specify explicitly the lenition/fortition criteria. They stipulate the typology on the basis of an automatic, indiscriminate operational procedure: if a segment is deleted, it is lenition, if a segment is added, it is fortition. Next, the presentation redefines lenition/fortition in terms of the principle of least effort. It also proposes to substitute the term "least effort" for "effort management". Finally, the presentation lists the concrete, specific lenition/fortition processes (Dziubalska-Kończak 2003, Dressler 1985, Kirchner 1998) and proposes a new typology.

The conclusion is that effort management seems to be a possible candidate for lenition/fortition criteria. It abandons the vexed issue of the weakening/strengthening processes promoted by the traditional approach in favor of conscious, calculated criteria of a process selection. It also departs from the parameters of the biomechanical effort advocated by the OT approach, replacing the parameters of precision, distance, energy etc. with the total cost of a given articulation. Rather, effort management make use of Dressler's (1985) idea of foregrounding and backgrounding. It means that sounds are obscured or clarified, depending on the total effort cost.

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### **Channel-driven economy strategies in English and Polish SMS messages**

Małgorzata Kul (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań) Dafydd Gibbon (Bielefeld University)

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Communication via non-face-to-face, technically mediated channels has been extensively investigated, generally with sociological and discourse analytic methods (cf. Döring 2005 for a review). From both functional and structural linguistic points of view, however, technically mediated channels provide useful indicators of constraints on the interaction between production and perception which characterise much discussion in phonetics and Natural Linguistics, and which also motivate much work in the language and speech technologies. For example, Gibbon (1981, 1985) analysed channel constraints imposed by Morse Code telegraphy on short-wave radio communication, using the methodology of speech act theory, and focussing on uptake-securing. Similar constraints can be observed in text communication with modern mobile devices: SMS teletyping, PDAs, messaging units. The massive upsurge in both personal and professional communication via these devices has produced linguistically very interesting highly constrained corpora. After specifying the channel constraints in detail (for example: constraints on input and output devices, on character inventory and selection procedures and on text length), the present contribution analyses economy strategies in writing SMS text messages, and relates these to the channel constraints on SMS teletyping, and proposes that the strategies are not merely channel-determined but are also dependent on typological differences in morphosyntax, phonology and orthography between languages. In the English corpus extract

"Oh..I didn't mentionThat?:-)I took a TaxiAndI'mBackHome"

some of the simpler channel-driven economy strategies can be observed: (1) speech/text act: ASCII emoticon ":-)"; (2) punctuation: character economy by space replacement with capitalisation; space removal where there is no ambiguity; omission of final period; (3) use of informal style with contracted forms. The contribution examines SMS texts of this kind in English and Polish, with particular reference to typologically different factors in the two languages. In addition to strategies such as those illustrated here, word abbreviation strategies will be examined, with particular attention paid to differences in phonologically motivated strategies such as vowel reduction and deletion, syllable deletion, metaphonological orthography modification, e.g. English "coz" for "because", "u" for "you" (cf. also Sobkowiak 1991). In the final section, economy strategies in text messaging are compared with economy strategies in other highly constrained technically mediated channels (Gibbon 1981, 1985); finally, referring more traditional contexts and to studies text messaging in languages with non-alphabetic orthographies, it is shown that economy strategies not only

have a long ancestry, but may also help to explain typological differences between writing systems of the languages of the world.

### Social conditions of effective communication

Włodzimierz Lapis (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

I have decided to investigate, what – in people’s opinion – is necessary in effective communication, and hence, what we understand under the term effective communication. I did my research using an innovative method of so-called “reverse analysis”. I think that in the communication process humans usually express sth new, innovative, sth that isn’t obvious. So, when we have to describe a robber, we don’t say, he has 2 legs, 2 arms and 1 head, but we talk about his distinctive features. We talk only about distinctive features, because they are not obligatory, and therefore - they are specific.

I put in the Internet some queries:

- (1) “to understand\* without” (in Polish: “rozum\* się bez”),
- (2) “to understand\* completely (or: to comprehend\*, or: to realize\*) without” (in Polish: “zrozum\* się bez”),
- (3) “to reach an agreement without” and “to communicate\* without” (porozum\* się bez”), where the asterisk stands for other inflectional forms.

These are my results

(1) complementary phrases for the expression “to understand\* without” (in polish: „rozum\* się bez”)

No	Complementary phrases	Occurrences	Total
1	without word(s)	1177	1196
2	without unnecessary word(s)	15	
3	without word(s) and other (e.g. without touch, gests)	4	
4	without speaking	5	37
5	without any gests and feelings	4	
6	without troubles and problems	23	
7	without added explanations	1	
8	some languages (e.g. without translators, language knowledge)	4	
TOTAL:		1233	1233

So, using the method of “reverse analysis”, we can see that we normally need words here (in 97 %) and some other factors (only in 3 %).

(2) complementary phrases for the expression “to understand\* completely without” (in Polish: „zrozum\* się bez”)

No	Complementary phrases	Occurrences	Total
1	without words as a result of look	23	120
2	without words as a result of have a look	5	
3	without word(s) in horoscopes (e.g. they understand Aquarians without words)	25	
4	without unnecessary words	8	
5	without words (different)	59	
6	without troubles and problems	2	2
TOTAL:		122	122

So, using the method of “reverse analysis”, we can observe that normally we need words here (in 98 %) and some other factors (only in 2 %).

On the Internet there were 5 negation-sentences (not taken into account in above table):

- 2 related to words,
- 2 related to knowledge,
- 1 related to religious beliefs.

The results from this part are correlated with those given in previous tables, but now we have 10 times fewer results than previously (in perfect aspects).

(3) complementary phrases for the expressions “to reach an argument without” and “to communicate without” (in Polish: „porozum\* się bez”)

No	Complementary phrases	Occurrences	Total
1	without conflicts, disputes	7	180
2	without violence, aggression	15	
3	without troubles	7	
4	wirhout problems	12	
5	without difficulty	5	
6	without obstacles	5	
7	without any limitations	129	
8	without words, language, speech	196	196
9	without mediation, mediations	16	92
10	without help	4	
11	some languages (e.g. without dictionary, translators etc)	37	
12	without barrier and prejudices	10	
13	with disabled (persons)	3	
14	connected with manager with noise	3	
15	without using additional devices and technologies	7	
16	without mistakes	3	
17	without facial expressions	2	
18	without additional descriptions	4	
19	without diplomatic losses	3	
	TOGETHER	468	

So, using the method of “reverse analysis”, we can see that we normally need:

- conflicts, disputes, violances, troubles, problems, difficulty, obstacle and limitations (in 39 %),
- words, language, speech (in 42 %),
- some other factors (in 19 %)

The results are quite different from those two given in previous tables.

From this part, now we have another classification of (only) some sentences (only containing some adjectives, adverbs), which increase their expression:

No	“without” + word (phrase)	Occurrences
1	without using	28
2	without problems	20
3	without trouble	15
4	without necessity	14
5	without help	7
6	without obstacles	7
7	without the unnecessary ... (sth, e.g. words)	6
8	without major ... (sth, e.g. difficulty)	5
9	without ours	4
10	without any	4
11	without necessity	3
12	regardless of / irrespective of (in Polish: bez względu na)	3
TOTAL:		156

Conclusions:

- (1) By the analysis, we have shown that 1. and 2. results are correlated.
- (2) The results show that the most necessary thing in communication are words.
- (3) In communication process, we pay attention to the material, not to the structure.
- (4) In my opinion, it's very interesting to analyze all the results and to compare them with some dictionary definitions.
- (5) My method of "reverse analysis" is accurate in language analysis,
- (6) I revised this method with my students and I see that it works (is really accurate!).

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**The making of Australian English:  
Contact with the Aboriginal languages habitat**  
Gerhard Leitner (Freie Universität Berlin)

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Dialect and language contact is fundamental to the development of (mainstream) Australian English (Leitner 2004a/b). The contact with indigenous languages has so far been described mainly in terms of the lexical input of words from traditional and early contact languages. Leitner/Sieloff (1998), Ramson (2002) and a few others have widened the theme to include Aboriginal concepts such as dreamtime.

I will widen the theme further still and make two points. The first is that I will argue that the early contact was not one between speakers of English with indigenous languages but one that was based on a long history of European thought about indigenous peoples worldwide. The heritage was known to the leaders of colonialism and used to describe what they saw long before 1788. Once the colonies were set up, this European package was confronted with new experiences and, along with European *geistesgeschichte*, adapted and changed to cope with indigenous peoples.

The second point I will be making is that insufficient thought is given to the fact that Aborigines have developed forms of English of their own, such as Kriol and Aboriginal English. They are now accepted as varieties (sometimes dialects) of AusE. If we cope with contact today, we have to look at the interaction of these dialects with mAusE. In doing this, we will be able to bring to light the fundamental impact in terms of metaphors, code switching and other phenomena.

I will thus aim to show greater historical depth and the stylistic breadth of AusE today.

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**Lexical borrowings in South African English from Nguni languages  
in the realm of traditional healing and witchcraft**  
Aleksandra Łukomska (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

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The paper is going to be concerned with the linguistic practises involved in the diverse forms of traditional healing and witchcraft rites existing in the present day South Africa. The main focus will be put upon the lexical interaction between the use of English and the use of a group of indigenous Nguni languages in the enactment of those rites.

1. Traditional healing and witchcraft in the contemporary South African society

Even though South Africa has been under a strong influence of the Western ideas and the processes of modernisation, traditional healing and witchcraft remains a very salient cultural practice in the black communities. As it is the case with many other traditional practices, which are viewed as contradictory, or even threatening to the modern social order, it is very strictly controlled by South African legislative system. The early 1990s brought a significant increase in witchcraft-related crimes, which were thoroughly examined by the Commission of Inquiry into Witchcraft Violence and Ritual Murders. The findings of the commission (The Ralushai Report) served as the basis for the contemporary legal regulations of traditional healing and witchcraft. The topic, however, is not only present in the realm of legislation, but is also strongly represented in the realm of mass media. The articles on the ritual murders constitute an important part of the crime section in both local and national newspapers. Moreover, many traditional healers use the power of media for the purpose of advertising their services. The traditional is combined with the modern, and the indigenous

languages (the languages of the old cultures, of the ancestors) with the English language (associated with modernity, symbolic capital).

## 2. The presence of English in South Africa and its contact with other languages in the area

The status of English was different when compared to the African indigenous languages (including Afrikaans) already at the beginning of the presence of the British in the Cape Colony as an occupant (1795). It was a widely known language with a well codified and elaborated standard variety. The language, however, did not resist the process of mutual borrowings with morphological and structural influences. And indeed, already before the British colony was settled, "it (...) included words of South African origin from the narratives of travellers and naturalists" (Branford – Claughton 2002: 209-210), e.g. *kloof*, *agapanthus*, *springbok*, a respectable Hottentot. Consequently, the language "diffused from white European (specifically British) mother-tongue speakers to other communities" (Lass 2002: 104), which gave rise to what is known under the term "New Englishes", and the diverse South African English vocabulary indicates how varied the groups of its speakers are. At present, there is a widespread enthusiasm for English in South Africa (viewed as an international language, preferred as medium of education) (Crystal 1998), but the interest in the localised varieties of English is also growing.

## 3. Examples of lexical borrowings in the South African English from Nguni languages

It can be noted that a considerable number of lexical items of Nguni origin connected with traditional healing and witchcraft is widely used by the speakers of South African English (often with a semantic extension). The discussion, however, will also include the words which are not extensively used (more specialist), but are included in the South African English dictionaries.

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## Learnability of Semi-rigid Grammars

Jacek Marciniec

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As we showed in [7, 6], the image of a unifiable and infinite set of types, given by its most general unifier, can be always established on the basis of its finite subset. There is a very strict relationship between this property and that of learnability (in the sense of Gold's identification in the limit [3]) of rigid categorial languages (cf. [4, 5]). The same property of compactness holds for optimal unification - the notion introduced in [2] as a natural generalization of its standard counterpart. However, an infinite set of types may generally have an infinite number of optimal unifiers. Therefore, a learning function for some class of non-rigid grammars cannot be grounded barely on Buszkowski and Penn's algorithm, following the way the learning function for rigid categorial grammars is based on Buszkowski's discovery procedure [1]. Some additional mechanism of selection has to be also involved. Usually, the grammar classes and the corresponding learning algorithms are described in terms of the conditions of quantitative nature, concerning the number of types assigned by the grammars. Our approach is different. We employ the presented in [8], modified kind of optimal unification, accompanied with the appropriate algorithm. For any, even infinite set of types that is bounded in length, there exist only a finite number of optimal unifiers of the new kind. The reduction of the number of solutions is achieved by enforcing the order in which types are unified. Our algorithm, applied to an infinite sequence of functor-argument structures (admitting finite type assignment - an enumeration of some functorial language for instance), always stabilizes after some step, so a learning function based on the algorithm always converges to some grammar. We characterize a class of semi-rigid categorial grammars that is learnable by the function, and which lies in-between (learnable) class of rigid grammars and (introduced in [5], not learnable) class of optimal grammars. The class definition does not rely on any relation between grammars, therefore, for any grammar its membership to the class can be determined by solely examining its primary type assignment. The learning function we provide is responsive, set-driven and consistent, but not prudent.

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### **Logic and law: The illogical language of the law in translation**

Aleksandra Matulewska (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

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The presentation will deal with problems connected with the interpretation of legal texts, and to be exact with such problems which are posed by ambivalence of some words and textual ambiguity. Students of law are taught logic at the first year of their studies in order to give them knowledge about legal language and text interpretation. Writing unambiguous legal texts is a skill which they should possess when graduating. However, they often fail to obtain it in the course of their studies. Thus, it often turns out that when they have to write statutory instruments and other legal texts, they forget about the basic concepts of logic and as a consequence they violate the principles of writing unambiguous, clear and understandable legal texts. Despite the fact that especially lawyers should be aware of the difficulties which may arise while interpreting such badly-written texts the number of low quality legal documents is increasing instead of decreasing. It usually has a far-reaching consequences. What is more, lawyers often neglect the importance of grammatical and stylistic correctness of texts. What they pay attention to (in their own opinion) is the meaning of the text achieved by using appropriate terminology. The common opinion is that grammatical correctness is a secondary problem and that it does not affect the meaning. The conclusions which may be drawn are that (i) some of those texts are formulated that way on purpose to create loopholes and enable law evasion; (ii) some of them are created by people lacking basic knowledge of logic or (iii) people lacking basic linguistic competence. It is a very tricky matter to interpret such texts in which conjunctions have been used in an ambiguous way. Therefore it should be borne in mind that lawyers, legislators and legal translators must be especially aware of problems which may be caused by improper use of conjunctions *and* and *or* which may be ambivalent. The paper will present basic interpretation rules applied to conjunctions used in logic (namely 'and' and 'or'). What will follow then will be a selection of examples from legal texts where those conjunctions appear. Next, the ambiguity of texts will be indicated, possible interpretations will be given together with the interpretation of the law established by courts and other bodies. The impact of the human factor will be presented and the discrepancy between the logical and real interpretation will be shown. Then, the problems posed by the ambiguity of legal texts will be indicated. Finally, the author will present a selection of examples from translations made by the adepts of legal translation who fail to observe the rules of interpretation and thus create ambiguity of texts in a target language which are non-ambiguous in a source language. The consequences of such mistakes will be indicated and the need for logic in legal communication will be presented.

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### **Communication disability of aphasic persons in daily living.**

Jean-Michel Mazaux (University of Bordeaux)

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Impairment of communicative ability is one of the most devastating affects of aphasia on an individual's life. From a qualitative point of view, aphasia impairs both verbal and non verbal pragmatic competencies. Verbal skills are poor, and fluency is usually decreased. Lexical items are often inadequate in regard to the aphasic speaker's intention. Syntactic complexity, humour, implicit and inferences are critically reduced or impaired. Modern conversation analysis provides evidence of impairments in partner roles, for instance turn-taking during conversations, deciding conversation topics, switching from one theme to another, and processing verbal repairs during speech. Although non verbal competencies are said to be less impaired, it is far from clear that they are, and in which clinical forms of aphasia such impairments occur. Non verbal tongue and lips noises, looks, smiles and facial gestures are frequently increased, especially in the case of severe fluency and/or phonetic impairment, as an attempt to overcome the verbal impairment. Gesture changes are also observed, with great variability from one patient to another. Taking together, all of these symptome result in a dramatic decrease in communication ability in daily living.

We studied 127 aphasic patients with a new, well-validated assessment tool, the Bordeaux Verbal Communication Disability Rating scale, and found that in daily living, these patients were mostly impaired in reading (68% impaired) and writing (79%) complex and/or administrative documents, performing conversation activity about complex material (59%), using checks and credit cards (57%), calling unknown persons on phone (54%), and talking the first with unknowns (50%). These should be priority goals of speech therapy in aphasia.

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### **The Wiki Way to corpus analysis: Aspects of automatic text classification**

Alexander Mehler (Bielefeld University)

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We analyze four different types of document networks with respect to their small world characteristics. These characteristics allow distinguishing wiki-based systems from citation and more traditional text networks augmented by hyperlinks. The study provides evidence that a more appropriate network model is needed which better rejects the specifics of wiki systems. It puts emphasize on their topological differences as a result of wiki-related linking compared to other networks. It also emphasizes the consequences of this analysis for text classification and develops an integrative model of content and structure-based classification.

Key words: *text networks, graph model, structure-based classification, content-based classification*

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### **Direct semantic marking in Kartvelian languages and the problem of inversion of personal markers**

Irine G. Melikishvili (Tbilisi State University)

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Between the two different kinds of strategy that languages employ for marking "who is doing what to who", which can be called as (1) syntactically based and (2) semantically based marking, Kartvelian (South Caucasian) languages (Georgian, Megrelian, Laz, Svan) follow the semantic principle of marking of verb arguments. The two series of person markers (v- and m-) are functioning as markers of active, volitional, controlling the action participants opposed to affected, not volitional participants of speech event. It can be regarded as the opposition of active/inactive verb arguments. The functioning of these series of markers is independent of syntactic roles of the participants, such as subject and object. In this opposition the series v- is unmarked and the series m- is marked. Kartvelian languages systematically distinguish between the controlled, volitional and uncontrolled, not volitional action. The series m- marks the affected, perceiving, beneficiary possessing experiencing participants of action. Such marking is to be considered as a direct semantic marking and there is no ground to qualify it as the inversion of personal markers.

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**Language as the topic and the instrument of research:  
Analysing social representations about language and identity  
of Russian-speaking students in Estonia**

Liliane Meyer (LINGUA, Federal Office for Migration, Switzerland)

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Speaking a specific language can make one being part of a group, a community – a nation in certain cases: language can be the constitutive part of identity. Language, however, can also be - in its function as means of communication – the main tool which allows constructing and sharing identity in and through discourse.

In this paper – based on the research and results of my master-thesis (see the reference below) – I intend to develop this double role that language can play in research. Language is, on the one hand, the topic of my research - as a cultural fact and essential part in the construction and representation of identity; on the other hand, it constitutes the main instrument of my research - as it is itself implicated in the construction and diffusion of knowledge and meaning through discourse.

In the theoretical and methodological part I would like to present a linguistic approach to the concept of *social representation*. Social representations are considered in various disciplines (see Jodelet, 1989; Moliner, 1996) as interpretation schemes shared within a group or society, part of a common knowledge which enables people to give a meaning to their environment; but at the same time they can also undergo inter-individual variation, they can be reshaped, re-explained and adapted when they do not seem to be appropriate any more. A linguistic and discursive approach to this concept gives us the opportunity to take into account the dynamic aspect of social representations, showing their elaboration and modification in and through discourse (Moore, 2001; Py, 2000, 2003).

In the empirical part, I will apply this theoretical and methodological tool to a specific context: Estonia has undergone many important changes since its re-independence 1991, so that existing social representations should need certain modifications or might even be basically questioned. This is in particular the case for the Russian-speaking population in Estonia who have been confronted with the fact of becoming suddenly a minority and losing any official status for their language. Through the discursive analysis of conversations about language and identity with some Russian speaking students of Tartu University I would like to show which representations of language and identity seem to be prevalent and how they are elaborated or – particularly interesting – modified in and through discourse.

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**Spot the pigeon. Between representation and derivation  
in Polish nouns with alternative virile/non-virile declensions**

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This paper deals with a semantically-motivated split in declension paradigms of certain nouns in Polish whose morpho-phonological behaviour is different when they are meant to denote people's last names (male surnames will be in focus here) than when they denote animate or inanimate referents. Besides taking

different suffixes, the split is manifested by a difference in whether or not the last vowel of the stem alternates, and whether or not the stem-final consonant palatalizes, the latter phenomenon applying disjunctively to the former in some cases. It is claimed here that the alternations are phonologically-grounded and productive, but some stimulation from morphology is needed for them to apply or not. The question is: how much of this split can be encoded in the representation alone, and how much needs to be derived? The presentation shows that for the representation to handle the split alone, a peculiar class of stem-intruding suffixes (infixing suffixes?) would be necessary, and that without any extra-phonological information at hand, phonology alone would not yield the desired output.

Polish has a number of nouns for which concurrent forms exist in their declensions. For example, *tramwaj* /tramvaj/ ('tram'; MASCULINE INANIMATE) is attested as having two forms in the plural genitive, *tramwajów* /tramvajuv/, and *tramwaji* /tramvaji/. Both forms are deemed well-formed, through suffixation, leaving the stem intact, a trivial cyclic operation.

This is not the case with *gołąb* /gɔwɔb/ ('pigeon'; MASCULINE ANIMATE), whose paradigm, apart from suffixation, shows alternations in the stem. For example, the singular genitive for *gołąb* is *gołębia* /gɔwɛbʲa/, with an unlauded (or raised) vowel in the stem, and a palatalized stem-final consonant. Interestingly, if the same lexeme is called upon to denote a gentleman's last name (*Gołąb*; MASCULINE VIRILE), the same structural case is *Gołąba* /gɔwɔba/, with no unlauding or palatalization in the stem.

This paper advocates the view that phonology alone knows nothing about the *gołąb/Gołąb* split, and it is through derivation that it can produce the desired output.

For Lexical Phonology and (Derivational) Optimality Theory, the split can be managed either through rule ordering at the word level (cyclic before post-cyclic) or through constraint reordering at subsequent levels of derivation. In case no purely phonological justification can be found for a given output, recourse can be made to morphology taking over, either fiddling with rule application at the word level or forcing morphologically-bound faithfulness constraints.

This approach does not seem applicable, let alone convincing, for non-derivational frameworks, such as Government Phonology (including the more radical faction, CVCV; cf. Scheer 2004), where phonological representation alone is supposed to handle the alternations.

Should phonology be oblivious to non-phonological objects, ignoring syntactic information of the kind [ANIMATE] and [VIRILE], and communicating with other (higher?) modules through postcards and a translator's office (cf. Scheer 2005), then how can the same representation (/gɔwɔb/, that is) yield two strikingly different declensions? (Or is it two representations?)

This presentation shows a path between the extremities of alleged non-derivational parallel representationalism, and three-level serial derivationalism.

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### **The difficulty of being different: 'Reversed' adjectival syntagms in Classical Arabic**

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The most common word order of an adjectival phrase in Classical Arabic is Noun – Adjective (e.g. *al-baradu l-jāmidu* 'frozen hail'). In such a syntagm the noun must always agree with its adjective in determination or indetermination. However, there are three constructions which permit the adjective to precede the noun. This happens on various conditions and entails syntactic transformations. The agreement in determination is violated then. For the use of this paper, these constructions, which vary as to their semantic, stylistic and, to a lesser degree, syntactic restrictions, will be called 'reversed' adjectival syntagms. They can be briefly characterized as follows:

- (i) genitival syntagm, e.g. *jāmidu l-baradi* 'frozen hail', in which the noun in genitive (*al-baradi* 'hail') goes after the adjective. Here some semantic and stylistic restrictions will be discussed.
- (ii) formal annexion, e.g. (rajulun) *kabīru r-ra'si* '(a man) who has a large head', in which the noun in genitive (*r-ra'si* 'head') goes after the adjective. The ultimate function of this construction, however,

is not to form an adjective to modify the noun in genitive but to form a syntagm to modify the head of the broader syntagm (i.e. 'the man'). It can, however, occur separately and function predicatively. Some differences and similarities between these constructions and Indo-European compound words can be exemplified here.

- (iii) "pseudorelative", e.g. (*rajulun kabirun ra'suhū* '(a man) who has a large head', which is often explained in terms of relative clause. However, on account of some syntactic features, they should be distinguished from true relative clauses. Similarly to ii), this syntagm is also formed in order to modify the head of the broader syntagm. It can, however, occur separately, e.g. *jā'a l-kabiru ra'suhū* 'that one with the large head has come', with its head omitted.

Some relations between these constructions and similar phenomena in some Indo-European language (compound words, meaningful word order), as well as aspects of their occurrence in Modern Arabic will be discussed.

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### A corpus-based analysis of the peculiar behaviour of the Polish verb "podość się"

Katarzyna Miechowicz-Mathiasen, Paweł Scheffler (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

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Our presentation sums up a corpus-based microstudy of the Polish verb *podość się* and its peculiar syntactic behaviour. *Podość się* (please/like) is a psych-verb whose syntactic behaviour resembles that of the PIACERE class psych-verbs (as proposed by Belletti & Rizzi in their seminal 1988 article). We begin our analysis by addressing the well-known division of psych-predicates into Subject Experiencer Verbs (hence SubExpV) and Object Experiencer Verbs (hence ObExpV), which is based on the surface ordering of the arguments involved, i.e. the Experiencer argument and the Theme argument. The following two patterns are commonly presented to show the difference between the two types:

- |     |                               |             |
|-----|-------------------------------|-------------|
| (1) | a. <i>John fears mice.</i>    | SubExpV     |
|     | Experiencer                   | Theme       |
|     | b. <i>Mice frighten John.</i> | ObExpV      |
|     | Theme                         | Experiencer |

It is generally accepted in generative frameworks that syntactic configurations and semantic (thematic) information are interrelated, i.e. the syntactic representations (at least in their initial stages) reflect the thematic representations (the Projection Principle (Chomsky 1981)). If we, furthermore, add Baker's Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis stating that "identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items" (Baker 1988: 46), we can see straightforwardly that the examples in (1) pose problems for any analysis that assumes both the Projection Principle and the UTAH, i.e. we are facing the so-called 'linking problem'. Nevertheless, some more recent analyses, such as Pesetsky's (1995) proposal that the theta roles involved in (1a) and (1b) are not the same, or Arad's (1996, 1998) analysis based on the difference in the event/aspectual structure of the two verb classes, show that the phenomenon may be accommodated and the linking problem resolved. It seems, however, that the PIACERE group of psych-verbs, to which our verb *podość się* (please/like) seems to belong, strongly resists such reanalyses and makes the problems very much alive.

*Podość się*, just like the Italian verb *piacere* allows the following two patterns:

- |     |                                       |
|-----|---------------------------------------|
| (2) | a. <i>Janowi podoba się mój dom.</i>  |
|     | John.DAT likes refl my house.NOM      |
|     | 'John likes my house'                 |
|     | <br>                                  |
|     | <i>Mój dom podoba się Janowi.</i>     |
|     | my house.NOM pleases refl John.DAT    |
|     | 'John likes my house'                 |
| (3) | a. <i>A Gianni piace questa casa.</i> |
|     | John.DAT likes this house.NOM         |
|     | 'John likes this house'               |

*Questa casa piace a Gianni.*  
 this house.NOM pleases John.DAT  
 'John likes this house'

As the constructions in (1) could somehow be accommodated as to satisfy the Projection Principle/UTAH requirements, the constructions under (2) and (3) cannot be said to involve different thematic roles or event/aspectual structure. Moreover, both versions are natural, i.e. unmarked, and to cap it all, whichever nominal surfaces in the sentence-initial position, constitutes the sentential subject; consider the raising constructions:

- (4) a. *Janowi zdaje się podobać mój dom.*  
 John.DAT seems refl to like my house.NOM  
 'John seems to like my house'
- b. *Mój dom zdaje się podobać Janowi.*  
 my house.NOM seems refl to please John.DAT  
 'John seems to like my house'
- (5) a. *A Gianni sembra piacere questa casa.*  
 John.DAT seems to like this house.NOM  
 'John seems to like this house'
- b. *Questa casa sembra piacere a Gianni.*  
 this house.NOM seems to please John.DAT  
 'John seems to like this house'

In view of the facts presented above, we decided that the following questions need answering: (1) what kind of verb is *podobać się* – SubExpV or ObExpV, (2) what is the positioning of the two arguments – Experiencer and Theme – within the verbal projection and what this projection looks like, and finally (3) how is it possible that the system allows for two different unmarked surface word orders. In our presentation we will try to answer the posed questions and propose an analysis of the aforementioned problematic issues, as well as support our proposal with corpus data.

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### The fourth person in Teop

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Teop syntax defies a description in terms of the categories S, A, and O:

1. An exceptionally high number of di-transitive verbs and productive means of deriving di-transitive verb complexes does not allow to marginalise di-transitivity.
2. In addition to the three categories of subject, primary object and secondary object, the pragmatic relation of topic figures as an independent grammaticalised category so that not only subjects, but also primary and secondary objects can function as topics.
3. The category of person (speech act participants vs. other participants) plays a significant role in Teop argument structure as shown by the rules of object marking and the inflection of the imperfective aspect marker.

The constituent order is. TOPIC - VERB COMPLEX – OTHER ARGUMENTS; the order of non-topical arguments follows the hierarchy subject < primary object < secondary object. The other means of expression are two case marking articles (the basic article and the object article) and two kinds of cross-referencing particles (the object marker and the imperfective aspect marker). The selection of either the basic or the object article is determined by the following rule:

1. Topical and non-topical Subjects take the basic article.
2. Topical objects take the basic article.
3. Non-topical primary objects take the basic article if the subject refers to a speech act participant, but the object article if the subject refers to a third participant.
4. Non-topical secondary objects only take the basic article, if both the subject and the primary object refer to speech act participants.

In accordance with this article selection rule, Teop has two pronouns that refer to participants other than the speech act participants: the 3<sup>rd</sup> person and the 4<sup>th</sup> person pronoun. Transitive clauses only differ from di-transitive ones in lacking the secondary object. Thus there are three types of transitive and di-transitive clauses.

Clause type	Subject	Primary object	(Secondary object)
I	1 <sup>st</sup> / 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. pronoun	1 <sup>st</sup> / 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. pronoun	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. pronoun/ NP with basic article
II	1 <sup>st</sup> / 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. pronoun	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. pronoun / NP with basic article	4 <sup>th</sup> pers. pronoun / NP with object article
III	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. pronoun / NP with basic article	4 <sup>th</sup> pers. pronoun / NP with object article	4 <sup>th</sup> pers. pronoun / NP with object article

This differential object marking (3<sup>rd</sup> vs. 4<sup>th</sup> person and basic article vs object article) cannot be explained in terms of grammatical relations, but reflects the different kinds of relationships that can hold between the speaker and the participants of the reported event. If he/she speaks about him/herself and/or the hearer and one additional participant, the additional participant is expressed by 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pronoun or basic NP, but when speaks about a third and a fourth participant or even a third, fourth and fifth participant as in III, the fourth and fifth participant are expressed by the 4<sup>th</sup> pers. pronoun or an NP marked by the object article.

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### Polish functional projections

Michael Moss (University of Gdańsk)

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In this paper, I would like to investigate the Polish system of tense and other functional projections according to the model presented in Roberts (2005). Roberts proposes that the VSO order in Welsh arises due to Pers(on), Num(ber), Force and Fin(ite) functional projections in the clause structure. He combines this with some observations about the EPP feature. I would like to investigate how this system can answer questions about Polish tense and number morphology (-śmy, -ście etc) and their apparent scrambling abilities. Roberts' work is in part based on Poletto (2000) and as a result this material will also have to be investigated and brought into the analysis of the Polish situation. Although the paper will be based on models proposed in other works, I feel that it will bring the structure in Polish into sharper focus, supporting the underlying theory of UG.

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### The grammaticization of 'but' as a final particle in English conversation

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In contemporary Australian fiction, ending a turn with but is becoming stereotyped as distinctive of Australian English (Mulder 2002). Here is an example:

- (1) Bradley slapped the tops of his thighs. "Mine accident," he said. "Both legs buggered for good. Compo's coming through, but."  
 I nodded. "No hope?" I said. "Physio? Operation?"  
 "Stuffed," he said. "Mind you, I miss the fishing more than the bloody work.

*O'Fear*. (Peter Corris (1991:100))



undergoes Agree with T in the languages under consideration here (which rely on a nominative/accusative system of argument encoding), thereby ensuring nominative case and subject agreement; cf. Chomsky (1995; 2001).

Even though the hypothesis that morphological richness is involved in the licensing of argumental pro seems to be a natural one, and is widely accepted, it has proven extremely difficult to pin down. In fact, it seems that the notion of morphological richness relevant here is left somewhat vague in most of the relevant literature; notable exceptions are the analyses by Jaeggli & Safir (1989: 29-30) and Rohrbacher (1999: ch. 5)). Notwithstanding empirical differences between these two approaches (as well as others), it seems fair to conclude that all existing approaches do not straightforwardly exclude languages like German or Icelandic (which distinguish 1. and 2. person in paradigms) as pro-drop languages; but both languages lack (referential) subject argument pro. Furthermore, these approaches crucially presuppose a concept of inflectional paradigm that corresponds to the traditional notion adopted in reference grammars, but that is incompatible with recent developments in theoretical morphology. Here, paradigms are often viewed as epiphenomena, i.e., descriptive generalizations that principles of grammar cannot refer to by definition (e.g., this holds for all of the work carried out within Distributed Morphology; see Halle & Marantz (1993; 1994), Bobaljik (2002), among many others); or they are viewed as abstract grammatical objects that bear little resemblance to the traditional reference grammar notion (compare, e.g., the notions of paradigm in Williams (1994), Wunderlich (1996), and Wiese (1999)).

In view of this state of affairs, the main goal of the present paper is to argue for a new concept of morphological richness underlying the theory of pro-drop that is based on recent morphological research and correctly derives the cross-linguistic distribution of subject argument pro. The central claim that I want to propose here is that morphological richness should be captured not by looking at and counting distinctive forms of traditional paradigms (which I assume to be mere epiphenomena), but rather by invoking an abstract property of morphological inventories – more specifically, by relying on the concept of impoverishment developed in Distributed Morphology. For concreteness, I would like to suggest that pro cannot be licensed by T if T is subject to an impoverishment operation that leads to a neutralization of  $\phi$ -features. However, to make this approach work, a pre-syntactic version of Distributed Morphology is needed; and it turns out that there is independent support for this (Alexiadou & Müller (2005)).

On the empirical side, I will have a close look at the morphological systems of verb inflection and the syntactic distribution of pro-drop in Germanic (German, Icelandic) and Slavic (Russian, Czech) languages. The approach to morphological richness in terms of  $\phi$ -feature impoverishment will be shown to make the right predictions for these (and other) languages.

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### **Constraint rank border crossing**

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It has often been observed that important systematic prosodic differences exist between Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch. However, there are no detailed descriptions of these differences, which is in stark contrast with the many descriptions of segmental differences between the two variants of the language. This may be due to the fact that the prosodic differences are generally felt as being difficult to describe (Willemyns 2003:330). Sometimes, however, prosodic differences have segmental reflexes, which then allows for their description. In addition, up till now, relatively little attention has been paid to differences in phonological processes between the North and the South.

This paper is based on two observations by the author, viz. (i) that in Belgian Dutch, there is no glottal stop is not insertion if a consonant final morpheme is combined with a vowel initial one (while this is the case in Northern Dutch and syllable initial glottal stop insertion before vowels does exist in Belgian Dutch) and (ii) that in Belgian Dutch, vowel deletion in pronouns takes place much more easily than in Netherlandic Dutch.

The first phenomenon will be analysed as a result of a difference in syllabification, and hence of a difference in prosodic organisation. This difference in its turn can be analysed as a difference in ranking between two specific constrains. Then, it will be shown that exactly this same difference in constraint ranking is responsible for the observed contrast in vowel deletion in pronouns between the North and the South.

Once this has been established, the question is raised about the origins of the difference in constraint ranking. A number of arguments will be advanced that show that the specific constraint ranking in Belgian Dutch has been adopted from Romance. This will confirm that borrowing from one language to another is not limited to words and sounds, but that it can also extend to deeply rooted settings in phonological organisation.

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### **Celtic pastimes as a form of expressing the national identity of the Irish**

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The last two decades have witnessed a heated discussion among archaeologists, historians and anthropologists concerning Celtic past and identity. This academic debate on the meaning of Celticness was started in 1996 by the paper 'Ancient Celts and Modern Ethnicity' in which the authors – J.V.S. Megaw & M.R. Megaw – criticise the so called Celt-scepticism of some scholars (Chapman, Hill, and Merriman). Different views on this matter could be read in the British magazine *Antiquity* and also on the Internet. Although there are still scholars who believe that the peoples who inhabited the British Isles in the Iron Age were Ancient Celts, most of the archaeologists find this theory rather obsolete. They put emphasis on the fact that the expression *Celtic identity* started to be used in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as a response to the foundation of British State with England in its centre. This is when people of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, in the opposition to the omnipresent Anglicisation, created a new, common identity. The aim of this paper is not to discuss whether one can use the expression 'Ancient Celts' with regard to British Isles, but rather to concentrate on people who have been calling themselves Celts in the last centuries. Since it would need more time to cover all three nations the main focus will be put on the Irish.

Undoubtedly a crucial period in fostering of Irish identity was the Gaelic Revival of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Irish language, which had died out by that time but for remote rural areas was regaining its position in Emerald Island. Young poets and writers, whether creating in Irish or English, were showing their interest in Gaelic tradition and folklore. Moreover, in the year 1884 the Gaelic Athletic Association was founded in order to preserve and promote native Irish games, in particular hurling, Gaelic football and women's camogie.

The paper introduces the main characteristics of these Celtic sports as well as of some other games and sports typical or even unique for Ireland, such as road bowls or Irish handball. It also brings up the problem of soccer and the negative attitude of Gaelic Athletic Association to this game as being too English.

For the topic of Celtic pastimes would not have been fully covered have we not mentioned Celtic dance and music, part of the paper will be devoted to this issue. A short history of development of Celtic dances and music will be delivered as well as the forms of English suppression of this element of Irish culture. The author will try to show that dance and music constitute a crucial feature of Irish identity.

The paper explores the topic of Celtic pastimes and Irish identity not only in Emerald Island but also among Irish Diaspora around the world. It also presents examples of Anglo-Irish literary works where the subjects of Celtic pastimes and Irish national identity are mentioned.

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### **The interaction of morphology and phonology – A functional approach**

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At the onset of linguistic studies, the architecture of language was conceived in terms of autonomous and self-governing grammatical components describing, among others, languages' sound patterns, word structure and the organization of words in sentences. Therefore phonology, morphology and syntax were studied separately as independent linguistic disciplines. With time, however, interest was invested in the investigation of relationships existing among the given grammar components. Linguists engaged in the discussion on the possible interaction between the specific grammar modules and the degree to which they influence each other. Such interaction was found between morphology and phonology, which resulted in the emergence of a new linguistic discipline, namely, morphonology. Detailed accounts on morphonology were proposed by advocates of Natural Phonology (Dressler 1984, 1985, 1989) and Lexical Phonology (Mohan, 1982, 1983, 1985; Kiparsky, 1982, 1985; Booij – Rubach, 1987). However, it seems that only an approach combining the assumptions of the two models would accurately describe the relations between morphology and phonology. The objective of the paper is twofold. First, it is to provide a comparison between the naturalist and lexicalist model of morphonology. This comparison will constitute the basis for the derivation of a novel theory of morphology, and, what follows, a new approach to morphonology. The model draws the functional framework from the lexicalist theories of Lexical Functional Grammar (Bresnan, 1982) and Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (Sag – Pollard, 1987). Second, an endeavor will be made to investigate the 'workings' of a new area of linguistic study of morphonotactics (Dziubalska-Kończak – Dressler – Śledziński, 2005) from the presented functional perspective.

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### **Present-day nonstandard features in Colonial New England**

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Many of the vernacular grammatical features described for Southern American English (e.g. Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998; Wright 2004) were equally present in the traditional New England dialect, as transpires from the records of the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* (Kurath 1939-1943) on the one hand, and from fictional dialect portrayals on the other. In our paper we would like to trace the history of these features in colonial New England speech, that is at a time when most of them were not subject to social evaluation yet. Our data come from the corpus consisting of three seventeenth century sources containing a considerable number of court records with a speech-reflecting quality (i.e. trial protocols, witness accounts, etc.). These sources are the *Suffolk Records*, the *Witchcraft Annals*, and, finally, the *Salem Witchcraft Trials* (1692). Among the features of interest are 'indicative' finite *be*, non-standard *was/were*, non-standard *don't*, plural verbal *-s*, the demonstrative *them* used adjectively, unmarked plurals, subject relative marker deletion, etc. As our list of features makes clear, very few of the grammatical vernacular features imported from the British Isles are confined to a specific regional variety of American English, despite dialectologists' attempts at suggesting the contrary.

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### **Locked in the language: Loanwords and national stereotypes**

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Loanwords constitute a specific interface between language, culture and society. By denoting some characteristic realia, such words become 'icons' of foreign cultures which influence the perception of those cultures and, consequently, societies (cf. Hope 1963: 36). One could argue that the importation of loanwords, as other modes of contact, fosters greater understanding of all things foreign. However, this is not so obvious as it seems, because borrowings are often subtly linked with feelings of sympathy or antipathy for other cultures and may thus reinforce biases, prejudices and national stereotypes (cf. Stubbs 1998: 19).

In the present paper I look at the implicit relationship between loanwords and stereotypes. More precisely, I want to analyse what images French, German, Italian and Russian words taken to (British) English in the 20<sup>th</sup> century conjure up, and how they affect the categorizing of the respective cultures in positive or negative terms. The loans retrieved from Ayto's *20<sup>th</sup> Century Words* were studied both

diachronically and synchronically, and were then checked against the British National Corpus to find out which lexical items, and in what contexts, retained currency in contemporary English.

As has turned out, the words taken from the four languages belong to different thematic categories and evoke fairly different associations, which to some extent helps to maintain the cultural myths. Among the French borrowings one finds words like *avant-garde*, *cloche hat*, *voyeur*, *negligee* or *boutique*; by referring to art and fashion, they signify originality, luxury and sophisticated taste. Italian loanwords are related to cooking (*pesto*, *pizza*, *scampi*, *cappuccino*, *espresso*) and politics (*Duce*, *fascism*, *totalitarian*). German words are mainly scientific terms (*electrocardiogram*, *gene*, *quantum*, *testosterone*, *snorkel*) and words related to the Second World War (*Blitzkrieg*, *Natzi*, *Führer*, *Gestapo*, *panzer*); the latter, in particular, arousing pejorative connotations. Russian loans denote almost exclusively political and social concepts (*pogrom*, *Bolshevik*, *Comintern*, *commissar*, *perestroika*, *glasnost*, *soviet*, *liquidate*, *smersh*, *nyet*). Despite the fact that Ayto's selection of entries must be seen as subjective, the study offers interesting findings about the borrowing process in the historical context. Examples will be presented and discussed in detail.

Summing up, loanwords reflecting the social and material reality seem to be applied for assessments of foreign cultures and societies, even though "the idea of a distinctive national character can hardly be a realistic proposition" (Stamirowska et al. 1998: 13). Nonetheless, the nature of stereotyping as a mental process is inherently complex, because it is not only related to native speakers' linguistic competence (hence, the knowledge of borrowings), but also to their socio-psychological traits and, perhaps less frequently, real-life experiences. Though lexicographic analyses approach stereotypes from one-sided angle only, they may still contribute to a fully comprehensive description of this multidimensional phenomenon.

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### Classification of Dysarthria in Polish TBI patients

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Traumatic brain injury (TBI) and prolonged coma result in various neurological dysfunctions, including speech dysarthria. Dysarthria is a speech impairment which is caused by a disruption of motor speech execution, subserved by the basal ganglia and cerebellar control circuits (cf. Ackermann et al. 1999; Spencer and Rogers 2005). It occurs in degenerative diseases involving the cerebellum, Parkinson's disease, cerebrovascular accidents and close head injuries, less commonly- in encephalitis and brain tumors (cf. Ziegler 2002). It affects breathing, sound production in the larynx area, resonance, articulation, prosody and rhythm. The disorder is universal but it can also be language specific. There are very few publications devoted to the phenomenon in Polish. The dual aim of the present study is to analyse the characteristics of dysarthric speech of Polish TBI patients, as well as to establish a simple questionnaire that could be used by speech therapists to estimate type and degree of dysarthria in Polish. The existing clinical tests used to assess the degree of dysarthria are long, which leads to the patient's fatigue that may considerably distort final results. 15 post-coma subjects with severe close head injury (mean age: 30 years) participated in the experiment. According to the level of intelligibility, there were 5 individuals with light dysarthria, 5 with moderate, and 5 with severe dysarthria. Both standard and non-standard tests were used to record the patients' utterances. 5 aspects of speech were investigated with a programme used for speech analysis, Praat: rate, intonation, rhythm, intensity and articulation of phonemes. On the basis of the findings which revealed

significant sound quality variations among the subjects, the authors propose the following classification of dysarthria in Polish:

1. *Light*: slow, intelligible speech with inaccurate articulation of fricative sounds, changes in intonation, rate and rhythm, often intensified by fatigue;
2. *Moderate*: mumble that is difficult to comprehend, the pronunciation of some vowels and the majority of consonants being heavily impaired, especially that of the trill /r/ which appears the lastest in the ontogenesis;
3. *Advanced*: single vowels with distorted articulation, usually a sound close to Polish /a/.

The results of the research support the hypothesis that an individual who has lost the ability to speak undergoes at least the major phases of first language acquisition ontogenesis.

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### Null Stress in Polish and German, syntax based assignment?

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The degree of integrity between the prosodic pattern of utterances and their syntactic structure has been the subject matter of much debate within the generative field; Chomsky' and Halle's (1968) Nuclear Stress Rule implicitly calls for syntax-independent stress assignment rules, Jackendoff (1972) proposes a set of complex linking rules between the prosodic and syntactic patterns of sentences. On the other hand, the discrepancy is viewed as only partial in Selkirk (1984) or Zubizarreta (1994) and most interestingly, as non existent by Cinque (1993), who in principle, calls for a totally isomorphic treatment of syntax and prosody claiming that the syntactic structure of a sentence alone is sufficient in specifying it's prosodic shape given his Null Theory of Stress.

Our presentation attempts to take a stance in this matter, based on the data from German and Polish.

First, we investigate German and Polish indicative sentences with (di-) transitive verbs where Cinque's system can be successfully applied and where, irrespective of the overt word order, the correct placement of the main stress is predicted, the context being that of the "neutral focus" in the spirit of Zubizarreta (1994), with the whole sentence qualifying as the focus:

- (1) What happened? (What's that noise?)  
A boy has broken a window.
- (a) Ein Junge brach ein **Fenster**  
a boy broke a window
- (b) Ein Junge hat ein **Fenster** gebrochen.  
a boy has a window broken
- (c) Chłopiec zbił **szybę**.  
boy broke window
- (d) Chłopiec **szybę** zbił.

Next, we discuss parallel ("neutral focus") intransitive constructions in both languages as well as in English. Cinque's system implies a discrepancy between unaccusative and unergative intransitive verbs; whereas the placement of nuclear stress within the subject phrase in unaccusative constructions is expected (they qualify

as “most deeply embedded elements” (Cinque (1993)) because of their deep structure object status) it will be problematic for unergatives, which are not mentioned by the author.

- (2) What’s happening? (What’s that noise?)  
 (a) A **baby** is crying  
 (b) **Dziecko** płacze.  
 (c) Ein **Kind** weint.

Finally, an analysis of the placement of nuclear stress in wide focus interrogatives (direct yes-no questions) is carried out. Here, we also include Russian data, which offer an interesting contrast in comparison to English, German and Polish. An example is provided below:

- (3)  
 (a) Do you like **ice-cream**?  
 (b) Magst du **Eis**?  
 like you ice-cream  
 (c) Lubisz **lody**?  
 like2p.sing. ice-cream  
 (d) **Любишь** мороженое?  
 like 2p.sing. ice-cream

In all the above examples the whole VP is in focus on an “out of the blue” wide scope reading. If these were to be changed into narrow scope readings it is for the verb and not the object in the Russian example to become the focus, contrary to English, German and Polish. The nuclear stress placement in (d) is thus very problematic for Cinque’s Null Theory of Stress.

We propose a modification, but not a rejection of the syntax based nuclear stress assignment system, where the syntactic rationale behind a given stress pattern is present, it will not, however be reduced to the notion of “depth of embedding”.

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### On the placement of adnominal adjectives with complements: Evidence from Old English

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It has been repeatedly observed in the literature that languages with canonically prenominal adjectives exhibit some variation as to whether or not they allow adjectives with complements to surface before the noun. On the one hand, there is a group of languages (e.g. Polish, German) in which adjectives with complements are not excluded from the prenominal domain. On the other hand, there are languages which apparently disallow adjectives with complements to be placed before the noun. The latter restriction is commonly illustrated on the basis of Present Day English (PDE), as in ungrammatical examples (1a) and (1b):

- (1a) \*a proud of his son man  
 (1b) \*a different from this one problem

For such constructions to be well-formed, it is necessary either to place both the adjective and its complement after the noun, as in (2a), or to separate the adjective from the complement, as in (2b):

- (2a) a man proud of his son  
 (2b) a different problem from this one

The current paper seeks to determine whether the restrictions illustrated in (1-2) can also be observed in the earlier stages of English, specifically in Old English (OE). Given that the scholarship offers rather imprecise statements regarding this issue (e.g. Fischer 2001, Traugott 1972), their verification is needed. To this end, the paper investigates the empirical data retrieved from the York – Toronto – Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (Taylor – Warner – Pintzuk – Beths 2003). The underlying aim of the scrutiny is to confront the OE data with the theoretical approaches towards the structural location of adnominal adjectives which have been proposed in the generative literature. Four specific approaches are taken into consideration, namely the adjunct analysis (e.g. Siloni 1997, Svenonius 1992), the head analysis (e.g. Abney 1987), the specifier analysis (e.g. Cinque 1994, 1995) and the reduced relative clause analysis (e.g. Kayne 1994). Although none of these approaches is entirely unproblematic it will be seen how successful they are in handling the relevant facts concerning OE. Of special interest for the current paper is the question how the four analyses relate to the surface placement of adnominal adjectives with complements, i.e. whether such adjectives are placed before or after the noun. It is hoped that the discussion will make a step towards working out the optimal analysis of adnominal adjectives in OE.

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### On root-based concept of an electronic lexicon for Polish

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One of the problems in Text Technology research is how to create a lexicon that can be easily adapted to any application. At present, there are several methods of carrying out inflectional automatic analysis and lexical entry description for Polish. On the basis of such methods, several programs have been compiled (Hajnicz and Kupść 2001). It has turned out that traditional approach to morphological analysis according to which word-forms are segmented into two parts, the stem and the ending, has to be abandoned (Rabięga-Wiśniewska and Rudolf 2003). This particular lexicon design results in that any morphological analysis delivers only a lemma for a given word-form and an appropriate grammatical characteristics assigned to it. The question is what information should be provided for each entry to increase a number of purposes of the lexicon.

The paper aims to present root-based concept of an electronic lexicon for Polish. It will be demonstrated that a lexicon entry can be described by means of the principles of morphological construction. The root-based lexicon has been already exploited in the formal model of Polish nominal derivation (Rabięga-Wiśniewska 2005), since it gives access to all stems of a given lemma and all endings separately. It can be adapted also for an automatic inflectional analysis and/or synthesis.

To prepare a lexicon of roots we have used the grammatical dictionary of AMOR analyser (Rabięga-Wiśniewska and Rudolf 2003). As a result, we have obtained entries that contain the whole inflectional characteristics and details about internal alternations. The twolevel morphology model by Koskenniemi

(1983) served as a theoretical background for the study. The conversion of the AMOR data into the lexicon of roots will be presented in following steps: a. synthesis of all word-forms of a given lemma, b. segmentation of the word-forms into two parts, the stem and the ending, c. collection of all stems of a given lemma, d. internal alternations description, and e. the final root choice. Each lexicon entry shall be represented by a superficial lemma, a root and two sets. The first set contains textual representations of all internal alternations within the lemma and grammatical codes of their distribution. The latter component comprises a full package of endings. An example below shows an entry SUSEŁ 'GOPHER':

suseł , suSEŁ  
 {S:s(N,G,D,A,B,n,g,d,a,b,l,v),ś(L,V);E:e(N),(G,D,A,B,L,V,n,g,d,a,b,l,v);Ł:ł(N,G,D,A,B,n,g,d,a,b,l,v),l(L,V)}  
 k(a,owi,a,em,e,e,owie,ów,om,ów,ami,ach,owie)

The root-based lexicon may be a part of an automatic inflectional as well as a derivational device. The morphological entry description proposed in this presentation seems to show a new perspective in creation of linguistic resources for Polish.

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## Vowel quantity before dentals: On the interaction between morphology and phonology in English monosyllables

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During the Early Modern period, vowels in English monosyllabic words were sporadically shortened in words such as *blood, book, bread, cloth, cook, death, done, grit, lead, look, shred, soot, took, wet* etc.. As has long been observed (see, for example, Hackmann 1908, Luick, 1914/21, Brunner 1960, Dobson 1968 or Görlach 1978), such shortenings seem to have occurred rather frequently before dentals such as /d/ or /θ/. In Ritt (1997) it is argued that dentals may have favoured such shortenings not so much by virtue of their phonological dentalness, but rather because many inflectional suffixes were realised as dentals. This made EModE /CVVD<sub>i</sub>/ sequences (in which D<sub>i</sub> stands for dentals that express inflectional suffix morphs) morphologically ambiguous, in that they could stand either for {CVV}+{D<sub>i</sub>} or for {CVVD<sub>i</sub>}. Following Dressler (e.g. 1985), this would have made them semiotically dispreferred, as they would have violated the preference for bi-unique signs. Obviously, the same would not have been true of /CVD<sub>i</sub>/ sequences. They must have been unambiguously monomorphemic, because a lexical {CV} morpheme would have been phonotactically ill-formed already in Early Modern English. This circumstance would have made /CVD<sub>i</sub>/ sequences semiotically preferable over /CVVD<sub>i</sub>/ sequences as representations of mono-morphemic word-forms. Accordingly, Ritt (1997) hypothesises that this preference may explain the relative frequency of EModE vowel shortenings before word final dentals in monosyllabic lexemes.

Fortunately, the hypothesis is falsifiable and entails predictions that can be tested. First, it implies that CVVD<sub>i</sub> lexemes should generally be significantly less frequent than CVD<sub>i</sub> lexemes in synchronic samples of the Modern English lexicon. This is because the semiotic preference which Ritt assumes ought to have its assumed impact not only in the specific EModE vowel shortenings he deals with, but, more generally, on all processes that affect the inventory, and/or the shapes of lexical monosyllables. Secondly, Ritt's hypothesis

implies that CV(V)D<sub>i</sub> monosyllables should behave differently from other CV(V)D monosyllables, i.e. from monosyllabic items with final dentals that cannot represent inflectional suffixes.

The present paper intends to test these predictions against the evidence of Early Modern English corpora and PDE dictionaries, and to discuss what the results of this test imply for Ritt's (1997) hypothesis.

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### **Time in Language and Music: The rhythm of speech, verse and vocal music in English and Spanish.**

Rosalía Rodríguez-Vázquez (University of Edinburgh)

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Talking about timing implies referring to rhythm. Several branches of linguistic theory have dealt with the role of rhythm in speech and language, highlighting the similarities between music and speech (Lieberman, 1979). Metrical phonology has used formal tools developed for rhythm in music (Lerdahl & Jackendoff, 1983). From a literary perspective, there have been studies on poetic rhythm (Attridge, 1982) and on the technical analysis of text-tune relations (Cureton, 1992).

The general theoretical frame of my paper has to do with the study, from an interdisciplinary and cross-linguistic point of view, of the typological dichotomy between 'stress-timed' and 'syllable-timed' languages, inasmuch as this distinction is valid at all.

A theoretical and empirical analysis is developed to determine whether the linguistic prosody – more specifically, the nature of stress and its related phenomena – of a specific language determines its poetic prosody and its setting into music. The first part is an overview of language typologies in relation to timing, where English is used as a model of a stress-timed language, and Spanish as a model of a syllable-timed language. In the second part, the paper shows an analysis of folk songs in terms of verse prosody and musical metre. Last, the paper explores the correspondences between the verse forms and the musical forms regarding metre and rhythm, and it concludes by establishing the differences in the setting to music of 'stress-timed' verse and 'syllable-timed' verse.

The results have to do with a correspondence between the timing typologies of language and rhythmic typologies of music, something which proves that linguistic rhythm is not an autonomous field, but rather a level of a broader cognitive capacity. Being so, the future of Suprasegmental Phonology might well lie in an open dialogue with other disciplines, which can shed light on the still mysterious topic of timing.

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### **Typology of Derivational Reduplication in African Languages**

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Derivation is one of the main functions of reduplication. An original word and a derived reduplicated word can belong either to one morphological class (for example, a verb can be derived from another verb), or to different classes (for example, a verb can be derived from a noun). This paper views derivational reduplication from a typological perspective. Our aim is to point out basic types of correlation between the morphological class of a reduplicated derivative and of the original word. The research is based on a number of African languages of different families. Each of the analyzed languages uses several derivational strategies, but usually only few of them are represented by a large set of examples.

One of the main results of the research is that we discovered two basic strategies in using reduplication as a derivational means. According to the first strategy, reduplicated lexemes of different morphological classes are derived from words of one morphological class (for example, reduplicated nouns and verbs are derived from verbs). Languages that apply this strategy could be called "source oriented". For example, Kisi (Atlantic), Fula (Atlantic), and Kabiye (Gur) belong to this type. According to the second strategy, the original nonreduplicated lexemes belong to different morphological classes, while the reduplicated derivatives belong mainly to one class (for example, reduplicated verbs are derived from verbs and nouns). Languages that apply this strategy could be called "target oriented". These are, for example, Bambara (Mande) and Songhay (Nilo-saharan). Naturally, a language can represent one of the two basic types to a different degree. Among the analyzed material a rather pure "source oriented" type occurs more often than the "target oriented" type. This is a rather interesting phenomenon. Indeed, when a non-reduplicative derivational mechanism is applied (i.e. when a derivational affix is used), the affix rather determines the morphological class of the derivative, not of the original word. Thus, in our terminology affixation commonly belongs to the "target oriented" strategy of derivation, which is less typical for reduplication.

When a language represents one of the described types to a high degree, it is possible to define the morphological class that comprises the majority of reduplicated words (for the "target oriented" languages), or the original words, from which the reduplicated words are derived (for the "source oriented" languages). In most cases this morphological class is verbs. Thus, either a language has a set of reduplicated verbs derived from words of different morphological classes, or it has reduplicated nouns, verbs, etc. derived from non-reduplicated verbs.

The presentation will also deal with other regularities in the use of reduplication as a derivational mechanism.

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### **Folk sayings in Southern Hemisphere Englishes**

Agata Rozumko (University of Białystok)

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This paper examines folk sayings used in Australian, New Zealand and South African English. It investigates the way in which metaphors and similes used in folk language make reference to the historical and political events, as well as geography and climate of these three countries. It also tries to examine the extent to which non-English elements, such as expressions from Aboriginal languages in Australia, Maori in New Zealand, Bantu languages and Afrikaans in South Africa, as well as the different varieties of English (Irish, Scottish) brought by settlers contributed to the variety of folk language used in Southern Hemisphere Englishes.

The paper examines the way in which folk sayings make use of names of indigenous fauna and flora, features of landscape, weather conditions, names of local institutions and products. Indigenous languages (and Afrikaans in South Africa) were sources of numerous names of animals and plants found in English, as well as topographical names and words connected with the weather, and such expressions are frequently employed in folk sayings. Both the use of individual borrowings from indigenous languages in sayings used in Southern Hemisphere Englishes, and English translations of the original sayings are investigated here. The article also

looks at how stereotypes connected with the inhabitants of each of the three and other countries are reflected in their folk sayings.

The primary aim of this paper is to establish the degree to which sayings used in Australian, New Zealand and South African English are universal, country specific or Southern Hemisphere specific. The three colonial varieties show significant similarities in their development and their present form, so it seems legitimate to suppose that some resemblances on the level of folk sayings can be found too, though the external factors that shaped the three Englishes are of course different in numerous instances. Because folk sayings are closely connected with humour, as they commonly include humorous associations and comparisons (e.g. comparisons of human behaviour or appearance to that of animals), they also reflect the universality and/or specificity of the sense of humour characteristic of these three countries.

Needless to say, the analysis offered here is very brief, and it does not attempt to be a comprehensive study of sayings used in the Southern Hemisphere Englishes. Moreover, Southern Hemisphere Englishes comprise also Falkland Islands English (Trudgill 2004), which is omitted in this study because of the scarcity of the material on sayings used in this variety. However, the scope of the present study seems sufficient to point out some tendencies and allow some generalizations about folk sayings used in Australian, New Zealand and South African English.

The paper draws material from a number of internet collections of Australian, New Zealand, and South African sayings, from dictionaries, as well as sections devoted to lexis found in scholarly publications on these three varieties of English (e.g. Burchfield (ed.) 1994, Görlach 1998, Trudgill and Hannah 2002 (4th edition), Gordon et al. 2004).

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### **Feature Geometry in Optimality Theory**

Jerzy Rubach (University of Iowa/University of Warsaw)

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This paper looks at two current models of feature geometry, the Halle-Sagey model modified by Halle (2005) and the Clements-Hume model, from the perspective of palatalization and related processes in Slavic. The Halle-Sagey model predicts that palatalization should be analyzed by assuming derivational levels and is thus at odds with the tenet of strict parallelism in Optimality Theory. In contrast, the Clements-Hume model appears to be able to achieve the same goal without recourse to derivational stages because it is based on the assumption that, in the ways relevant for palatalization, vowels and consonants are characterized by the same features. However, analysis of palatalization and related processes shows that this assumption is incorrect. The consequence is that derivational stages cannot be avoided and that the tenet of strict parallelism must be rejected.

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### **The multi-dimensional feature-based dynamic model of the semantics of BNs**

Ewa Rudnicka (Wrocław University), Maciej Piasecki (Wrocław University of Technology)

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Our objective in this paper is to build a multi-dimensional, feature-based dynamic model of the semantics of bare nominals (henceforth, BNs), which would have possibly widest cross-linguistic applicability. By BNs we will mean singular and plural arguments, which do not involve any overt exponents of definiteness and quantification, and, hence, are open for the rich variety of interpretations. The accounts of the semantic structure of BNs that have appeared so far ascribe the status of the basic meaning to some sort of either kind or indefinite reading, and argue that other readings are derived (from this basic one) by means of mechanisms of interaction of this basic meaning with contextual factors (cf. the kind approach of Carlson 1977, the indefinite approach of Diesing 1992, the Neo-Carlsonian kinds approach of Chierchia 1998 and Dayal 2003.)

We believe that the semantics of BNs (and other nominals as well) can be best accounted for with the help of a multi-dimensional model, which should involve reference, quantification and definiteness, as interacting, but still independent of each other dimensions. Every dimension will be defined by means of a cluster of characteristic features, which take binary values. Such an approach allows to give precise descriptions of various BNs readings in terms of different configurations of values of features from distinct dimensions. Thus, reference will distinguish between kind and object-referring BNs; quantification will specify the scopal properties of BNs as well as properties related to varieties of quantification (e.g. cumulative or collective); whereas definiteness will determine the status of a BN with respect to the context of

interpretation (e.g. uniqueness, familiarity and specificity features). Let us illustrate the working of our model with the examples of English and Polish bare plurals and Polish bare singulars:

- (1) Sasanki są prawem chronione.  
'Pasque-flowers are protected by law.'
- (2a) Wydaje mi się, że po strychu kręci się kot.  
'It seems to me that a cat is hanging around in the attic'
- (2b) Wydaje mi się, że kot kręci się po strychu.  
'It seems to me that the cat is hanging around in the attic.'
- (3) Czterech chłopców pocałowało żabę.  
'Four boys kissed a frog.'

In (1) the bare plural *sasanki* – 'pasque-flowers' appears in the subject position of the kind-favouring predicate *być prawem chronionym* – 'be protected by law.' The BP gets the following reading: +kind, +universal, +collective. In (2a) the BS *kot* – 'cat' is interpreted as +object-referring, -definite, +specific. Note that in (2a) the BS appears in the focus position. If it is shifted to topic position as in (2b), it gets a different reading, namely, +object-referring, +definite. In (3) the BS appears in the object position and its semantic specification runs as follows: +object-referring, -definite, -specific, +wide scope.

In contrast to the existing models of the semantics of BNs, our model does not rely on the precedence of any particular reading over other possible readings, and, thus, avoids the danger of monostratal approaches, which analyse all the possible readings as if they were located on one level. The multi-dimensional perspective offered by our model allows to represent various BN interpretations as unique clusters of values of features from distinct, although interacting dimensions.

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### **The line of division between procedural and representational management of interface information**

Tobias Scheer (University of Nice)

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This talk examines the balance of the basic ingredients that are needed for an adequate theory of how extra-phonological information is processed in phonology. Following the by now well established modular view of cognitive and linguistic architecture, morpho-syntax and phonology "do not see" each other, nor even know of each other's existence. Therefore, any intermodular communication must be managed by some external entity, which I call the Translator's Office (SPE's readjustment, Prosodic Phonology's mapping rules, Jackendoff's correspondence rules). In all models of the interface that recognise a Translator's Office, this device does two things (even though the division at hand often remains non-explicit): it decides on "chunk-submission" (roughly speaking, the phonological cycle, more on that below) and the translation of morpho-syntactic objects into phonological objects. The former activity is purely procedural, while the output of the latter is representational.

There is general agreement that the representational output may not be any kind of diacritic (although theories do not always follow this request). The ban on diacritics follows from modularity: each module speaks its own language (of the brain), and hence only understands what it is told in its own idiom. As a consequence, phonology can neither make direct reference to morpho-syntactic categories, nor to non-linguistic objects such as diacritics (#, brackets, the prosodic hierarchy etc.). The output of the Translator's office can thus only be truly phonological objects - a truly phonological object is one that exists in the phonology for purely domestic reasons and in absence of any issue related to the interface.

The empirical picture of phonological processes that are sensitive to morpho-syntactic information may be meaningfully divided into two major classes, one of which has two sub-classes. The major division is between processes where the Translator's Office only decides which chunk of the string is submitted to phonological interpretation, and those where it modifies the application of a rule (blocking or triggering it).

All stress-related phenomena are of the former kind, e.g. párent-hood has the same stress pattern as párent (and not as parént-al) because the stem has been submitted to phonology twice: first alone, then together with the affix (this is the phonological cycle, supplemented with the traditional principle of robustness according to which a change made on an earlier cycle cannot be undone on a later cycle).

In case the application of a phonological rule is influenced, the Translator's Office can either have a blocking or a triggering influence. Lexical Phonology and OTed versions thereof manage the former by purely procedural means (interactionism or reranking of constraints), but recur to the representational function of the Translator's Office for the latter (so-called derived environment effects): either brackets (and bracket erasure) are needed, or reference to the prosodic hierarchy is made (Stratal OT, DOT). Both are objects that come into being as the representational output of the Translator's Office.

I argue that current interface theories fail because they need to recur to diacritics for derived environment effects: SPE-type boundaries, Lexical Phonology (brackets), Kaye (1995, domain edges), Prosodic Phonology (the prosodic hierarchy) and OTed versions of Lexical Phonology (Stratal OT, DOT where brackets are replaced by units of the prosodic hierarchy). Some argument is necessary in order to show that the prosodic hierarchy *is* a diacritic, if an autosegmental one: following the definition above, it is not a truly phonological object since it exists only in order to translate morpho-syntactic structure into phonology - exactly the purpose of #, + and the like. Also, it is irrelevant for domestic phonology in absence of any issue related to the interface.

The division that I propose between procedural and representational management of interface phenomena is different: while the purely procedural type (illustrated by párent-hood above) remains as it is, any modification of the application of a rule is the result of a representational activity: an object has been added to the lexical ingredients of the phonological string. Also unlike other theories, I argue that the representational output of the Translator's Office are only objects which already exist in phonology in absence of any issue related to the interface.

The resulting theory is called Direct Interface because it does not go through any placeholder when morpho-syntactic information is translated into phonology. Rather, the output of the Translator's Office is an already existing category. Obviously, the nature of this category depends on the particular phonological theory used. Therefore different theories make different predictions and may be evaluated according to their behaviour at the interface. This is a desirable effect which other interface theories, precisely because they do not engage truly phonological entities, do not offer.

I then show how the particular phonological theory that I am working in, CVCV, implements the direct request: for reasons that are made explicit, the output of the Translator's Office can be four and only four different objects: Government of final empty Nuclei (FEN), ability for FEN to govern and to license and the insertion of an empty CV unit. This very restrictive set of possibilities is claimed to be able to account for all phenomena that modify the application of a process. Finally, I illustrate the fact that on this account, a clear line of division between procedural and representational interface effects emerges: the former concern only stress, while everything that is traditionally called sandhi falls under the scope of the latter.

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**Cruciality– A link between grammar  
and the outside world in Natural Phonology**  
Geoff Schwartz (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

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Evidence from psycholinguistics (see Lively, Pisoni and Goldinger, 1994 for a review) is difficult to reconcile with many frameworks' assumption that phonology is an autonomous grammatical module that is immune to external influence. While Natural Phonology (NP) (Donegan and Stampe 1979) recognizes that grammar is subject to grammar-external forces, providing an explicit account of the effects of such forces remains a daunting challenge.

The Source-Filter model of NP (Schwartz 2006) represents an attempt to overcome this challenge by means of two basic strategies. First, it takes a listener-oriented approach in which phonological units must have an auditory specification. Since 'grammar-external' forces influence the realization of an utterance from the Listener's point of view, auditory representations provide a concrete domain to formalize these effects in the grammar. Second, it maintains an explicit distinction between grammar (the traditional domain of NP 'rules') and speech (the domain of universal NP 'processes'). The 'grammar' in this model is a speaker-specific interactive inventory of phonological units covering all levels from feature to foot. Each unit in the inventory is specified with *Cruciality Ratings* for the smaller units it is made of. The *Cruciality Ratings* specify which elements in a phonological unit are most likely candidates for fortition or most susceptible to

lenition. External forces set the *Cruciality Level* for an utterance, triggering the application of NP processes (fortitions and lenitions) in speech to determine actual realizations.

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### **Dynamic vowel quality – Typology and phonological implications of 'phonetic detail'**

Geoff Schwartz (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

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A number of phonetic studies have investigated the role of dynamic information in the perception of vowels (see Strange 1989 for a review). A common theme running through these studies is that since articulatory targets are often not reached in speech, in vowel identification listeners may use the dynamic formant transitions at the onset and offset of a vowel. These findings raise a number of interesting questions for phonological and typological analysis that to my knowledge have not been addressed. Do cross-linguistic differences in vowel 'purity' (or lack thereof) reflect the extent to which speakers/listeners exploit dynamic phenomena in vowel identification? What role might prosodic organization play in the dynamic or static realization of vowels? Also, what benefits can be reaped by treating the dynamic properties of syllabic nuclei as a phonological category?

This talk presents a set of pilot experiments investigating these questions. A production study compares selected Polish vowels, which are relatively pure in quality, with selected English vowels showing a strong tendency for diphthongization. Preliminary results indicate that Polish and English vowels differ significantly in several dynamic parameters, including the percentage of vowel duration marked by a spectral steady state, and the time needed to reach that steady state target. A perceptual study of Polish vowels is also under way employing the "Silent Center" paradigm (Jenkins and Strange 1999). If listener performance in the SC condition does not differ significantly from performance in the Initial Pitch Period conditions, we may infer that dynamic spectral qualities play less of a role in Polish vowel categorization than they do in English. Such a finding would signal a typological distinction in vowel purity, and suggest the existence of a scalar phonological category. An informal study of several other languages points to a possible correlation between stress vs. syllable timing and the dynamic properties of vowels – languages classified as 'stress-timed' seem to have more dynamic vowel quality.

Finally, the classification of dynamic vs. pure vowel quality is applied to some familiar phonological problems, including epenthesis or lack of epenthesis in English borrowings into Korean (Kang 2003), and Polish perception of English diphthongs (Bogacka 2005). Cross-linguistic differences in the categorization of dynamic vowel quality may provide an additional tool for explaining problematic phenomena in loanword adaptation.

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## On the nature of the foot of relative clause

Radek Šimík (Palacky University, Olomouc)

My paper is concerned with the structure of restrictive relative clauses (RC) and is based on two guiding ideas: the theoretical one is that the structural behavior of RCs can be captured by the combination of raising and matching analysis (as promoted by Sauerland 2000); the other one is based on the observation that the morphological differences among the elements introducing RCs (e.g. in English *wh/that/zero*) as well as the differences in the phonetic realization of resumptive pronouns (full vs. empty) have syntactic consequences. In my paper I propose a structure of the foot of the RC (the lowest copy of the head) that accounts for both the morphological (assuming the framework of Distributed Morphology) and syntactic behavior.

The core proposal is made on the basis of four types of Czech data: (I) licensing of the foot in island structures, (II) the optionality of the head-foot coreference in case of  $\phi$ -feature clash of two relative clause internal pronouns, (III) the possibility of a comparison-class reading of the RC with a head modified by a superlative adjectival, (IV) negative polarity item (NPI) licensing in the same kind of structures (as in III). The behavior of four types of Czech relative clauses is examined: (A) RC introduced by adjectival relative pronouns (*který*); (B) RC with phonetically empty accusative resumptive pronouns; (C) RC with overt resumptives; (D) RC introduced by pronominal relatives (*jenž*). The following chart summarizes the behaviors:

	A	B	C	D
(I)/(II)	–	–	+	–
(III)/(IV)	+/-	+	–	–

The proposal is as follows. The functional head selecting the foot-NP is D, as standardly assumed. The resulting DP is selected by a head, which we call REL. Both D and REL come in two variants. D is either [+definite] or [–definite], REL is either [+EPP] or [–EPP]. The outcome is four possible types of the foot of RC (more precisely, its functional domain). I claim that all of them are attested in Czech, coming in three distinct morphological variants:

	Type	Feature composition	Morphological realization
(a)	A	D [+definite]; REL [+EPP]	<i>který</i>
(b)	A'	D [–definite]; REL [+EPP]	<i>který</i>
(c)	B	D [–definite]; REL [–EPP]	empty accusative resumptive
(d)	D	D [+definite]; REL [–EPP]	<i>jenž</i>

Overt resumptives (C) are treated as ordinary clitic pronouns, lacking the REL projection and thus forming a fifth type of the foot (e):

(e)	C	D [+definite]; no REL	overt resumptive (clitic personal pronoun)
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The syntactic behavior (I)–(IV) correlates with the proposed structure in the following way: licensing of the foot in islands (I) and optional foot-reading (II) correlates with the absence of REL head; the comparison-class reading of the RC (III) and NPI licensing (IV) correlates with the absence of [+definite] on D. We also explain the morphological properties of the foot: the presence of a relative adjectival modifier *který* (A, A') is explained by the presence of [+EPP] on REL, while the presence of personal-pronominal morphology (C, D) in the foot is derived from the presence of [+definite] on D. My analysis seems to be valid cross-linguistically, which will be shown selectively, and presents a novel view of the distinction between phonetically full and empty resumptives, treating them as syntactically different (contra Boeckx 2003).

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### **IN, OF, and ABOUT: Some unfinished reflections from South Asia**

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Whereas some scholars speak of South Asian Englishes, other scholars prefer to talk about English in South Asia. What to do with English in SA countries is, in other words, a problem for both linguistics and sociolinguistics. The extent to which Indians, Pakistanis, or Srilankans speak an endo-normative variety of English, albeit with some interference from Standard British English, their English cannot be described with the pedagogically inspired but linguistically oxymoronic label or notion "non-native variety"—these varieties are just as (non-) native as Texan or Yorkshire English (cf. Singh 1995); and the extent to which these varieties now have even popular cultures associated with them, the socio-culturally inspired treatment of them as ecologically alien (cf. Dasgupta 1993) cannot be justified either. The former approach fails because it is, as gracefully acknowledged by scholars such as Trudgill (1995), unable to come up with a list of properties not shared by any of the so-called 'native' varieties (cf. Singh et al 1995); the latter approach also fails because it is unable to show that there are some criteria for full ecological integration that these varieties fail to meet. Given that there are no psycho- or neuro- differences between the acquisition of monolingual and multilingual linguistic competence (cf. Paradis 1998), the fact that these varieties are used in multilingual contexts is a justification NOT for treating them as 'non-native' (in either sense) but for raising some very fundamental theoretical questions regarding notions such as "native speaker" and "linguistic community" (cf. Singh 1998 and in press). This paper will attempt to do just that.

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### **Globalization, language and national identity: The case of Ireland**

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Most dimensions of the current phenomenon of globalization (cf. Chase-Dunn 1989) directly or indirectly involve language and languages – to the extent that some researchers are now speaking of a “new linguistic world order” (see, e.g., Aronin & Singleton forthcoming; Fishman 1998; Maurais 2003). In the Republic of Ireland language issues have traditionally been linked to the definition of Irish identity. Although English is the L1 of the vast majority of the population of the Republic, its Constitution provides that the Irish language, as the national language, is the first official language, and recognizes the English language only as a second official language. Since the foundation of the Irish State strenuous efforts have been made to support Irish in Irish-speaking areas (the *Gaeltacht*) and to revive it elsewhere through the education system. However, these efforts have not met with huge success. The story of Irish in the *Gaeltacht* is one of steady decline, as the *Gaeltacht* Minister, Mr Éamon Ó Cuív, himself recently admitted (speech of January 31, 2004), and the teaching of Irish as an L2 in schools is widely regarded as a failure – even by the Irish language commissioner, Mr Seán Ó Cuirreain (*Sunday Times – Ireland*, March 20, 2005).

The connection between the Irish language and Irish identity has, therefore, already been under threat for some time. A new challenge confronting this connection is posed by the migration into Ireland, under the impetus of globalization, of large numbers of speakers of languages such as Mandarin, Polish, Russian and Lithuanian. There are, for example, very probably more native speakers of Mandarin and Polish in Ireland than native speakers of Irish. The fact that significant numbers of individuals living and working in Ireland and identifying it as their home have no *entrée* into the Irish language or Gaelic culture is having a profound effect on the conceptualization of Irishness and the part played by the Irish language in that conceptualization.

This paper will begin with a brief general exploration of the impact of globalization on patterns of language use. It will then consider the relationship of the Irish language to notions of Irish identity and the fortunes of the Irish language. Finally it will examine the effect on the traditional understanding of Irish identity of the fact that a substantial minority of the Irish population is enthusiastic about Ireland but has no experience of (and little interest in) the Irish language.

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### **Cognitive dimensions of stylistic novelty in Australian literary expression**

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In most general terms cognitive stylistics deals with how linguistic choices produce desired literary effects. Cognitive Stylistics emerges from the ground that is shared by Cognitive Linguistics (semantics and grammar), Text Linguistics, Discourse Analysis and Literary Studies. Since Cognitive Semantics and Cognitive Grammar offer a set of well-established tools which are bound to facilitate a clear-cut description of the relationship between meaning and grammar (or: content and form) in both literary and non-literary modes of expression, they seem legitimate for providing explanation how universal cognitive mechanisms can account for the uniqueness of personal and cultural experience.

Australian experience bears the quality of utmost uniqueness, especially when viewed from an externalist perspective. Users of English in Australia have been immersed in a highly unique natural and social environment for more than 200 years, which has led to the emergence of what now is known under the label of the ‘Australian character’ (regardless of how dynamic and elusive this stereotype may appear today in

the age of multiculturalism and globalisation). In the domain of language the uniqueness of Australian experience is broadly reflected on such levels as pronunciation, rhythm and intonation patterns, vocabulary, morpho-syntactic encoding and sociolinguistic/pragmatic modes of interaction.

Uniqueness of experience of any kind, be it Australian or Martian, calls for the quality of novelty of imaginative expression, literary expression being its most specific and refined form. The article aims to present a range of universal cognitive mechanisms that are suitable candidates for dealing with such novelty, and thus providing access to the uniqueness of cognitive processes and dimensions of imagery, which require specific linguistic choices on the level of vocabulary and morpho-syntax in order to produce desired literary effects. Cognitive mechanisms which underpin the interface between language and conceptualisation are: focal adjustments and construal operations, categorisation by schema and prototype, frames, scripts, scenarios along with metaphoric and metonymic cognitive models, and novel selective projections in blended mental spaces. Even though the mechanisms in question bear a universal-human characteristics, the status of their descriptive and explanatory applicability needs to be acknowledged as fully legitimate for handling unique experiential and interactional contexts. This state of affairs is possible due to both – the embodied and the imaginative nature of human cognition.

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### **The stereotypical images of Native Americans in a variety of American texts from the 19th century**

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The presentation focuses on the stereotypical images of Native Americans in a variety of American texts from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Given the theoretical approach presented by Michel Foucault in “Discourse on Language,” a stereotype may be seen as a “series of events” in the universe of discourse. In the particular example of “American Indians” the series originated with Jonathan Carver’s *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America* (1779). Imagery from this text was repeated in many popular works of fiction, such as Chateaubriand’s *Atala* (1801), or Cooper’s novels. Foucault described several “control mechanisms” which regulated the mechanics of repetition and (dis)continuity of discourse. These mechanisms arguably transformed the stereotype, as it appeared and changed in the 19th century American fiction. The aim of the presentation is to show, to what extent the stereotype was determined by Carver’s founding text, how its influence was perpetuated, how it endured confrontations with “reality,” and how its repetitions were diluted and dispersed. The most important feature of the stereotype is, arguably, enduring quality of Carver’s text.

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### **‘Mirovoj agressor’ and ‘Evil Empire’: Political propaganda in the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cold War period – A linguistic approach**

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“Propaganda must be total.” According to Jacques Ellul, author of the classic text “Propaganda- The Formation of Men’s Attitudes” (1973), for propaganda to work it must encompass every aspect of people’s life. What most of the channels for conveying propaganda have in common is that they communicate their respective messages by means of words. As language is not only a tool we use to express ourselves but also a key to the world that shapes our perceptive processes, it is an important propaganda tool.

In recent history there was a period when propaganda played a major role in the political arena, when a war was fought not with weapons but with words: the Cold War period. The two major opponents of that period, the Soviet Union and the United States employed propaganda excessively to agitate and to construct an enemy identity in the consciousness of their respective peoples. Interestingly, the methods employed by the two superpowers in this war of words, though on the opposed ends of the political spectrum, were surprisingly similar.

Many of these methods like stereotyping, bandwagon appeals, the use of glittering generalities and scapegoating (Corcoran and Ivie even speak about victimage rituals in this context) are relatively well researched today. But all these methods for representing the opponent according to the good guys vs. bad guys scheme are based on underlying linguistic phenomena like the metaphorical construction of identity, the specific use of pronouns and prefixes, mode, aspect and modality.

The subject of the present analysis is so called “canonical propaganda texts”, (Weiss, 1995), that is texts, which possess the qualities of [+/- propagandistic language] and [+/- propagandistic text] in their positive variety each. This means a concentration on political texts, „genres of governance“ (Campbell/Jamieson, 1990), slogans, addresses by representatives of government or party and so on. Proceeding from Zybatow’s linguistic concept of the stereotype (1995) the construction of the Soviet image of the United States by means of “newspeak” (Weiss, 1986), the Soviet propaganda language, is examined. An extensive corpus of political speeches of the post-war period is used to illustrate the typical features of “newspeak”. Selected speeches (e.g. concerning the KE-007 incident) will be compared to their American counterparts of the same time. It will become clear that the Soviet propaganda language did not consist only of monolithic unchangeable and interchangeable rhetorical clichés but that it developed and changed and that many aspects of this apparent development are inherent in all propaganda discourses of the time – in democratic and totalitarian societies.

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## Recognising senses of way for the purpose of machine translation

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One of the main tasks in machine translation (MT) is to correctly recognise the senses of words in a given context. In this paper we present the results of the analysis of the noun *way*, basing on the Penn Treebank corpus. The senses of *way* are identified, checked against the data presented in dictionaries, and then associated with specific syntactic patterns and semantic features of the contexts in which the word occurs. This is followed by necessary generalisations, which help to arrive at formal criteria of sense distinction that may be used in MT systems.

Initial research reveals that four main nominal senses of *way* can be distinguished, namely (i) ‘manner of doing something’, (ii) ‘road’, (iii) ‘direction’, (iv) ‘custom, manner’. Additionally, *way* occurs frequently in idioms. The analysis shows that some syntactic patterns are exclusively associated with certain senses, e.g. *way* + *of* + the gerund form always has the sense (i):

- (1) This is a way of getting to school ...
- (2) Housewives are finding literally hundreds of ways of getting the maximum use out of traditional designs ...

In some other cases, semantics plays the distinguishing role. When *way* is an argument or a modifier of a verb, the verb’s meaning is decisive, cf. *open* and *come* (sense (ii)):

- (3) ... a way has been opened for strengthening budgeting procedures ...
- (4) ... it prevents late-comers from missing some of the people they have come a long way to hear ...

and *head* and *shift* (sense (iii)):

- (5) Buster would solve that quarterback problem just as we head that way.
- (6) Mr. Khrushchev is convinced that the balance of world power is shifting his way ...

Even more interesting are the cases in which a structure normally associated with a certain sense actually conveys another meaning due to some semantic factor. Consider the following examples:

- (7) ... a personal confrontation with Mr. Khrushchev might be the only way to prevent catastrophe.
- (8) There are four rather obvious ways to reduce or eliminate the vulnerability of aircraft on the ground.
- (9) ... the address text still had “quite a way to go” toward completion.

All the above sentences contain the infinitive but in (7) and (8) *way* means ‘manner of doing something’ whereas in (9) it has the sense of ‘road’. The reason is obviously the presence of the verb *to go*. Providing a list of similar verbs and relating it to the WordNet ordering to create necessary generalisation is another issue addressed in this paper.

We focus mainly on the role of semantics and on the syntax/semantics interaction, devoting less space to other problems, which include treating idiomatic expressions containing *way*. The results of the research should not only help create more correct machine translations but also give some partial insight into the way humans recognise the proper senses of words.

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## Phonology as human behavior: Theoretical implications and clinical applications

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This paper will be based on over twenty-years’ experience teaching articulatory and acoustic phonetics to speech clinicians and audiologists according to the theory of Phonology as Human Behavior (PHB) (also known as Columbia School Phonology) (e.g. Diver 1979, Tobin 1997). The theory of PHB, developed by William Diver and his students combines and expands: (1) Saussure’s (1916/1968) concept of sign and system; (2) aspects of the “communication factor” (including distinctive marked/unmarked articulatory and acoustic features) inherent in Prague School phonology with aspects of (3) the “human factor” (the asymmetry of phonological systems related to the concept of ‘ease of articulation’) inherent in Martinet’s functional diachronic phonology (Martinet 1955). The theory is derived from the semiotic definition of language as a sign system used by human beings to communicate. The fundamental axiom underlying the theory is that language in general, and phonetics and phonology in particular, represent a constant and ongoing struggle between the desire for maximum communication (the communication factor) with minimal effort (the human factor) (Tobin 1990). The major contribution of the theory of PHB is that it provides a “motivation” for and an explanation of the distribution of sounds within the speech signal: i.e. it tells us why the distribution of phonemes within a language, and in developmental and clinical phonology, is non-random. This paper will show how these principles can be applied by speech and audiology clinicians.

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## The functional layers of DP and the morphology of Polish nominals

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It has been recognized that the functional projections in DPs are parallel to those found in the verbal domain (e.g. both verbs and nouns can take complements). Functional layers such as AspP or EventP can be dominated by DP inside nominals, especially in the view of Distributed Morphology (DM) where syntax operates on abstract (non-phonetic) nodes that make up both “words” and “clauses” (in the traditional sense) (Marantz, 1997; Alexiadou, 2005, Harley and Noyer, 1999; Embick and Noyer, 2004 and others). In DM category results from the configuration a given root appears in and thus nominals are “created” by inserting a Vocabulary Item (i.e. the phonetic realization of the root-node) into a terminal node governed by D.

The presence/absence of intermediate projections such as AspP or EventP(VoiceP) can account for different types of Polish nominals as identified by Rozwadowska, 1997 – underived object-denoting nouns, underived event nominals, derived result (simple event) nominals, derived event nominals and the so-called verbal nouns “that would qualify as syntactic realizations” (Rozwadowska, 1997:69). The latter are conspicuous in that they all contain roots typically found in verbs and are all suffixed by *-nie/cie*, however nominals with such a structure can also have the result reading. Nominalizations with either *-nie/cie* or other nominalizing affixes such as *-acja* display simple event/complex event ambiguity, which is also found in English *-ing*, *-(a)tion*, *-ment*, etc. nominalizations (already observed by Grimshaw, 1990).

The Late Insertion theory can explain this event/result ambiguity – the suffixes are morphemes that are spelled-out postsyntactically by the insertion of VIs which can have the same phonological form. Suffixes can attach “low” in the syntactic structure yielding simple event/result nominals; or “high” - in complex event nominals, as presented schematically in (3) (after Alexiadou, 2001, simplified).

In the case of *-nie/-cie* nominals that do not take adverbs, the reflexive “*się*”, verbal negative particle nor display overt aspect the suffix attaches low in the structure, i.e. below VoiceP and AspP, which determines the result reading as in Alexiadou, 2001 (the suffix attachment takes place after syntax in the morphological component). In the *-nie/-cie* nominals that do take adverbs the suffix arguably attaches to AspP. The group of adverbs that can modify nominalizations is very small, though, and it cannot be a matter of “Encyclopaedic” knowledge (in DM, the final “semantic” component taking part in the Spell-Out to LF) which blocks their occurrence since in the corresponding passives all manner adverbs are perfectly acceptable. Moreover, the class of “derived event nominals” cannot take adverbs, which is not accommodated in Alexiadou's projection schema – VoiceP responsible for eventivity (as well as transitivity and manner adverbs) directly dominates the root.

Although event nominals derived with *-nie/cie* and with the affixes of the *-acja* type can often be used interchangeably, only the *-nie/cie* derivation is fully productive and even seems to be a part the “verbal paradigm” (e.g. the counterpart of certain English ‘noun+infinitival complement’ constructions such as “a box to type in (your request)” is a Polish construction ‘noun+‘do’PREP+nominalizationGEN’ as in “pole do wpisywania (życzeń)” [space to type/write requests]). The morphology of *-nie/-cie* nominals is conspicuously similar to passives – both formations contain the particle *-n(t/c)-* which seems to correspond to the absence of Agent, thus optionally allowing the “by-phrase”. Clearly, the functional layer approach cannot represent this difference between *-nie/cie* nominals and other types in terms of “heights” of suffix attachment. The morphology of Polish nominals is yet more confusing, as many of them seemingly contain aspectual prefixes. In case of *-nie/-cie* nominalizations, the prefixes can be attached high in the structure providing aspectual interpretation or low in the tree giving “idiomatic” meaning as it has been proposed for Russian verbs by Svenonius, 2005. However, in result nominals ending in suffixes other than *-nie/-cie* prefixes seem to make a difference in meaning (skup – zakup, ‘a buy’), though the high position for their attachment is unavailable. Given the Locality Constraint on the Interpretation of Roots, (Arad, 2001) those prefixes could be analyzed as attaching low in the tree and role of Encyclopedia could then be extended to take part in the negotiation of VI insertion.

Remarkably, neither low nor high attached prefixes allow a full spectrum of manner adverbs, which calls for a revision of the functions of AspP and VoiceP as defined in Alexiadou, 2001. Projections inside

Polish complex event nominals do contain VoiceP and AspectP, but they are realized differently in those nominals that are passive in nature and those that are not.

In DM analysis it is preferable to assume that both complex event nominals and result nominals of the same forms contain full internal structure due to the presence of the same verbalizing morphology, namely 'little v'. Including v thus means containing its complements that somehow are not expressed (as in (2)b). Harley, 2005 proposes that what is interfering with the realization of the argument structure in nominals containing verbal stems/'little v' it the change from "mass to count event-denoting nouns" (p.11). This change presumably occurs at the abstract NumP/ClassP level (i.e. the nominalizing head). The arguments for the "count-mass hypothesis" have yet to be checked against Polish data. The hypothesis implies that the differences between complex and simple event nominals do not follow from their internal structure, which may be a suitable approach towards the issues of aspect/agentivity in Polish nominalizations.

Yet another solution may be the comparison of Polish -nie/cie nominals to the impersonal verbal constructions with -no/to endings analysed as containing a "higher Aux projection" as opposed to passives (Lavine, 2005). The three constructions include the -n(t/c)- particle, which may turn out to serve a similar function in all three.

An analysis of the problematic nature of Polish complex nominalizing morphology should shed some light on the effects of category-changing derivational affixes in general.

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**Non-finite verb fronting in South/West Slavic and Germanic**
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There are constructions with a **clause-initial non-finite verb** followed by a finite auxiliary both in South/West Slavic (1) and Germanic (2) as below:

- (1a) **Koupil** *jsem* knihy. (Czech)  
bought be.1SG books  
'I have bought books.'
- (1b) **Napísal** *som* list. (Slovak)  
written be.1SG letter  
'I have written a letter.'
- (1c) **Čitao** *sam* knjigu. (Serbo-Croatian)  
read be.1SG book  
'I have read the book.'
- (1d) **Pročel** *sám* knjigata. (Bulgarian)  
read be.1SG DEF book  
'I have read the book.'
- (2a) Maðurinn, *sem* **farinn** *var* heim, heitir Pétur. (Icelandic)  
DEF.man that gone was home is-named Peter  
'The man that had gone home is named Peter.'
- (2b) **Lest** *har* hun den sikkert, men har hun skjonnt (Norwegian)  
read has she it surely but has she understood  
noe av den?  
anything of it  
'She has surely read it, but has she understood any of it?'
- (2c) **Bo** *ska* han i Malmö, men han ska jobba i (Swedish)  
live will he in Malmö but he will work in  
Köpenhamn  
Copenhagen  
'He will live in Malmö, but he will work in Copenhagen.'
- (2d) **Gelesen** *hat* Hans das Buch nicht. (German)  
read has Hans the book not  
'Hans has not read the book.'
- (2e) **Gelezen** *heeft* hij het boek niet. (Dutch)  
read has he the book not  
'He has not read the book.'
- (2f) **gibn** *host* du mir gezogt [az zi git im a (Yiddish)  
give have you me told [that she gives him a  
maykhl].  
dish  
'You told me that she gives him a dish.'

This paper argues that they all involve V movement into a specifier position, Spec (IP) in (1–2a) and Spec(CP) in (2b–f), with concomitant resumption in (2f), instantiating Head-to Spec Movement this paper proposes, in Chomsky's (1995) theory of Bare Phrase Structure.

South/West Slavic cases in (1) often involve a finite auxiliary that is a so-called "second position clitic," and it has been argued that they are derived by "Long Head Movement" (Lema & Rivero 1990, Rivero 1991, among others). Yet, it has also been observed that non-clitic auxiliaries participate in such constructions, in which cases the non-finite verb need not be the clause-initial element (Boškovič 1995, Embick & Izvorski 1995, among others).

- (3a) **Istukao** *bejaše* Petra. (Serbo-Croatian)  
beaten was Petar
- (3b) *Bejaše* **Istukao** Petra.  
was beaten Petar

- 'He had beaten Petar.'
- (4a) **Pročela** *beše* knjigata. (Bulgarian)  
read.F was DEF.book
- (4b) *Beše* **pročela** knjigata.  
was read. F DEF.book  
'She had read the book.'

Furthermore, the V-Aux order is possible in some embedded environment (5), and it is incompatible with a subject in Spec(IP) (6).

- (5) Razbrah [če **pročel** *beše* knjigata]. (Bulgarian)  
understood.1SG [COMP read was DEF.book  
'I understood that you had read the book.'
- (6a) **Čitao** *je* Ivan knjigu. (Serbo-Croatian)  
read be.3SG Ivan book
- (6b) \***Čitao** Ivan *je* knjigu.  
read Ivan be.3SG book  
'Ivan has read the book.'

Thus, the South/West Slavic V-Aux constructions show essentially the same structural properties with Icelandic Stylistic Fronting (2a), instantiating V-to-Spec(IP) movement. On the other hand, it has been standardly accepted that the V-Aux order in German (2d) and Dutch (2e) is derived by the so-called "remnant topicalization" (den Besten & Webelhuth 1987, Müller 1996, among others).

- (2d') [<sub>VP</sub> *t*<sub>o</sub> **Gelesen**] hat Hans [*das Buch*]<sub>o</sub> nicht *t*<sub>VP</sub>

However, the "remnant topicalization" analysis cannot straightforwardly be extended to Continental Scandinavian, since "remnant" cannot always be created. In (2b), the direct object is a weak pronoun, hence it can shift out of VP, creating a "remnant" only with V head (Holmberg 1986). In (2c), in contrast, there is no object to shift, so that the only way to create a "remnant" only with V head is to shift the PP complement out of VP; no such movement has ever been proposed. Holmberg (1999) argues that somehow, we need to allow V to move into Spec(CP).

In principle, Chomsky's (1995) theory of Bare Phrase Structure should allow such movement: there is no non-branching projections, so that a head can be a phrase at the same time. Thus, it is not at all unnatural or undesirable that V moves into Spec(IP) or Spec(CP). Once this analysis is accepted for South/West Slavic and Scandinavian, it becomes also natural to extend the analysis to the German/Dutch cases of "remnant topicalization." Further pursuing the natural extension to Yiddish (2f), it can be analyzed as V-to-Spec(CP/IP) movement with a "resumptive" V (Davis & Prince 1986, among others), or topicalization to Spec(CP/IP) of *v*, a "cognate head," akin to the Predicate Cleft in Vata (Koopman 1984).

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## Towards a typology of bare indefinites: Russian and Thai

Olga Tretyakova (Moscow State University)

In this paper which is a part of a wider cross-linguistic research on bare indefinites I will discuss some properties of bare indefinites in Russian and Thai.

In contrast to canonical indefinite pronouns which based mainly on interrogatives of the corresponding ontological category (like English 'what' for THING or 'where' for PLACE ) or on generic nouns like 'person' or 'thing' by the addition of an indefiniteness marker [Haspelmath 1997], bare indefinites (or "bare interrogatives") are formally identical to interrogative pronouns of the corresponding ontological category.

There are languages where bare indefinites occur only in some of core nine functions proposed by Haspelmath whereas in other functions marked indefinites are used, that is their distributions do not intersect.

On the other hand, in some languages where interrogative-derived indefinites are normally used bare indefinites occur in some of functions also.

Here only those pronouns are of interest, which can occur in the contexts where corresponding marked indefinite pronouns are used. And in the current work I would like to discuss the status of bare indefinites in two languages which use in some both interrogative-derived marked and bare indefinites. I argue that bare indefinites in other languages independently of their areal and genetic relationship have similar properties.

Although usage of bare indefinites optionally to marked forms is often considered as a feature of colloquial speech [Kuz'mina 1989, Yanko 1977, Haspelmath 1997], bare forms are not just colloquial forms of corresponding "full" indefinites with an indefiniteness marker since they may not be used in any of core function of indefinites if we consider a particular language.

Consider the following examples from Russian:

- (1) Esli kto-nibud' /<sup>OK</sup>kto pozvonit, skazhi, chto menja net.  
if who-INDEF/who will\_call say that I:GEN no  
'If anybody calls, say I am not at home.'
- (2) Kto-to/\*kto prihodil.  
who-INDEF came  
'Somebody came.'

Interestingly, although bare indefinites are identical to interrogatives, ambiguity is always avoided. And the indefiniteness meaning is contributed to a statement in this case by some other elements.

I argue that in indefinite statements bare indefinites are used not referentially but rather their main function is to introduce an entity of a certain knowledge category in sense of epistememes of Mushin [Mushin 1995].

It may happen when not the properties of a referent are important, but rather the ontological category it belongs to.

Interestingly, even in not related languages the same situation may be observed, for example in Thai.

- (3) khăw jàag cà? phób khraj thīi maa càag myaŋ thaj  
he want FUT meet who that come from country Thai  
'He wants to meet someone who comes from Thailand.'

The present work is devoted to analysis of differences and similarities in distribution and functioning of bare interrogatives in two not related genetically or geographically languages.

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## **Representation formats and models for lexicons**

Thorsten Trippel (Bielefeld University)

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This presentation describes text-technological procedures of describing lexicons and offers a generic view on lexical information contained in lexicons. The lexicon here is the hypernym of dictionaries and lexicons from language and speech processing. Lexicons are generally described in terms of their microstructure (the structure of each individual lexicon article) and macrostructure (the order of the lexicon articles), sometimes also in terms of a mesostructure (the interrelation of lexicon articles and metadata). Text-technological approaches to modeling lexicons often start from the print dictionary, trying to describe the structure of the lexicographic information involved, using conventions of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), Expert Advisory Group of Language Engineering Standards (EAGLES), ISO standards for Terminology (ISO 12200, MARTIF). Others, more related to generative aspects of language describe their lexicons in terms of feature structures, modeled accordingly.

Feature structures are basically tree structures with some references, hence they can rather easily be modeled in XML using text-technological methodologies. Examples for these are the Draft International Standard ISO DIS 24610-1, which will allow the standardized representation of lexicons in this format. The TEI and EAGLES recommendations give explicit ways of structuring lexicon articles, originally in SGML but in the meantime in XML. Hence the structure of this lexicon formalism also relies on trees, and is already modeled in this paradigm. Computational applications and renderings of dictionaries on the web rely on the lexicon microstructure defining a table structure, using relational databases. This direct modeling of the different structures is full of redundancies and cannot easily be mapped on the XML structure. Redundancies can be avoided by normalization procedures according to the relational database theories laid out by Codd. Semantic ontologies finally are often rendered as trees, but taking a closer look even for ontologies this can hardly serve as a perfect formalism.

A generic model for the representing lexical information in a lexicon is presented with a graph structure, the Lexicon Graph Model. The graph model provides for the most generic way of modeling the relations of information units. A way of modeling and accessing the structure in the Text-technology paradigm is also provided.

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## **Movement versus Merge:**

### **Stylistic and semantic perturbations versus neutral style**

Helen Trugman (Holon Academic Institute of Technology)

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Since the advent of Kayne's Antisymmetry theory (1994) numerous attempts have been made to obtain all possible word-order permutations by the asymmetric merge of various satellites to the left of the head, followed by successive movement of relevant phrases. Specifically, this approach was thoroughly developed for the nominal domain in Cinque 1994, 2005a/b, Bošković 2005, among others, setting forth an ambitious goal to eliminate head movement as a possible kind of syntactic movement cross-linguistically.

In this talk, I will focus on Russian extended (in the sense of Grimshaw 1990) nominal projections and will challenge the above claim both on theoretical and empirical grounds. Most importantly, I will show that the attempt to reduce permissible movement types to XP-movement ends up in unjustified complication of the derivational mechanism. Moreover, the DP-structure gets greatly expanded by postulating multiple AgrPs, which serve as landing sites for XPs raised across filled specifiers of intermediate functional projections (see Cinque 2005a, (2)). In addition, the nature of the attraction for various DP-internal movements remains yet unclear. Though some nominal feature might be assumed, what underlies its weakness/strength across languages in triggering various instances of XP-raising or XP-rolling-up stays unanswered.

For instance, in contrast to previous accounts (Babby 1975), Cinque (2005a) proposes that relative clauses are merged preminally either below Dem (Determiner) or below Num(eral) (see (1)), and end up phrase-final due to the successive movement of the NP or AP to some higher locus. Consequently, the order in (2a) is the result of merge below the numeral head, which in Russian is signaled by the genitive marking on the RC; and the one in (2b) will require the NP to move across a lower RC to the Spec, AgrP dominating the AP, which I ignore here.

If the reduced relative clause is merged above the NumP, it will be marked as nominative and the merged word order is claimed to be, as in (3a). For deriving the postnominal variant in (3b), one will need to move the whole NumP across the RC to the Spec, AgrP dominating the RC.

However, Russian abounds in structures with reduced relative, or adjectival clauses found before ordinal numbers or even determiners, as in (4). Does it mean that we have to assume two more possible merging sites for reduced RCs in Russian or do we have to allow for RC-extrapolation in (4), as is clearly the case in the following example: *Neobxodimye dlja pervoj zadači, vo vtoroj zadače sve šest' uravnenij okazyvajutsja nepremenimymi.* “[RC Needed for the first task], in the second task [DP all six equations] turn out to be inapplicable”? The examples in (4) seem to demonstrate that “a fixed hierarchical structure resulting from Merge” in (1) coupled with only “upward movements of phrases containing the NP”, cannot derive all the variations of the universal structure, as attempted in Cinque (2005a: 327). In some cases, a RC extrapolation must be assumed to supplement the analysis, hence the latter seems to be too weak on itself to accommodate all possible word-order permutations.

Russian also seems to undermine another claim put forth in Cinque (2005a/b), who follows Kayne (2002) in assuming that prepositions heading the PP-complements of N are merged DP-externally, and attract their 'complements', with the remnant raising to their left, thus making PP-complements DP-final. This assumption accounts for their being stranded at the end of the DP and not being dragged along by the NP and its modifiers (Cinque 2005a: 327). Russian seems to challenge this claim as well, by allowing PP-complements and genitive complements of N to intervene between the N-head and the postnominal relative clause, whose postnominal position is derived via NumP-raising across the RC, as in (5). Countered by similar data in other languages, Cinque has to assume that a RC can be merged either lower or higher than P (Cinque 2005b:42), thus further flexing the universal hierarchy of prenominal modifiers he proposes. Yet even such a modification will fail to account for cases like (6), when a PP or a reduced RC intervenes between a head noun and a classificatory adjective without the latter being focalized or topicalized. Moreover, with a PP-modifier merged in the initial position, the whole DP is ruled out.

Interestingly, Russian (and Ukrainian) noun phrases exhibit another type of DP-internal scrambling, which necessarily strands the PP and GenP complements of N, as in (7a). Moreover, this movement seems to derive a very specific semantic effect, namely, obligatory classificatory reading of the postnominal modifiers (see Trugman 2005). This might point to a different nature of the movement involved, with a well-defined trigger, such as a semantic feature on the Determiner or some other functional element of the projection, (8).

In my talk, I will argue that various permutations of the word-order in Russian DPs can be better explained by semantic (above) or pragmatic considerations, when stranding or fronting of reduced relative and adjectival clauses is governed by focus/topic features, as demonstrated in (9).

It will also be shown that allowing for some symmetry of modifier merge, one can account for various patterns of prenominal and postnominal modifiers in Russian with less complexity.

- (1) [Quniv...[Dem...[Num<sub>ord</sub>... [RC... [Num<sub>card</sub>...[RC... [Classifier...[A... [NP]]]]]]]]]
- (2a) [Num<sub>card</sub> pjat' [RC vvedennyx vyše [NP priznakov]]  
five introduced.gen above features.gen
- (2b) [Num<sub>card</sub> pjat' [NP priznakov] [RC vvedennyx vyše t<sub>NP</sub>]]
- (3a) [Num<sub>ord</sub> pervye, [RC vvedennye vyše, [Numcard pjat' [NP priznakov]]]  
first introduced.nom above five features.gen
- (3b) [Num<sub>ord</sub> pervye, [Num<sub>card</sub> pjat' [NP priznakov]] [RC vvedennye vyše, t<sub>NumP</sub>]]
- (4a) [RC vvedennye vyše, [Num<sub>ord</sub> pervye [Num<sub>card</sub> pjat' [NP priznakov]]]  
introduced.nom above these.nom five features.gen
- (4b) [RC vvedennye vyše, [Dem èti [Num<sub>card</sub> pjat' [NP priznakov]]]  
introduced.nom above these.nom five features.gen
- (5a) [[NumP Troe [PP iz nix], [RC obessilevšie] t<sub>NumP</sub>], k večeru dobreli do poselka.  
Three from them.gen exhausted.nom by evening reached to settlement
- (5b) [NumP Sto [NP èkzempljarov [GenP brošjurny]] [RC podgotovlennye k otpravke] t<sub>NumP</sub>  
naxodjatsja v sejfe.  
Hundred copies brochure.gen prepared.nom for dispatching are found in the-safe
- (6a) *Mineral'naja*, [PP s privkusom tuxlyx jaic] voda ne ponravilas' Pete.  
Mineral with aftertaste rotten eggs water not liked Peter.dat  
'Peter did not like mineral water with the aftertaste of rotten eggs.'
- (6b) \*[PP S privkusom tuxlyx jaic] mineral'naja voda ne ponravilas' Pete.

- (7a) vina suxie krasnye [**GenP** urožaja 2001 goda]  
wines dry red harvest.gen 2001 year.gen
- (7b) \*vina [**GenP** urožaja 2001 goda] suxie krasnye  
'dry red wines of 2001'
- (8) solod pyvovarnyj jačminnyj svitlyj (Ukrainian)  
malt brewing barley.adj light  
'light barley beer-brewing malt'
- (9) Petr byl [NP čelovekom] [MOLODYM, NEOPYTNYM t<sub>NP</sub>]  
Peter was man young inexperienced

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### Indeterministic tense operators and the concept of time as a substance

Kazimierz Trzęsicki (University of Białystok)

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In this paper the question of the meaning of indeterministic tense operators will be discussed. The solutions based on the branching-time model presuppose the conceiving of time as an attribute. Our solution – as we believe more intuitive – is based on the concept of time as a substance.

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### On abductive reasoning

Mariusz Urbański (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

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Abduction is a kind of reasoning that amounts to the search for an acceptable explanatory hypothesis for surprising or anomalous phenomena. Since C.S. Peirce coined the term, research on abduction are mainly focused on computational generation and evaluation of acceptable hypotheses. Such a computational focus, however, substantially oversimplifies the picture: it postpones causal and goal-directed motivation for abduction as an explanatory reasoning as well as its knowledge-dependency.

The present work offers an overview of the original Peircean account of abduction (both in its syllogistical and inferential form) as well as a short discussion of some modifications proposed to the above scheme, esp. by those who interpret abduction as a kind of inference to the best explanation. We indicate typical criteria to which evaluation of abductive hypotheses is usually referred to and list some examples of explanatory and creative cognitive processes for which the term "abduction" is used in the literature.

On this basis we emphasize two points related to an inevitably contextual character of abduction: important links between reasoning by analogy and abduction and close affinities of the latter with Decision Support Systems.

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### True lies

Max Urchs (Szczecin University)

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There are many types of deceptive speech acts. Lies are one of them: they have an internal structure, they serve rational aims. So it seems only natural to ask for an analysis of the formal structure of lies. Obviously, there is a role to play for logic, too.

In his 1990 analysis of lying Jerzy Pelc ([2]) mentions several "dimensions of truth" necessary for a complete representations of that phenomenon. Taking this for granted, lying shall be a thorny field for logical investigation.

Logic is (devoted to and) making use of logical calculi, i.e. consequence operations in some formal language. The characteristic point is: there is no extra-language reasoning. It would be naïve to hope for a complete and exhaustive analysis of lying by means of logic alone. Still one might expect that logic comes up with a framework that grasps the essential features of lying – after all, modern logic is more flexible and much more powerful than it was twenty years ago. Recent work in cognitive science, and especially in A.I., drives logic towards non-monotonic, causal or inconsistency-tolerant forms of inference.

I will mention some of these formal approaches ([1], [4]), concentrating my own analysis on cases of lying while saying something which is literally true. The interesting examples of such speech acts do mislead the hearer by fake assurance, i.e. the deception is hidden in the performative aspect of the utterance. Resulting problems seem close to *Cohen's paradox* (cf [3]).

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### Are there really lexicalization patterns in motion verbs?

Inga Klevere Waelchli (University of Greifswald)

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According to Talmy's (1985, 1991) well-known typology of lexicalization patterns in motion events there are three neat and clear-cut types of encoding patterns in verb stems throughout the languages of the world (Talmy 2000: 64-66 admits the possibility of certain forms of mixed types):

- I Conflation of Motion and Manner, e.g., English, German, Russian, Hungarian.
- II Conflation of Motion and Path (For "Path" I prefer the term displacement, introduced by Tesnière 1959 [déplacement]), e.g., Spanish, French, Turkish.
- III Conflation of Motion and Figure, e.g., Navajo, Atsugewi.

Talmy's typology has been widely accepted, even if some modifications have been proposed to account for languages which are not fully compatible with one of the types (e.g., Slobin & Hoiting 1994, Croft 2003). However, until now it has never been tested in a large-scale typological sample study with a substantial number of genealogically and areally diverse languages from all continents whether Talmy's predictions actually hold true for a certain number of clearly defined semantic coding domains and how different types

are distributed across the languages of the world. (It is known though that Type III is very rare and probably restricted to languages of North America.)

In this paper, I will try to transform Talmy's theory into a set of empirically verifiable hypotheses, which can be tested in a world-wide comparative study with a relatively unbiased sample (114 languages) and as clearly defined and cross-linguistic comparable domains as possible (based on data from two kinds of sources: (a) parallel texts and (b) reference grammars and dictionaries).

The question whether there really are systematic lexicalization patterns in motion events is of high importance for any theory about the structure of the lexicon. If the lexicon behaves fully regularly and systematically, there will be little reason to treat it in a different way from grammar. If it is completely irregular and idiosyncratic (as has been claimed, e.g., by DiSciullo & Williams 1987), there will be no point in doing lexical typology. The biggest challenge for linguistic theory, however, will be if the result is in-between and if there are only weak correlations, because this will require a more radically empirical approach.

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### **The Regensburg Parallel Corpus: A bootstrap multilingual parallel corpus of Slavonic** Ruprecht von Waldenfels (University of Regensburg)

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The Regensburg Parallel Corpus is a parallel corpus of Slavonic compiled with the help of a framework that aims to reduce human intervention in the compilation of a parallel corpus of arbitrary (Slavonic) languages to a minimum.

The work load involved in manually aligning a parallel corpus is immense, and the need for preprocessing of data and parameter tuning that is necessary for many automatic alignment programs is, presumably, one of the reasons for the fact that there are not many parallel corpora compiled. Main objectives during the development of the corpus were consequently ease of maintenance and ease of augmentation, both with new texts and with new languages. More specifically, care was taken that as little manual preprocessing as possible is needed, in this way encouraging users to help augment the corpus according to their own needs.

All alignment tasks are done fully automatically with the help of a modified version of Robert Moore's Bilingual-Sentence-Aligner (Moore 2002), an automatic aligner utilizing both sentence length and lexical correspondences as heuristics. Since the morphology of heavily inflecting languages such as the Slavonic languages introduces much more noise than it is the case for languages such as German or English, lemmatized variants are used in the alignment process. Inspection shows that this greatly improves the quality of the alignment; however, this is yet to be shown to be statistically significant.

Since taggers, lemmatizers or other mark-up utilities are easily available only for some languages, the corpus accommodates different levels of linguistic annotation for individual languages. No annotation is necessary for inclusion, while additional annotation can be added at later stages.

Preprocessing is kept as language independent as possible. Sophisticated means of sentence splitting, for example, are not used by default. This is a compromise in quality in some respects, but renders the addition of new languages very simple.

The system is designed in such a way that the minimum preprocessing necessary is the conversion of texts to unicode text files, and, if a lemmatizer for this language is available, the lemmatization of a word list. Given such files, a number of centralized scripts perform sentence splitting, conversion to XML and inclusion of lemmata at a basic, context free level. The data is then aligned to all other translations of this text. The

resulting storage format is XML with stand-off alignment annotation, which is then converted to ParaConc (Barlow 2002) and IMS Corpus Workbench (Christ 1994) format for viewing and querying. Additional interfaces are easy to implement.

At the moment, the corpus is composed of English, German, Polish, Russian, Slovak, Serbian, Croatian and Ukrainian post-war belletristic texts, the largest being the Russian subcorpus with a size of 2 million tokens.

In my talk, I present the corpus conception and architecture, and report on experimental statistical evaluation of the influence of lemmatization on the alignment algorithm.

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### **The recognition of southern hemisphere Englishes by Polish students of English: A native-nonnative continuum approach**

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This paper investigates the recognition of less frequently heard accents of English by Polish advanced students of English. The approach adopted for the study builds on a recent discussion of the pronunciation models for foreign learners of English (see e.g. articles in Dziubalska-Kořaczyk and Przedlacka, 2005) and the proposal for recognition of non-native accents of English as legitimate dialects for international communication (e.g. Jenkins 2000, 2002). While the majority of accent studies in the model discussion focus on British and American English varieties in possible contrast to the Lingua France Core, the problem of native – non-native speech continuum seems to be neglected. The discussion on accent acceptability in English as a Foreign or International language assumes a clear-cut division between native and non-native speech not only in production, but also recognition of accents by foreign English speakers.

This paper adopts a less categorical perspective and attempts to investigate the recognition and attitude of the students to southern hemisphere Englishes spoken by first and second language speakers. It is claimed that the focus on Standard British (English) English and General American model accents in EFL education leads to problems with the recognition and understanding of other accents. Moreover, it is assumed that the clear-cut division into native vs. non-native accents is based on the degree of similarity between the presented accent and one of the major reference ones rather than specific salient features of native language usage. Consequently, the use and understanding of the term 'native accent' may need to be revised in EFL / EIL teaching.

The paper reports on a pilot study conducted among two groups of Polish students of English. All participants have chosen English as their major, but they differ in language experience and the degree of exposure to English in a natural setting. The following aspects of presented accents are checked: recognition as native or non-native, the geographical location, and the attitude both in terms of a holistic impression and acceptability. The students are also asked to specify salient features of an accent and motivate their decisions.

Given the limited scope of the study, the results are hoped to lead towards further, better specified questions. Most generally, the paper aims to contribute to the discussion of the native – non-native speech continuum and the recognition of less frequently heard accents both at the theoretical and practical level.

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Finally, the (apparent) clash between the overt nature of sideward movement and the impossibility of moving CPs sideways that do not move at LF but can move overtly is addressed. The discussion here uses some evidence from Bošković and Franks (2000) and single cycle syntax.

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### The 'Directional+with+DP' construction and the empty verb GO

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The construction (1), with the surface format (2), has the force of an imperative, although it contains no overt verb. It is found in all major Germanic languages but not (to my knowledge) in any of the Slavic languages.

- (1a) Into the bag with the money! (English)  
 (1b) In die Tasche mit dem Geld! (German)  
       in the.acc bag with the.dat money  
 (1c) Ned i sekken med pengene! (Norwegian)  
       down into bag-the with money-the  
 (2) DIR + 'with' + DP  
       (DIR = directional locative PP or AP; DP = its theme argument)

This is not an elliptical construction of the sort illustrated by (3a) (with Mary = comitative) – there is no overt verb in the relevant languages that fits the frame (3b).

- (3a) And so to London with Mary. (diary ellipsis; = I went to London with Mary.)  
 (3b) V + PP(directional) + with DP(theme)

This paper argues that the cross-linguistic distribution of (2) reflects a wider parameter discussed by Riemsdijk (2002) with respect to the construction in (4). In West (OV) Germanic and the Scandinavian languages, modal verbs, which otherwise generally take VP complements, can govern a 'verb-less' directional complement (usually PP, but AP is also possible: e.g. Ger. Es muss höher 'It must higher'):

- (4a) Das Geld soll in die Tasche. (German)  
       the.nom money should in the.acc bag  
 (4b) Pengene må ned i sekken. (Norwegian)  
       money-the must down into bag-the

Riemsdijk argues that the complement to the modal in (4) is in fact a VP, whose head is a silent verb (notation: GO) with a meaning similar to that of Engl. 'go':

- (5) [ModP MOD [VP DP(theme) [ GO PP(directional) ] ] ] (abstracting away from order)

Languages lacking GO do not permit (4). In languages having GO, the distribution of phrases headed by GO is restricted by the need for GO to be licensed by (Riemsdijk suggests) an appropriate governing head: modal verbs in the case of (4).

I take the construction in (1) to involve a VP headed by the same empty verb GO, governed by the functional head IMP (silent in Germanic) that heads ordinary imperatives. In other words, not only MOD but also IMP licenses GO:

- (6) [ImpP IMP [VP DP(theme) [ GO PP(directional) ] ] ] (abstracting away from order)

So like the modal complements in (4), the imperatives in (1) are not in fact ‘verb-less’; like the modals, IMP uniformly takes verbal complements.

In this approach, the occurrence of (1) or (4) in a language is contingent on it having the empty verb GO. In a language having GO, their occurrence further depends on MOD and IMP acting as licensors. In modern English, IMP is a licensor but MOD no longer is (expressions like *The truth will out* were possible in relatively recent (Shakespeare's) English).

This analysis provides an explanation for two further facts. Firstly, the construction (1) only occurs as a root expression – this simply reflects the distribution of ImpP. Secondly, both the modal construction and Directional+with+DP are possible only with canonical directional locatives, i.e. those that describe a complete physical change in location of the theme argument. This restriction is attributable to the semantics of GO. None of the ‘noncanonical’ uses of directional PPs in (8)-(10) is possible with either construction:

- (8a) They turned the mirror towards the sun. (change of orientation, not location)  
 (8b) \*Towards the sun with the mirror!  
 (8c) \*Der Spiegel soll zur Sonne. (German)  
 the mirror should to-the sun
- (9a) They built the path up to the door. (change of extent, not location)  
 (9b) \*Up to the door with the path!  
 (9c) \*Der Weg soll hinauf zur Tuer. (German)  
 the path should up to-the door
- (10a) She turned the frog into a prince. (change of identity, not location)  
 (10b) \*Into a prince with the frog!  
 (10c) \*Der Frosch soll in einen Prinzen. (German)  
 the frog should in a.acc prince

With regard to the realisation of the theme argument, Directional+with+DP differs from the modal construction and from regular imperatives. In the modal construction, the theme surfaces as a subject external to ModP: nominative or infinitive (PRO). This is explained by the fact that GO and the modal are unaccusatives embedded under Tense (finite or non-finite). In the Directional-with-DP construction, the theme is marked by a semantically empty ‘with’. This differs from ways of licensing subjects associated with overt imperative verbs, i.e. empty subject (pro/PRO come here!) or overt subject without preposition (You come here!). Moreover, the Directional-with-DP construction lacks the restriction to 2nd person subjects associated with overt imperatives. I speculate that lack of 2nd person restriction and special licensing by with are related to a special property of GO vis-a-vis overt verbs; and that the choice of with is related to the use of with to mark the theme DP in the locative (spray-load) alternation.

Other special properties of Directional-with-DP are its marked order (directional < theme) and marked intonation (main stress on the initial, not the final constituent). These properties suggest a construction-specific obligatory inversion of the directional to a position to the left of the theme. That the theme c-commands the directional at some stage of the derivation (cf. (6)) is indicated by binding facts: obviation in (11), reciprocal licensing in (12):

- (11) ??Into the lion<sub>j</sub>'s cage with it<sub>j</sub>! (cf. ok: Into its<sub>j</sub> cage with the lion<sub>j</sub>!)  
 (12) Into each other<sub>j</sub>'s rooms with the boys<sub>j</sub>!

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### Minimal erotetic semantics

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We generalize Belnap's erotetic semantics (cf. [1]) in two directions. First, we modify the general setting: partitions of a language (cf. [2]) are used as the starting point, and all the semantic concepts pertaining to questions are defined in terms of admissible partitions. These, in turn, are determined by intended interpretations of basic concepts of a language. Second, we introduce some new erotetic concepts and we redefine some "old" concepts. In particular, corrective answers and eliminative answers are under scrutiny.

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### The logical discipline of normative discourse

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This paper is intended to promote a way of is-ought derivation, rooted in neonaturalistic - as I define my standpoint - solutions which were worked out within the scope of both the ontology of values and metaethical applications of 20<sup>th</sup> Century linguistic philosophy. Normative, especially in the sphere of morality, reasoning is supposed to be the most significant component of the structure of social communication, which is interpreted as such - from the evolutionary view - as a primal phenomenon of moral status. The perspective outlined, generally focused in the question "how do words connect with the world?", provides relevant contribution for contemporary axiolinguistics as well as the semiotics of normative reasoning.

The common practices of normative persuasion employ a variety of modes of argumentation such as the usage of evaluations, norms, imperatives, performative utterances, prescriptions, optatives, a wide range of kinds of emotive pressure performed by speech acts - and their non-verbal correlates - behind all of which some intentions of perlocutionary effects are hidden, and which all have methodologically differentiated status. Therefore, the ability to recognize some tricks employed in such practices as well as the qualified faculty of argumentation for and validation of one's own moral convictions seems to be an indispensable component of a subject's high cultural competency. The moral responsibility for social states-of-affairs generated by speech acts requires such competency.

The neonaturalistic approach - itself representing cognitive meta-ethics and recognizing the pragmatic functions of speech acts as a social phenomenon - proposes a philosophical alternative to the cage of formalized languages of normative reasoning (like various systems of deontic logic) in order to find real, verifiable - not necessarily of contractual origin - value-referred premises for the inference of socially applied judgments of duty. The distinction between logical validation and moral (value-referred) justification of imperatives is emphasized at the same time. On this account certain philosophical interpretations of the categories of "fact", "value" and "personal agent of valuation and cognition" will be carried out and, in the next step, an example of is-ought inference will be presented.

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### Standard dialect codified and written English established

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A few findings of English linguistics of the past decades constitute the basis for this paper. Firstly, the spoken and the written variety of Present Day English differ. Quite obviously, they differ because they are different media. However, the paper will adopt the more elaborate view of well-known pieces of orality/literacy studies, such as Biber 1988 or Oesterreicher 2001 who see speech and writing as opposite ends of a continuum. Within this continuum some variations, e. g. the varying usage of negation (*I haven't seen anything./I haven't seen nothing.*) and the opposition of pronominal usage (*It is they./It is them.* or *She is taller than I./She is taller than me.*), can be explained with reference to the varying characteristics of speech and writing. The origins of these variations, however, cannot be explained along these lines. Secondly,

seventeenth- and eighteenth-century grammars are often said to be prescriptive, because they gave strong statements of what was regarded as good or bad English. Whether strictly prescriptive or not – because to be prescriptive a grammar needs to be descriptive first of all – early English grammar writing, as one form of codification within the standardisation process suggested by Haugen (1966), greatly contributed to the development of the standard variety of English. Some aspects of the latter will make up the third of this paper's foundations. That standardisation is an on-going and a conscious process is a fundamental view of the field, and in this paper is of importance with reference to the present as well as to the early grammarians. After rendering some basic ideas of the aforementioned fields of English language study, I would like to propose a view which accounts for the given variations with regards to the mentioned period of the history of the Standard English dialect. Looking into a number of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century grammars the paper will show that quite a lot of the variations which nowadays occur along the spoken/written divide equal those features which early grammarians, such as Robert Lowth or Joseph Priestley, discussed referring to good or bad language use. Therefore, I would like to argue that the grammatical structures found in spoken or written Present Day English originate from suggestions for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Standard English.

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### **Medical supports for practical phonetics; Potential applications of phoniatics and logopedics to foreign language pronunciation pedagogy**

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Current trends in foreign language pedagogy have been affected by visible influences from other disciplines such as psychology, psychotherapy, neurolinguistics, theatre arts or technology. This multidisciplinary approach has spurred the emergence of innovative teaching practices, which became supplementary to mainstream classroom procedures. Modern pronunciation pedagogy has been no exception to this trend (cf. Celce-Murcia et al. 1996, Wrembel 2001 for an overview of interdisciplinary trends in pronunciation teaching).

In the present contribution the focus falls on the interface between language and medicine, and this interface is investigated from the perspective of L2 practical phonetics. A claim advocated in the paper is that medical sciences, in particular phoniatics, logopedics and vocology, apart from being of assistance in voice rehabilitation/habilitation and speech therapy, can offer valuable insights for the teaching of foreign language (L2) phonetics. It is suggested that selected exercises used in the treatment of speech defects of disorders as well as techniques of voice projection and hygiene may be incorporated in L2 pronunciation teaching curricula as they offer efficient means of developing new speech habits.

The reasons for postulating the application of therapeutic and diagnostic methods adapted from logopedics and phoniatics to L2 pronunciation pedagogy are based on the following assumptions:

- (1) The language-medicine interface is particularly relevant in the case of the teaching of phonetics due to its anatomical and physiological bases. Phonetics should thus be studied as embedded in the framework of related medical disciplines such as anatomy, physiology, audiology, phoniatics, and voice rehabilitation.
- (2) The incapability to control speech organs properly, that manifests itself in speech disorders and defects, bears some resemblance to the struggle that L2 learners have to go through when acquiring the pronunciation of a foreign language.
- (3) Psychological factors such as inhibitions, self-esteem, language identity are particularly at play in the acquisition of L2 phonetics as pronunciation is the most salient aspect of language ego (cf. Guiora et al. 1980). Therefore, the attempts to manipulate the ego boundary permeability in L2 acquisition

require a special approach and predispose this aspect of language learning to assume a form of a therapeutic treatment.

- (4) A similar idea has been embraced by some computer software systems designers offering audio-visual feedback and training for speech or hearing handicapped persons. Hopes have been expressed for the systems' application to the learning of foreign language phonetics (cf. e.g. the Hungarian Speechcorrector project or the Colorado Virtual Tutor and Therapist).

The major goal of this contribution is to raise awareness of the importance of imparting practical skills for pronunciation work through a range of exercises and activities for improving posture, breathing, phonation, pitch range, articulation and modulation. Such therapeutic and diagnostic methods adapted from logopedics and phoniatrics, that will be discussed at length in the actual contribution, include among others:

- the choice of a breathing tract to ensure proper voice control and projection
- coordination between breathing and phonation
- breath support (monitoring the tension of breathing muscles)
- relaxation exercises to reduce muscular tension present e.g. in attempted L2 production
- physical strengthening exercises e.g. in the form of articulatory warm-ups
- lengthening of the phonation time
- logopedic exercises for proper enunciation and clear articulation (e.g. tongue twisters)
- proper use of resonators essential e.g. for L2 voice quality setting
- avoiding hard glottal attack (adapted from Maley 2000 and Śliwińska-Kowalewska 1999).

In conclusion, it is hoped that the present paper may contribute to a closer integration between pronunciation pedagogy and related medical disciplines and, consequently, to a more efficient teaching of L2 practical phonetics.

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### Language communication and its adequacy

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The main task of this paper is to provide a conceptual apparatus of a logical general theory of language communication that takes into account the following three aspects:

- (1) cognitive-communicative function of a natural language, according to its genesis,
- (2) the so-called functional approach to logical analysis of this language, and
- (3) two understandings of a manner of *use* and a manner of *interpreting* language expressions in communication.

By taking into account these aspects and according to the *token-type* distinction of Peirce, a language is formalized on two levels: first as a language of *token-objects* (understood as physical, material, empirical, enduring through time-and-space objects) and then – as a language of *type-objects* (understood as abstract, ideal objects, as classes of *tokens*).

In the paper an axiomatic theory of language communication is proposed. The basic notions of the theory, i.e. the concept of communication and related concepts: meaning and interpretation of well-formed expressions (*wfes*) participating in communication are formalized on the *type*-level. This is done by utilizing some notions introduced on the *token*-level such as: *using tokens*, *interpreting tokens* and act of communication.

The conceptual apparatus of the theory allows to: define the phenomenon of language communication and to consider the problem of its adequacy (i.e. What are general principles of correct functioning of communicating?), answer the question: *What is language communication at all?* and to consider the problem of its adequacy (i.e. *What are conditions of correct communication?*).

The theory assumes that *sign-tokens* are primitive linguistic beings. It is based on a theory of syntax formalized on two levels: the *token*-level and the *type*-level and its expansion to the semantic-pragmatic theory of meaning and interpretation built by the first author of the paper [1991, 2006]. On the ground of the theory we may give some answers concerning the problems of adequacy discussed by the second author of the paper [2005]. In particular, we may formulate when, in an empirical act of communication, holds understanding, when – misunderstanding or incomprehension. We may also formulate some conditions of correctness of language communication in general.

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