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Abstracts

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WORKSHOP

Mapping Asymmetries: Phonology, Syntax and Information Structure

organised by

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MAPPING ASYMMETRIES: PHONOLOGY, SYNTAX AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE

A rich amount of research has acknowledged the interconnection between syntax and phonology. The debate however on how and to what extent this relationship is realized still remains lively. There have been many different approaches to such questions: various levels of phonological phrasing have been assumed to be based on syntactic information, either isomorphic to it or not (Selkirk 2002, Truckenbrodt 2005, Ishihara 2006, Fery 2007, among others). Information structure has been shown to be a fruitful area to investigate the syntax-phonology mapping and proposals for its implementation include, among others, Zubizarretta (1998), Neeleman & van de Koot (to appear), Kucerova (2007), Wagner (2007), Krifka (1998), Schwarzschild (1999), Sauerland (2004), Büring (2003), among many others.

The aim of this workshop is to explore areas of mismatches and asymmetries in this mapping with respect to any of the three levels of description mentioned above -syntax, phonology, and information structure.

Some of the questions to be addressed include:

- How ambiguities in one level are resolved at another
- Asymmetric mapping from one level to another
- The extent of isomorphism between any two levels
- Whether recursion extends beyond syntax to phonology and information structure; if so, what the properties of mapping from one level to the other are.

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Computational efficiency in the Syntax-Phonology Interface

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It has recently been proposed that Multiple Spell-Out defines phonological phrasing in the syntax-phonology interface (Dobashi 2003, Elordieta 2007, Ishihara 2003, Kahnemuyipour 2004, Kratzer and Selkirk 2007, Pak 2008, Revithiadou and Spyropoulos 2006, Seidl 2001, among many others). The idea behind the cyclic application of Spell-Out is computational efficiency. The information in the spelled-out domain is forgotten so that the computational burden will be reduced (formulated as a *phase-impenetrability condition* PIC). Likewise, the structure-building operation Merge does not change the internal structure of the merged syntactic objects under a *no-tampering condition* NTC (Chomsky 2001, 2004, 2005). In this paper, I propose the following requirement for efficient computation in the syntax-phonology mapping, which is similar to NTC:

(1) *No-modification condition* (NMC):

Once defined, a prosodic domain may not be modified in syntax-phonology mapping.

Given Multiple Spell-Out coupled with (1), the phonological phrasing is obtained in the following way:

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|
| (2) Syntax | (3) Phonology |
| a. [C [A B]] | a. (A B) |
| b. [E [D [C [A B]]]] | b. (D C) (A B) |
| c. [G [F [E [D [C [A B]]]]]] | c. (F E) (D C) (A B) |

The syntactic derivation goes from (2a) to (2c) phase by phase, with C, E and G being phase heads. Spell-Out applying to their complement gives the phonological phrasing in (3). Under (1), the phrase (A B) may not be modified when (3b) or (3c) is formed, and (D C) may not be modified in (3c).

(1) is a very strong condition, and apparently there are cases where (1) is violated: modifications are induced by (i) focus or (ii) a non-branching category.

It is often assumed that focus modifies default phrasing by inserting and/or by deleting default phrasal boundaries (e.g. Nagahara 1994, Pierrehumbert and Beckman 1988, among others). Ishihara (2005, 2007) convincingly argues that the domain of focus intonation (FI) is not obtained by modifying the default phrasing, but that it is a new domain superimposed onto the default phrasing. (1) necessitates a new domain such as FI, which is independent of the default phrasing, and renders a conceptual support for Ishihara's proposal.

Another cause of modification is a non-branching category. In some languages, a default phrasing is overridden by a non-branching category. Thus in Kinyambo (Bickmore 1990), a non-branching subject is phrased together with the following verb while a branching subject is not. Some argue that such modification reflects syntax: the syntactically non-branching element is incorporated into the adjacent phonological phrase (e.g. Nespov and Vogel 1986). Others argue that the modification applies for prosodic reasons (prosodic weight): that is, it is not an interface phenomenon but a purely prosodic phenomenon (e.g. Inkelas and Zec 1995). Under (1), the modification of phrasing is not allowed in the mapping process. That is, (1) renders a conceptual support for a purely prosodic approach that does not refer to syntax.

In this way, (1) contributes to efficient computation in syntax-phonology mapping, and serves as a guideline for the investigation of the syntax-phonology interface.

**Non-exhaustive narrow focus:
a case of a mismatch between information structure and prosody**

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We argue that there is a type of construction which can be classified as involving narrow focus (NF), in the sense that it contains a constituent that fills the variable introduced by a wh-word in a previous interrogative, but only partially, that is, nonexhaustively. For instance, a possible answer to a question like *'Who came?'* could be *'John came'*, but without conveying the meaning that only John came, because the speaker is not sure whether there may have been other people who came. That is, the speaker does not want to express a commitment to filling exhaustively the variable *x* introduced by

'Who'. In this type of narrow focus, the subject does not receive main prosodic prominence, and it is the verb that receives it.

We report the results of a production experiment for Basque, Spanish and French with a series of question-answer pairs in which the answers carried exhaustive and nonexhaustive NF on the subject. The sentences that constituted answers were identical at the lexical level and in word order. In addition, we wanted to compare the intonation of non-exhaustive NF with other constructions in which the subject does not receive main prominence, such as broad focus sentences, sentences with the subject as given information, and answers to multiple-wh questions, so we introduced question-answer pairs with these types of constructions as well. Since an answer to a multiple-wh interrogative can also be exhaustive or non-exhaustive, there were six types of constructions in all: exhaustive and non-exhaustive NF after single-wh interrogatives, broad focus, subject as given information, and exhaustive and non-exhaustive NF after multiple-wh interrogatives. Three native speakers of each language read eighteen sentences as answers to triggering questions, repeated twice (324 sentences in total). We measured the F0 maximum in the subject and in the verb, and the difference in Hz between the two F0 maxima. The intonation of non-exhaustive NF (both after single and multiple-wh questions) is different from the intonation of exhaustive NF. In nonexhaustives, the subject does not display main prominence (it may even end in a rise) and the verb receives main prominence. That is, the F0 difference between the subject and the verb is smaller in non-exhaustives. Interestingly, the three languages show the same general type of contour.

The theoretical importance of these constructions is that they reveal a mismatch between the concept of information structure "Narrow Focus" and the prosodic feature that this concept is usually signaled by, "Main Prominence". Our interpretation of the results is that in non-exhaustive NF speakers are producing sentences with *verum focus* (i.e., focus on the polarity) rather than with the expected NF on the subject. We suggest that this mismatch or shift in focus type from a triggering question is a strategy of speakers to communicate that they cannot be fully cooperative (i.e., they cannot provide an exhaustive reference for the variable). A correct description and analysis of these types of understudied NF constructions contributes to deepen our knowledge of the intonational correlates of information structure.

Prosodic Asymmetries between German and Hindi

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Prosody-syntax interactions are usually assumed to behave more or less alike in all languages, modulo parametrizations, like head direction or the syntactic domains aligning with prosodic categories (see for instance Wagner 2005). New experimental results bearing on German and on Hindi show that this view has to be revised, and that these two languages at least are completely different as far as intonation of center-embedded relative clauses are concerned.

Two production experiments conducted both in German and in Hindi will be presented, which addresses double center-embedded relative sentences (see Hunyadi 2006 for some results in Hungarian), and name grouping (see for instance Wagner 2005). From the analysis of pitch and duration, it turned out that in German, syntactic grouping, recursion and embedding are mapped very closely in prosodic phrasing, pitch scaling being altogether a better indicator of complex syntactic relationships than duration. Hindi, on the other hand, behaves in a different way: Center-embedded sentences showed a downstep throughout rather than the more finely-grained pitch scaling of German (Féry & Schubö 2006), and the data on duration also deliver a different picture. Similar differences between the two languages were found in the experiment on name grouping (Féry & Kentner 2008).

The intonation systems of the two languages will be advanced as an explanation for the difference in syntax-prosody mapping. German is an intonation language, which changes pitch accents and boundary tones along with pragmatic meanings, whereas Hindi is a 'phrase language', with tones at the level of the phrase, and a much more rigid prosodic pattern. As a conclusion, the expression of embedding and recursion in the prosody may turn out to be dependent not only on the different syntax, but also on the kind of intonation system of the language investigated.

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Wh-question's interveners: Anti-Topic Items or Obligatory Second Occurrence Foci?

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Background In his recent pragmatic account of intervention effects (IEs) in wh-questions, Tomioka (2007) argues that IEs are 'derived from a less than perfect correspondence between syntactic and information structure'. Based on Korean and Japanese IEs data, he reaches the generalization that the expressions responsible for IEs, e.g.. certain quantified expressions, NPIs, disjunctive NPs, are in fact Anti-Topic Items (ATIs) and that IEs occur whenever an ATI is wrongly located outside the ground portion of the question. His rationale is based on the two following premises:

(1) In a wh-question, the wh-phrase acts as the focus of the question whereas the non wh-portion constitutes its ground (Krifka 2001),

(2) The Japanese post-focus/post-wh-phrase prosodic reduction equates to the ground portion of the wh-question.

On this account, Japanese wh-scrambling cancels intervention effects by placing the ATI within the wh-question's ground and more particularly within its tail (Vallduví 1992).

Issue This account in terms of ATIs, although it has many advantages over previous logico-syntactic accounts, does not easily extend to non-subject interveners in Japanese and Korean as well as to IEs caused by negation and certain adverbial quantifiers in other languages. It is even problematic when it comes to French IEs, where: (1) It is unclear whether subject interveners occur in a topic position, (2) If recent stress-based information structural accounts of wh-questions (Beysade 2007, Hamlaoui 2008) are on the right track, Tomioka's proposal makes a wrong prediction as, in this language, IEs occur whenever an intervener is located within the ground portion of the wh-question.

Proposal The aim of our talk is to show that the phenomenon known as 'intervention effect' indeed follows from a less than perfect syntax/phonology/information structure mapping, however we argue that non-topicality only constitutes the 'visible part of an iceberg'. We follow Beck (2006) in considering that focused items form a natural class of interveners. We argue that the marginal status of IEs data comes from a focus sensitive item appearing outside the focus intonation domain of the matrix wh-phrase. This is particularly visible in Japanese, where the prosodic correlates of the wh-phrase focus domain are clearly identified (Deguchi & Kitagawa 2002). This congruence is problematic in two ways. First, as an obligatory free focus in the sense of Büring (2008), the wh-phrase must not be embedded inside the phonetic realization of another focus (except another wh-phrase in multiple-wh questions, see Ishihara 2006) and consequently, it must not be embedded within the intervener's focus intonation domain. Second, in order to be interpreted as a second occurrence focus (Büring 2008), the intervener must be contained within the primary focus domain. However, when it is outside the primary focus domain, as in IEs congruences, the obligatory free focus interpretation of the matrix wh-phrase prevents it from being interpreted as a free focus and consequently as a focus at all.

Our account, which holds for subject as well as non-subject interveners, thus captures the effect of scrambling: scrambling typically cancels 'intervention effects' because it enables taking the wh-phrase outside the focus domain of the intervener (see Ishihara 2000 on the effects of scrambling in Japanese) at the same time as it enables interpreting the intervener as a second occurrence focus.

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Syntactic F-Structure Composition & the Syntax-PF Interface

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I argue for a syntactically determined Focus Structure (F-Structure) and a derivational focal mapping at the interfaces within the minimalist program.

Mainstream theories of F-Structure based in the Nuclear Stress Rule (*NSR*) and Focus Projection (F-Projection) (e.g. Cinque (1993), Reinhart (1995, 2006), Neeleman & Reinhart (1998), Zubizarreta (1998), Szendrői (2001) or Arregi (2003)) argue for a representational constraint in PF reclaiming the F-Structure to bear nuclear stress (NS) and a F-Projection operation whereby the element bearing NS can project the F-marking to higher syntactic nodes determining a focus set (the set of possible foci wherein the discourse will choose the 'actual focus').

I show that the alleged (universal) representational legibility condition in PF cannot be further maintained giving empirical data of a number of languages that lack such a focal accent. These are languages like Hyxkariana (Derbyshire (1985)), Guyanese Creole (Bickerton (1993)) or Wolof (Rialland & Robert (2001)). Furthermore, I argue that the notion of 'Focus Set' is both conceptually undesirable and empirically unmotivated given that the actual F-Structure affects the phonological phrasing. I will comment evidence of languages like Japanese (Pierrehumbert & Beckman (1988)), Bengali (Hayes & Lahiri (1991)), Korean (Jun (1993)), Basque (Elordieta (2003)), Chicheŵa (Kanerva (1990)) or English (Selkirk (2000)) where focus induces phonological phrasing by triggering the insertion of a determinate prosodic boundary. This argument will be reinforced with the intonational phonology evidence of languages like Portuguese (Frota (2000)), Bengali (Hayes & Lahiri (1991)), Italian (D'Imperio (2002)) or Greek (Baltazani (2002)) that make use of categorically different pitch accents to convey broad and narrow foci (thus denying the possibility of grammatical focus ambiguity (or 'focus sets')). The prosodic arguments against the *NSR* based theories of F-Structure will be reinforced with the discussion of syntactic evidence like the patterns of DP-internal scrambling constructions of Russian like (1-2) (from Irurtzun & Madariaga (2008)) that show that NS is not invariably assigned to the most embedded position (hence invalidating the main claim of *NSR*-based approaches like Reinhart's (2006)):

(1) Ja postiral [DP krasnye noski]. (Neutral word order)

I washed red socks

'I washed the red socks.'

(2) Ja postiral [DP NOSKI krasnye tN]. (Scrambled-DP word order)

I washed socks red

'I washed the red [socks]F.'

All this evidence will be used to argue for a syntactically determined F- Structure and a derivational focal mapping at the interfaces given the inverted Y-model of the grammar (Chomsky & Lasnik (1977)). That is, contrary to the mainstream theories of F-Structure, I will argue for an architecture of grammar where the F- Structure is fully determined in the narrow syntax and where an optional PF operation maps it into the structural description of focus-sensitive rules like p-phrasing or NS assignment (3):

(3) Focal NSR: Assign nuclear stress to the most embedded element *within the (syntactically built) F-Structure*.

Finally, I show how the adoption of this proposal whereby both PF and LF interfaces can 'see' what the actual F-Structure is allows for the explanation of a number of problematic data.

**Categorical and gradient effects of prosodic boundary strength
on segmental and suprasegmental processes in Modern Greek**

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The existence of a hierarchically layered prosodic structure mediating between Syntax and Phonology has been widely accepted in phonological research. However, the question of whether this structure is strictly layered (e.g. Selkirk 1984) or partially recursive (e.g. Ladd 1988) is still a matter of debate. Moreover, the nature of the phonetic cues involved in the identification of the domains of this structure is still not clear. First, although it has been assumed that these phonetic cues are congruent, this has never been tested (but it has sometimes been questioned, see for example Chen 1987). Second, although the traditional assumption has been that these phonetic cues are categorical, and can thus be used as clear cues to prosodic domain identification, recent research has shown that some processes have a phonetically gradient output (e.g. vowel hiatus resolution Zsiga 1997, Baltazani 2006, among others).

The present research addressed these issues by investigating the phonetic cues to prosodic structure in detail in one language (Modern Greek). In particular, purportedly categorical and gradient segmental and suprasegmental processes were analysed in parallel with the goal of examining the effect of boundary strength on different phenomena, and testing whether all phenomena point to the same structure. The processes investigated were (1) pre-boundary lengthening, (2) post-nasal stop voicing, (3) vowel hiatus resolution, and (4) F0, and were placed under varying boundary conditions. The results showed that the boundary effect was categorical for some processes, but gradient for others. Pre-boundary duration and vowel hiatus resolution were influenced gradiently by boundary strength; longer durations and less instances of vowel hiatus resolution by deletion were found in higher domains. Post-nasal stop voicing on the other hand was influenced categorically; it only occurred optionally within one domain, and was blocked in all the others. F0 was found to distinguish categorically the lowest of the domains, but also to have gradiently higher values in all other conditions. All gradient phenomena showed a hierarchical effect and appear to be governed by the same underlying structure.

It therefore seems that both categorical and gradient effects are inherently part of the prosodic structure, and their existence becomes apparent when no prior classifications regarding constituency are imposed on the data. Categorical effects allow the clear identification of prosodic domains, while gradient effects prove that the depth of the prosodic structure is not necessarily as flat as it was assumed to be (e.g. in Nespor & Vogel 1986). The implications of these findings on prosodic domain identification, and on the postulation of a partially open-ended non-strictly layered prosodic structure will be discussed.

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Asymmetries in Intonational Phrasing in Turkish

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In this paper, we explore the prosodic constituency above the Phonological Phrase (PPH) in Turkish, a hitherto unanalyzed aspect of Turkish prosody, and discuss its implications for the syntax-phonology interface with special reference to the prosody of prereslatives and postrelatives in Turkish, a head-final language.

The highest/largest prosodic domain so far investigated in Turkish phonology is the PPH, which is defined based on phrase stress assignment (cf. Kabak and Vogel 2001). Through the instrumental

analysis of spoken data (145 dialogues) collected each from nine native speakers of the standard variety of Modern Turkish, we argue that Turkish governs one more level of phrasing above the PPh: the Intonational Phrase (IP). We contrast the phonologies of the PPh and the IP arguing that (i) the right edge of the latter is demarcated by a boundary tone (T%) which is phonetically stronger than a simple edge tone (T-) that marks the right edge of the former; (ii) the IP is typically followed by a linguistic pause, whereas the PPh does not exhibit pause distribution; and (iii) IP displays a remarkable degree of phrase-final lengthening in its final syllable: on average, the vowel duration at IP-final positions (M = .1714, SE = .006), is significantly higher than the vowel duration at PPh-final positions (M = .0471, SE = .002), $t(6) =$, $p < .001$, $r = .98$.

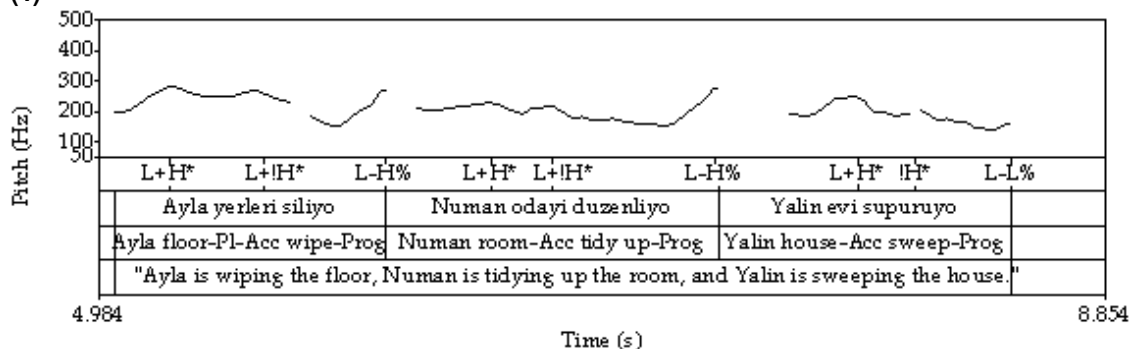
Issue#1 In our data, two types of syntactic structures trigger IP-formation. These are single or coordinate (1) root clauses and *ki*-relatives, which function à la non-restrictive relative clauses and are the examples of a borrowed syntactic pattern from Persian (5). On the other hand, Finite Complement clauses (FCC) (2a), finite complement *ki*-clauses (2b), and prerelatives with the *-DIK* and *-(y)An* morphologies (3, 4, 6) are all prosodically integrated into their root clauses. Considering that these structures are analyzed as full CPs in the literature (cf. Kornfilt 2000, 2007; Çağrı 2005; Şener 2008), one aspect of the IP is that it is not grounded on syntactic clausehood.

Issue#2 In Turkish, prerelatives can be semantically restrictive or non-restrictive (3, 4 and 6). However, both restrictive and non-restrictive prerelatives display a fully integrated prosody in this language, which is a significant exception for a widely-attested observation in the literature that non-restrictive RCs are flanked with IP edges/“comma intonation” in phonology, but restrictive RCs are not (Emonds 1979; Bing 1979; Nespor and Vogel 1986; Truckenbrodt 1995; inter alia). In this respect, the fact that these relative clauses exhibit identical prosodic structures in Turkish (and probably in other languages) is problematic for any hypothesis that attributes “non-restrictiveness” an active role in the computation of prosody directly or indirectly. The relevant taxonomy does not divide relative clauses correctly as regards their prosodic properties.

Proposal We propose that [+comma]-marking in syntax (cf. Potts 2003, 2005; Selkirk 2005) is the crux of Intonational Phrasing in Turkish. In semantics, a [+comma]-marked constituent is “logically and compositionally” independent of the regular asserted content (Potts *ibid.*) and it constitutes a separate Speech Act (SA) (Selkirk 2005). On the phonological side, the reflex of [+comma] is Intonational Phrasing, for instance, in English. Since a root clause is always a distinct SA independent from other root clauses, it is by default [+comma] (Selkirk *ibid.*). This explains why root clauses are typically parsed as IPs in Turkish. As for FCCs, finite complement *ki*-clauses and the prerelatives in (2, 3, 4 and 6), we propose that they lack [+comma]. Therefore, they remain part of the assertive content of the main clause and display an integrated prosodic pattern. If the *ki*-relative and the non-restrictives in (4) and (6) are contrasted in the light of this proposal, we see that the former is a SA with assertive force and invariantly speaker-oriented, hence, not embeddable into indirect quotations (5b). Conversely, the non-comma-marked prerelatives with non-restrictive semantics in (4) and (6), which are not SAs, can remain part of the indirect quotations and subject-oriented (4b, 6b).

Finally, we argue that the mapping of the IP is governed by an edge alignment constraint which pairs the right edge of a [+comma]-marked constituent with the right edge of an IP in Turkish, thus yielding a surface asymmetry whereby the left-edge of such a constituent does not correspond to an IP boundary as opposed to its right-edge.

(1)



- (2) a. [Ben Ali uyu-yacak san-dı-m]_{IP}
 I Ali sleep-Future think-Past-1Sg
 'I thought Ali would sleep.'
 b. [Duy-du-m ki bu kiş soğuk geç-ecek-miş]_{IP}

- hear-Past-1Sg Comp this winter cold pass-Future-Evid
'I heard that this winter would be cold.'
- (3) [Alanyalı-lar-ın getir-diğ-i elma-lar mide-m-i boz-du]_{IP}
Alanyalı-PI.Gen bring-DIK-3Sg.Poss apple-PI stomach-1Sg.Poss-Acc upset-Past
'The apples that the people of Alanya brought upset my stomach.'
- (4) a. [Hayran-lar-ın-ın ağırla-diğ-i Yalın şehir-i gez-di]_{IP}
fan-PI-Gen host-DIK-3PI.Poss Yalın city-Acc walk around-Past
'Yalın, who was hosted by his fans, walked around the city.'
- b. [Ali hayran-lar-ın-ın ağırla-diğ-i Yalın-ın şehir-i gez-diğ-in-i söyle-di]_{IP}
Ali fan-PI-Gen host-DIK-3PI.Poss Yalın-Gen city-Acc walk around-DIK-3Sg.Poss-Acc say-Past
'Ali said that Yalın, who was hosted by his fans, walked around the city.'
- (5) a. [Leyla ki biyoloji-yi sev-er]_{IP} [okul-u bırak-mış]_{IP}
Leyla Comp biology-Acc love-Aor school-Acc left-Past
'Leyla, who loves biology, left school.'
- b. [Ali Leyla-nın ki biyoloji-yi sev-er]_{IP} [okul-u bırak-tığ-ın-ı söyle-di]_{IP}
Ali Leyla-Gen Comp biology-Acc love-Aor school-Acc leave- DIK-3Sg.Poss-Acc say-Past
'Ali said that Leyla, who loves biology, left school.'
- (6) a. [Biyoloji-yi sev-en Leyla okul-u bırak-tı]_{IP}
biology-Acc love-yAn Leyla school-Acc leave-Past
'Leyla, who loves biology, left school.'
- b. [Ali biyoloji-yi sev-en Leyla-nın okul-u bırak-tığ-ın-ı söyle-di]_{IP}
Ali biology-Acc love-yAn Leyla-Gen school-Acc leave- DIK-3Sg.Poss-Acc say-Past
'Ali said that Leyla, who loves biology, left school.'

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The VSO-VOS alternation in MG: Syntax & I/S revisited

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The purpose of this piece of work is twofold: On the one hand, to give an answer to the question concerning the problematic VOS order in Greek and, on the other hand, to explore its discourse properties.

As far as the former task is concerned, we will show that none of the existing analyses (i.e. Cartographic/Vacuous Movement approaches, Object-Scrambling hypothesis, and Right-Adjunction Hypothesis) captures the full range of the syntactic properties the order under examination exhibits; rather, we will argue that VOS is due to a pied-piping operation which moves the object alongside the verb. In particular, we will argue that (overt) v-to-T movement in MG might be realized as either v^o-to-T^o movement or v'-to-Spec,TP; the former operation gives rise to VSO surface linearizations, while the latter to VOS ones. Beyond the fact that such an idea seems to capture the full range of syntactic properties of the VOS order, it further allows us to dispense with the idea of p-movement and certain cartographic assumptions -as possible triggers for such a "deviant" linearization- which face severe empirical problems.

As far as the latter task is concerned, that is, Information Structure, we will show that in all-new-information-contexts, VSO and VOS orders constitute broad-focus domains. The fact that VOS is perceived as more marked than VSO in certain cases is only because VOS displays a more articulated focus structuring (cf. "superman" construction), a property which is actually a reflection of its more marked syntactic properties. Finally, we propose that V-initial orders (in root at least contexts)

are informationally “Presentational/Event Reporting” structures, and that they are licensed by a Syntax-Information structure mapping requirement concerning (lack of) Predication.

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The relation between prosody and syntax in German

Manuela Korth

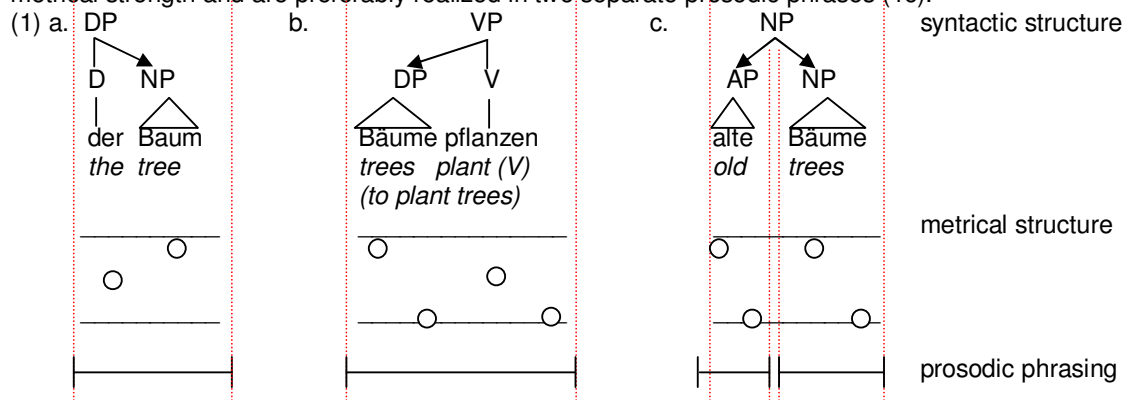
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The questions if and how prosody is derived from syntactic and information-structural cues have been the focus of interest of many researchers for several years. Using Phrase Structure Grammar, I would like to show that assignment of metrical structure in German can be deduced from syntactic trees by comparing adjacent nodes. Relevant structural cues are:

- whether two constituents stand in a head-complement relation or in an adjunct relation,
- whether the constituents are marked for focus or givenness,
- to which structure the baseposition of moved constituents in verb first sentences and verb second sentences is related.

In neutral head-complement structures the complement becomes metrically stronger than the head independent of whether the structure is right or left branching. Both constituents are preferably realized in one prosodic phrase (1a/b). In neutral adjunct structures both constituents are of equal metrical strength and are preferably realized in two separate prosodic phrases (1c).

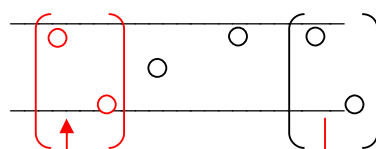
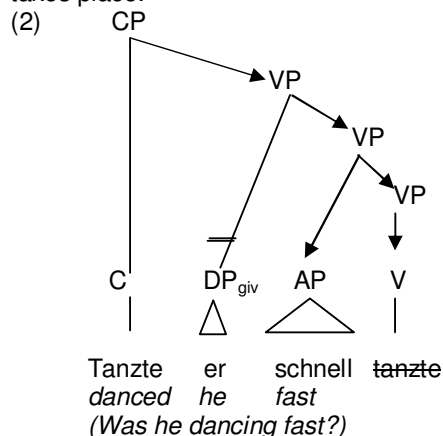


Additionally, the influences of givenness and focus will be discussed. Marking a constituent as given *blocks* an assignment of stronger metrical stress to this constituent, marking it as focus *forces* an assignment of stronger metrical stress. Given and focused constituents can be embedded into each other which leads to a complex interaction of blocking and forcing through different levels in the syntactic tree.

A last point I would like to take a look at is the metrical structure of V1-sentences and V2-sentences in German. In both constructions, the finite verb is moved to the *finite position* (=C) and in V2-sentences, there is an additional movement of one maximal constituent to the *initial field* (=adjunct to CP). The metrical strength of moved constituents depends on their base position rather than on their target position. Otherwise several facts can not be explained, e.g. the metrical differences ofthetic vs. categorical V2-sentences or the metrical strength of the finite verb in example (2).

If metrical strength would be oriented to the target position of movement the finite verb in (2) as the C-head would have to be metrically subordinated to the AP. But in a neutral structure verb and AP are of

equal metrical strength, which is a result of the fact that AP and VP are adjuncts before movement takes place.



Taking all these facts into consideration, metrical structure can be directly derived from the syntactic tree.

**What's to the right of the arrow?
 Formal and phonetic properties of prosodic structure**

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Syntax-prosody mapping is most often considered from the point of view of syntax, as a kind of appendix to syntactic theories. Given this point of view, prosodic structure is conceived of primarily as the output of syntax-prosody mapping and consequently receives little theoretical or empirical attention. The acoustic characteristics of prosodic boundaries are apparently so variable that theorists see little alternative to identifying them impressionistically, weakening the empirical basis of discussions of syntax-prosody mapping. Even more anomalously, prosodic domains are often formally defined in terms of the syntactic input to syntax-prosody mapping rules (e.g. "An intermediate phrase consists of the head of a syntactic maximal projection and everything to its left"), which - together with unreliable identification of prosodic boundaries - reduces theories of syntax-prosody mapping to near circularity.

In this talk I consider prosodic structure in its own right, as a phonological phenomenon whose structural properties and phonetic correlates can and should be investigated independently of any connection to syntax. I discuss three essential structural/phonetic aspects of prosodic structure which I believe must be recognised before attempting hypotheses about the formal mapping relations between syntax and prosody. These three are: (1) prosodic structure is composed of no more than 3 or 4 essentially different phonological domain types, which are hierarchically ranked such that a domain of a given rank is part of a domain of the next higher rank; (2) at the same time, the depth of prosodic structure is not fixed, because a phonological domain can consist of sub-domains of the same type as itself (e.g. a compound phrase consisting of sub-phrases, just as *matchbox* is a compound noun consisting of two nouns); (3) moreover, the depth of prosodic structure may be indeterminate, because phonological domains are in some sense phonetic events, and - as is clear from syntactic, semantic, and philosophical discussions of event structure - the identification of events and sub-events is to some extent arbitrary. These properties are broadly familiar from the structure of music and poetic metre, and are supported by phonetic evidence. The adequacy of theories of syntax-prosody mapping ultimately depends on the development of independently validated theories of prosodic structure itself.

The Marking Effects of A'-Scrambling

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In this talk, we will defend two claims.

The first is that A'-scrambling facilitates the mapping between syntax and information structure. In particular, if a contrastive topic or focus undergoes A'-scrambling, the sister of the landing site is interpreted as the domain of contrast (that is, as the material used to construct the set on which the contrast operates). We will present arguments based on the distribution of contrastive topics and foci, as well as the distribution of first- and second-occurrence foci. Data discussed will be taken from Dutch, but similar evidence can be construed in other languages.

Our second claim is that there is no covert A'-scrambling. In other words, there is no evidence that a domain of contrast can be marked by LF movement, suggesting (i) that information structure interfaces with surface structure and (ii) that the mapping between syntax and information structure permits mismatches. We will make use of tests taken from recent work by Michael Wagner, and discuss data from Dutch, German and English.

Projective vs. non-projective pitch accents in Greek

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Recent theories on the interaction between syntax and prosody show that there are two factors that determine the accentuation of syntactic constituents: (a) a set of projection rules that derive the accentual structure of the utterance from the hierarchical constituent structure and (b) the association of the accented constituent with focus (see Selkirk 1995, Féry and Samek-Lodovici 2006, Reinhardt 2006 among others). An interesting challenge for these theories is the (possible) contrast between different tonal varieties in the realization of the nuclear accent. Our paper deals with the empirical question, whether such varieties are meaningless phonetic variants.

Greek displays a contrast between two pitch accents that occur on narrow focused material, L+H* and H* according to GrTobi (see Arvaniti and Baltazani 2005). It is clear that both accents do not differ with respect to the *quantificational properties* of focus: the realization of the adjective *líga* in (1a) with the focus accents L+H* and H* invokes an exhaustive interpretation that licenses the Continuation B in (1c), and hence both accents contrast to the L*+H realization that invokes a non-exhaustive interpretation licensing Continuation A, see (1b) (vgl. É. Kiss 1998, 2008).

(1a) Target: *mazépsame líga xrímata...* 'we earned some money'

(1b) Continuation A: '... hence we can buy the present'

(1c) Continuation B: '... hence we cannot buy the present'

However, there is evidence that the selection of L+H*/H* depends on contextual properties. We present the results of a production experiment (8 native speakers, Athenian variety of Greek), in which we elicited minimal pairs of the same utterance in (2a) in the context of *wh*- questions (see 2b) and in corrective context (see 2c). The findings show that both L+H* and H* are possible in both contexts, but the H* accent is more likely to occur in the *corrective context*.

(2a) Target: *I Melína malóni tin Eléni.* 'Melina is scolding Eleni.'

(2b) Context A: *Pios malóni tin Eléni?* 'Who is scolding Eleni?'

(2c) Context B: *Malóni i Mélpo tin Eléni?* 'Is Melpo scolding Eleni?'

Moreover, we present the results of a perception experiment on the intuition of contextual felicity (16 native speakers) that shows that the two varieties of H-accent differ in their potential of projecting focus domains: the L+H* realization of the focused constituent in (3a) is interpreted either as narrow focus on the object (3b) or as VP-focus (3c), while the H* realization is preferably interpreted as narrow focus (3b).

(3a) Target: *I Melína malóni tin ELENI.* 'Melina is scolding Eleni.'

(3b) Context A: *Pion malóni i Melína?* 'Whom is Melina scolding?'

(3c) Context B: *Ti káni i Melína?* 'What is Melina doing?'

The evidence outlined above shows that there is a phonological variant of H-accent that is more likely to occur in a subset of the focus contexts (at least corrective) and does not project its f-domain properties.

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Prosodic realization of Topics

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This paper presents the results of a pilot study aiming to investigate the prosodic realization of different types of sentence topics, namely “simple” non-contrastive topics, contrastive topics and corrective topics (often subsumed under contrastive topics) in Greek.

Non-contrastive topics involve given entities, which are explicitly mentioned in the previous discourse and active. Contrastive topics are in our case inferable entities, (by virtue of being) subsets of the previously established topic. They are primarily linked to the notion of alternative sets. Corrective topics are new entities, which change the common ground by explicitly negating the established topic in addition to introducing an alternative value for it. Their function is thus more cognitively loaded. Following are examples of each category:

A. Non-Contrastive Topic

- What does your daughter do for a living?
- [My daughter] is a linguist

B. Contrastive Topic

- What do your daughters do for a living?
- [My youngest daughter] is a mathematician, while [my eldest daughter] is a linguist

C. Corrective Topic

(Speaker B corrects speaker A's misconception that his youngest daughter has a job)

- What does your youngest daughter do for a living?
- [My eldest daughter] is a linguist.

Whilst contrastive/corrective topics are shown in the literature to associate with particular contours (Jackendoff (1972), Ladd (1980), Liberman&Sag (1974), Buring (2003)), simple topics often have no distinct prosodic or grammatical in general correlates, and so their identification is based only on a more or less abstract pragmatic criterion of aboutness. On the other hand, several theoretical frameworks (Steedman (2002), Buring (2005), Vallduvi&Vilkuna (1998)) ascribe the distinct prosodic marking of contrastive topics to a focus (or contrast) feature which operates within both topic and comment (or theme and rheme) in a similar manner, ultimately posing a question whether there is a distinct, clear representation of topichood in the prosody of an utterance.

To address this question, all types of topics were also compared against all-new or topic-less utterances in the experiment. Therefore, four conditions in total were examined: no-topic, non-contrastive topic, contrastive topic and corrective topic. 10 sentences per condition were embedded in disambiguating contexts to be produced by 8 speakers of Athenian Greek. Preliminary results based on the analysis of two speakers indicate that:

a) There is no clear distinction between the first three cases. Different speakers may employ different strategies and prosodic cues cannot clearly disambiguate among the three.

b) On the other hand, corrective topics are clearly and consistently distinguished from the other three cases on the basis of both phonological (L+H* pitch accent, deaccenting of post-focal material in two-word topic phrases) and phonetic (increased intensity) properties. Given that L+H* is the predominant accent for contrast within comment (or rheme) as well, and contrastive focus is – in some languages at least – equated with corrective focus only (cf. Gussenhoven (2007)), we consider the above results as evidence supporting the claim that topichood is not reflected on the prosody of an utterance at least with regards to the type of pitch accent.

WORKSHOP

Typology of labile verbs: focus on diachrony

**organised by
Leonid Kulikov (Leiden University)
and Nikolaos Lavidas (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)**

TYPOLOGY OF LABILE VERBS: FOCUS ON DIACHRONY

The term 'labile' refers to verbs or verbal forms which can show valency alternation, i.e. changes in syntactic pattern, with no formal change in the verb. Very often (but not always) the term 'labile' is only employed to refer to verbs (or verbal forms) which can be employed both transitively and intransitively, as in (1-2); some scholars use other, less widely accepted terms in this sense, such as 'ambitransitive' (R. M. W. Dixon 1994) or 'optionally transitive' (J. G. Miller 1993):

- (1) a. John broke the vase (English) a'. O Janis *espase* to vaso (Greek)
 b. The vase *broke* the:NOM Janis:NOM broke:ACT:3SG the:ACC vase:ACC
 b'. To vaso *espase*
 the:NOM vase:NOM broke:ACT:3SG
- (2) a. John ate lunch a'. O Janis *efage* mesimeriano
 b. John *ate* the:NOM Janis:NOM ate:ACT:3SG lunch:ACC
 b'. O Janis *efage*
 the:NOM Janis:NOM ate:ACT:3SG

(1) exemplifies Patient-preserving lability (P-labliity), while (2) instantiates an Agent-preserving lability (A-labliity). Other types of syntactic alternation, such as locative alternation (cf. John *sprayed* paint on the wall ~ John *sprayed* the wall with paint) or dative shift (Mary *gave* John an apple ~ Mary *gave* an apple to John) are usually treated separately from P- and A-labliity. Of particular interest is P-labliity, common in ergative-absolutive languages (for instance, in many Daghestan languages), quite frequent also in some nominative-accusative languages (such as English, Greek, German or French), but (almost) entirely lacking in many others (e.g. in Slavic or Uralic).

Although there are a number of studies dealing with this phenomenon in individual languages, such as English (e.g. Keyser & Roeper 1984; McMillion 2006), French (Larjavaara 2000), Greek (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2004, Theophanopoulou-Kontou 1983-4, 2004, Tsimpli 1989, 2006) and some others, a cross-linguistic study of labliity is rather neglected (with a few exceptions such as Letuchiy 2006). Even less attention has been paid to the diachronic aspects of labile verbs. In many cases, we cannot explain why and how the labliity emerges and disappears. We do not know why in several languages labile verbs become more productive and the class of labile verbs is constantly increasing (as in English, Greek or some Daghestan languages), while in some other languages this class is decreasing (as in Sanskrit) or entirely lacking (as in modern Turkic or Kartvelian languages). Only a few mechanisms responsible for the emergence of labliity (such as the phonetic merger of transitive and intransitive forms or the deletion of the reflexive pronoun, attested in the history of English) are mentioned in the literature. The few studies dealing with the diachronic aspects of labile verbs, their rise, development or decay and loss include Kitazume 1996 (on English), Kulikov 2003 (on Vedic Sanskrit) and Lavidas 2004 (on Greek).

The idea of our workshop is to bring together scholars interested in labliity and to open up new horizons in the research of this phenomenon, paying special attention to its diachronic aspects. The issues to be addressed include:

- theoretical and descriptive aspects of a study of labile verbs:
 - should such verbs be treated as one lexical unit with two different syntactic uses or as two separate lexical units,
 - which of the two constructions may be considered as basic (transitive or intransitive)?
 - issues in a synchronic typological study of labliity:
 - for which semantic and syntactic classes of verbs is the labile pattern particularly common or uncommon?
 - are there any correlations between the grammatical characteristics of a form and its labliity?
 - labile patterning of finite vs. non-finite forms (infinitives, participles etc.)
 - relationships between labile verbs, voices and valency-changing categories
 - types of labliity (cf. reflexive labliity: *Mary washed the baby* ~ *Mary washed*; reciprocal labliity: *Mary and John kissed the baby* ~ *Mary and John kissed*; etc.)
- Particularly encouraged are papers dealing with
- diachronic aspects of labliity:
 - mechanisms of the emergence and expansion of labile verbs (as e.g. in English or Greek)
 - mechanisms of the decay and disappearance of labile verbs (as e.g. in Vedic)
 - which semantic and syntactic classes of verbs tend to become labile or non-labile
 - labliity considered as an instance of syncretism (of transitive and intransitive) and its possible relationships with other types of syncretism or grammatical homonymy
 - what are the main evolutionary types of labliity attested for Indo-European and other language families and groups with a well-documented history?
 - what is the position of Indo-European in a diachronic typological classification of labliity types?

Leonid Kulikov & Nikolaos Lavidas

Anticausatives in early Indo-European: a preliminary investigation

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In this paper we will discuss the constraints and variations in the encoding of the anticausative alternation in two early Indo-European languages, Latin and Old Icelandic. In these languages four morphosyntactic devices alternate to mark this type of lability: i) the active intransitive form (1a–b), ii) the reflexive pattern (2a–b), iii) the passive (i.e., the -R form) in Latin (3a), and iv) the oblique anticausative in O.Icelandic (when the original case of the derived subject is preserved with an active intransitive form) (3b):

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(1) a. <i>terra movet</i>
earth moves
'The earth moves'</p> | <p>b. <i>skipið sökk</i>
ship.NOM sank
'The ship sank'</p> |
| <p>(2) a. <i>terra se movet</i>
earth RFL moves
'The earth moves'</p> | <p>b. <i>jörðin hreyfist</i>
earth moves-REFL
'The earth moves'</p> |
| <p>(3) a. <i>terra movetur</i>
earth is-moved
'The earth moves'</p> | <p>b. <i>bátinn bar af leið</i>
boat-the.ACC carried off course
'The boat drifted off course'</p> |

The alternation among these patterns is usually regarded as idiosyncratic for Icelandic (e.g. Zaenen & Maling 1990), with interchangeability of the active intransitive, reflexive pattern and passive form for Latin (Feltenius 1977). At a late stage in Latin, accusative subjects are also found (4a), regardless of the type of strategy employed (Cennamo 2009), unlike in Old and Modern Icelandic, where oblique subject case obligatorily triggers the lack of agreement with the finite verb (Jónsson & Eythórsson 2008):

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(4) a. <i>multos languores sanantur</i>
many.ACC illnesses.PL.ACC/NOM are healed
'Many illnesses heal'</p> | <p>b. <i>me velgir</i>
me.ACC feels-nausea
'I feel nausea'</p> |
|---|--|

A closer inspection of the distribution of these forms in Latin, reveals, however, that the three strategies are not equivalent, but aspectually determined. The reflexive pattern, in fact, can only occur with telic verbs (e.g., *scindere* 'to crack', *movere* 'to move', *aperire* 'to open'), unlike the active intransitive, that can occur in anticausative function also with activity verbs (e.g., *volutare* 'to roll') (5) (Cennamo 1998, 2001, 2009):

- (5) *saxa volutant*
stones roll
'The stones roll'

In our study we will investigate the parameters determining the morphological realizations of anticausativization in the two languages, and whether the aspectual class of verbs affects the distribution of the various patterns also in O. Icelandic, interacting, in turn, with language-specific transitivity rules such as the impersonality of the verb when the subject occurs in a non-canonical, 'oblique' case.

We will also explore to what extent the synchronic distribution and diachronic paths of evolution of this subtype of lability can be neatly accounted for within current research on the role played by the aspectual template of verbs, the verb's inherent meaning (the root) and the nature of the P-subject (i.e., its affectedness/animacy/control) in determining the different morphosyntactic realizations of this construction (Koonz-Garboden & Levin 2005, Koonz-Gaboden 2007, Ramchand 2008, int. al.), as well as their relationship to the more general encoding of Transitivity.

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A historical perspective on P-lability in two Adamawa-Ubangi languages

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So-called "P-lability" is quite common in the non-Bantu Niger-Congo languages of West Central Africa. Contrasting two of these languages, Zande (a Ubangi language of CAR-Sudan-RDC) and Chamba-Daka (an Adamawa language of northeastern Nigeria), nevertheless shows that this feature may be used more or less in correlation with the case marking of objects. Zande, which has unmarked patient and beneficiary marked by preposition, uses labile verbs much more widely. Thus, "gourd be_full with water" means 'the gourd is full of water' while "water be_full gourd" means 'water fills the gourd' or more exactly 'water fills up the gourd' ("I be_full water" means 'I have dammed the river'; the transitive form has the implication of blocking up, stuffing). This double usage coexists with a causative derivation: "I make_full gourd with water" means 'I filled the gourd with water'. In Chamba-Daka where objects are unmarked with the beneficiary preceding the patient and pragmatics alone decides which sense a sole object will have, P-lability is much rarer. In the case of 'be full', for example, one will say "arrow will be_full inside" for 'it is always full of arrows'; but this verb is not labile. The causative derivative will give "they will beer pour fill inside pot", i.e., 'they pour beer into a pot and fill it'. There is a strong likelihood that object marking or lack of it plays some role in this difference. The discussion of objects may be further extended to the existence of "external" and "internal" objects (perhaps another kind of lability). If the system with unmarked objects were considered older in Niger-Congo, and object marking were an innovation either subsequent to or parallel with the creation of serial verb constructions, then this change would imply extension of the use of P-lability.

P-lability and alignment

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Cross-linguistically, operations on verbal valency may be more or less 'visible', depending on the coding properties of transitive and intransitive constructions and on constraints on the use of null arguments with an arbitrary interpretation. A case in point is the distinction between argument structure modifying P-lability, argument structure preserving P-lability, and unmarked passive-like uses of transitive verbs.

- *Argument structure modifying P-lability* is defined as the possibility to use an otherwise transitive verb in an intransitive construction encoding an argument structure from which the A argument of the corresponding transitive construction is absent (in other words, this kind of P-lability involves a semantic relationship similar to that encoded by causative or anticausative derivations).
- *Argument structure preserving P-lability* (a cross-linguistically rare type of P-lability, uncontroversially attested however in Bambara and other Manding dialects), is defined as the possibility to use an otherwise transitive verb in an intransitive construction encoding the same argument structure as the corresponding transitive construction, with the P argument in S role, and the A argument possibly encoded as an oblique (in other words, this type of P-lability involves a semantic relationship similar to that encoded by passive derivations).
- *Unmarked passive-like uses of transitive verbs* are constructions that encode the same argument structure as the canonical transitive construction of the same verbs, and have all formal

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characteristics of transitive constructions, except that they involve a null A argument receiving an arbitrary interpretation.

In languages that have obligatory indexation of both A and P in the transitive construction, the distinction between transitive and intransitive constructions is always unambiguously marked, irrespective of the alignment type, and there is no possible confusion between a true intransitive construction and a transitive construction involving a null argument. Consequently, in such languages, no confusion may arise between true P-lability (i.e., the use of an otherwise transitive verb in an intransitive construction

By contrast, in accusative languages that do not index P, when transitive verbs occur with only one core NP representing the A argument (as in French *L'enfant a mangé*, to be compared with *L'enfant a mangé le gâteau*), it may be argued that this is not really an intransitive construction, but rather a transitive construction with a null argument. Symmetrically, in ergative languages that do not index A, constructions involving a transitive verb and only one core NP representing the P argument do not necessitate positing an unmarked valency change, since here again, it is perfectly possible to recognize a transitive construction with a null argument.

In my paper, I will question the validity of the notion of 'labile verbs' in a situation commonly found in particular among Nakh-Daghestanian languages, characterized by the conjunction of the following features:

- prototypical ergative case marking,
- indexation of S and P by means of the same markers, contrasting with the absence of A indexation,
- flexible constituent order,
- free use of null arguments, either with an anaphorical or arbitrary interpretation.

Diachronic investigation of French labile verbs: how and why lability emerges

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Ben Salah-Tlili (2007) yields a list of 304 labile (or reversible) French verbs (for this class, see François 2003, 2008; Rothemberg 1974; Larjavaara 2000). For 190 of these verbs

- some are crucially labile, e.g. *aigrir*, some are partially labile, e.g. *commencer*, and the remaining verbs are marginally labile, such as *avancer*,
- the chronological order Transitive \Rightarrow Intransitive is attested for 90 verbs, e.g. *commencer*, the order Intransitive \Rightarrow Transitive for 39, e.g. *bleuir*, and the order Intransitive / Transitive (attestation in the same half-century) for 61, e.g. *approcher*.

The assumption to be tested is that 3 sorts of factors may favor the emergence of the pair of constructions in one of the three chronological orders {T \Rightarrow I, I \Rightarrow T, I/T}: the type of change conveyed by the verb (physical or chemical change, change of shape, change of color, etc.), the derivational status of the verb (simplex, ingressive or egressive) and the inflectional paradigm (-ir verbs, e.g. *blondir*).

According to our multifactorial classification, the chronological type I \Rightarrow T turns out to be sensible to the 3 sorts of factors (semantic, derivational and inflectional), whereas the type T>I is sensible only to the semantic factor. But the factors put forward have no visible effect on the type I/T (quasi-simultaneous emergence of both pairs of construction).

The theoretical background of the investigation complies with Peter Koch's view of cognitive diachronic verb lexicology (see Koch 1991, 2004 and François 2008).

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The persistence of labile verbs in the French causative-anticausative alternation

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The formal encoding of the French causative-anticausative alternation has considerably changed since the emergence of the reflexive anticausative (RAC) (cf. (1)) in the 12th century. In its spread, the RAC gradually conquered ground from the unmarked anticausative (UAC) (cf. (2)), resulting in a strong decrease of labile verbs in the language. In my contribution, however, I focus on the persistence of labile verbs in the alternation. To illustrate this persistence I will discuss the following aspects of the diachronic development of the alternation:

I will first present empirical data on the diachronic development of verbs such as *augmenter* 'increase', *grossir* 'grow, gain weight' or *empirer* 'worsen' which share that their use in the RAC (and not in the UAC) decreased or was lost. Hence, these verbs developed contrary to the general trend in the language which is that the RAC spreads at the expense of the UAC. The labile verbs in the alternation are thus not just remnants of an older stage of the language, i.e. one prior to the emergence of the RAC. I will further support this view by presenting verbs which entered the alternation as labile verbs at a point in time when the RAC already existed. These verbs show that labile verbs are a productive means to formally encode the alternation even after the emergence of the RAC.

In the second part of my contribution I dare a foresight. I will first present the temporal course of the spread of the RAC. As shown in Heidinger (2008), the spread of the RAC (and with it the substitution of the UAC) has slowed down since the 18th century. (Cf. Comrie 2006 on the temporal dimension of the reorganisation of the encoding of transitivity alternations.) For the estimation of the future of labile verbs in the alternation I will take into account two more facts: (i) the considerable number of labile verbs that are used in the alternation in present-day French (cf. Rothemberg 1974, Larjavaara 2000) and (ii) the lack of a categorical semantic difference between the RAC and the UAC. On the basis of these three facts I expect labile verbs to persist in the formal encoding of the French causative-anticausative alternation.

- (1) Le vase s' est brisé. RAC: reflexive anticausative
 the vase REFL AUX broken
 'the vase broke'
- (2) La branche a cassé. UAC: unmarked anticausative
 the branche AUX broken
 'the branche broke'

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Lability in diachrony: evidence from Early Modern Greek

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In Modern Greek, transitive, causative and most of the anticausative types bear active voice morphology, while non-active voice morphology occurs in some anticausative types, and systematically in all passives and reflexives (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2004; Theophanopoulou-Kontou 1983-4, 2004; Tsimpli 1989, 2006). Classical Greek displays the same pattern as Modern Greek; verbal endings are used as voice marking. There are three voices in Classical Greek: active, middle and passive, but middle and passive voice endings are distinguished only in the Future and Aorist Tenses. Middle/passive morphology occurs in all anticausative types

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(and not just in some anticausatives, as in Modern Greek; Lavidas 2006, 2008).

- (1) Ho:s hoi te neo:i pantēs automatoī aneo:igonto
as the:NOM and temples:NOM all:NOM automatic:NOM open:IMPF:NON-ACT.3PL
'that all the temples were opening of themselves' (Xenophon, Hell., 6, 4, 5th - 4th cent. BC)

Concerning transitivity changes in the diachrony of the Greek language, a major trend towards productivity of causative types is to be observed: the process of causative extension (i.e. derivation of novel causative types on the basis of older non-alternating intransitives) is very systematic in all periods of Greek, and it is related to a large number of verbs denoting change-of-state (Lavidas 2006). As far as changes in voice are concerned, a general trend for spreading of the active voice in anticausatives and, consequently, for the emergence of labile types (same morphology for causative and anticausative types) is observed:

- (2) monai ton anigun parautika
alone:NOM they:GEN open:PRES:ACT:3PL immediately
'(the doors) open by themselves immediately' (Kallimachos and Chrysorroī, 1280, 14th cent.)

In this paper, we examine Greek vernacular texts (of different genres) from 16th and 17th century, i.e. from a period of Turkish and Venetian occupation in Greece. Morphological and syntactical variation has been argued as a basic characteristic of Early Modern Greek (Hinterberger 2001; Karantzola 2006). With regard to lability, besides variation due to changes in transitivity and voice, an important development in this period is the spread of the suffix *-no* (*-eno*, *-ono*) in verbs participating in causative-anticausative alternations (3a, b); many anticausative types now bear active voice morphology (4):

- (3a) ke i anthropi ton megalon palation plutenusi
and the:NOM people:NOM the:GEN big:GEN palaces:GEN get-rich:PRES:ACT:3PL
'and people of big palaces get rich' (Morezinos, Klini Solomontos, 123, 16th cent.)

- (3b) opios pluteni polus
who:NOM make-rich:PRES:ACT:3PL many:ACC
'who enrich many' (Morezinos, Klini Solomontos, 133, 16th cent.)

- (4) totes olupizo ke i pigi ekini na aniksi
then hope:PRES:1SG and the:NOM spring:NOM that:NOM to open:PERF:ACT:3SG
'then, I hope also that this spring open' (Morezinos, Klini Solomontos, 20, 16th cent.)

Early Modern Greek vernacular texts provide evidence regarding characteristics of and changes in lability: (a) texts of this period can show the pace of the extension of the 'new' types, as these co-exist with the older types in a competitive way; (b) a study of dialect texts in a diachronic perspective and of language change through language contact is possible on the basis of the vernacular Early Modern Greek texts (Karantzola 2005); (c) a comparison between prose vernacular texts of the same period written in different dialects (e.g. in Cretan, Heptanesian or Cypriot dialects) can lead us to cross-dialectal conclusions on the diachrony of lability.

Labile verbs in Estonian

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The paper discusses cases of both patient-preserving and agent-preserving lability. Although the syntactic feature 'lability' is considered to be weakly represented in Uralic, Estonian has many verbs which are used with alternative valency patterns. This could be intuitively explained by the fact that Estonian is strongly influenced by German, which is known to be rich in labile verbs.

The research reported here is based on some twenty Estonian labile verbs. Most of them instantiate patient-preserving lability, e.g. (1a–b), but there are also agent-preserving valency alternations, e.g. (2a–b):

- (1) a) *Jūri ehmat̩a-s* Mari-t.
Jūri frighten-ACT.PST.3SG Mari-ACC
'Jūri frightened Mari'
b) *Mari ehmat̩a-s*
Mari frighten- ACT.PST.3SG
'Mari got frightened.'
- (2) a) *Kūlm kõrvet̩a-b* ihu.
cold burn-ACT.PRS.3SG house.ACC
'Cold burns the skin'

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- b) *Külm kõrveta*-b
cold burn-ACT.PRS.3SG
'Cold burns'

Most of these verbs are causative or factitive coinages of the multifunctional derivational suffix *-ta* (underlined in the examples above). Such verbs are also *vabandama* 'excuse', *viivitama* 'delay', *põletama* 'burn', *valutama* '(make) pain', *kurvastama* 'sadden', *päevitama* 'tan', and *hammustama* 'bite'. Most of them are lexicalized and the semantic import of the causative/factitive suffix is no longer transparent. It is this opaqueness, which seems to be responsible for the availability of both transitive and intransitive uses of the verb. A list of Estonian non-derived labile verbs includes, *praadima* 'fry', *puhkama* 'rest' and *heitma* 'throw'.

Various lability types are attested, including reflexive and reciprocal lability. A semantic class of verbs which seems to be particularly liable to lability is the one of emotive verbs like *kurvastama* 'sadden', *pahandama* 'irritate', *vihostama* 'make angry' and *ehmatama* 'frighten'.

Although in some cases the lability match between Estonian and German is obvious, e.g. (3), the historical evidence is still too scarce to speak about direct calques from German; e.g.:

- (3) a) *Jury pare*-b *kartuleid*.
Jüri fry-ACT.PRS.3SG potatoes.ACC
'Jüri fries potatoes.' (cf. *Jörg brät Kartoffeln*)
b) *Kartulid prae*-vad
potatoes fry-ACT.PRS.3PL
'Potatoes fry.' (cf. *Kartoffeln braten*)

Pāṇiniya tradition as a source for the study of the MI labile verbs

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While commenting Pāṇini's well known *sūtra* 1.4.23 *kārake* Kātyāyana and Patañjali face the problem of the lack of a formal definition of this grammatical category (which is quite similar to modern linguistics' "semantic role"). One of the solutions they suggest is to consider *kāra* an *anvarthasamjñā* 'a term used in its ordinary sense'. In this way, the meaning of *kāra* is based "etymologically" on its morpheme structure (for instance, 'one who does or makes something', from the root *kṛ* 'to do'). This interpretation, however, brings to further problems. In fact, *kāra* is morphologically synonymous to *karṭṛ* 'doer', but the latter is also the name of the most important *kāra* (analogous to our semantic category of "agent"). Therefore, each of the *kāra* roles results to share the quality of *karṭṛtvā* 'agency'. This is problematic from both ontological and grammatical points of view.

In order to demonstrate the agency inherent to each *kāra* role the commentators suggest the theory of "sub-actions": each main action denoted by a verb is dissected into a number of components, for each one of which a certain *kāra* is the *sādhaka* 'accomplisher'. Thus, the action denoted by the sentence *Devadattaḥ sthālyāṃ edhaiḥ odanaṃ pacati* 'Devadatta cooks rice in a pot by means of firewood' is split into its component actions, corresponding to the *kāra* roles observable here: thus, while Devadatta performs the main cooking, the pot *contains* the rice, the firewood *makes the heat*, and the rice *softens*. As a linguistic proof of the theory of the component analysis of the action some sentences are quoted in which each one of the preceding *kāras* becomes the main accomplisher of the action: *sthālī pacati* 'The pot cooks', *edhāḥ pacanti* 'The firewood cooks', *odanaḥ pacati* 'The rice gets cooked'.

This brings however to a grammatical difficulty: in the examples mentioned above each *kāra* role is viewed as equivalent to *karṭṛ* 'agent', while it is elsewhere prescribed not to give a double categorization to one and the same entity. Therefore, the theory of "dependent" and "independent" *karṭṛ* is put forward. The independent *karṭṛ* is the only real one, while the other *kāras* are only potentially a *karṭṛ* (if the main one is present in the sentence), and can become an independent *karṭṛ* in some special sentence constructions, given that such is the desire of the speaker. Here Pāṇinian tradition is clearly anticipating the modern theories regarding topicalization, diathesis, and valency modifications. What is interesting to us here is that the verbs used in these, and many other, examples show a labile pattern.

I am convinced that the discussions of Pāṇini's commentators were latently grounded on some extra-Pāṇinian issues. Thus, the linguistic evolution of Sanskrit (or, better, its gradual adaptation to

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newer stages of the spoken vernacular), though not recognized as such, required more and more explanations about the standard grammatical prescriptions as far as they disagreed with the actual language. In particular, when the labile verbs surfaced in the Prakrits, and from there in Sanskrit, the problem was how to describe them on the ground of a framework which had been invented for a language lacking of such a phenomenon. Therefore, the occasion of the discussion on the meaning of the term *kāraka* was taken in order to accommodate the traditional grammatical discourse to this newer pattern. It is also noticeable, that the later are the grammatical treaties, the more examples of labile verbs they present. This may be only a chance, but may be also viewed as a consequence of an increasing diffusion of the labile pattern in the later language.

The decay of labile syntax in Old Indo-Aryan: a diachronic typological perspective

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The ancient Indo-European languages, such as early Vedic or (Homeric) Greek, are usually considered as characterized by a high degree of lability. According to the *communis opinio*, they had a considerable number of labile verbs and verbal forms, cf. *rudrā rtāsya sādaneshu vāvrdhuh* 'Rudras **have grown** [intransitive] in the residences of the truth' ~ *īndram ukthāni vāvrdhuh* 'The hymns **have increased** [transitive] Indra'.

In my view, the productivity of the labile patterning in such ancient Indo-European languages as Vedic is strongly exaggerated. In my paper, I will offer a general overview of the forms verbal system for which labile patterning is attested where, such as middle present forms built on thematic stems or (active) perfect forms.

I will argue that, for most of these cases, the secondary character of labile syntax can be demonstrated. Thus, in the case of present forms, labile patterning results from the polyfunctionality of the middle diathesis (self-beneficent / anticausative). The secondary transitive usages of some fundamentally intransitive verbs such as *pusyati* 'prosper' originates from the syntactic re-analysis of content accusative constructions of the type 'X prospers (in) Y' → 'X makes Y prosper'. I will further demonstrate that, within the Old Indo-Aryan period, we observe the decay of the labile type. Already in the second most ancient Vedic text, the Atharvaveda, we find very few labile forms. Thus, most of the active perfects which show labile syntax in the Rgveda are either attested in intransitive usages only (e.g., *vāvārta* 'has turned / has made turn' [intransitive / transitive] in the Rgveda ~ *-vāvarta* 'has turned' [intransitive] in the Atharvaveda), or in transitive usages only, or do not occur at all (cf. the Rgvedic perfect *vāvrdhuh*, which does not appear in the Atharvaveda). I will also discuss the main mechanisms of the loss of labile pattern in Old Indo-Aryan.

Remarks on null objects in the diachrony of English and Greek

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The aim of this paper is to examine the changes in the availability of null objects in the diachrony of the English and Greek languages. Two types of null objects can be distinguished (Larjavaara 2000, García Velasco & Portero Muñoz 2002, Cummins & Roberge 2004, 2005): indefinite (generic) and definite (latent) null objects. The means of recovery of null objects are also diverse: according to Cummins & Roberge's proposal there are three types of null objects with respect to the means of recovery: (i) internally-licensed: cognate null objects, (ii) bound: bound variable or a null constant, (iii) discourse-linked: null pronominal.

Null object availability in particular syntactic contexts differs crosslinguistically (Huang 1984; Rizzi 1982, 1986), and depends on inflectional properties of the clause and the status of the null object. Modern English and Modern Greek generally disallow null definite objects or topics of Portuguese (Raposo 1986; Farrell 1990) or French type (Cummins & Roberge 2004), and require an overt pronominal (Giannakidou & Merchant 1997; Tsimpli & Papadopoulou 2006).

(1) a. Mary said that John knows *(her) b. I Maria ipe oti o Janis *(tin) kseri

On the other hand, object drop is more productive in Modern Greek than in Modern English (2), and differences can also be found in sentences with discourse-linked null objects (3):

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- (2) a. ??John built in Lavrio
(3) a. Your book, I bought (it)
c. John, I can't stand (him)

- b. O Janis ehtise sto Lavrio
b. To vivlio su, *(to) agorasa
d. Ton Jani, den mporo na *(ton) antekso

Not all verb classes can drop their object in a similar way: causative verbs, and especially labile causative verbs, meet more restrictions (independently of the specific language) in omitting their object (Kiparsky 1997; Rappaport Hovav & Levin 1998; Lemmens 2006 - Goldberg 2001).

- (4) a. Mary broke *(it)
c. John melted *(it)
b. I Maria *(to) espase
d. O Janis *(to) eliose

Old English is different from Modern English in allowing null definite objects, especially in the following cases: when a main clause has a direct object, this object may be omitted in a following coordinated clause, or when a ditransitive verb has an indirect object, there may be a null direct object (van der Wurff 1997):

- (5) Her for se here of Cirenceastre on East-Engle ond gesœt þæt lond ond gedælde
here went the army from Cirencester to East Anglia and occupied the land and divided
'In this year, the army went from Cirencester to East Anglia and occupied the land and divided it'
(*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A* [Plummer] 880)

Similarly, Ancient Greek appears to have less restrictions in allowing null objects than Modern Greek. Examples of definite null objects can be found as early as Classical Greek (Smyth & Messing 1956: 303):

- (6) empiplas hapanto:n te:n gno:me:n apepembe
satisfy.PART all.GEN the.ACC expectation.ACC dismiss.PAST.IMP.3SG
'Having satisfied the expectations of all, he dismissed them' (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.7.8)

On the basis of the distribution of null objects in the diachrony of English and Greek, we attempt to show that there is a diachronic correlation between the availability of null objects and: (a) the development and the changes in verb aspect; (b) the emergence of the clitics; possible relations of the emergence of null objects with the emergence of null subjects can be explored: null subjects seem to have been licensed in case there was no weak type stored in the lexicon (Haider 1994, Roberts & Roussou 2003: 185f., Fuß 2004, 2008); (c) the "special" status of the causative labile verbs (regarding the stability of the unavailability of object omission).

Emergence of lability in Modern Russian

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Russian does not have many labile verbs. However, in the modern language (especially in spoken Russian) there are some labile verbs, for instance, *lit'* 'pour smth. / pour', *gon'at'* 'urge smb. / drive or run', *dvinut'* 'move smth. / begin to go', *igrat'* 'play smth. / sound (of music)', and so on. My aim is to find out whether lability is an innovation or it exists in the language at least since the 19th century.

I use the data of Russian National Corpus, comparing the quantity of transitive and intransitive uses in contemporary language with those in 19th century.

Many verbs show the increase of the intransitive use from 19th to 20th century. The verb *gon'at'* 'urge / run' is used intransitively in only 5 examples of 19th century, whereas transitively in 129 examples (4%). In the 20th century the proportion of intransitive uses increases to 12,5%. *Spustiit'* 'move down' begins to be used in the intransitive sense 'drain' (of a tyre) only in the second half of 20th century. The frequency of the intransitive use of *mčat'* 'carry fast / drive fast', the verb which is in general not highly frequent, also increases from 19th century (11%) to 20th century (31%).

However, some labile verbs do not show this tendency. For instance, for *lit'* 'pour' the proportion of intransitive uses is about 45% in both centuries.

Our data seems to be interesting in two aspects. First, it shows that the small class of Russian labile verbs is nevertheless not homogenous: it contains 'old' and 'new' labile verbs, the latter are mainly verbs of motion.

Second, all Russian 'new' labile verbs used to be strictly transitive – we have not found any labile verb which used to be strictly intransitive. This direction of unmarked derivation is not predicted in Haspelmath 1993. The author says that situations which are prototypically spontaneous (do not include an external agent, e.g. 'melt') are usually basically intransitive, and the transitive use is marked with a causative marker. In contrast, non-spontaneous situations, e.g. 'break', tend to have an unmarked transitive use, and the intransitive one is derived. However, even if we apply the same theory to unmarked derivation, situations like 'urge / run' or 'drain' are not prototypically non-

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spontaneous – the situation ‘run’ is even agentive and often takes place without an external agent or causer. Thus, the Russian situation, where the transitive use of these verbs is ‘basic’ (diachronically primary), and the intransitive one is ‘derived’ by means of unmarked derivation is not trivial.

Thus, in Russian, the ‘new’ lability is a sort of unmarked detransitivization, not transitivization. This distinguishes Russian from English and Greek (see Lavidas in press on ‘transitivizing’ lability in these languages).

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The labilization of English

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Present Day English (PDE) has more than eight-hundred labile verbs, i.e. verbs that function both transitively and intransitively, e.g. *She broke the window, the window broke*, where the transitive pattern is causative and the intransitive pattern inchoative, i.e. self-causing. In contrast, Old English had only a handful of such verbs, as do the sister Germanic languages of PDE. One obvious question is just what happened to English that it developed this method of marking the causative-inchoative distinction. OED data suggest that the change was gradual, starting during the OE period, and is perhaps still ongoing.

Semantically, the labile event verbs are similar to prototypical middle verbs, e.g. *shave (oneself)*. These middle verbs underwent change from being marked with personal pronouns in OE, later with reflexive pronouns, as they are in present day Swedish, to being intransitive in PDE (from *he wosc hine* in OE to *he washed* in PDE, *han tvättade sig* Swedish).

This paper looks at semantic similarities and differences among a range of verbs that are labile in PDE, from middles to spontaneous events, with the aim of finding evidence of causes for the slow, but extensive, increase in the number of labile verbs in English. The term *labilization* refers to language change involving an increase in labile verb types to the extent that it becomes a conventional means of using certain classes of verbs. A final issue is whether or not English is still undergoing labilization.

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Objectless *craindre* and *assurer* in contemporary French: emergence of new labile verbs

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In Standard French the verbs *assurer* and *craindre* are transitive, as (1)-(3) show:

ASSURER

Transitive: a) *to make stable or firm, to ensure, to secure*; b) *to insure, provide insurance*

- (1) Il a assuré une situation à son fils.
he secured a position for his son.
- (2) Assure bien l'échelle sur le mur.
make the ladder steady on the wall.
- (3) J'ai assuré ma maison contre le vol.

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I insured my house against theft.

CRAINdre

Transitive: a) [+ animate subject] *to fear, be afraid of, scared of, respect* b) [+ inanimate subject] *to be easily damaged by:*

- (4) Elle craint la mort.
she fears death.
- (5) Il craint son père.
he fears/respects his father.
- (6) Ces plantes crainent le froid.
these plants are easily damaged by the cold).

In the last 20-30 years both verbs have developed objectless constructions associated with meanings which are not easily/entirely predictable from the transitive forms. Consider:

ASSURER

Intransitive a) *to be competent in an area, to be equal to* (the situation, the task), *to be up to it*; b) *to make a good impression*

- (7) Pierre assure en maths.
Pierre is excellent at maths.
- (8) Tu assures, t'inquiète.
You look good, don't worry.

CRAINdre

Intransitive a) [+ inanimate subject] *to suck, to be repellent, disagreeable, bad* ; b) [+ animate subject], *not to be competent, up to it*

- (9) L'appartement est bien, mais la rue, ça craint.
The apartment is OK, but the street sucks (is shady, dodgy, is worrying, etc.).
- (10) Pierre craint en maths.
Pierre is no good, hopeless in maths [the opposite of (7)].

As noted by observers of contemporary French, the changes just described belong to oral speech, *français branché* ('advanced French') and youth language. Labelled as 'popular' or 'familiar', they have made their way however into some Standard French dictionaries.

The purpose of this paper is twofold:

a) on the basis of documents such as informal descriptions of youth language, glossaries/dictionaries of *argot* and familiar French, cartoons and blogs, to attempt to trace the emergence of the two verbs new valencies and semantic development;

b) invoking pairs like (11)-(12) and others, to try to determine the sort of lability the two verbs exhibit (e.g. P-, A- ?)

- (11) Pierre craint la rue St Jean.
Peter fears (feels uncomfortable in) St John street.
- (12) La rue St Jean craint.
St John street produces discomfort.

and to what extent the intransitive construction originates from sentences with unspecified but initially contextually recoverable objects as in (13)-(14).

- (13) Karim assure sa moto, ses bottes.
Karim secures/protects his bike, his boots (e.g. in a dangerous neighborhood)
- (14) Karim assure.
Karim secures (hence later has confidence/power, is good).

In other words, are the new uses more 'unergative', 'unaccusative', and in which contexts? Evidence will be examined taking into account latent object identification/topicality, verb semantic frames, utterance deactualisation (e.g. generic pronoun *ça*, focus on the process) and derivational morphology.

Lability within oblique subject constructions (o.s.c.)

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The present paper will concentrate on different kinds of lability or lability-like alternations with the psychological verbs (*verba sentiendi*) in Baltic. As these verbs usually have non-canonical argument marking, the present paper will deal mostly with alternations within or across non-canonically case-marked subject constructions. For instance most of the Lithuanian verbs of pain assign *dative-*

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accusative case and argument structure, where the dative encodes the experiencer and the accusative the affected body part as exemplified below:

1. *man skauda galv-ą*
I-DAT ache-3SG head ACC
"I have headache"

However the same meaning is sometimes expressed using the nominative marking for the object:

2. *man skauda galv-a*
I-DAT ache-3SG head NOM
"I have headache"

In 1 the object is encoded as accusative and in 2 as nominative. Most of the Lithuanian verbs of pain show this case alternation in the encoding of object (like *sopėti* 'ache', *gelti* 'have stabbing pain', *diegti* 'have stabbing pain', *degti* 'to have burning pain'), while Latvian marks the objects of dative-experiencer verbs consequently only with the nominative.

The present paper aims to give a historical explanation for these alternations in Lithuanian. For some other IE languages the argument marking pattern DAT_{Exp}-NOM_{Theme} was replaced later with the DAT_{Exp}-ACC_{Theme} on its way to the canonical NOM-ACC patterning (Barðdal 2001; Woolford 2003), thus the accusative is a more recent development within this account. This paper investigates whether such an explanation will hold true for the Baltic data as well.

While the verbs of pain Lith. *audrėti*, *skaudėti*, *sopėti* lack enough etymological evidence, what makes it difficult to trace back their marking pattern and to find out which argument structure should be posited as primary, other verbs of pain have preserved their original meaning in Lithuanian: √ *dieg-/daig-/dig-/dyg*¹ 'to stab'; *gėlti* (*gėlia*, *gėlė*) 'bite, sting'. The more concrete meaning like 'to stab' and 'to bite, sting' is clearly also older, while the abstract meaning "to ache" is clearly derived from the concrete one. We may assume therefore that the transitive semantics of "to stab" and "to bite, to sting" is primary as well. Hence the accusative marking of the object might be inherited from the transitive counterpart and thus be old.

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¹ There are a number of predicates with the given root, which do not differ in their core meaning, the difference between them is only the one of Aktionsart.

WORKSHOP

Language Learning Strategies: Current Trends in Greek Research

organised by

**Angeliki Psaltou-Joycey (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)
and Zoe Gavriilidou (Democritus University of Thrace)**

LANGUAGE LEARNING STRATEGIES: CURRENT TRENDS IN GREEK RESEARCH

In recent years, the traditional view of teaching and learning which views classroom instruction as being the passing on of information from the knowledgeable teacher to the ignorant and passive learner has been replaced by a more modern classroom behaviour that can be characterised as learner-centred. As a result, there has been considerable research interest in how successful students set cognitive goals and achieve them, and it could be argued that competent individuals are effective because they are assisted by the learning strategies they employ. Also the communicative approach to language teaching has given priority to language knowledge for real life communication, thus promoting the development of learners' communicative competence. Within this framework, language learning and communication strategies play a significant role towards developing the type of learning that leads to learner autonomy.

Although research abroad has been abundant, in Greece the number of studies on learning and communication strategies has been rather limited. Therefore the purpose of the present workshop is:

- to gather linguists working on different aspects of learning and communication strategies in Greece, and give them the opportunity to exchange data and ideas
- to record the new trends in Greek research concerning this field.

The workshop presents theoretical and empirical investigations on language learning strategy use. The proposed papers cover a wide range of topics relevant to the field: They focus on

- Language learning and communication strategies.
- Second/foreign language learning strategy use.
- Various groups of L1 and L2 speakers (L1 Greek, Turkish, Pomak, and Romani students learning English as a foreign language, L1 Turkish students learning Greek as second language, and L1 Greek students developing L1 literacy).
- Different age groups.
- Different language proficiency levels.
- Different study or career orientations.
- Motivation and strategy use
- Test-taking strategy use.
- The impact of strategy instruction on strategy use.

The workshop will add a new dimension to what we know about language learning strategy research in Greece.

Angeliki Psaltou-Joycey & Zoe Gavriilidou

**The effect of strategy instruction on strategy use
by Muslim students learning English as foreign language**

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The purpose of the present study was to examine the effect of strategy instruction on strategy use by Muslim pupils learning English as foreign language. 122 pupils attending minority schools in Xanthi and Rodopi, aged from 10 to 12 years old, participated in the study. The sample was divided in an experimental group (N=68) who followed a specially designed program aiming at raising learning strategy use and a control group (N=54) who followed only the typical program of English language teaching. Strategy use in both groups was evaluated with a standardized questionnaire based on previous work of Oxford (1990) and O' Malley and Chamot (1990) before and immediately after the cessation of the program. The results showed that there was a significant improvement in the use of metacognitive strategies (F=56,037, df 1, sig 0,000), cognitive strategies (F=52,868 df 1, sig 0,000) and socio-affective strategies (F=188,055, df 1, sig 0,000). These results stress the need for designing special curricula for raising pupils' or students' strategic use of language in second or foreign language teaching.

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**Investigating the correlations between the strategies
employed in a successful or unsuccessful guessing and learners' confidence**

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Communication strategies and more specifically the process of guessing is particularly important in foreign language learning. This is so because accuracy can be influenced by factors such as lack of strategic competence on the part of the students as well as lack of knowledge of morphology, transformation, polysemy of rules of transcription, lack of awareness with regard to the existence of common vocabulary, and insufficient teaching/report in the ASS environment. However, the risk of using accuracy as a dependent variable is that the society – a researcher that constitutes a type of social authority – will place an objective and will judge the answers of the subjects as for their proximity to the objective. In order to cover any weaknesses the choice of accuracy as a dependent variable might cause, we tried using another, psychological parameter, namely the confidence, which might supplement it and make it more reliable. This because we have many reasons to believe that confidence might reinforce learning, provided the users are taught to exploit any source of information they have in their disposal, after having recognized it, giving it the suitable attention. The purpose of the present study is to examine the relation between the strategies of confidence and accuracy by Non Native Speakers - NNSs - learning Greek as second language. In the experiment 573 pupils attending secondary schools in Xanthi, Rodopi and Evros, aged 14 years old, participated. The sample was divided in two groups, the first group consist of native speakers- NNSs- of Greek and the second of NNSs, whose first language is mainly Turkish. The pupils had to fill in a close test with verbs, nouns and adjectives and afterwards specify the degree of their confidence for each item on a 5-grade scale. The basic hypotheses of our research whether and to what extent the factor confidence can contribute positively in the development of Modern Greek vocabulary of NNSs of Greek. The results of our research are still being processed.

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Students' beliefs about vocabulary acquisition strategies of successful learners

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The purpose of the present study was to examine strategies that students use (or declare to do so) for acquiring new lexical entries. 121 thirteen years old students attending two public schools in Oreokastro (Thessalonica) during the period 2007-2008 participated in the study, but the final sample constituted of 62 students since not all students replied to the questionnaire. The questionnaire comprised questions concerning students' beliefs about the environments and means helping students learn new words, the ways students employ in order to learn new words, the words' characteristics that make its acquisition more difficult and finally students' beliefs about "good vocabulary" use. The results showed a significant students' preference of *schooling environment* for learning more lexical entries ($F_1=61$, $\bar{X}_1 = 4.79$, $S_1'=0.5$), of *books* as a mean to improve their vocabulary ($F_1= 61$, $\bar{X}_1=4.86$, $S_1'=0.447$). It was also found that students strongly prefer *lexicon* for learning new, unknown words ($F_1=58$, $\bar{X}_1 = 4.97$, $S_1'=0.162$). The lexical aspects that seem more difficult for students are *spelling* ($F_1=58$, $\bar{X}_1 = 4.46$, $S_1'=0.881$) and *meaning* ($F_2=58$, $\bar{X}_2 = 4.46$, $S_2'=0.881$). Finally, students prefer to use "good" vocabulary ($F_2=57$, $\bar{X}_2 = 4.66$, $S_2'=0.484$), and *their own words* ($F_5=58$, $\bar{X}_5 = 4.81$, $S_5'=1.458$) when it come to lexical strategies in the classroom. These results reveal a "mainstream" students' approach for lexical knowledge and certain preference strategic use of "good" vocabulary.

Learning and communicating strategies: two faces of the same coin

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O'Malley and Chamot (1990:1) claim that that their work on learning strategies in second language acquisition is concerned with 'the special thoughts or behaviors that individuals use to help them comprehend, learn, or retain new information.' Their data collection was primarily based on interviews and thinking aloud protocols. As a result, as they themselves state, very little in their data is concerned with social and affective strategies. Similarly, Oxford (1990) discusses learning strategies which were collected in a similar fashion aiming primarily to serve another purpose, namely, to generate items for a questionnaire designed to assess uses of learning strategies in second language acquisition, the so-called Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL).

In my presentation, I will discuss and re-define such 'learning' strategies as a) compensation strategies, b) metacognitive strategies, c) affective strategies and d) social strategies and I will argue that these are the very same strategies that language users use to facilitate interaction and learn while involved in interactive settings. Besides treating language as a cognitive skill that involves both declarative and procedure knowledge, I will argue that strategies are part of the procedural knowledge that EFL learners bring along in the foreign language classroom as 'knowledge and experience'.

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The strategies were identified in oral communication data of learners of English. The data were recorded while learners were involved in an activity where eye contact was barred. These data are part of the **Greek Learner/User English Corpora (GL/UEC)**. This corpora project is supported by and housed in the Multimedia Centre (Εργαστήριο Πολυμέσων για την Επεξεργασία Λόγου και Κειμένων) of the Faculty of English Studies, University of Athens.

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Language learning strategy profiles of university students in Greece

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The present study constitutes an attempt to provide a comprehensive description of learner individual differences in language learning strategy use. The purpose of the investigation is to provide a profile of university students' most frequently used language learning strategies when these students learn or study foreign languages in an academic context.

A total of 1555 students from two universities in Thessaloniki (Aristotle University and the University of Macedonia), attending foreign language courses in eight basic fields of study, that is, Humanities, Foreign Languages majors, Engineering, Sciences, Medicine, Economics, Education and Computers, participated in a survey in order to provide a) the students' overall profile of language learning strategies and b) examine the students' differences in the use of strategies in relation to variables such as field of study, gender, and level of proficiency. For the purposes of the investigation, the *Strategy Inventory for Language Learning* (SILL), developed by Oxford (1990), was used after it had been translated into Greek and adapted accordingly (*Cronbach a*= .9073). The results indicated significant differences in the between-subjects tests in all six types of language strategies, namely, memory-related, cognitive, compensation, metacognitive, affective, and social but, in particular, more differences were indicated in the cognitive, metacognitive, and social strategies.

Conclusions suggest that instructors who teach foreign languages at tertiary level should bear in mind the existence of differences in the preference of learning strategies, and provide a teaching and learning environment that facilitates the identification by students of the learning and study strategies that work best for them. Furthermore, instructors could also suggest and provide informed training in alternative strategies, in order to help learners stretch their 'comfortable zone' of learning and studying and become more flexible and able to cope with unforeseen situations.

Investigating the use of test-taking strategies by KPG candidates

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The present study focuses on an area which has been relatively untouched, i.e. the use of test taking strategies, which involve the strategies or "tricks" learners of English employ while performing test activities. The paper is the outcome of a project aiming at exploring the test-taking strategies used by learners of English when engaging in activities of the KPG exam. It presents findings as derived from closed-response questionnaires constructed for this study and administered to two different target groups of learners of English. The first group consisted of university students attending a ten-week course designed especially to prepare them for the KPG exams in English, at B2 and C1 levels and offered by the *Research Centre in English Language Teaching, Testing and Assessment* (RCEL) the Faculty of English Studies, University of Athens, in April and October, 2008. B2 and C1 level candidates who sat for the exam in November 2008 comprise the second group of respondents. The results of the two groups of respondents are presented both separately and contrastively for each one of them. The connection between the prospective candidate-strategy use and the actual candidate-

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strategy use will be drawn. What is important in this research, apart from its valuable results, is the construction of a tool whose main purpose is to explore the test taking strategies that learners of English claim to employ in the various modules of the KPG exam. Additionally, the particular survey may provide language learners with information on effective test taking strategies and equip educators or material developers with an inventory of test taking strategies for incorporation into their classrooms, materials and syllabi.

Language learning strategy employment of EFL Greek-speaking learners in junior high school

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In the past thirty years the area of language learning strategies has witnessed prolific growth both in theory and research. The shift of perspective from teacher- to learner-centeredness in the EFL classroom entailed the students' involvement in decision-making towards maximizing their achievement.

As there is a variety of factors implicated in language learning strategy use, the present study focuses on the variables of language proficiency level, gender and motivation to learn English in the Greek socio-educational context. This research is a follow-up to a study for a doctoral thesis with Greek-speaking young learners of English in the city of Thessaloniki. The aim is to further provide learning strategy profiles of EFL Greek-speaking learners in junior high school in relation to their proficiency level, gender, and motivation to learn English with pedagogical implications for their teaching. The pilot study was performed in late April 2007 and the main study was conducted from mid-February to late May 2008 involving 785 fifteen-year-old participants in the third grade in junior high schools in the west, center, and east of the city of Thessaloniki. All ALTE language proficiency levels (from beginning to advanced) were found and examined in relation to strategy use (in terms of both frequency and type).

The results from the analysis of the data confirm the metacognitive awareness of the students as far as their English learning is concerned. The relationship between strategy use and proficiency is established while gender and motivational differentiations are to be presented.

WORKSHOP

The optionality of wh-movement

**organised by
Anna Roussou (University of Patras)
and Christos Vlachos (University of Patras)**

THE OPTIONALITY OF Wh-MOVEMENT

The availability of a wh-in situ strategy in typical wh-movement languages was originally discussed with respect to French (Aout et al. 1981; Cheng 1991; Chang 1997; Boskovic 1997, 2000; Cheng & Rooryck 2000, 2002; Starke 2001; Mathieu 2004; Baunaz 2005, 2008, a.o.). In recent years, the in-situ option has been argued to exist in a number of languages, such as English (Ginzburg & Sag 2001, Pires & Taylor 2007), Spanish (Uribe-Etxebarria 2002, Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria 2005, Reglero 2005), European Portuguese (Cheng & Rooryck 2000), Brazilian Portuguese (Kato 2004), Egyptian Arabic (Lassadi 2004), Malagasy (Sabel 2003), Greek (Sinopoulou 2007, Vlachos 2008) and Babine- Witsuwit'en (Danham 2000). The wh-in situ strategy has been broadly analyzed either as concealed (remnant or feature) movement, or as real in-situ. Despite different implementations all approaches show that the in-situ variant has different syntactic properties compared to its moved counterpart, e.g. lack of island effects (a property also shared by 'sluicing') and interpretative restrictions. It has also been pointed out that real in-situ languages give rise to different readings depending on the presence or absence of the question particle (Miyagawa 2001), raising the question whether these languages also exhibit a parallel, although differently manifested, dual pattern. The pervasive availability of wh-in situ in typical wh-movement languages turns out to be a non-trivial issue, with implications regarding the nature of wh-movement, its effects on the interfaces and the interaction with the lexicon. On the PF-interface, in-situ and moved wh-questions exhibit different intonational patterns, while on the LF interface, they provide a more restricted set of readings, an option which is not shared by 'real' in-situ languages. The workshop aims at considering the properties of these constructions from a theoretical perspective, including questions such as the ones below:

- If the wh-in situ strategy is optional, how is it captured by the computational system?
- How does 'optional' wh-in situ differ (if it does) from 'real' in-situ?
- What is the correlation between alternative strategies of wh-questions and the properties of the lexical elements involved?
- How does 'optional' wh-in situ compare with other phenomena, such as sluicing, in terms of interpretation and island effects? What are the implications for the definition of islands?

Anna Roussou & Christos Vlachos

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Question(able) Issues in Cypriot Greek

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Picking up the discussion of *wh*-in situ in Greek, a *wh*-movement language, from Sinopoulou (2007) and expanding the discussion of *wh*-in situ in English, another typical *wh*-movement language, from Ginzburg & Sag (2000), Vlachos (2008) puts forth a semantico-syntactic description of the phenomenon in discourse-pragmatic terms, which will no doubt be hotly debated at the present workshop. Our contribution explores how Cypriot Greek (CG) differs in interesting ways from the standard variety (Standard Modern Greek or SMG). It can be observed that the discourse contexts in which *wh*-in situ is felicitous in SMG also hold for C– but that the syntactic operations involved and semantic interpretations available do not.

In particular, we will elaborate on 4 potential differences between the two varieties:

A. CG *indalos* ‘how’ does not have the same properties as SMG *pos* — specifically, it can never be left in situ; the same goes for CG *inda* ‘what’ vs. SMG *ti* (not shown here). (In the talk, we will also discuss the relevance and properties of the CG element *embu*, literally ‘(it) is that’, which frequently shows up in questions).

- (1) a. Pos aniksen tin portan o Nikos? ‘How did Nick open the door?’
b. O Nikos aniksen tin portan pos? ‘Nick opened the door how?’

- (2) a. Indalos (embu) aniksen tin portan o Nikos? ‘How did Nick open the door?’
b. *Aniksen tin portan o Nikos indalos?

B. To the extent that *pos* can be used by CG speakers, it can not only be left in situ (as in SMG), but also modify the subject (as opposed to instrumental-only in SMG).

- (3) Speaker A: O Nikos aniksen tin portan pos? ‘Nick opened the door how?’
Speaker B: Me to klidhi. / Nevriasmenos. ‘With the key.’ / ‘With anger.’

C. In the presence of a potential ambiguity between a matrix and an embedded reading, interpretation of an ex-situ *wh*-element with the embedded clause is strongly dispreferred, if possible at all.

- (4) Speaker A: Se pjon ipen o Yiannis oti i Maria ipen to mistiko?
‘To whom did John announce that Mary revealed the secret?’
Speaker B: a. Ipen to ston dhiefthindi tu.
‘He announced it to his senior manager’
b. # Ipen oti i Maria ipen to ston adaghonisti.
‘He announced that Mary revealed it to the competitor.’

D. When in situ, the matrix reading is (marginally) possible in CG, unlike SMG.

- (5) Speaker A: O Yiannis ipen oti i Maria ipen to mistiko se pjon?
‘John announced that Mary revealed the secret to whom?’
Speaker B: a. Ipen to ston dhiefthindi tu.
b. Ipen oti i Maria ipen to ston adaghonisti.

Wh-Agreement and In-Situ Wh-Phrases in Korean

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It is widely known that Kyongsang dialect of Korean exhibits *wh*-agreement: *wh*-phrase agrees with complementizers *-no* (for main verbs) and *-ko* (for copula), while non-*wh*-phrases need *-na* (for main verbs) and *-ka* (for copula). This distinction has so far been assumed to be lost in Standard Korean with the unified question marker *-ni*. This paper shows this assumption is incorrect. In particular, this paper shows that the morpheme *-nuntey* (originally a connective meaning ‘by the way’) is grammaticalized to mark a *wh*-question. It also shows that while *-no* in Kyongsang dialect is a clause-final *wh*-Complementizer, *-nuntey* in Standard Korean is an intermediate *wh*-complementizer. **A.** First, notice that *-nuntey* behaves in exactly the same way as *-no*, which show that *-nuntey* and *-no* can be used only if the clause contains a *wh*-phrase. This suggests that *-nuntey* is a *wh*-agreement complementizer in the same sense as *-no* is.

- (1) a. ku salam-i *nwukwu*-lul cohaha-*nuntey*? (Standard Korean)
b. ku salam-i *nwukwu*-l cohaha-*no*? (Kyongsang dialect)

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the person-Nom who-Acc like-QM 'Who does the person like?'
 Suh (1987) claims that (1a) "looks" like a question because it is reduced from a full question. Such an account may not be able to explain why then (2a) cannot be a reduced question.

- (2) a. *ku salam-i John-ul cohaha-*nuntey*?
 the person-Nom John-Acc like-QM 'Does the person like John?'
 b. *ku salam-i John-l cohaha-*no*?
 the person-Nom John-Acc like-QM 'Does the person like John?'

B. The *-nuntey* co-occurs with a *wh*-phrase even in a long-distance relation. Consider the examples in (3), which suggest that *-nuntey* should agree with a *wh*-phrase contained in an embedded clause.

- (3) a. ne-nun [_{CP} ku salam-i *nwukwu*-lul cohaha-nta-ko] sayngkakha-*nuntey*?
 you-Top the person-Nom who-Acc like-Prs-Comp think-QM
 'Who do you think the person likes?'
 b. *ne-nun [_{CP} ku salam-i John-ul cohaha-nta-ko] sayngkakha-*nuntey*?
 you-Top the person-Nom John-Acc like-Prs-Comp think-QM
 'Do you think the person likes John?'

C. The syntactic peculiarity of *-nuntey* is that it still maintains the conjunctive function. In this regard *-nuntey* is different from *-no* in Kyengsang dialect or *-ni* in Standard Korean. Compare (4a) with (4b). Since *-no* is a clause-final complementizer, it cannot connect two clauses (7a), while *-nuntey* connects two clauses (4b).

- (4) a. *ku salam-i *nwukwu*-l cohaha-*no*, ney-ka kulehkey malha-*ni*?
 the person-Nom who-Acc like-no, you-Nom so say-QM
 'Why do you say so, because the person likes who?'
 b. ku salam-i *nwukwu*-lul cohaha-*nuntey*, ney-ka kulehkey malha-*ni*? (=3a)
 the person-Nom who-Acc like-nuntey, you-Nom so say-QM
 'Why do you say so because the person likes whom?'

In conclusion, Standard Korean exhibits overt *wh*-agreement and there are two kinds of complementizers: *-nuntey* is an intermediate *wh*-agreement complementizer in Standard Korean, while *-no* is a clause-final *wh*-agreement complementizer in Kyengsang dialect.

Wh- in and ex- situ in French exclamatives, a case study of *combien*

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It is well known that *wh*-in situ is possible in interrogatives in Colloquial French. The possibility of *wh*-in situ in exclamatives is controversial (cf. Obenauer 1994):

- (1) Il est combien difficile de se remettre en question!
 it is how much difficult to put oneself into question
 'How difficult it is to put oneself into question'
 (2) Combien il est difficile de se remettre en question!
 how much it is difficult to put oneself into question

I would like to propose that *combien* is a degree modifier of a gradable AP in (1), comparable with other degree modifiers that stay in situ:

- (3) Il est si/très difficile de se remettre en question!
 it is so/very difficult to put oneself into question

The homophonous *combien* in (2) has a sentential status and associates with a sentence. An argument for its sentential status shows, that *combien* can not occur with an AP in sentence initial position and is therefore comparable with other exclamative words:

- (4) (c'est fou) *combien/*come/ *qu'est-ce que / *ce que belle elle est!
 it's crazy how much/ how/ what/ what beautiful she is
 (5) (c'est fou) combien/ come/ qu'est-ce que / ce que elle est belle!
 it's crazy how much/ how/ what/ what she is beautiful

The following data seem to contradict the analysis according to which a sentence initial *combien* selects for a sentence:

- (6) (c'est fou) combien on retrouve de/ *des personnes!
 it's crazy how many one meets de/ indef.pronoun people
 (7) (c'est fou) combien de gens ont ce problème!
 it's crazy how many de people have this problem

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To account for the data, I will assume that *combien* generates in a Quantifier Phrase (Zamparelli 2000). If the quantifier has unvalued [*wh*]-feature and/or a [focus] feature, it moves to SpecCP for checking reasons:

(8) [_{CP} combien [_{TP} on retrouve [_{QuantP} combien de personnes]

If *combien* modifies a gradable AP, it is generated in a DegP and stays there:

(9) Il est [_{DegP} combien/très/ si [_{AP} difficile de se remettre en question]]

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Wh-in-situ in Northern Italian varieties: a reappraisal

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A certain amount of evidence on wh-in-situ in Northern Italian dialects has been published in recent years by Munaro 1999, Poletto and Pollock 2004, Benincà and Poletto 2005 among others. According to these authors, Northern Italian wh-in-situ is an instance of remnant movement. In particular the wh-element is first vacated to a left peripheral position – and the remnant is then moved to an even higher position to its left. This analysis, proposed by Sportiche for French, contrasts with the classical analysis of wh-in-situ in East Asian languages introduced by Huang. Contra the literature quoted, in this work we argue in favor of the classical wh-in-situ treatment for Northern Italian varieties – thus the wh-element is a variable read in the scope of a question operator introduced at the LF interface, which marks the scope of the question.

In the first part of the work we clear the grounds from some general arguments introduced by Munaro, Poletto and Pollock to support their analysis, arguing on the basis of the corpus of data presented by Manzini and Savoia (2005). First, Northern Italian wh-in-situ is not sensitive to islands – as is predicted on the in-situ analysis, but not on the remnant movement one. Second, Northern Italian wh-in-situ is not constrained to happen sentence-internally, but can cross sentence boundaries; this means that movement of the remnant to the left of the wh-phrase cannot be assimilated to Kayne-style analyses of sentence-final complementizers (with the sentence moving in front of the complementizer). What is more, Northern Italian wh-in-situ is not restricted to matrix questions; to the extent that it is, we can construe this as result of, say, an incompatibility of that-type complementation with the interrogative operator. When this is removed, embedded wh-in-situ is observed. Examples like (1) illustrate the latter two points.

(1) *La Strozza Valle Imagna* (Lombardy)

so mia fa-l kome / fa k'ze
I.know not to.do-it how / to.do what
'I don't know how to do it/ what to do'

In the second part of the presentation we address more specific issues pertaining to Northern Italian dialects, as time allows. Specifically we focus on the fact, currently raising much attention (cf. Sportiche (2008) for French) that Romance *wh*-phrases appear to exist in two series, a clitic and a full phrasal one. Poletto and Pollock (2004), Benincà and Poletto (2005) detect a one-to-one correspondence between the morphophonological properties of wh-elements and their syntactic distribution: full wh-phrase would be found in-situ, and wh-clitics in initial position. Among other things, we will show that in cases of wh-doubling it is not necessarily the case that a wh-clitic is in initial position, as in (2). This undermines analyses which treat wh-doubling as a particular instance of clitic doubling (with the full wh-phrase originating as the Spec of the wh-clitic).

(2) *Grumello* (Lombardy)

k'ha fa-i kohe
what do-they what
'What are they doing?'

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Wh-in situ patterns like Long Movement in French

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We show that *wh*-in situ is produced in non-presuppositional contexts by French children and adults, contrary to the standard view that it is not grammatical in such contexts (see also Starke 2001; Mathieu 2004; Baunaz 2005, 2008). These data come from a study whose primary focus was Scope Marking structures in L1 acquisition of questions.

Scope Marking has been argued to represent a developmental stage in L1 acquisition: children sporadically/consistently produce **Scope Marking** questions in English (1), Dutch or French (Thornton 1990, van Kampen 1997), on a par with SM in adult German (2).

1. What do you think **who** ate this?

2. Was glaubt Georg **wen** Rosa geküßt hat?

what believe G. who R. kissed has

Who does Georg think Rosa kissed?

Herburger (1994), Dayal (1994), Lahiri (2002) argue that SM-questions are not semantically equivalent to their Long-Distance (LD) counterparts. The proposition implicated by the embedded *wh*-clause in (2), i.e. that Rosa kissed someone, cannot be understood as being merely part of George's belief-state: it is understood *de re*, as part of the *speaker's* beliefs. This semantic difference follows because the presupposition of the embedded *wh*-question in (2) is projected up to the matrix question at LF. (2) is thus infelicitous in a context where this presupposition is denied, e.g. where George's belief about Rosa is false.

In the 'classic' LD elicitation protocol (Crain and Thornton 1998), the presuppositions of a SM-question are *always* satisfied. In context (3), the proposition that there is something in the box is part of the questioner's/child's beliefs:

3. There is something in the box... You guess first and then the rat... You think there is a Smurf in the box, but ask Ratty what he thinks.

In a study involving 33 monolingual French children between 3 and 6, we investigated production of LD-questions in contexts *where the felicity conditions for SM-questions are satisfied or not*. We found evidence that *wh*-in situ patterns like long movement in the child and adult grammar.

For the older group of children the rate of LD questions in presuppositional contexts was 31,75% *versus* 64% in non-presuppositional contexts. This pattern of higher use of LD questions in non-presuppositional contexts holds for both *wh*-movement and *wh*-in situ LD questions. As expected, the adults show the same pattern: 26,25% of the questions were LD in presuppositional context and 49% of the questions were LD in the non-presuppositional context. Interestingly, the control adult group produce fewer LD questions (especially in situ questions) than the older child group. This result points to a general adult tendency to avoid movement. In on-going research, we are studying adult judgments of different LD question strategies across semantic contexts.

Optionality of *wh*-fronting in Chinese: topicalization and ATB cases

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Chinese is an obligatory *wh*-in-situ language (cf. (1)). However, in some cases, the in-situ *wh*-words can undergo an optional movement to the left periphery of the sentence. I will show that only complex *wh*-words (e.g. 'what book', 'which student') are allowed to undergo *wh*-fronting (cf. (2)), not the bare *wh*-word (e.g. 'what', 'who') (cf. (3)). The fronted *wh*-words are interpreted as a contrastive focus. I will show that this *wh*-fronting is not *wh*-movement but a kind of topicalization.

(1) Zhangsan zuotian chi-le shenme

Zhangsan yesterday eat-asp. what

'What did Zhangsan eat yesterday?'

(2) [Shenme cai]_i, Zhangsan zuotian chi-le t_i

what dish Zhangsan yesterday eat-asp.

'What is the dish that Zhangsan ate yesterday?'

(3) ??Shenme_i, Zhangsan zuotian chi-le t_i

what Zhangsan yesterday eat-asp.

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(‘What is it that Zhangsan ate yesterday?’)

The topicalized *wh*-word should be contextually constrained (which explains why only complex forms are acceptable). I will show that this is due to their nature as topics/contrastive focus. It will be argued that the *wh*-phrases move to [Spec, TopP] in Syntax overtly to check the [+focus] feature at first, and then the [+Q] feature attached to the *wh*-words will raise covertly to [Spec, CP] through feature checking. This process obeys strict locality constraints. The distinction between *wh*-nominals and *wh*-adverbials will be made with regard to the topicalization cases. Finally, I will examine double topicalization constructions.

A special type of *wh*-fronting is Across-The-Board structures in Chinese, as in (4a).

- (4) a. Na-wei zuojia [_{Coordinated VP} Zhangsan xihuan Lisi bu xihuan]
which-CL. writer Zhangsan like Lisi not like
‘Which writer does Zhangsan like but Lisi dislike?’ (ATB question)
b. Lu Xun. ‘Lu Xun.’ (Single identity answer)

The *wh*-word *na-wei zuojia* ‘which writer’ could either be a ‘generated topic’ in [Spec, TopP] or move there as a result of topicalization. However I will argue that it moves there because of the complex-NP island effects observed in (5).

- (5) *Na-wei zuojia [Zhangsan xihuan [e xie] de shu Lisi bu xihuan [e xie] de shu]
which-CL. writer Zhangsan like write DE book Lisi not like write DE book
(‘For which writer x, such that Zhangsan likes but Lisi dislikes the books [that x wrote]?’)

Meanwhile, I will argue that the relevant movement in (4) is indeed a case of topicalization, and not a normal *wh*-movement. Finally I will explain that an ATB question permits only ‘single identity’ answer because an ‘Intersection operator’ is generated in the left periphery and picks out the identical variables from the nominal set in each of the coordinated VPs.

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***Wh*& *wh*-questions in Greek: mono-clausal or bi-clausal?**

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The aim of this talk is to study sentences like (1), which raise some interesting typological, syntactic and semantic questions.

- (1) Pou ke pote sinadise i Maria ton Janni?
when and where met the Mary-NOM the John-ACC
‘When and where did Mary meet John?’

In the first part of the talk, the Greek data will be presented and examined as to whether there are any restrictions that regulate the conjunction possibilities of *wh*-words as well as their relative order. For example, the conjunction of a *wh*-subject with either a *wh*-object or a *wh*-adjunct is banned in English but not in Polish (see Gračanin-Yuksek 2007, Citko 2008). Also, the type of the verb (eg. intransitive, obligatorily or optionally transitive) has been argued to interfere with the conjunction possibilities of *wh*-words. As for the ordering restrictions in *wh*&*wh*-questions, they seem to be subject to crosslinguistic variation, since superiority-like effects emerge in languages like Hungarian, but not in languages like Romanian (see Lipták 2003, Comorovski 1996).

In the second part of the talk, the question of the syntactic derivation of (1) will be addressed. The syntactic analyses of *wh*&*wh*-questions are divergent. According to the mono-clausal analysis, the two *wh*-elements are clausemates (see Comorovski 1996, Kazenin 2002, Lipták 2003, Zhang 2007, Gribanova to appear). On the other hand, sentences like (1) have also been analysed as bi-clausal, i.e., derived by two coordinated CPs. According to one group of analyses, the derivation of (1) involves backwards sluicing of the TP in the first conjunct (see Browne 1972, Giannakidou & Merchant 1998, Camacho 2003). However, in most recent accounts, *wh*&*wh*-questions have been analysed as multi-dominant structures, where either independent nodes or larger constituents are shared, as in Gračanin-Yuksek (2007) and Citko (2008), respectively. Regarding the Greek data, arguments will be offered in support of a bi-clausal analysis.

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Finally, the effort will be made to show how the proposed syntactic derivation of *wh&wh*-questions accounts for their semantic properties and, specifically, for the fact that they disallow pair list readings (contrary to multiple questions. See Gribanova (to appear)).

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On some similarities between *wh*-in-situ and sluicing in Greek

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Greek instantiates non-echo *wh*-in-situ questions (cf., Sinopoulou 2007; Vlachos 2008), as in (1b), along with the *wh*-ex-situ ones (cf., (1a)):

- 1) a. *Ti aghorase o Janis?*
What.Acc bought.3s the John
b. *O Janis aghorase ti?*
The John.Nom bought.3s what.Acc
'What did John buy?'

It has been argued that among other things, the Greek *wh*-in-situ words/phrases are restrictive in terms of reference (cf., the infelicity of (2a) under (2b)), cannot be coreferential with the clausal pronoun that precedes them (cf., (3)) and show no island effects (cf., (4)):

- 2) *O Nikos anikse tin porta pos?*
The Nick.Nom opened.3s the door.Acc how
a. # *Nevriasmenos*
'Irritated'
b. *Me to klidhi*
With the key
3) *I mitera tu_k thavmase.3s pjon ithopio tu theatru_j?*
The mother his admired which actor of-the theatre
'Which theatrical actor did his mother admire?'
4) *Kseris ton nearo pu prokalese pjo atichima?*
Know.3s the young-man that caused which accident
Intended (non-echo): 'You know the young man that caused which accident?'

Building on Giannakidou & Merchant (1998) and Merchant (2001), who discuss Greek sluicing, as well, I will show that the sluiced *wh*-words/phrases share some striking properties with the in-situ ones. To name a few, the former seem to be restrictive in terms of interpretation (cf., the infelicity of (5a) under (5)), show no coreference with the pronoun that "precedes" them (cf., (6)), and as it has been argued, they are immune to island effects (cf. (7)):

- 5) *Ksero oti o Nikos anikse tin porta ala dhen ksero pos.*
Know.1s that the Nick opened the door but not know.1s how
'I know that Nick opened the door but I don't know how.'
a. # *Nevriasmenos*
'Irritated'
b. *Me to klidhi*
'With the key'
6) *Ksero oti i mitera tu_k thavmase kapjon ithopio tu theatru ala dhen ksero pjon_j.*

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Know.1s that the mother his admired some actor of-the theatre but not know.1s who
'I know that his mother admired some theatrical actor but I don't know who'

- 7) Ksero ton nearo pu prokalese kapjo atichima ala dhen ksero pjo (atichima).
Know.1s the young-man that caused.3s some accident but not know.1s what (accident)
'I know the young man that caused some accident but I don't know what (accident).'

Then, the general question to be addressed is if and to what extent the aforementioned similarities could reflect a similar derivation between the two constructions, bearing in mind that the *wh*-in-situ words/phrases do not move either overtly or covertly to the left periphery of the clause, yielding the observed syntactic and interpretational results.

Explaining and unifying true optionality

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Singapore English (SgE) is a contact language which arose between contact between English (*wh*-moving) and Chinese (*wh*-in-situ). Cheng (1991) claims that in *wh*-in-situ languages, will possess "special-markings" in yes/no questions and typing particles (overt or invisible) in *wh*-questions. What we find in SgE is that, due to language contact, grammatical transfer has taken place from Chinese to English, and not only do we have optional *wh*-movement, we find optional but overt particles in *wh*-questions.

- (1) a. You eat what (áh)?
b. What you eat (áh)?
c. What áh, you eat?
'What did you eat?'
- (2) John is eating an apple meh?
'Is John eating an apple?'

Essentially then, as can be seen in (1), a three-way optionality arises. Not only this, we also find special-markings in yes/no questions. Clearly, some sort of parallel exists between SgE and MC which also adopts the use of optional *wh*-particles as well as particles in yes/no questions, suggesting that SgE is an in-situ language, while the availability of overt *wh*-movement suggests otherwise.

True optionality is problematic if we adopt a feature-driven approach to syntax. *Wh*-movement thus involves obligatory movement while real in-situ languages such as Chinese and Japanese do not. The features in question need to be present in the numeration and thus, if we find in-situ options in a *wh*-moving language, it necessarily follows that the numerations are different and this leads to differing interpretations. The *wh*-movement parameter can be summarised as the presence or absence of an EPP feature on C, which triggers movement of the *wh*-element in normal *wh*-movement languages. Conversely, non *wh*-movement languages like Chinese, lack this EPP feature and use question particles, null or otherwise to type interrogatives.

What I claim in this paper is that SgE possesses a C with EPP and question particles; contrary to what Cheng claims -- only in-situ languages can possess question and yes/no particles. Since the EPP does not care how it is satisfied, if we can satisfy it by something other than the *wh*-element, we can account for both in-situ and ex-situ constructions with a unifying analysis:

The *wh*-element and *wh*-particle combine while remaining viable goals of the probe. The EPP probe cannot distinguish between the *wh*-element or the particle as a goal. Thus, EPP satisfaction by *wh*-elements give rise to ex-situ constructions (1b) while satisfaction by particles result in (1a). (1c) is accomplished by further raising the *wh*-word/particle unit into a Focus phrase in the C layer.

Optionality of particles can be accounted for by the alternation between an overt and null *wh*-particle, like Chinese, and these alternations can be reduced to the phonology rather than semantics. Correct surface order is accounted for by having the particle move along to an even higher position in the C layer, where sentence final particles reside (as they do in Chinese). Semantically vacuous alternations are possible in both derivations as the numerations are identical.

Going further, I postulate that it is not implausible to extend such an analysis to accommodate other languages in an attempt to make a step towards a unified analysis for semantically vacuous and truly optional alternations in *wh*-strategies.