

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki  
School of English  
Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics

**20<sup>th</sup> International Symposium on  
Theoretical and Applied Linguistics  
(*ISTAL 20*)**

1-3 April 2011

**Abstracts**



## **ISTAL 20 Reviewers**

Eleni Agathopoulou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Thomaï Alexiou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Angeliki Athanasiadou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Mary Baltazani (University of Ioannina)  
Spyridoula Bella (University of Athens)  
Gaberell Drachman (University of Salzburg)  
Michalis Georgiafentis (University of Athens)  
Eliza Kitis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Leonid Kulikov (Leiden University, Institute of Linguistics, Moscow)  
Nikolaos Lavidas (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Marianthi Makri-Tsilipakou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Marina Mattheoudakis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Elsa Mela-Athanasopoulou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Michalis Milapides (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Katerina Nicolaidis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Vicky Papachristou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Despina Papadopoulou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Angeliki Psaltou-Joycey (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Areti-Maria Sougari (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Melita Stavrou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Nina Topintzi (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Anastasios Tsangalidis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Ianthi Maria Tsimpli (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
Angeliki Tsokoglou (University of Athens)  
Marina Tzakosta (University of Crete)  
Giorgos Xydopoulos (University of Patras)

## **ISTAL 20 Organizing Committee**

Nikolaos Lavidas  
Areti-Maria Sougari  
Thomaï Alexiou  
Vicky Papachristou  
Eirini Kelmali

## **ISTAL 20 Sponsors**

- Research Committee, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
- European Centre for Modern Languages, Graz, Austria
- Greek Applied Linguistics Association
- Cambridge Scholars Publishing
- Print and copy house “Monochromia”

# Contents

PLENARIES.....7

GENERAL SESSION.....17

POSTER SESSION.....113

## WORKSHOPS

Proto-Indo-European Syntax and its Development  
organized by Nikolaos Lavidas (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
and Leonid Kulikov (Leiden University & Institute of Linguistics, Moscow).....135

Challenges in Early Foreign Language Learning and Teaching  
organized by Areti-Maria Sougari and Thomaï Alexiou (Aristotle University of  
Thessaloniki).....157

Translation Process Research and Translator Training: Trends and Perspectives  
organized by Kyriaki Kourouni (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki).....163



# PLENARIES



## **Innovation diffusion, urban fetishism and mundane mobilities: understanding phonological and grammatical change in the 21st century**

**David Britain**  
*University of Bern*  
britain@ens.unibe.ch

In the developed and the developing world alike, we have become used to urbanisation as a geographical, demographic and socio-economic process. In the search for a better job, a better life, a better future, millions of people around the world have left the countryside for the city. Urbanisation has been the dominant demographic trend of at least the past three or four hundred years, and continues apace today in many parts of the world. The linguistic consequences of this urbanisation are, of course, well known (e.g. Bortoni-Ricardo 1985, Kerswill 1994). However, much more recently, over the past half century or so, many northern European and North American capitalist economies have been witnessing the reverse trend – counterurbanisation - with the largest cities shedding population in favour of (often relatively remote) rural areas (see, e.g. Champion 2001).

In addition, the world has, at the same time, become more mobile. Sociologist John Urry (2007) has highlighted the dramatic extent of present-day mobilities, arguing that they force us to completely rethink how we theorise contemporary social processes. Sociolinguistic dialectology has provided detailed and sophisticated accounts of large-scale and permanent mobilities, such as those resulting from colonisation (e.g. the formation of New Zealand English (Trudgill 2004)), slavery (the development of AAVE (Rickford, 1999)), and indentured labour movements (the emergence in Fiji, Mauritius, South Africa etc of new varieties of Hindi-Bhojpuri (Barz and Siegel 1988)). But less has been said about the consequences of the everyday mundane mobilities that we engage in, such as commuting, shopping, going to college and university, and automobility.

Here I examine some of the linguistic consequences of counterurbanisation and other mundane mobilities both for rural areas that are expanding and for the urban areas that are depopulating. A variationist examination of language change in a number of rural and urban locations in Eastern England is presented which enables us to witness the linguistic consequences of local mobilities and tease apart the influences of working class communities in cities from the counterurbanising influences of more middle class city migrants. I argue that these counterurbanisation developments and other mobilities force us to deconstruct - methodologically, theoretically and epistemologically - some of the urbanist assumptions about language variation and change that have emerged over the past half-century, as well as to critique contemporary models of the linguistic diffusion of innovations.

References:

- Barz, Richard and Siegel, Jeff (1988). *Language transplanted: the development of overseas Hindi*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Bortoni-Ricardo, Stella (1985). *The urbanization of rural dialect speakers. A sociolinguistic study in Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Champion, Tony (2001). The continuing urban-rural population movement in Britain: trends, patterns, significance. *Espace, Populations, Sociétés* 2001/1-2: 37-51.
- Kerswill, Paul (1994). *Dialects converging: rural speech in urban Norway*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Rickford, John (1999), *African American Vernacular English*, Blackwell
- Trudgill, Peter (2004). *New-dialect formation: the inevitability of colonial Englishes*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Urry, John (2007). *Mobilities*. Cambridge: Polity.

## **Q: the one and only (subordinating) functional head**

**Joseph Emonds**

*Tomas Bata University*

jemonds@hotmail.com

Current versions of Chomskyan syntax take for granted that maximal or “extended” projections of the fundamental lexical categories N, A, P and V contain elaborate systems of functional heads and projections, which also differ in nature for each of these systems. This paper begins an argument, to be developed elsewhere, that this current approach is more than “taken to extremes”; rather it is fundamentally misguided. All functional modifiers truly independent of a lexical category are types of quantifying/ counting, written Q.

In particular, a lexical phrase NP (in plural-marking languages) is extended by a head for numerals  $Q_N$  to  $NP_Q$  (not by D, which is a SPEC). Since As and Ps can't be counted, their  $Q_A$  and  $Q_P$  can indicate only degree, supplemented by optional measure phrase NPs in their SPEC. The  $Q_V$  extension of VP is familiarly known as I or T, but formally its role is I claim to count, through agreement with “subject” NPs in its SPEC, the simultaneous events predicated of this subject. Modals, tense, etc. are lexical extensions of  $Q_V$  that specify how to compute “simultaneous.”

Several unexplained properties then fall into place, among other those of subject phrases and measure phrases. Moreover, a version of Kuroda's parameter “Whether we Agree or not,” then better explains many differences between English and Japanese, both in counting and regarding subject NPs.

## **Learning through languages: promoting inclusive, plurilingual and intercultural education**

**María Jesús Frigols**

*European Centre for Modern Languages*

mariajesus.frigols@campusviu.es

The Council of Europe aims at maintaining and enhancing linguistic and cultural diversity in Europe and promoting learning and use of languages as a means to support intercultural dialogue, social cohesion and democratic citizenship, and as an important economic asset in a modern knowledge-based society.

The ECML is a Council of Europe institution based in Graz, Austria. In cooperation with the Language Policy Division of the Council, the Centre functions as a catalyst for reform in the teaching and learning of languages. It assists its stakeholders in member states in bringing language education policies and practices together.

Within a networking structure, comprised of leading specialists of the expert community, the ECML operates 4-year programmes focusing on key educational issues requiring action. The international project teams cooperate with experts from 34 European countries; provide training models for teacher educators, equipping them to train others within their institutions and networks; and publish examples of good practice applicable to different contexts.

The European Centre for Modern Languages of the Council of Europe (ECML) invites submissions for its fourth medium-term programme (2012-2015): LEARNING THROUGH LANGUAGES: promoting inclusive, plurilingual and intercultural education.

The 2012-2015 programme seeks to draw conclusions from the fact that access for all to a good quality education represents a precondition for democratic developments in European societies. The ECML programme will focus on the key agent, the ‘motor’ or promoter of positive and productive multilingual societies: the learner.

## **Tmesis and univerbation in Indo-European**

**Georgios Giannakis**

*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

ggianak@lit.auth.gr

The paper will be focusing on the possible connection of stress and intonation with syntactic problems, especially movement phenomena. Our case study will be tmesis and univerbation in ancient Indo-European languages, with particular emphasis on Homeric Greek. The study of these two morphosyntactic phenomena may reveal traces of syntactic features of archaic Indo-European syntax. It is suggested that the transformation of tmesis (P...V) to univerbation (PV) in Indo-European is related to similar shifts in stress and intonation patterns in the historical languages, a thesis alluded to by Brugmann (*Griechische Grammatik*, 665ff.), but not since properly exploited.

## **Growth and decline: how grammar has been changing in recent English**

**Geoffrey Leech**

*Lancaster University*

g.leech@lancaster.ac.uk

In studying the history of a language, linguists tend to focus on innovation and increase of frequency as the positive side of change. For example, the process of grammaticalization is associated with recent increases of frequency - e.g. the increasing use of the progressive aspect in English and semi-modal verbs, such as *be going to* and *have to*. However, there is also the neglected, negative side of change: linguistic forms become less frequent, and eventually may disappear. In this talk, I am going to focus on both growth and decline: both increase and the decrease in frequency – and their interaction. The increasing use of semi-modals and the declining use of modal auxiliaries like *must* and *may*. The increasing use of relativizer *that* and the declining use of *wh*-relativization. I will also ask why does change (both increase and decrease) happen? In exploring this theme, I will refer to corpus linguistic findings from the Brown family of corpora - particularly the British members of the family (BLOB-1931, LOB, FLOB, Paul Baker's BE06, and the unfinished BLOB-1901 corpus).

## **How to probe history with grammars**

**Guiseppe Longobardi**

*University of Trieste*

longbard@units.it

Beyond its *theoretical* success, the development of molecular biology has brought about the possibility of extraordinary progress in the *historical* study of classification and distribution of different species and different human populations, introducing a new level of evidence (molecular genetic markers) apt, among other things, to quantitative and automatic treatment. I claim that, even in the cognitive sciences, purely theoretical progress in a certain discipline, such as linguistics, may have analogous historical impact, equally contributing to Renfrew's so-called 'New Synthesis', and in turn be confirmed by such results. Thus, I will propose to unify two traditionally unrelated lines of investigation:

I) the formal study of syntactic variation (parameter theory) in the biolinguistic program

II) the reconstruction of relatedness among languages (phylogenetic taxonomy)

I will suggest, in particular, that, thanks to progress in parametric grammatical theories and relying on the methodological parallelism with evolutionary genetics, we are now in the position of measuring the syntactic distance among different languages and populations in a precise fashion and to explore its historical significance through the application of clustering algorithms borrowed from computational biology. Capitalizing on Longobardi and Guardiano (2009) and subsequent

experiments, I will argue that, contrary to a good deal of received expectation, parametric analyses of grammatical diversity, developed within the bio-linguistic program since Chomsky (1981), may become reliable indicators of phylogenetic relations and that so represented I-languages can encode information chronologically deeper than certain representations of E-languages.

## A constructional approach to indefinite generics

**Sophia Marmaridou**  
*University of Athens*  
 smarmari@enl.uoa.gr

This paper demonstrates the impact of Construction Grammar on issues of syntactic-semantic analysis and language change within a usage-based methodological framework. More specifically, the paper argues for the discursual motivation of constructions, the constructional motivation of a Modern Greek indefinite article, and the cross-linguistic relevance of construction grammar.

Construction Grammar, as a distinct model of linguistic analysis, is essentially motivated by the insight that “the juxtaposition of two or more forms seldom results in a simple concatenation of the meanings those forms might have in isolation” (Fried & Östman 2004: 12). Consequently, no priority (theoretical or methodological) is given in this model to particular language forms, e.g. active, declarative, transitive clauses. Construction Grammar views function and form as inseparable and proposes the grammatical construction as the basic unit of analysis and representation. Evidence from language processing and language acquisition further support hypotheses entertained within this model.

The study of indefiniteness as a semantic property of noun phrases generally falls within the areas of linguistics and philosophy of language. In linguistics, indefinite nominals are typically associated with the occurrence of indefinite determiners, such as the indefinite article *a/an* in English, which also marks a specific or non-specific interpretation, as in “Minna wants to buy a dog”. In some languages indefinite nominals are also used in generics, as in “A dog has four legs”. The literature on generics indicates that this is a rather elusive category, but there seems to be a consensus that generic nominals make reference to a class of entities and are used in the expression of generalizations about this class (Lyons 1999: 179).

In this paper I shall be concerned with a particular type of indefinite nominal construction in Modern Greek, namely the one containing the indefinite determiner *enas/mia/ena*, which marks a specific or non-specific instance of a type, as in (1) and (2):

1. *i nei diañilonun pali jia to thanato enos fititi*  
 the young demonstrate-3<sup>rd</sup> pl.-pres. again for the death a-gen. student-gen.  
 The young are demonstrating again for the death of a student.
2. *ða ðelame na vrume ti sxesi enos fititi*  
 will want-1<sup>st</sup> pl.-past. to find-1<sup>st</sup> pl.-perf. the relationship a-gen. student-gen  
*ke ton vañmon tu se sigekrimena eksamina*  
 and the-gen. grades-gen. his in particular semesters  
 We would like to find the relationship between a student and his grades in particular semesters.

Indefinite nominals are typically not associated with generics, the latter expressed by definite noun phrases in the language, as shown in (3) and (4):

3. *ke to liondari parameni ametakinotos vasillas tu ðasus*  
 and the lion remain-3<sup>rd</sup> sg.-pres. unmovable king the-gen. forest-gen.  
 And the lion remains the indisputable king of the forest.
4. *ta liondaria vrixonde akomi ke pliyomena*  
 the lions roar-3<sup>rd</sup> pl.-pres. even and wounded  
 Lions roar even when wounded.

On the basis of data collected from three corpora, I will support the view that indefinite nominal constructions in Modern Greek are also associated with generic semantics, as in (5):

5. *prosvalis mia kiria an tis xarisis kati pu ine jia meyaliteri ilikia*

insult-2<sup>nd</sup> sg.-pres. a lady if her give-2<sup>nd</sup> sg.-perf. something that is for older age  
You (may) insult a lady if you give her a present befitting an older person.

I shall argue that such instances constitute generic constructions that on the one hand inherit the non-specific semantics of indefinite constructions and, on the other, are also primed by further pragmatic and discursal features, such as the speaker's subjective evaluation of the proposition expressed and the adoption of dialogic mode.

The expressivity associated with this type of generic nominal construction will also be shown to characterize other instances of indefinite nominal constructions, such as the ones headed by a proper noun (typically preceded by the definite article), those occurring in predicate position (typically associated with the bare form of the head noun), and those that occur in some widely used proverbs in the language.

The proposed analysis supports views concerning the stage of grammaticalization of the indefinite determiner in Modern Greek. Given that *enas/mia/ena* are used as numerals, as indefinite pronouns, and as indefinite determiners, Marmaridou (1984) and Chila-Markopoulou (2000) have argued, from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective respectively, that the indefinite determiner does not have the status of an indefinite article. Consistently with current views on grammaticalization and semantic change (Hopper & Traugott 1993; Traugott & Dasher 2002; Hoffmann & Trousdale 2011), the examination of the present data suggests that the expressivity and the discursal characterization associated with this type of generic construction motivate the partial de-semanticization of the indefinite determiner and, ultimately, contribute to its grammaticalization as an article in the language.

The present study draws, among others, on Langacker's (1991) functional organization of nominals, and his discussion of generics in particular (Langacker 1997), on Hawkins' (1978) insights on definiteness and indefiniteness, and on Lyons' (1999) views on generics and proper nouns. More importantly, this corpus-based analysis adopts a construction grammar framework and notation (Fried & Östman 2004), aiming to highlight the relations among the relevant constructions.

#### References

- Chila-Markopoulou, D. 2000. "The indefinite article in Greek: A diachronic approach". *Glossologia* 11-12: 111-130.
- Fried, M. and J.-O. Östman 2004. "Construction grammar. A thumbnail sketch". In M. Fried and J.-O. Östman (eds.), *Construction Grammar in a Cross-Language Perspective*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 11-86.
- Hawkins, J. A. 1978. *Definiteness and Indefiniteness. A Study in Reference and Grammaticality Prediction*. London: Croom Helm.
- Hoffmann, Th. and Trousdale G. 2011. Variation, change and constructions in English. *Cognitive Linguistics* 22/1: 1-23.
- Hopper, P. J. and Traugott E. C. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Langacker, R. W. 1991. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar. Vol. 2, Descriptive Application*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, R. W. 1997. Generics and habituals. In: Athanasiadou, A. and R. Dirven (eds.), *On Conditionals Again*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 191-222.
- Lyons, Ch. 1999. *Definiteness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marmaridou, S. A. A. 1984. The study of reference, attribution and genericness in the context of English and their grammaticalization in Modern Greek noun phrases. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, UK.
- Traugott, E. C. and Dasher, R. B. 2002. *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## **Aktionsart, aspect and tense: a study in the nature of grammatical categories**

**Amalia Moser**  
*University of Athens*  
amoser@phil.uoa.gr

Tense and aspect are notorious for their defiance of categorization: their flexibility, their instability and their variation across languages, both in terms of their means of expression and of the relationship to one another, has produced an enormous amount of literature but little consensus among linguists, even on the nature of each category. The relationship between aspect and Aktionsart (or actionality) is even more problematic: not only is it much more complex because of their greater affinity but the necessity and even the mere possibility of drawing the distinction between them has often been questioned, by formal semanticists and cognitivists alike. The aim of this paper is to argue in favour of this distinction, to propose some changes in the categorization of the usual subdivisions of the two categories and, co-examining aspect and Aktionsart with tense, to take a stance on another long-standing controversy: that of the nature of grammatical categories.

Selected bibliography

- Aarts, B. (2007) *Syntactic Gradience: The Nature of Grammatical Indeterminacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aarts, B., D. Denison, E. Keizer & G. Popova (eds.) (2004) *Fuzzy Grammar: A Reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bache, Carl (1997) *The Study of Aspect, Tense and Action: Towards a Theory of the Semantics of Grammatical Categories*. 2nd edition. Frankfurt/Berlin/Bern/New York: Peter Lang.
- Comrie, B. (1976) *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Comrie, B. (1985) *Tense*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Binnick, R.I. (1991) *Time and the Verb: A Guide to Tense and Aspect*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hopper, P.J. & S.A. Thompson (1984) "The discourse basis for lexical categories in Universal Grammar". *Language* 60: 703-752.
- Langacker, R.W. (1991) *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*. Vol. II: *Descriptive Application*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Klein, W. (2010) "On times and arguments". *Linguistics* 48.6: 1221–1253.
- Traugott E.C. & G. Trousdale (eds.) (2010) *Gradience, Gradualness and Grammaticalization*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, 279-299.
- Verkuyl, H.J. (1993) *A Theory of Aspectuality: The Interaction Between Temporal and Atemporal Structure*. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 64. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Verkuyl, H.J. (1999) *Aspectual Issues: Studies on Time and Quantity*. Stanford, CA: CSLI.

## **Asking the right questions in New School EFL curriculum design**

**Nicos Sifakis**  
*Hellenic Open University*  
sifakis@eap.gr

In this presentation I raise questions that focus on the 'deep fundamentals' of EFL curriculum designing, i.e., assumptions that tend to be taken for granted by policy makers involved in making decisions about Greek state-school English language curriculum designing, teaching, learning and assessment. I argue that such decisions should be informed by extensive research on critical issues that concern, among others: modern-day English language usage inside and outside of the foreign language classroom; the broader foreign language literacy needs, wants and demands of the emerging learner anthropogeography of state school classrooms; stakeholders' beliefs about the function of the textbook; an informed understanding of terms like 'competence', 'fluency' and 'proficiency'; the integration of technology in the foreign languages classroom; teacher

development. The presentation ends with an overview of key skills for the 21st century and an understanding of how they can viably inform such curricular decisions.  
Keywords: Greek state-school ELT, curriculum planning, educational policy



# **GENERAL SESSION**



**“Automatically arises the question whether...”**  
**A corpus study of postverbal subjects in the Greek-English interlanguage**

**Eleni Agathopoulou**

*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*  
agatho@enl.auth.gr

This study explores Subject-Verb (SV) and Verb-Subject (VS) order in L1 Greek/L2 English intransitive verbs within the generative grammar framework (Chomsky 1986, 1995). Intransitive verbs are distinguished into: (a) unergatives, e.g. *walk, laugh*, whose subject is Agent and originates in the Specifier of VP (1) and (b) unaccusatives, e.g. *arrive, occur*, whose subject is Theme (or Patient) and originates inside the VP in a V-complement position (2) (Perlmutter 1978, Levin & Rappaport-Hovav 1995, among others).

(1) [VP [DP Mary] [V walked]] Unergative

(2) [V' [V arrived] [DP David]] Unaccusative

In –pro-drop languages like English, the default surface SV order derives from movement of the subject to the specifier of Tense to check the strong EPP feature of Tense and to get (nominative) case. In Greek, which is a +pro-drop, morphologically rich language with a relatively free word order, the subject originates within the VP in a V-complement position regardless of verb type and remains there in default surface structure. The specifier of Tense is filled with an empty pronominal subject (*pro*), coindexed with the postverbal subject.

Crucially, the default SV order in English generally conceals the difference between the properties of unergative and unaccusative verbs, except, infrequently, in there-constructions (e.g. *There arrived David*) and some other inversion structures (e.g. *Here comes the bride*). The unaccusative/unergative distinction is concealed also in +pro-drop languages like Greek, Spanish or Italian due to the default VS order in these languages. However research shows that speakers of +pro-drop languages produce or accept VS mostly with unaccusatives (see Lozano & Mendikoetxea 2010 and references there; also see Prentza 2010 about Greek learners). This seems to reflect intuitive L2 knowledge, also given that the unaccusative/unergative distinction is not dealt with in second language instruction.

Lozano & Mendikoetxea's (2010) analysis of written corpora showed that, like native English speakers, Spanish and Italian learners of intermediate/advanced English language proficiency produced VS only with unaccusatives and, moreover, tended to do so when the subject was (a) focus (new information) and (b) heavy (long). Thus they concluded that for both natives and learners VS in English is constrained not only by properties of the syntax-lexicon interface (unaccusativity), but also by properties of the syntax-discourse and the syntax-phonology interfaces. However, the learners overused the VS structure and produced more ungrammatical than grammatical VS clauses. such as it-insertion error being e.g. *...it still live some farmers...*

The present study partially replicates the one by Lozano & Mendikoetxea (2010). The non-native data were from a large corpus of essays written by Greek adults of intermediate/advanced English language proficiency (GRICLE, Hatzitheodorou & Mattheoudakis 2009). The English native data were from two corpora (LOCNESS & PELCRA) comparable with the non-native corpus. For the corpus investigation we preselected 40 unergative and 32 unaccusative verbs. The results show that, similar to the findings of Lozano & Mendikoetxea, (a) both the native speakers and the Greek learners produce VS only with unaccusatives and more so when the subject is focus and heavy but (b) the occurrence of VS order was significantly more frequent in the Greek data than in the native data. These results may further corroborate that both in native and non-native language acquisition VS is constrained by properties of the syntactic interfaces mentioned above. Last, some differences between the non-native VS structures in Lozano & Mendikoetxea and those in our data may attest to L1 effect.

## **Students' attitudes on the efficacy of a process writing component for the development of their writing skills in English as a foreign language**

**Alexandra Anastasiadou**

dhm3kat@yahoo.gr

'Process writing' pedagogy aims to familiarise students with the process of writing. Research about the efficacy of process writing has been conducted mainly with adult students, especially in academic environments (Kern & Shultz 1992; Gallego De Blibeche, 1993; Pennington *et al.* 1996; Akyel & Kamisli, 1996; Hammouda 2005). Only a few studies have been conducted in Greece lately concerning early primary students (Giannakopoulou, 2002), Greek high school students (Hasiotou, 2005; Koutsogeorgopoulou, 2007; Drepanioti, 2009) or computer assisted process writing (Nikolaki, 2004; Simou, 2006; Takou, 2007).

The aim of this paper is to delve into young learners' performance influenced by the applicability of the "process writing" approach in learning English as a foreign language and at the same time to trace any gender differences. To be more specific, a study was conducted at the sixth grade of Greek state primary schools and the findings presented in this paper are part of a greater study which involved two experimental and two control groups.

The two experimental groups of the study attended seven specially designed writing lessons, whereas the control group members followed the materials of the coursebook. Both groups were given similar written assignments in order to receive comparable results. Entry and exit writing tests were administered to the participants of the study in order to explore their performance in the beginning and the end of the research and trace any differences due to the intervention, regarding both group and gender.

The analysis of the group and gender parameters shows that there is indeed change of performance between the two groups and genders.

## **Multilingualism in Greece: A study of speech production of trilingual children**

**<sup>1</sup>Fotini Anastassiou & <sup>2</sup>Georgia Andreou**

<sup>1,2</sup>*University of Thessaly*

<sup>1</sup>rzc\_foteini@hotmail.com & <sup>2</sup>andreou@uth.gr

During the last fifteen years Albanian immigrants have come to Greece and they have formed a big community in different parts of our country. Their children now are the second generation and they go to Greek state schools, being taught according to the official syllabus in the same classes as Greek students.

We aim to present a study of fifty children, part of the PhD thesis on the vocabulary interaction among the three languages of trilingual children. Our hypothesis is that trilingual children will seek help from their L1 (either Greek or Albanian) while speaking their L3 (English). Furthermore, we will investigate cross-linguistic influence: a) Interactional strategies and b) Transfer lapses as previously described by Cenoz (2003).

Speech production in the different languages a multilingual uses can potentially share most of the general characteristics of speech production in monolinguals and bilinguals but necessarily presents more complexity and implies some specific characteristics derived from the interaction between different linguistic systems (Cenoz, 2003).

Since multilinguals have the luxury to activate several languages at the same time cross-linguistic influence in speech production has been a much more popular field within the studies on multilingual lexicon. The way a person's languages interact with each other is a source of valuable information about the multilingual lexicon as well as the mental lexicon.

This study will present the first results, part of a PhD thesis, which is being conducted at the University of Thessaly.

Keywords: multilinguals, trilinguals, children, immigrants, vocabulary, cross-linguistic influence.

Bibliography

Cenoz, J. (2003). "The additive effect of bilingualism on third language acquisition: A review". *The International Journal of Bilingualism* 7.1, 71–88.

### **Η συμβολή του Κοινού Ευρωπαϊκού Πλαισίου Αναφοράς για τις γλώσσες στη διδασκαλία και στην αξιολόγηση**

**<sup>1</sup>Νιόβη Αντωνοπούλου, <sup>2</sup>Άννα Κοκκινίδου, <sup>3</sup>Βασιλική Μάρκου & <sup>4</sup>Θωμαή Ρουσουλιώτη**

<sup>1,2,3,4</sup>*Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας*

<sup>1</sup>jga@auth.gr, <sup>2</sup>annoukared@gmail.com, <sup>3</sup>vickymarkou@yahoo.gr & <sup>4</sup>rousouliotith@yahoo.gr

Το Κοινό Ευρωπαϊκό Πλαίσιο Αναφοράς για τις Γλώσσες (ΚΕΠΑ), ως γνωστό, αποτελεί έργο που συγκεντρώνει τις αρχές και τα αποτελέσματα εφαρμογών και ερευνών που διεξήχθησαν για δεκαετίες στο χώρο της διδασκαλίας, εκμάθησης και αξιολόγησης ξένων γλωσσών. Στόχος του είναι να συμβάλει στη βελτίωση της επικοινωνίας μεταξύ των ευρωπαϊκών πολιτών με διαφορετικό γλωσσικό και πολιτισμικό υπόβαθρο παρέχοντας κοινή βάση για τη σύνταξη προγραμμάτων σπουδών γλωσσικών μαθημάτων και αξιολόγησης, για τη συγγραφή διδακτικών εγχειριδίων κτλ. (σελ. 23 της ελληνικής μετάφρασης). Έχει μεταφραστεί σε 38 γλώσσες, μεταξύ των οποίων και η ελληνική από το Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (ΚΕΓ).

Παρά την αδιαμφισβήτητη αξία του συνόλου του έργου, ευρύτερα γνωστό είναι το πλαίσιο των έξι κοινών επιπέδων αναφοράς με την αντίστοιχη περιγραφή των γλωσσικών ικανοτήτων που απαιτούνται σε κάθε επίπεδο. Η κλίμακα έχει υιοθετηθεί και εφαρμόζεται, με την κοινή πλέον ονομασία των επιπέδων Α1-Γ2, για την πιστοποίηση του επιπέδου γλωσσομάθειας από σχετικούς φορείς, δημόσιους και μη, σε πανευρωπαϊκό επίπεδο αλλά και σε χώρες εκτός Ευρώπης (Καναδάς, Ιαπωνία, Νότιος Αφρική κ.ά.).

Με την παρούσα εισήγηση επιχειρείται: α. η παρουσίαση των αποτελεσμάτων εμπειρικής έρευνας που πραγματοποιήθηκε, για να διερευνηθεί η επίδραση της εφαρμογής του ΚΕΠΑ στην αξιολόγηση της επίδοσης των μαθητών και συνεπώς και στη διδασκαλία και εκμάθηση ξένων γλωσσών στην Ελλάδα και β. η παρουσίαση προτάσεων για την ευρύτερη και αποτελεσματικότερη χρήση και εφαρμογή των αρχών του ΚΕΠΑ στη διδασκαλία και εκμάθηση γλωσσών.

Σημειώνεται ότι οι προτάσεις που διατυπώνονται είναι απόρροια της εμπειρίας που έχει αποκομίσει το ΚΕΓ από την εφαρμογή των αρχών του ΚΕΠΑ στην πιστοποίηση ελληνομάθειας από το 2000, από την αποτύπωσή τους στα σχετικά εξεταστικά θέματα και από την παρουσίαση του ΚΕΠΑ για διδακτικούς σκοπούς σε διάφορα επιμορφωτικά σεμινάρια.

### **Spelling errors in mildly mentally retarded (MMR) adolescents: the impact of gender**

**<sup>1</sup>Georgia Andreou & <sup>2</sup>Magda Gogou**

<sup>1,2</sup>*University of Thessaly*

<sup>1</sup>andreou@uth.gr & <sup>2</sup>gkogkou@yahoo.gr

The aim of the present study was to determine whether there are quantitative and/or qualitative spelling error differences between male and female mildly mentally retarded (MMR) Greek adolescents.

The study was held in Greece, where the term "mental retardation" is used to determine the below average mental ability. Sixty seven (67) Greek MMR adolescents participated in this research study, 35 males and 32 females of mean age 15,4. All participants were diagnosed as MMR according to the existing relevant criteria. Both groups, males and females, were administered a dictation spelling test appropriate for the class which they attended (in Special High Schools), and their age. The spelling errors were categorized in 3 main categories (grammatical, visual and phonetic) and 4 subcategories (omissions, substitutions, additions, reversals). Spelling speed was assessed as well. The results did not indicate a statistically significant difference between the two genders. There was though, a slight superiority of female MMR students to their male peers: female MMR students scored slightly less spelling errors in comparison to male MMR students. However, when the

different types of spelling errors were analyzed, then the two genders were found to differ significantly in the case of omission of letters: male MMR students scored significantly more letter omissions than the female MMR students.

The findings of the present study may be useful – it is hoped – for a better understanding of young male and female MMR's different weaknesses regarding spelling skill and may contribute to the development of practical ways in teaching and specific personalized treatment methods for improving MMR's spelling performance as well as their general learning profile level.

## **Ο ρόλος της "αφύπνιση των γλωσσών" στην εκμάθηση ξένων γλωσσών από παιδιά με μαθησιακές δυσκολίες**

**<sup>1</sup>Γεωργία Ανδρέου & <sup>2</sup>Πηνελόπη Ράλλη**

<sup>1,2</sup>Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας

<sup>1</sup>andreou@uth.gr & <sup>2</sup>penral82@hotmail.com

Με τον όρο «αφύπνιση των γλωσσών» εννοούμε την κατανόηση από μέρους των παιδιών ότι οι γλώσσες και οι κουλτούρες δεν αποτελούν κλειστούς κόσμους, αλλά μοιράζονται και ανταλλάσσουν στοιχεία ανάλογα με την ιστορική τους γένεση ή τις επαφές των λαών από τους οποίους ομιλούνται. Η αφύπνιση των γλωσσών, συμβάλλει στην ανάπτυξη του ενδιαφέροντος για τις γλώσσες και τους πολιτισμούς, στη δημιουργία θετικών αναπαραστάσεων και στάσεων, δηλαδή αποδοχής της γλωσσικής και πολιτισμικής διαφορετικότητας καθώς και στη δημιουργία κινήτρων για την εκμάθηση των γλωσσών (Candelier, 2003). Κατά τη διάρκεια των δραστηριοτήτων αφύπνισης, τα παιδιά αναπτύσσουν μεταγλωσσικές και μετα-επικοινωνιακές ικανότητες καθώς και γνωστικές δεξιότητες. Η ύπαρξη παιδιών με μαθησιακές δυσκολίες στη σχολική τάξη αποτελεί πραγματικότητα και η σημαντικότητα έγκαιρης διάγνωσης και αντιμετώπισης των μαθησιακών δυσκολιών έχει πλέον αναγνωριστεί (Μαριδάκη-Κασσωτάκη, 2005). Η εκμάθηση ξένων γλωσσών, με τον τρόπο που γίνεται στα πλαίσια του σχολείου, αποτελεί ένα πρόσθετο βάρος για αυτά τα παιδιά και συχνά καθίσταται αποτρεπτική. Από την άλλη μεριά, η δημιουργία κινήτρων για την εκμάθηση ξένων γλωσσών είναι πολύ σημαντική, τόσο για παιδιά με μαθησιακές δυσκολίες όσο και για παιδιά χωρίς αυτές, διότι τα ευαισθητοποιεί όσον αφορά την αποδοχή άλλων πολιτισμών και διευκολύνει μ' αυτό τον τρόπο τη διαδικασία της μάθησης.

Με βάση τα παραπάνω, σκοπός της έρευνάς μας ήταν να μελετήσουμε αν οι δραστηριότητες αφύπνισης των γλωσσών έχουν θετικά αποτελέσματα όσον αφορά τη δημιουργία κινήτρων για εκμάθηση ξένων γλωσσών σε παιδιά με μαθησιακές δυσκολίες. Η έρευνά μας πραγματοποιήθηκε σε δημόσιο δημοτικό σχολείο της Γαλλίας όπου φοιτούσαν παιδιά με τέτοιου είδους δυσκολίες. Συγκεκριμένα, η έρευνα έγινε με παιδιά ηλικίας 8-10 χρονών τα οποία φοιτούσαν στην Πέμπτη τάξη και παρουσίαζαν δυσλεξία, διάσπαση προσοχής, αυτισμό, νοητική υστέρηση και κινητικές μειονεξίες κατά περίπτωση. Οι μέθοδοι που χρησιμοποιήσαμε για να συλλέξουμε τα δεδομένα μας ήταν ποικίλες: Σύγκριση ανταπόκρισης των παιδιών με μαθησιακές δυσκολίες κατά την διάρκεια των μαθημάτων του Αναλυτικού Προγράμματος και κατά την διάρκεια των δραστηριοτήτων της αφύπνισης γλωσσών, μαγνητοσκόπηση του τρόπου εργασίας και ανταπόκρισης των παιδιών με μαθησιακές δυσκολίες κατά τη διάρκεια των δραστηριοτήτων αφύπνισης των γλωσσών, ερωτήσεις που αφορούσαν την εκτίμηση και τη γνώμη των παιδιών για τις παραπάνω δραστηριότητες. Οι δραστηριότητες αφύπνισης περιλάμβαναν: Αναγνώριση γλωσσών δια μέσω ηχητικού υλικού, ταξινόμηση ημερών της εβδομάδας και τοπωνυμίων μεταξύ γλωσσών (αγγλικά, κινέζικα, ισπανικά, ιταλικά, ιαπωνικά κ.α), σύμφωνα με την αναγνώριση ομοιότητας των γραμμάτων κάθε γλώσσας.

Τα αποτελέσματά μας έδειξαν ότι τα παιδιά με μαθησιακές δυσκολίες ανταποκρίνονται θετικά στην νέα αυτή προσέγγιση της αφύπνισης των γλωσσών, αναπτύσσουν θετική στάση απέναντι στους διάφορους πολιτισμούς και στο να επεξεργάζονται τις διαφορές μεταξύ των γραμμάτων που υπάρχουν στις γλώσσες. Οι μαθητές μέσω των δραστηριοτήτων αφύπνισης, απέκτησαν κίνητρα για να ταξιδέψουν, να γνωρίσουν άλλους πολιτισμούς και να μιλήσουν άλλες γλώσσες εκτός από τη μητρική τους.

Candelier, M. (2003). *L'éveil aux langues à l'école primaire, Evlang : bilan d'une innovation européenne*. Bruxelles: Editions De Boeck & Larcier.

Μαριδάκη-Κασσωτάκη, Α. (2005). *Δυσκολίες Μάθησης: Ψυχοπαιδαγωγική προσέγγιση*, Αθήνα: Ελληνικά Γράμματα.

### Listening Comprehension Difficulty: The Learner Perspective

**Elizabeth Apostolou**

*University of Athens*

elapostol@enl.uoa.gr

The purpose of this paper is to present the learners' perceptions of task and text difficulty in listening comprehension assessment in English. The study is conducted in the context of the Greek State English Language Proficiency Examinations (KPG) and constitutes part of on-going research on the effect that specific task and text variables have on listening comprehension difficulty. The research is taking place in Athens University, Faculty of English Studies.

Data was elicited by conducting semi-structured interviews with university students of the English Department, University of Athens. The stimulus for the interviews was the participants' performance in a listening test including items selected from the KPG listening comprehension past papers at B2 level. The interviews elaborated on the participants' perceived task and text difficulty variables as reported in questionnaires they had filled in immediately after the end of the test. The interviews were analyzed using N-Vivo 7, a specialized software for qualitative analysis (Richards, 1999).

The outcomes of this study will contribute to the design of more valid tests of listening comprehension in the future by shedding light into the aspects of test design that may have an influence on candidate performance. They will also be a valuable source of information for language teachers who wish to enhance their students' listening comprehension skills but are not fully aware of the factors that impede comprehensibility.

Reference:

Richards, L. (1999). *Using NVivo in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications.

### An experimental investigation of locatives and existentials in Turkish

**Engin Arik**

*Okan University*

l.enginarik@gmail.com

Linguists have proposed a single structure underlying locatives 'a book is on the table,' existentials 'there is a book on the table,' and possessives 'I have a book'. The underlying structure could be either syntactic or conceptual semantic or cognitive (e.g., Freeze 1992, Jackendoff 1990, Heine 1997). Previous research has suggested that there is a clear relationship between existentials and possessives (e.g., Clark 1978, Lyons 1967) but existential sentences may contain a verb related to locative 'to be' and possessive 'to have', contain a pivot, and a locative expression, and obey definiteness restriction (a restriction on the acceptability of definite, demonstrative, and quantificational noun phrases). Turkish is no exception but are there further differences between these constructions?

Aiming at contributing to this question, this paper attempts to show that the Turkish speakers' acceptability judgments differ with respect to the structure of NPs in Turkish locatives and existentials ((1) & (2)). To show that I designed an experimental study in which the structure of NPs were manipulated.

(1) The phrasal structures of locatives and existentials in Turkish.

Phrasal Structure			
Locatives		NP	NP+loc+(Tense)+Person,number
Existentials	(NP+loc)	NP	'var'+(Tense)+Person,number
(2) Comparison of the main phrases of locatives and existentials in Turkish.			
		NP	NP+Loc
			'var'

Locatives	Subject/Theme	Predicate/Location	n/a
Existentials	Subject/Theme	Adjunct/Location	Predicate

Sixty-four native speakers of Turkish participated in this study. I hypothesize that the acceptability judgments of the Turkish speakers differ in locatives and existentials with respect to whether the theme NP is quantified (Singular-N vs. PluralMarked-N vs. Quantified-N). Specifically, in locatives singular and plural marked nouns are more acceptable than quantified nouns whereas in existentials quantified nouns are more acceptable than the others. Additionally, quantified nouns are more acceptable in existentials than in locatives. I used a 2x3 (sentence type X quantification type) design. The sentence type has two levels: Locative and Existential. The quantification type has three levels: Singular, Plural, Number Quantification. Twelve token sets (12x6, a total of 72 items) and thirty-six fillers, similar in the number of words, were prepared. All of the sentences were in their canonical orders: Either Subject-Predicate or Adjunct-Subject-Predicate depending on the construction type. Two scripts were prepared and randomized according to two blocks. The sentences in each script were also ordered in two ways, resulting in four different scripts in total, to prevent a possible order effect. The fillers in the four scripts consisted of the same group of sentences. Each participant received only one script with twelve test items and twelve fillers. Directions asked “appropriateness to Turkish”. The survey consisted of a 7-point Likert scale where 1 was marked “(lit.) highly inappropriate” and 7 was marked “(lit.) highly appropriate” to Turkish.

The results supported the hypothesis, the types of quantification of nouns within the theme NP in Turkish locatives and existentials can make a difference in the native speakers’ acceptability judgments. ANOVA showed that there was no order effect ( $p > .05$ ) and no statistical difference among the scripts ( $F(3, 60) = .06, p > .05$ ) indicating internal consistency reliability of the measures. The analysis showed a main effect for sentence type ( $F(1, 60) = 119.572, p < .001$ ): the ratings for the existential sentences ( $M = 6.14, SD = .09$ ) were significantly higher than the ratings for the locative sentences ( $M = 4.67, SD = .14$ ). There was no main effect of quantification type ( $F(2, 120) = 1.27, p > .05$ ). But there was a significant interaction between sentence type and quantification type ( $F(2, 120) = 62.125, p < .001$ ).

I argue that the findings from the data could be accounted by an interface model among syntax, semantics, and pragmatics: a DP/NP syntactic distinction, a definiteness/specificity interpretation, new vs. old information (e.g. Milsark 1974, Enc 1991, McNally 1992, Kornfilt 1997, Zucchi 2005, Ozturk 2005, Cagri 2005). Overall, this study will contribute to the existing knowledge on existentials and locatives and the internal structure of NPs from a new methodological perspective, experimental linguistics.

### **Non-Target Long-Distance Wh-Questions: Crosslinguistic Typological Distinctions in Early L1 Production**

**Evangelia Asproudi**

*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

evangelia.asproudi@gmail.com

The aim of this paper is to investigate the production of non-target long-distance (LD) wh-questions by preschool age children across languages, including L1 Greek. In an attempt to examine the non-target patterns produced, reference will be made to strategies like partial wh-movement (PM)/wh-copying and wh-subextraction. Studies in early languages have shown that apart from full wh-movement questions, in target LD contexts children may also frequently use PM and wh-copying constructions. Examples of such early languages are English (e.g. Thornton 1990), French (e.g. Oiry 2004, Jakubowicz & Strik 2008), Dutch (van Kampen 1996, Jakubowicz & Strik 2008) and Basque/Spanish (Gutierrez 2004, 2006). Apart from PM and wh-copying, another non-target strategy employed by children during the production of LD questions is wh-subextraction, as found in early Dutch (e.g. van Kampen 1997), English (e.g. Chen et al. 1998, Gavrusseva & Thornton 2001) and Italian (Guasti et al. in press). On the whole, PM/wh-copying and wh-subextraction attest for the fact that the child computational system gives priority to those options that involve movement of the minimum material for LF/PF convergence (van Kampen 1996, Gavrusseva & Thornton 2001).

In order to examine whether Greek children acquiring wh-interrogatives follow a similar developmental route with their peers in other languages, ninety 4-to-7 year old children participated in production tasks designed along the principles of McDaniel et al. (1996) and Crain & Thornton (1998). Children took part in games involving hiding of objects and matching of toy characters with possible actions they could do. The aim was to see whether children produce adult-like LD questions. The subjects were divided into 3 age groups, 4;1-5, 5;1-6 and 6;1-7, each group consisting of 30 children.

The Greek data revealed some similarity to crosslinguistic findings but differences were also evident: PM and wh-copying were scarcely attested, which contradicts the majority of crosslinguistic data. In cases of PM, the structures produced were similar to those produced in early English/Dutch, but reverse to those produced in adult language and in early Basque/Spanish. Wh-subextraction was the most frequent strategy found in the deviant wh-interrogatives that the Greek children produced. In this respect, our data are more in line with the Dutch rather than with the English L1 production data in terms of the high frequency of wh-subextraction. In general, certain differences aside, Greek children seem to follow a similar pattern of acquisition with children in other early languages: PM, wh-copying and wh-subextraction seem to be interpreted in light of children's early preference for the more economical LF- rather than PF- convergent representations of successive cyclic LD wh-chains.

#### References

- Chen, D., M. Yamane and W. Snyder, 1998: 'On the nature of left-branch violations in child English', *BUCLD Proceedings 22*, pp. 91-96.
- Crain, S. and R. Thornton, 1998: *Investigations in Universal Grammar. A Guide to Experiments on the Acquisition of Syntax and Semantics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Gavruseva, E. and R. Thornton, 2001: "Getting It Right: Acquisition of *Whose*-Questions in Child English", *Language Acquisition 9*, pp. 229-267.
- Guasti, M. T., C. Branchini and F. Arosio (in press): "Interference in the production of Italian subject and object wh-questions", *Applied Psycholinguistics*.
- Gutierrez, M. J., 2004: "The acquisition of L1 Basque Long-Distance wh-questions: a longitudinal investigation", paper presented at *BIDE04*, Bilbo, Spain.
- Gutierrez, M. J., 2006: "Acquiring long-distance wh-questions in L1 Spanish", in Torrens, V. and L. Escobar (eds), *The Acquisition of Syntax in Romance Languages*, pp. 251-287. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Jakubowicz, C. and N. Strik, 2008: "Scope-marking Strategies in the Acquisition of Long Distance wh-Questions in French and Dutch", *Language and Speech 51*, pp. 101-132.
- van Kampen, J., 1996: "PF/LF Convergence in Acquisition", in K. Kusumoto (ed), *North East Linguistics Society Conference (NELS) 26*, pp. 149-163. Amherst: GLSA.
- van Kampen, J. 1997. *First Steps in Wh-Movement*. PhD Dissertation, University of Utrecht.
- McDaniel, D., C. McKee and H. Smith Cairns (eds), 1996: *Methods for Assessing Children's Syntax*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Oiry, M., 2004: "Evidence from L1 Acquisition for the Syntax of Wh-Scope Marking", paper presented at *2<sup>nd</sup> WoSS*, University of Barcelona, September 15-17, 2004.
- Thornton, R., 1990: *Adventures in long-distance moving: the acquisition of complex wh-questions*. PhD Dissertation, University of Connecticut.

## **The European Language Portfolio for the Blind and the Visually Impaired (ELPBVI): Catering for learners with special education needs**

**<sup>1</sup>Katerina Athanasiadou, <sup>2</sup>Anna Kokkinidou, <sup>3</sup>Marina Mattheoudakis, <sup>2</sup>Kyriaki Spanou**

<sup>1</sup>*HELIOS - School for the Blind of Northern Greece*

<sup>2</sup>*Centre for the Greek Language*

<sup>3</sup>*School of English, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

<sup>3</sup>*marmat@enl.auth.gr*

The European Language Portfolio for the Blind and the Visually Impaired (ELPBVI) learners is the outcome of a Socrates Lingua 2 Programme Consortium and constitutes a specially adapted version of the well-known European Language Portfolio (ELP). This means that the main objectives set by the ELP have guided the organization and design of this new portfolio for visually impaired or blind language learners. More specifically, in accordance with the ELP objectives, the ELPBVI aims to: (a) provide a transparent and reliable information framework on the language skills and competence of the learners, (b) promote a learner-centered perspective placing emphasis on learner autonomy and motivation, (c) enhance learners' plurilingual and intercultural experience, and (d) provide the blind and visually impaired learners with a common European tool for foreign language learning.

The overall aim of this presentation is to present the European Language Portfolio for the Blind and the Visually Impaired and its rationale. We will discuss its structure, organization, use and effective implementation with special emphasis on the linguistic needs of the respective target group. In addition, we will attempt to provide a brief analysis of the special language learning difficulties that a visually impaired or blind learner may face in the everyday classroom reality. The ELPBVI is to be presented within the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, which defines the overall framework, as well as the practicalities of other Portfolios which have been so far organized and implemented.

The proposed paper mainly attempts to disseminate this new European tool and enhance its use so as to respond to the needs of the particular target group. We believe that the adaptation and organization of a customized language portfolio which is based upon both well established language tools and frameworks and innovative elements is an invaluable contribution to the language education of blind and visually impaired foreign language learners.

## **Metonymy in count and non-count nouns in the domain of food and drinks: A study in Modern Greek**

**<sup>1</sup>Ifigenia Athanasiadou & <sup>2</sup>Martha Lampropoulou**

<sup>1&2</sup>*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

<sup>1</sup>*ifigenia1987.ath@hotmail.com & <sup>2</sup>marthalamp@gmail.com*

The aim of this paper is to examine how metonymy operates in count and non-count nouns in the domain of eating and drinking in Modern Greek. In this study, it is suggested that conceptual metonymy influences the way nouns related to food and drinks are conceptualized as count or non-count in various settings. In particular, nouns related to the domain of food and drinks are appointed according to their high frequency of occurrence and flexibility in language use. In the domain of drinks, the following nouns are investigated: *tea*, *milk*, *coffee*, and *water*. In the domain of food, nouns like, *lentils*, *beans*, *peas*, *oats*, *wheat*, *halvas*, and *jelly* are examined. Based on Idealized Cognitive Models (Lakoff, 1987), and on the model of conceptual metonymy proposed by Radden and Kovecses (1999), a new perspective is obtained towards the conceptualization and expression of the above count and non-count nouns. So far, descriptive frameworks have mainly focused on the categorization of count and non-count nouns on the basis of language use (Tsoulas, 2008). Wierzbicka (1985) adopts a cognitive view where the relative size of the real-world referents affects the way we conceptualize and express them, either as a unity or as discrete items (for instance, *oats* and *wheat*). ICMs and conceptual metonymy are grounded on human experience and cultural

preferences. These cognitive principles determine our preferences for countability and non-countability. In particular, such countability preferences show that speakers switch from count to non-count nouns depending on whether the real-world referent is functional and accessible in the immediate situational context. Cultural stereotypes also have an impact on speakers' choices. The etymology of the relevant nouns is traced in order to capture these cultural preferences by Greek speakers. Reviewing the examples listed, the majority of count and non-count nouns in Modern Greek appear to originate from metonymic conceptualization processes while there are also some cases of culturally motivated preferences.

## The Greek [r] in rC clusters: an acoustic and electropalatographic study

<sup>1</sup>Mary Baltazani & <sup>2</sup>Katerina Nicolaidis

<sup>1</sup>University of Ioannina & <sup>2</sup>Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

<sup>1</sup>mbaltaz@cc.uoi.gr & <sup>2</sup>knicol@enl.auth.gr

Cross-linguistically, rhotics exhibit phonetic variety (Lindau 1985, Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996). In the Greek literature there is no consensus on their nature. Older phonological descriptions assumed it is a trill (Φιλίππáκη-Warburton 1992, Nespor 1996). More recent phonetic studies describe it as a tap in intervocalic position (Arvaniti 1999, Nicolaidis 2001) and, in clusters, as a more complex segment consisting of a tap accompanied by a vocalic element (Baltazani 2009), a realization also found in clusters in several Spanish dialects, as well as in French and Hamburg German (Bradley 2001; Rochette, 1973; Jannedy 1994).

The vowel-like transition between the [r] and the second member of the cluster has been accounted for in other languages as a result of retiming of the two existing consonantal gestures—there is less overlap between the two consonantal gestures, leaving space between them for the realization of this brief vowel (Romero 1996, Recasens & Espinosa 2007). To explore these questions we designed a production experiment involving collection of both acoustic and articulatory (EPG) data.

In this paper we present data for rC clusters. The speech material consists of words with a VrCV sequence, where C = [p, t, k, b, d, g, v, ð, γ, f, θ, x] and V = [i, e, a, o, u], embedded in the carrier phrase [*l leksi\_ine apli*] 'The word \_ is simple'. Acoustic and EPG data were simultaneously recorded from five Greek speakers repeating the speech material five times, resulting in a corpus of 1500 tokens (12 Cs X 5 Vs X 5 repetitions X 5 speakers). Acoustic analyses included measurement of the duration of the rhotic and vocalic intervals as well as F1, F2 formants at the midpoint of the vocalic element. Articulatory analyses included examination of the place and degree of constriction of the rhotic as well as variability due to context and speaker.

Preliminary results show the presence of a vocalic element, a vocoid, intervening between the constriction phase of the rhotic and that of the following consonant. This vocoid is systematically longer in duration than the constriction phase for r-clusters with fricative consonants but quite variable for those with stop consonants, suggesting less overlap between r and fricatives. The formant structure at the vocoid mid-point tends to be similar to that of the neutral vowel (schwa), with additional influence from the neighbouring vowel. EPG data show variation in the place of articulation of the rhotic due to context. In addition, production varies from fully constricted to more open articulations.

### References

- Arvaniti, A. (1999). "Effects of speaking rate on the timing of single and geminate sonorants". *Proceedings of the XIVth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, vol. 1: 599-602.
- Baltazani, M. (2009). "Acoustic characterization of the Greek [r] in clusters". In *Selected Papers on Theoretical and Applied Linguistics from the 18<sup>th</sup> International Symposium on Theoretical & Applied Linguistics*, Volume 1, Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics, Salonica.
- Bradley, T.G. (2001). *The phonetics and phonology of rhotic duration contrast and neutralization*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Pennsylvania State University.

- Bradley, T.G. (2004). Gestural timing and rhotic variation. In Face, T. (Ed.), *Laboratory Approaches to Spanish Phonology* (pp. 195-220). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Jannedy, S. (1994). "Rate effects on German unstressed syllables". *OSU Working Papers in Linguistics* 44, 105–124.
- Ladefoged, P. and I. Maddieson. (1996). *The Sounds of the World's Languages*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Lindau, M. (1985). "The story of /r/". In Fromkin, V.A. (ed.), *Phonetic Linguistics: Essays in Honor of Peter Ladefoged*. Academic Press, 157-168.
- Nespor, M. (1996). *Φωνολογία* (Phonology), Εκδόσεις Πατάκη, Αθήνα.
- Nicolaidis, K. (2001). "An electropalatographic study of Greek spontaneous speech". *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, 67-85.
- Recasens D. & A. Espinosa (2007). "Phonetic Typology and Positional Allophones for Alveolar Rhotics in Catalan". *Phonetica* 63:1–28.
- Φιλιππάκη-Warburton, I. (1992). *Εισαγωγή στη θεωρητική Γλωσσολογία*. Νεφέλη, Αθήνα.

### **Text Grammar as an assessment criterion in writing**

**Virginia-Maria Blani**  
*University of Athens*  
 bmplani@enl.uoa.gr

This paper aims to explore the concept of *text grammar* as an assessment criterion in writing. Whereas traditionally lexis and sentence grammar have always been important criteria in writing assessment, text grammar, defined as grammar above the sentence level, has not been emphasized. Its importance lies on the fact that as a writing assessment criterion text grammar analyses aspects of a script not covered by sentence grammar. For instance, it can formulate the conditions for coherence between sentences in a more consistent way than sentence grammars, and at the same time it can describe the larger structures which unify the text (van Dijk, 1972). Different aspects of text grammar have been realised in different rating scales of exam batteries, yet it has been widely recognised that this criterion creates strain to the raters when they assess candidates' scripts (Shaw, 2005). As often stated by raters themselves, the difficulty lies on the fact that text grammar is a text-based criterion which requires a much more complex analysis of the script.

By analyzing the rating scales of different examination batteries, this paper will present different realizations of the concept of *text grammar* in various rating scales. After this comparative analysis the paper will focus on the State Certificate of Language Proficiency (henceforth KPG). *Text grammar* is one of the three assessment criteria in the KPG rating scale, the other two being *Genre/communicative purpose/content* and *Sentence grammar*.

In KPG writing module, *text grammar* is used to refer to text organization, coherence and cohesion. *Text organization* refers to the organization of the text into paragraphs and the ways it is structured according to the genre and generic processes (Knapp & Watkins, 2005) required by the writing activity. *Coherence* refers to the organization of the ideas in a logical way given the required genre and the communicative purpose. Taking into consideration the fact that coherence is related to the organization of ideas, it is here distinguished from cohesion, which is considered more text-based and related to the lexicogrammatical features of the text. *Cohesion* refers to the ways parts of the text (paragraphs, sentences or even clauses) are linked together, through the use of appropriate grammatical structures (e.g. connectives, reference etc.) and lexical choices which unify the different parts of their texts. Contrary to previous accounts of cohesion and coherence which focused on accuracy, KPG exams place particular emphasis on the appropriate use of lexicogrammatical choices, taking into account the genre and the communicative purpose required by the writing activity.

The paper reports on the findings of a close linguistic analysis of KPG candidates' scripts in terms of *text grammar*, discusses different organization patterns and reveals some weaknesses candidates have in organizing their ideas into coherent texts.

#### References:

- van Dijk, Teun A. (1972). *Some aspects of text grammars*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Knapp, P. & Watkins, M. (2005). *Genre, text, grammar: Technologies for teaching and assessing writing*. Sydney: UNSW press.
- Shaw, S. D. (2005). *IELTS Writing Assessment Revision Working Group: Summary of Progress. June 2001–May 2005*, Cambridge: UCLES internal report.

### **Η λαϊκή, η ταβέρνα, τα Χριστούγεννα και...ο Σεφέρης ή η θεματολογία κειμένων στα εγχειρίδια διδασκαλίας της Νέας Ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας**

**Βασιλική Γιαννακού**  
*Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών*  
Vasgiannak@yahoo.gr

Τα τελευταία χρόνια η παραγωγή των εγχειριδίων για τη διδασκαλία της Νέας Ελληνικής ως ξένης έχει αυξηθεί κατακόρυφα, με στόχο την κάλυψη των ποικίλων αναγκών του μαθητικού κοινού σε κάθε επίπεδο. Ταυτόχρονα, τα νέα εγχειρίδια φιλοδοξούν να πρωτοτυπήσουν στην επιλογή των θεματικών πυρήνων των κειμένων και στον τρόπο παρουσίασής τους, καθώς και να παρουσιάσουν ένα μοντέρνο υλικό, ανάλογο με το σύγχρονο τρόπο ζωής.

Παρουσιάζει, λοιπόν, ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον μία συγκριτική μελέτη των εγχειριδίων, προκειμένου να φανεί κατά πόσο οι παραπάνω στόχοι επιτυγχάνονται. Υπάρχει, πράγματι, ανανεωτική διάθεση στο διδακτικό υλικό; Είναι αυτό προσανατολισμένο στα ενδιαφέροντα των νέων, που αποτελούν και το μεγαλύτερο τμήμα του μαθητικού κοινού; Παρατηρείται αντιστοιχία ανάμεσα στις δραστηριότητες των ανθρώπινων τύπων-ηρώων των εγχειριδίων και σε αυτές των ατόμων της πραγματικής ζωής στην ελληνική κοινωνία; Τα νέα εγχειρίδια είναι εμπλουτισμένα με νέους θεματικούς κύκλους, νέες αντιλήψεις, νέα κοινωνικά και πολιτισμικά δεδομένα;

Η σημασία μιας τέτοιας μελέτης θα δείξει τι ακριβώς αντικατοπτρίζεται στα βιβλία σχετικά με την ελληνική ζωή και νοοτροπία, πράγμα το οποίο είναι, τελικά, αυτό που παρουσιάζεται ως εικόνα της Ελλάδας στον αλλοδαπό μαθητή της Ελληνικής. Ας μην ξεχνάμε ότι ειδικά στην περίπτωση που ο μαθητής διδάσκει τη γλώσσα μακριά από τη χώρα μας, το εγχειρίδιο είναι το κύριο και ίσως το μοναδικό μέσο γνωριμίας, κατανόησης και σύνδεσης με την ελληνική πραγματικότητα, δεδομένο που το καθιστά πολύ σημαντικό εργαλείο της διδακτικής πράξης, αλλά και βασικό και ουσιαστικό δίαυλο επικοινωνίας με την ελληνική ζωή.

### **Semantic network of causative MAKE**

**Sami Chatti**  
*University Paris III*  
samichatti@yahoo.fr

The verb MAKE is a one of the most intriguing verbs in the English language. Not only does it occur in various contexts and situations, but also it conveys a cluster of meanings, depending on the context of its use. Rather than dealing with all uses and meanings of MAKE, I shall devote this paper to the study of the semantics of causative MAKE, that is the uses of MAKE with the complementation patten: "NP make NP VP"<sup>1</sup>.

Drawing upon a corpus study of the occurrences of causative MAKE in the International Corpus of English, this paper shall overturn the widely-shared assumption that MAKE is a coercive verb, and elaborate no less than six senses for causative MAKE, which include a cluster of notions such as coercion, control, implication, effectiveness, and mechanical interaction.

Building on cognitive semantics findings, I shall elaborate, in this paper, a newly semantic typology for causative MAKE, which focuses on three salient features: (i) animacy of the Causer and the Causee, (ii) valuation of the causal process, and (iii) nature of the balance of power. This model would reveal that causative MAKE is a highly polysemous verb, which conveys a cluster of different

readings, depending on the context of its use, the valuation of the causal process and the nature of the balance of power between the two participants of the causative situation.

<sup>1</sup> I will ignore:

- Uses of MAKE as a generic creation verb (i.e. make ice cream, make a card, etc.);
- Uses of MAKE with an NP and adjectival complement (i.e. make me sick, make me afraid);
- Uses of MAKE with two NP complements (i.e. make him president, made her a widow).

### Right dislocations in Greek: The case of afterthoughts

**Stergios Chatzikyriakidis**

*King's College, London*

kafouroutsos@hotmail.com

Right Dislocations are commonly found in Greek. The dislocated elements in these constructions vary from full NPs to pronominals (some of them doubling some preceding object clitic, i.e. Clitic Right Dislocation, CRD) and from PPs to temporal adverbs:

- (1) Ton kseri o Janis, ton Giorgo  
him.acc know.3sg the John, the.acc George.acc  
'John knows George.'
- (2) Se kseri o Janis mia hara, esena  
you.acc know.3sg the John one joy, you  
'He knows you pretty well.'
- (3) Ti kseri ti Maria poli kala, o Janis  
her.acc know.3sg the Mary very good, the John  
'John knows Mary pretty good.'
- (4) Ide ti Maria o Janis sto parko, htes/ prin apo ligo  
saw.3sg the Mary the John in-the park, yesterday/before from little  
'John saw Mary in the park, yesterday/a while ago.'

The interpretation of the dislocated elements in the above sentences varies between a background topic and an afterthought interpretation. In the first case, the dislocated element somehow re-establishes the topic, while in the latter additional information is provided by the speaker as regards some part of the sentence (e.g. in 4, the past tense event is further specified to have taken place yesterday). However, there are a number of right dislocated constructions in which only the afterthought interpretation is possible. Such constructions involve a right dislocated NP doubling a clitic pronoun already introduced, the two of them not matching in terms of their gender values (a fact already noted in Valioui, 1994):

- (5) To diavasa mia hara, tin anakinosi  
it.cl read.1sg one joy the.acc announcement.acc  
'I read the announcement alright.'
- (6) To petaksa sta skupidia, tin idopiisi  
it.cl threw.1sg to-the trash the notification  
'I threw the notification to the trash.'

In the above examples, the right dislocated NPs cannot be background topics but only afterthoughts in the sense of corrections or updates. In order to analyze sentences like that, I propose that afterthoughts should be treated as fragment answers to implicit questions. Following recent views in the Dynamic Syntax literature (Kempson et al., 2001; Cann et al., 2005) where dialogue interaction is taken to involve re-use of actions of the previous discourse (Cann et al., 2007; Purver et al., 2010 inter alia), I argue that case mismatch derives from the genderless Wh element *ti* 'who' present in the implicit question the afterthoughts *tin anakinosi* 'the announcement' and *tin idopiisi* 'the notification' answer in (5) and (6) respectively. Wh elements in DS are assumed to project a Fo metavariable that needs to be later on updated into a proper formula value (this proper value will normally be provided by the answer). The metavariable projected from *ti* will be genderless (given that no gender is encoded in *ti*, even though animacy is) and in that respect, an update that does not match the gender value of the preceding clitic will always be possible.

## Basic Illocutions of the Modern Greek Subjunctive

Maria Chondrogianni

University of Westminster

maria\_chondrogianni@yahoo.co.uk

In this paper we discuss the basic illocutions associated with the Modern Greek Subjunctive mood which form part of the grammar system. The term *grammatical mood* is used in this work as the category which includes 'all grammatical elements operating on a situation/proposition, that are not directly concerned with situating an event in the actual world, as conceived by the speaker' (Hengeveld 2004). The analysis undertaken follows the framework provided by Hengeveld et al. (2007) of a systematic hierarchical classification of propositional and behavioural basic illocutions.

The interface between Morphosyntax, Phonology and Pragmatics is of particular interest to this work: each basic illocution is described in terms of the prosodic contour it is expressed with (with relevant Praat illustrations); the optional or necessary presence of the associated negation *μη(ν)*; the use of segmental markers, which provide cues on how a certain utterance is to be interpreted; grammatical tense restrictions, where appropriate, including number and person restrictions; aspectual restrictions, where appropriate; the potential answer provided by an addressee to a question, or a question-like utterance. We describe prosodic contours in 5 defined intonation patterns which, as we demonstrate, apply to Subjunctive's uses with distinct encoding.

We show that Subjunctive propositional uses include wishes, which might fulfillable or unfulfillable, optionally introduced by the segmental marker *μακάρι*; curses, marked by a distinct intonation pattern; wondering uses, optionally introduced by the segmental marker *άραγε*; mirative uses (of disapproval), marked by intonation; and expressions of uncertainty introduced by the segmental marker *ίσως*. Subjunctive behavioural uses include mitigated directives, marked by intonation and use of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person; mitigated prohibitions, where the presence of negation *μη(ν)* is obligatory; mitigated directives-encouragement, marked by intonation, with the expectation of a consent response; and supplicative uses (requests for permission), expressed in the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular or plural, marked by intonation.

### Μελέτη ΔΕΠΠΣ και ΑΠΣ ξένων γλωσσών στην δημόσια ελληνική εκπαίδευση με έμφαση στην αξιολόγηση του μαθητή

<sup>1</sup>Αγγελική Δεληγιάννη & <sup>2</sup>Αναστασία Χριστοδούλου

<sup>1</sup>Σχολική Σύμβουλος Αγγλικής & <sup>2</sup>Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης

<sup>1</sup>angelici@otenet & <sup>2</sup>nata@itl.auth.gr

Φαίνεται ότι υπάρχει σοβαρό πρόβλημα στην ξενόγλωσση εκπαίδευση όσον αφορά στη σχέση των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων και της υπάρχουσας κατάστασης στην αξιολόγηση του μαθητή.

Προκειμένου να τεκμηριωθεί η παραπάνω διατύπωση η έρευνα στράφηκε προς μια συγκριτική μελέτη η οποία αφορά:

(α) στην αποτύπωση της δομής των ΔΕΠΠΣ (γενικοί σκοποί, άξονες περιεχόμενου, γενικοί γνωστικοί στόχοι, αξίες, στάσεις και δεξιότητες, ενδεικτικές θεμελιώδεις έννοιες διαθεματικής προσέγγισης) και ΑΠΣ (ειδικοί σκοποί, στόχοι, θεματικές ενότητες, ενδεικτικές δραστηριότητες, πρόσθετα διαθεματικά σχέδια εργασίας, ώρες διδασκαλίας, διδακτική μεθοδολογία, αξιολόγηση) για όλες τις ξένες γλώσσες, που διδάσκονται στις δύο βαθμίδες εκπαίδευσης (Α/θμια και Β/θμια), δηλαδή, Αγγλικά, Γαλλικά, Γερμανικά, Ιταλικά, Ισπανικά,

(β) στην αποτύπωση της αξιολόγησης του μαθητή, όπως προβλέπεται στα αντίστοιχα μέρη των ΔΕΠΠΣ και ΑΠΣ για όλες τις γλώσσες (Άξονες αξιολόγησης: στόχοι, μορφές, βασικές αρχές, τεχνικές και μέσα έκφρασης του αξιολογικού αποτελέσματος), και

(γ) στον έλεγχο της συνέπειας των Προεδρικών Διαταγμάτων των σχετικών με τις προαγωγικές/απολυτήριες τελικές εξετάσεις με τα αντίστοιχα μέρη της αξιολόγησης του μαθητή των ΔΕΠΠΣ και ΑΠΣ.

Η έρευνα διατυπώνει προτάσεις όσον αφορά στην αξιολόγηση του μαθητή, καθώς και συγκεκριμένα κριτήρια συνοδευόμενα από παραδείγματα πρακτικής εφαρμογής της ενεργοποίησης του ΔΕΠΠΣ ως προς την αξιολόγηση που διέπει τα ΦΕΚ των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων.

### Labeling of derogatory words in Modern Greek Dictionaries

<sup>1</sup>Angeliki Efthymiou, <sup>2</sup>Zoe Gavriilidou & <sup>3</sup>Eleni Papadopoulou

<sup>1,2,3</sup>Democritus University of Thrace

<sup>1</sup>aefthym@eled.duth.gr, <sup>2</sup>zoegab@otenet.gr & <sup>3</sup>papadopoulou.lena@gmail.com

Usage labels have recently received renewed attention in Modern Greek literature (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2007, Τράπαλης & Κατσούδα 2007, Τράπαλης 2005). These studies compare the labelling systems employed in Modern Greek dictionaries, point out the problems emerging from their use and proceed to suggestions for the creation of labelling systems which would be more functional.

The purpose of the present paper is to survey the treatment of 'negative' terms in two Modern Greek dictionaries (ΛΝΕΓ2 and ΛΚΝ) and to highlight a series of problems relating to the usage labels attached to many of the entries. The terms studied include various semantic groups such as terms denoting nationality, racial or cultural group (γκέκας, τουρκομερίτης, σκυλάραπας), lack of intelligence (βλαμμένος), age (σκατόγερος), sexual orientation (κουνιστός, ντικιντάγκας), terms for women (καραπουτάνα, γύναιο), terms for the organs and acts of sex (ψωλή, μαλακίζομαι), bodily effluvia (σκατό, χέσιμο), etc. (cf. Allan & Burridge 2006, Kechagia 1997, Ξυδόπουλος 2008). The investigation of the treatment of these terms in Modern Greek dictionaries reveals that 1. the distinctions made in the prefaces between derogatory, offensive, slang or taboo words is hard to maintain, 2. there is a wide range of possible descriptions of negative usage and 3. the likelihood of a 'negative' indication varies from one semantic group to another (cf. Norri 2000 for similar remarks about labeling in English dictionaries).

#### References

- Allan K. & K. Burridge 2006. *Forbidden Words: Taboo and the Censoring of Language*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη Α. 2007. Λεξικογραφία και χρηστικά σημάδια. Στα *Πρακτικά του 8ου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ελληνικής Γλωσσολογίας*, Ιωάννινα, 30/8-2/9 2007.
- ΛΝΕΓ2 = Μπαμπινιώτη Γ. 2006. *Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας*. Κέντρο Λεξικολογίας.
- ΛΚΝ = Ινστιτούτου Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών. Ίδρυμα Μ. Τριανταφυλλίδη 2007 (α' έκδ. 1998) *Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής*. Θεσσαλονίκη: ΑΠΘ.
- Kechagia A. 1997. Insulting words in Modern Greek. In *Proceedings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International Conference on Greek Linguistics*. Graz. Neugebauer Verlag, 297-304.
- Norri J. 2000. Labelling of Derogatory Words in Some British and American Dictionaries. *International Journal of Lexicography* 13/ 2. Oxford University Press, 71-106.
- Ξυδόπουλος Γ. 2008. *Λεξικολογία: Εισαγωγή στην ανάλυση της λέξης και του λεξικού*. Αθήνα. Πατάκης.
- Τράπαλης Γ. 2005. Λεξικογραφικοί χαρακτηρισμοί στα νεοελληνικά λεξικά: Τυπολογία και συγκριτική εξέταση. Στο *Γλώσσης Χάριν*, Τόμος αφιερωμένος από τον Τομέα Γλωσσολογίας του ΕΚΠΑ στον καθηγητή Γεώργιο Μπαμπινιώτη, Ελληνικά Γράμματα, 2008, 664-678.
- Τράπαλης Γ. & Γ. Κατσούδα 2007. Συγκριτική μελέτη του συστήματος λεξικογραφικών χαρακτηρισμών σε ελληνικά και ξένα μονόγλωσσα λεξικά. Στα *Πρακτικά του 8ου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ελληνικής Γλωσσολογίας*, Ιωάννινα, 30/8-2/9 2007.

## Is Autonomy in Language Learning Attainable through Assessment?

Carol Everhard

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

everhard@enl.auth.gr

Within the European Union, many programmes have been implemented and materials developed which aim to promote autonomy amongst language learners of all ages. Learners are encouraged to be active rather than reactive participants in the language learning process (Council for Cultural Cooperation, 2001) through the use of checklists and other evaluation tools, which have been warmly received by learners and teachers alike. Such tools help both to develop critical thinking skills and to encourage learner reflection on achievement. Many researchers go so far as to claim that without the skill to evaluate and assess, there can be no autonomy (Hunt, Gow & Barnes, 1989) and that the ability to peer-assess and self-assess is the pillar or crux (Dam, 1995; Harris, 1997) on which autonomy hangs.

Paradoxically, although peer-assessment and self-assessment appear to be so crucial in the development of autonomy, very few studies have been conducted in relation to this subject in the field of EFL and studies which do exist tend to focus either on oral skills or writing skills and either on peer-assessment or on self-assessment and, in addition, are either too short-term or too small in scale to be able to draw any reasonable conclusions.

The research which will be described in this paper extended over a five-year period, from 2005-2010, and involved approximately 240 participants who were involved in peer-assessment and self-assessment of course writing assignments, as well as group peer-assessment and self-assessment of course oral assignments on a 1<sup>st</sup> Year General English course in the autumn semester of each year. The participants in the study were predominantly Greek or Greek Cypriot, within an age-range of 18-20, of whom approximately 85% had a language ability of B2 or above according to Council of Europe levels.

The data gathered over the five-year period was both quantitative and qualitative and offers some insights into the reliability and objectivity with which students assessed. It also offers some illuminating insights regarding student attitudes towards the assessment process and whether students were simply putting on a 'mask' of autonomy (Breen & Mann, 1997), to comply with the instructor's wishes, and with what results.

### REFERENCES

- Breen, M.P. & Mann, S.J. (1997) Shooting Arrow at the Sun. In Benson, P & Voller, P. *Autonomy and Independence in Language Learning*. London: Longman.
- Council for Cultural Cooperation (2001) *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching Assessment*. Cambridge: Council of Europe/C.U.P.
- Dam, L. (1995) *Learner Autonomy, 3: From Theory to Practice*. Dublin: Authentik.
- Harris, M. (1997) Self-Assessment of Language learning in Formal Settings. *ELTJ* 51, 1 pp.12-20.
- Hunt, J., Gow, L. & Barnes, P. (1989) Learner Self-evaluation and Assessment – a Tool to Autonomy in the Language Learning Classroom. In Bickley, V. *Language Teaching and Learning Styles within and across Cultures*. Hong Kong: Institute of Language in Education, Education Department. pp.207-217

## Since when is the Present Tense ruled out with *since*!

Marc Fryd

Université de Poitiers, France

marc.fryd@univ-poitiers.fr

This paper proposes to investigate the set of parameters which allow the optional choice of the Present Tense in English (e.g. (1)), or even show a marked preference for the latter (e.g. (2)) over the Present Perfect in retrospective reference contexts implying durative Aktionsart:

- (1) Of course it's all none of my business, but I feel happier since I've seen her.

[G. Eliot, *Middlemarch*, p.825, 1871]

- (2) [- Cy] Of course, we know the percentages being the percentages, you play long enough, your luck ain't gonna get no better here than anywheres else. See Joanie, maybe it's 'cause we're in a brand new camp. Since we arrived, certain people that are near and dear to me seem to have bought into our own fucking line and now they're trying to get me to go along. But I can't. See, Joanie, 'cause I'm a big boy.

[*Deadwood*, Season 1, episode 9, 2004 (TV series produced by HBO)]

Quite remarkably, the distinct preference, overall, of English for the Present Perfect (e.g. (3d)-(4d)) in such contexts sets it apart from other Germanic languages, not to mention Roman languages (e.g. French, Spanish, etc.) where the Present Tense is the norm to denote a state of affairs prevailing at the moment of speech from some initial point in time (e.g. (3)) or for a given time-span (e.g. (4)):

- (3)
- (a) [Fr.] Je t'attends depuis neuf heures.<sup>1</sup>
  - (b) [Sp.] Te espero desde las nueve.
  - (c) [G.] Ich warte auf dich seit neun Uhr.
  - (d) [E.] I've been waiting for you since nine o'clock.
- (4)
- (a) [Fr.] Je t'attends depuis neuf heures.
  - (b) [Sp.] Te espero desde hace nueve horas.
  - (c) [G.] Ich warte seit neun Stunden auf dich.
  - (d) [E.] I've been waiting for you for (\*since) nine hours.

Full attention will be borne to the prolonged diachronic state of fluctuation leading up to present-day usage, as well as to contact situations where atypical usage may result from substratum influence (e.g. (5-6) from Irish English):

- (5) I'm on a pension nearly three years now.
- (6) The system of this country is all wrong since 1922. [Kallen 1989]

#### References

- Cotte, Pierre (1987) Réflexions sur l'emploi des temps du passé en français et en anglais à la lumière de deux évolutions récentes du système verbal de l'anglais. *Contrastes* 14-15, 89-61.
- Kallen, J. (1989) Tense and Aspect Categories in Irish English. *English World Wide*, 10, 1-39.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. & Svartvik, J. (1985) *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. Longman.
- Schaden, Gerhard (2005) Different kinds of *since*-adverbials. In Joost Zwarts & Helen de Hoop (eds): *Proceedings of the Workshop 'Formal Semantics and Cross-Linguistic Data'*. Edinburgh, pp. 88-97.
- Van Draat, P.Fijn (1903) The conjunction since. *Englische Studien* 32, 371-388.
- Van Draat, P.Fijn (1910) The adverb since. *Anglia* 21 (new series), 145-171.
- Van Draat, P.Fijn (1912) The preposition since. *Anglia* 35 (new series), 155-164.

<sup>1</sup> As is made clear by the translations provided in German, Spanish and English, Fr. (3a)-(4a) are ambiguous and dependent on contextual clarification.

## An etymo-cognitive approach to Modern Greek vocabulary learning

**Alejandro García-Aragón**  
 University of Granada  
 aga@ugr.es

MG vocabulary, and its declensions, conjugations and derivatives, are generally learnt separately in very short contexts or simply out of context that students have to learn on their own account (*cf.* Ibáñez et al. 1997, Villar 1997). Sometimes, new MG words are introduced to learners comparing them to Ancient Greek roots or etymology in order to provide these 'empty' words with sense. However, this is done rather vaguely and never systematically.

The etymo-cognitive (EC) approach explained in this paper is the result of a qualitative research aiming to make explicit a type of semantic information that goes unnoticed in the process of learning

MG as a second language (SL), while improving traditional MG learning methods. This approach is based on both the internal and external structure of MG. The MG percentage of 'derivativeness' (or derivational synthesis) is higher than in other languages (*cf.* Rodríguez Adrados 1999). This implies having a greater number of etymologically-related lexical units than in other languages. Roots/etymons and their derivatives share at least a pattern-related orthography, and thus, can be grouped also orthographically. According to Goswami et al. (1997), the transparency of MG orthography may facilitate the recognition of smaller units within words. These smaller units frequently bear the same or nearly the same *implicit semantic information*, as we show, and thus, the whole lexical units in which they appear can be semantically grouped and structured.

Due to MG iotacism and other phonological phenomena, many words may sound similar, and similar sounding words interfere with recall (Baddeley and Hitch 1974 *apud* Randall 2007: 17). Thus, we believe orthography can hold the key to improve students' mnemonics. For instance, even the well-known salutation *καλημέρα* (*kaliméra*, good morning) can be divided into *καλή* (good) + *ημέρα* (day, *μέρα* in MG) = '*good day*'. Roughly, the ancient word *ημέρα* (day) is found in many other MG words, such as *ημερήσιος*, *καθημερινός*, *ισημερινός*, *μεσημέρι*, *ευημερία*, *εφημερίδα*, *πενθήμερο*, *σήμερα*, *ενημερώνω*, *ημερομηνία*, *ημερολόγιο*, etc. Initially, their corresponding separate meanings are not related in the students' mother tongue (L1): *daily*, *everyday*, *equator*, *noon*, *prosperity*, *newspaper*, *five-day*, *today*, *to update*, *date*, *calendar*, etc. Nevertheless, there is a semantic relation to the concept DAY in these terms that is not evident in English. This phenomenon is more prominent in MG than in other languages due to Ancient Greek-MG proximity, and thus it can play a crucial role in helping students to better recall MG vocabulary and understand how it works.

Instead of taking MG etymology from a strict point of view, this approach takes advantage of widely known words in the learner's L1 whose etymons come from Ancient Greek roots (most European languages) and which are still used in MG. Thus, the learner's previous knowledge is transformed and re-directed in order to extract and underline any shared meaning between L1 and MG.

In this paper, etymo-cognitive maps (ECMs) are also introduced. These are graphical maps in which the mentioned intra-linguistic semantic relations can be logically structured and grouped in word clusters of etymologically related MG words. The organization of ECMs is flexible and dynamic depending on the activity, the course level and the learners involved, as well as on autonomous learning. Each headword or head-concept of each ECM becomes a recognizable symbol that triggers, at least, three different codes, modules or access files to the master file: the mental lexicon. These access files (i. e.: orthographic, phonological, syntactic-semantic files) are arranged in our mind in order of decreasing frequency (*cf.* Forster's search model 1976, 1979, 1994 *apud* Randall 2007). These files or codes are linked and interact also in other word recognition theories, such as Coltheart's et al. 2001 Dual Route, Seidenberg and McClelland's 1989 Triangle Model (*cf.* Randall 2007), also discussed in our paper.

ECMs also implement the concept of graded structure (Barsalou 1987), which refers to a continuum of category representativeness, "beginning with the most typical members of a category and continuing through its atypical members to those nonmembers least similar to category members" (*ibid.*). Graded structure is central to predicting ease of category learning, with typical exemplars being easier to acquire than atypical exemplars (e.g. Mervis & Pani 1980; Rosch, Simpson, & Miller 1976). This goes hand in hand with conceptual salience and Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1986), which argues that an assumption is irrelevant in a context to the extent that the effort required to process it in this context is large. However, the multiplicity of intelligences theory (Gardner since 1983) states that everyone (every learner) possesses and develops a unique combination of these intelligences (Sygmond 2006: 35, Armstrong 2006: 31), and we believe this approach can help a wide range of 'intelligences'.

## **Users' abilities and performance in dictionary look up**

**Zoe Gavriilidou**

*Democritus University of Thrace*

zoegab@otenet.gr

Effective *dictionary use* presupposes a series of special skills or strategies such as alphabetical sequencing, lemmatization (Béjoint 1989, Hartman 1987, Hartmann & James 2002, Nesi 1996), selection of the correct information or meaning about the desired word.

The purpose of the present study was to focus on dictionary users' abilities and performance when asked to look up a specific word meaning in the dictionary. Forty eight students of the Democritus University of Thrace were given a worksheet containing fifteen phrases, all including a polysemous word typed in bold characters, and the Dictionary of Standard Greek (*Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής*) of Manolis Triandafyllidis. The subjects were told to look up the bold words in the dictionary and write down their meaning as well as the exact position of the entry where the specific meaning was found. The results revealed that it was not always easy for the subjects to locate the correct meaning of the word they looked up. The problems were caused mainly by word polysemy and phraseology. This finding supports the idea of elaborating specific training programs for raising dictionary use awareness.

### References

Béjoint, H. 1989. *The teaching of dictionary use: present state and future tasks. Dictionaries*. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter. 1st vol. 208-15.

Hartman R. R. K. 1987. «Four perspectives on dictionary use : A critical review of research methods». In A. Cowie, *The dictionary and the language learner*, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 11-28.

Hartmann R. R. K. & J. James 2002. *Dictionary of Lexicography*, Routledge.

Nesi H. 1996. «The role of illustrative examples in productive dictionary use». *Dictionaries* 17, 198-206.

## **The employment of cognitive and metacognitive strategies in bilingual pupils' creative writing**

**<sup>1</sup>Athina Geladari & <sup>2</sup>Konstantinos Mastrothanasis**

*<sup>1</sup>University of Western Macedonia*

<sup>1</sup>athinageladari@yahoo.gr & <sup>2</sup>kostas0231@yahoo.gr

Creative writing appears to be a particularly motivational activity for second language learners (Dougherty 2006, 2007) that is more beneficial when accomplished in a context where there is no anticipation of the evaluation by the teacher or others (Kaplan Bass, 1993). The present research represents an attempt to investigate the employment of cognitive and metacognitive strategies by bilingual pupils as well as the processes they follow when they compose a short story. The primary goals of the study are threefold: a) to provide further insight into the strategies pupils adopt while writing in a second language (Greek), b) to identify possible variations in the use of cognitive and metacognitive strategies depending on pupils' language proficiency level and type of bilingualism (simultaneous-successive) and, c) to record the difficulties pupils face while composing. The sample was comprised by 43 bilingual pupils enrolling in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> grade of Primary School. Data were collected with both qualitative and quantitative methods, through a diagnostic tool to investigate difficulties in writing, the think-aloud protocols and individual retrospective interviews.

The findings revealed that the bilingual participants use a variety of cognitive and metacognitive strategies. In addition, variations were found between the two levels of language proficiency and types of bilingualism in terms of employing effective strategies and flexibility in strategy choice. Their difficulties were focused in the selection of appropriate vocabulary and the organization of ideas. Finally, it is suggested that pupils are trained in specific cognitive and metacognitive writing strategies and processes of writing texts.

## Working Memory and Speaking in L2

**Effie Georgiadou**  
Zayed University  
effie31g@gmail.com

The role of working memory has been widely investigated in regard to language acquisition and foreign language learning. Studies by Daneman and Carpenter (1980), Daneman and Green (1986), King and Just (1991) have shown a relationship between working memory capacity and L1 reading comprehension, vocabulary learning and sentence processing respectively. Similarly, Harrington and Sawyer (1992) and Kormos and Sáfár (2008) have also found strong correlations between working memory capacity and performance in L2 skills such as reading and listening. Few studies, however, have focused on the role of working memory in the oral production of L2. According to Levelt's (1989) language production model, during speech the speaker performs the following: he/she conceptualizes or, in other words forms a concept/idea, accesses the lexicon and selects the appropriate lexical items, formulates, monitors and articulates the message. These processes are parallel and automatic in native speakers whereas in second-language speakers the process is usually slower and more conscious. Therefore, the allocation and division of attention is necessary. The functions of dividing and allocating attention take place in the central executive, one of the three parts of Baddeley and Hitch's (1974) multi-component model of working memory. The present study aims at investigating the differences manifested in L2 speaker's oral performance in terms of lexical complexity, grammatical accuracy and fluency, and how or whether these correlate with speakers' working memory capacity. Another aspect the study focuses on is the self-repair behavior of L2 speakers in terms of the number and types of self corrections performed during a specific oral task. The presentation will focus on the methodological procedure of the study as well as the preliminary findings of the pilot study.

### References

- Baddeley, A.D. and Hitch, G.J. (1974). Working memory. In G.A. Bower (ed.), *Recent Advances in Learning and Motivation*, 8: 47-89. New York: Academic Press.
- Daneman, M. & Carpenter P. (1980). Individual differences in working memory and reading. *Journal of verbal learning and verbal behavior*, 19(4): 450-466.
- Daneman, M. & Green, I. (1986). Individual Differences in Comprehending and Producing Words in Context, *Journal of Memory and Language*, 25 (1): 1-18.
- Harrington, M. & Sawyer, M. (1992). L2 working memory capacity and L2 reading skills. *Studies in second language acquisition*, 14: 25-38.
- King, J. & Just, M. A. (1991). Individual Differences in Syntactic Processing: The Role of Working Memory. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 30 (5): 580-602
- Kormos, J. & Sáfár, A. (2008). Phonological Short-Term Memory, Working Memory and Foreign Language Performance in Intensive Language Learning. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 11: 261-271.
- Levelt, W. (1989). *Speaking: From Intention to Articulation*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

### **A relational model for English language classroom anxiety: sources, symptoms, and strategies**

**Christina Gkonou**  
University of Essex  
cgkono@essex.ac.uk

As part of the individual differences taxonomy, anxiety, and in particular English language classroom anxiety (ELCA) manifests itself as a force which positively or negatively affects student behaviour in class (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986). The teacher, the peers, students' beliefs and self-perceptions as well as instances of potential L1 interference constitute the major anxiety-

inducing factors in the English as a foreign language (EFL) classroom (Sparks & Ganschow, 1996; Von Worde, 2003). These stressors lead the students to react in certain behavioural, psychological, and physiological ways: they may avoid classes, feel worried and afraid, overstudy and become perfectionists, or even “freeze” in class, fidget, stutter, and sweat (Horwitz et al., 1986; Oxford, 1999; Woodrow, 2006). Therefore, since anxiety hinders learning, students’ and teachers’ further concern should focus on a number of anxiety management and reduction techniques. In this case, the teacher, although often provoking anxiety, can provide learners with useful strategies to deploy in class in order to diminish their anxiety and maximize their learning potential.

This presentation will shed light on the viewpoints of 10 teachers working in private language schools in Greece and 10 students of EFL studying English in the same schools. Focus group interviews were implemented with both teachers and students; additionally, the students expressed their thoughts in introspective and reflective learner diaries, which further supplemented the focus group findings.

The results revealed that the learners’ personality traits, the teacher, and the necessity of succeeding in English due to the status of that language in Greece and abroad increase students’ levels of ELCA. Additionally, the role of the teacher appeared to be dual in this study: the teacher functions both as a facilitator and as a factor causing anxiety. The students on their part, however, acknowledged that in instances of extreme anxiety, they find solutions to overcome it by themselves. As far as the coping strategies are concerned, attention should be paid to the adoption of “lenient” error correction methods and to the construction of a collaborative atmosphere in the classroom. Implications for teaching as well as a strategy inventory are also discussed.

#### References

- Ganschow, L. & Sparks, R. (1996) Anxiety about foreign language learning among high school women. *The Modern Language Journal*, 80(2), 199-212.
- Horwitz, E. K., Horwitz, M. B., & Cope, J. (1986). Foreign language classroom anxiety. *The Modern Language Journal*, 70, 125-132.
- Oxford, R. L. (1999) Anxiety and the language learner: new insights. In Arnold, J. (ed.) *Affect in language learning* (pp. 58-67). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Von Wörde, R. (2003). Students’ perspectives on foreign language anxiety. *Inquiry*, 8(1), 22-40.
- Woodrow, L. (2006) Anxiety and speaking English as a second language. *RELC Journal*, 37, 308-328.

### **Learning EFL: a comparative study of students in Greek primary and secondary education**

**<sup>1</sup>Eleni Griva & <sup>2</sup>Dora Chostelidou**

<sup>1</sup>University of Western Macedonia & <sup>2</sup>Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

<sup>1</sup>egriva@uowm.gr & <sup>2</sup>chostelidou@yahoo.com

The ability to effectively use the English language is becoming increasingly important in our globalized community and EFL instruction is assuming an enhanced role at all levels of foreign language education in Greece. As a result of the widely recognized concern for training students to become skilled users of the English language, the present study has been initiated with the aim to provide a comparative account of their learning styles and strategies as well as needs for skills development in primary and secondary education in order to provide them with the most efficient and effective practice to become proficient/competent in the target language. More specifically, the objectives of the study were to: a) identify the students’ learning strategies; b) record their needs for skills development; c) reveal their preferences for aspects of learning EFL.

The sample consisted of: a) 1107 students (562 boys and 545 girls) who attended the 5<sup>th</sup> grade (591 students) and the 6<sup>th</sup> grade (516 students) of public primary schools in the area of Thessaloniki and b) 1197 students, who attended secondary schools (596: lower secondary education and 601: upper secondary education) in the area of Thessaloniki. A self-report questionnaire was used as the basic instrument, which comprised three basic sections: a) language learning strategies, b) language skills, c) language learning aspects.

The findings revealed differences between the students of the two educational levels in relation to a number of items related to language learning strategies and language skills development. Cognitive strategies were of highest significance for an important number of primary school students; while, the secondary school students showed a greater degree of metacognition in strategy use. It is also interesting to record that the learners' needs concerning skills training and development were differentiated in terms of students at different education level; of them, the primary school students stated a higher need for developing reading, writing, and listening skills compared to secondary school students, who perceived the need for further enhancement of their speaking skills as of major significance. Furthermore, the majority of both primary and secondary education students showed a marked preference for the introduction of 'peer cooperation', 'computer use', 'performing of dialogues', and 'adaptation of the teaching process to address students' needs' which were reported as their most favourite ways to learn in the language classroom. Concluding, it should be highlighted that raising the students' awareness for strategy use in both the receptive and productive skills has to be reinforced through the provision of systematic training of students.

### **Can vocabulary size predict narrative abilities in children with SLI?**

**<sup>1</sup>Kleanthes Grohmann, <sup>2</sup>Maria Kambanaros & <sup>3</sup>Eleni Theodorou**

*<sup>1 2 3</sup>University of Cyprus*

<sup>1</sup>kleanthi@ucy.ac.cy, <sup>2</sup>kambanaros@gmail.com & <sup>3</sup>theodorou.d.eleni@ucy.ac.cy

Narrative ability is one of the most promising ways to assess communicative competence in young children (Wetherel, Botting & Conti-Ramsden, 2007). Children must lexically encode information of the story using the appropriate morphosyntactic skills to produce the sequence of events and their temporal relations. Children with specific language impairment (SLI) are reported to have difficulties producing oral narratives (Theodorou & Grohmann, 2010). Moreover, it is well documented that monolingual children with SLI are less accurate at naming pictures of common objects than age-matched peers with typical language development (TLD) (Kambanaros & Grohmann, 2010). Narratives and naming abilities might serve as a diagnostic tool for Specific Language Impairment (SLI), since children with SLI are reported to encounter difficulties with both tasks. So far, no study has correlated impaired performances on the two tasks in order to determine if vocabulary size can serve as a predictor of narrative abilities of (Cypriot) Greek-speaking children with SLI.

In the present study, the Renfrew Bus Story Test (BST) was used to investigate narrative ability and the vocabulary subtest of the Developmental Verbal Intelligence Quotient (DVIQ: Tsimpli & Stavrakaki, 1999) was used to measure vocabulary size. Furthermore, the Cypriot Object and Action Naming Test (COAT) by Kambanaros et al. (2010), was used to assess noun and verb access/ retrieval at the word level. Three groups of children participated in the study: 10 monolingual children with SLI (5;3–9;3) acquiring Cypriot Greek, 4 bilingual children with SLI (7;6–9;3) with Cypriot Greek as one of the two languages, and 10 monolingual children with TLD (5;4–9;11). For conducting the BST, the experimenter told each child a short story about a red bus, while the child looked through a book of pictures illustrating the story. The child then retold it, using the pictures as prompts. The narrations were recorded and analyzed for temporal sequencing of events, missing details, and confused characters as well as sentence length and structures. The vocabulary subtest of the DVIQ was administered to children who were asked to name the picture. Similarly, for the COAT, children were asked to name the object/action represented in the photograph using only one word. All three tests were scored, compared, and correlated within and between the groups.

Even though the majority of children provided the story content quite well (on a macro-structural analysis), with no irrelevant responses, children with SLI in both groups produced poorer narratives than their peers with TLD. More differences emerge on the microstructure of narratives. Comparing the mean length of utterance of the two clinical groups, the children used significantly fewer words than the children with TLD. On the other hand, the older bilingual children with SLI produced longer sentences than the younger monolinguals. In addition, mono- and bilingual children

with SLI used fewer subordinate clauses than controls with TLD, though no significant difference was identified between the two clinical groups. In naming abilities, children with SLI were found to have a lower vocabulary score than children with TLD; children with SLI were also found to be less accurate than children with TLD on verb retrieval compared to object retrieval. A series of correlations and hierarchical regression equations correlating vocabulary and verb/noun lexical access with each of the narrative micro-structural measures, such as morphosyntax, revealed a unique relationship between vocabulary and narratives.

Overall, our results indicate that single-word-naming can serve as a robust measure of children's overall narrative competence. The findings further suggest that both tasks, single-word-naming and retelling narratives, can indeed be powerful tools to assess language-impaired children for clinicians and researchers.

## **The First Stages of the Development of Motion Verbs in Greek**

**<sup>1</sup>Despina Ikononou & <sup>2</sup>Vina Tsakali**

*<sup>1</sup>University of Crete & <sup>2</sup>Northeastern University*

<sup>1</sup>desikononou@yahoo.gr & <sup>2</sup>p.tsakali@neu.edu

This study examines the developmental properties of Motion Verbs (MV) in Greek at very early stages (age range: 1;9-2;9) with a view to determining their acquisition pathway and whether there is an age effect on the typological differences attested in previous developmental studies of MVs (Naigles et al. 1998, Selimis & Katis 2003, Papafragou & Selimis 2010).

Talmy's influential work (Talmy 1985) classifies Greek as a Path Language (Verb-framed), which tend to conflate Path Component into the verb, while Manner of Motion is expressed by a Satellite (adverbials, PPs, gerunds) (1a). The reverse mechanism is found in Manner Languages (e.g. Germanic, Slavic languages, Finno-Ugric, Sino-Tibetan), as in (1b).

(1) a. O Jianis bike sto spiti (trehontas) [Path Language]

The Jianis entered in-the house (running)

'John entered the house running'

b. John ran into the house.

[Manner Language]

Crucially, within this framework, Manner Motion Verbs (MMV) in Path Languages, are considered to be incompatible with a Cross-Boundary interpretation (2a), unlike MMVs in Manner Languages, as in (2b) from English.

(2) a. \*O Giannis xorepse stin kuzina [\*directional meaning/\*Cross-Boundary]

The Gianis danced in-the kitchen

b. John danced into the kitchen.

However, it has been argued that the encoding of motion events depends on independent morphosyntactic parameters (Zubizarreta & Oh 2007, Horrocks & Stavrou 2007, Beavers, Levin & Tham 2009, Tsimpli & Papadopoulou 2009 among others). In the same spirit, we argue that Manner Motion Verbs in Greek can be interpreted as Cross-Boundary under certain conditions, correlated to Aspectual differences (in line with Levin and Rappaport 1992, Borer 1994, Tsimpli & Papadopoulou 2009). Thus perfective Aspect in (3a) licenses a Cross-Boundary reading, while the same reading is unavailable in the non-habitual meaning of imperfective Aspect in (3b).

(3) a. Kolibise sti spilia jia na krifti

swim-Past.3rd.Sing.PERF in the cave for SUBJ hide-3rd.SING

'He swam to the cave in order to hide'

b. Kolibuse sti spilia jia na krifti.

swim-Past.3rd.Sing.IMPERF in the cave for SUBJ hide-3rd.SING

'He was swimming to the cave in order to hide'.

Under this view, we examine whether naturalistic data from young children (CHILDES Database) support any correlation between emergence of Manner Motion Verbs and Morphological Aspect. We will show that children prior to the stage they have acquired Aspectual properties of the Greek verbal system will use only Path Verbs to express Cross-Boundary Situations (Accomplishments) while they use Manner Verbs only in Non-Cross-Boundary Situations (Activities). Thus our study

departs from previous developmental studies on MVs (Naigles et al. 1998, Selimis & Katis 2003, Papafragou & Selimis 2010) which concentrate on the typological differences of MVs and the syntactic structure (Transitivity versus Intransitivity) and conclude that acquisition of Motion Verbs is lexically biased.

Our prediction is attested by the naturalistic data from CHILDES Database, showing that: a) By the age of 1;9 basic Motion Verbs have been acquired, and b) the number of Path Verbs produced is significantly higher than the number of Manner Verbs at the stages in which children have not acquired morphological Aspect yet. These findings are also supported by our preliminary experimental results.

### **Motivation-related issues to learn different languages in an intercultural school**

**<sup>1</sup>Konstantina Iliopoulou & <sup>2</sup>Areti-Maria Sougari**

<sup>1</sup>*Intercultural Lower Secondary School* & <sup>2</sup>*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

<sup>1</sup>k.iliopoulou@live.com, <sup>2</sup>asougari@enl.auth.gr

Generalized motives that underlie the study of acquiring a particular language in a second language (L2) context have been the subject of extensive research during the past decades. The overall findings suggest that positive attitudes and motivation are related to success in second language learning (Gardner, 1985). However, no clear distinction is made between learning a second and a foreign language context as regards motivation-related issues. Most of these studies base their generalizations on the motivational characteristics of one specific target language, second or foreign, while few have compared the learning of different L2s (e.g., Laine, 1995). On the other hand, few studies have looked into whether there are distinct patterns of motivational orientations towards various target languages within the same community. Studies such as the following highlight these discrepancies: Clément and Cruidenier (1983) in the Canadian context, of Schmidt and Watanabe (2001) in the Hawaiian context, of Dörnyei and Clément (2001) as well as of Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) in the Hungarian context and, finally, of Humphreys and Spratt (2008) in the Hong Kong context. Therefore, the question of to what extent varying motivation towards different foreign languages is common within the same speech community is still a largely unresolved issue. This is especially so when the comparative focus is on world languages (such as English), other traditional taught languages (e.g., French in Greece) and less commonly taught languages (such as Greek). This paper sets out to contribute to this discussion.

This paper reports the findings of a study involving 98 lower secondary students who receive schooling in a Greek intercultural school, aiming to investigate their motivation towards the learning of Greek as second language, English as an additional language (which is also a compulsory school subject) and a chosen additional language (i.e. French and German). Based on Dörnyei and Csizér's (2002) work, this study used a questionnaire to examine possible varying motivation among the respondents and to find similarities/differences related to the different target languages. The findings shed light into learners' motivation towards the various languages and offer insight into learners' attitudes towards different foreign languages. The paper describes and explains these findings within the Greek socio-linguistic context, highlights similarities and differences raised in related studies and concludes with possible pedagogic and teaching implications.

#### *References*

- Clément, R. & Kruidenier, B. 1983. Orientations in second language acquisition: The effects of ethnicity, milieu, and target language on their emergence. *Language Learning* 33 (3), 273–291.
- Dörnyei, Z. & Clément, R. 2001. Motivational characteristics of learning different target languages: results of a nationwide survey. In Dörnyei, Z. & Schmidt, R. (Eds.) *Motivation and Second Language Acquisition*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii.
- Dörnyei, Z. & Csizér, K., 2002. Some dynamics of language attitudes and motivation: results of a nationwide survey. *Applied Linguistics* 23 (4), 421–462.
- Gardner, C. R. 1985. *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The Role of Attitudes and Motivation*. London: Edward Arnold.

- Humphreys, G. & Spratt, M. 2008. Many languages, many motivations: a study of Hong Kong students' motivation to learn different target languages. *System* 36, 313-335.
- Laine, E.J. (1995). *Learning Second National Languages: A Research Report*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Schmidt, R. & Watanabe, Y. 2001. Motivation, strategy use, and pedagogical preferences in foreign language learning. In Dörnyei, Z. & Schmidt, R. (Eds.) *Motivation and Second Language Acquisition*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, pp. 313–359.

### **Dialect stylization as subversion of linguistic hegemonies: the case of a Cypriot sitcom**

**<sup>1</sup>Elena Ioannidou & <sup>2</sup>Stavroula Tsiplakou**

<sup>1</sup>University of Cyprus & <sup>2</sup>Open University of Cyprus

<sup>1</sup>ioannidou.elena@ucy.ac.cy & <sup>2</sup>stavroula.tsiplakou@ouc.ac.cy

Language stylization is usually viewed as a host of mechanisms bringing into play stereotyped semiotic and ideological values associated with other groups (Coupland 2001, 2007), i.e. as a way of stylizing the Other, typically a referee group that is 'absent' in the sense that it is not involved in the processes whereby its stylization is constructed (Bell 1999; cf. also Rampton 1995). In this sense, stylization is part of the 'metalanguage' of folk linguistics (Preston 2004), a manifestation of a frequently hegemonic 'linguistic imaginary'.

In this paper we examine a particular case of media stylization where a dialect-speaking community arguably stylizes its (imagined) self. *Aigia Fuxia (Fuchsia Goat)* is a highly popular Greek Cypriot sitcom currently in its second season. The overarching filmic and textual/linguistic trademark of *AF* is its consistent pinpointing of its intertextual relations to traditional Cypriot radio and TV sitcoms such as *The Cypriot Sketch* or *Stories from the Village*. These are well-established comedic media genres, in which stylization of the language and the lifestyle of a part of the speech-community is performed in predictable ways ('peasantry' attire and language, and comic situations relating to 'life in the village'). *AF* both observes and diverges from the conventions of these genres, in that it displays *bricolage* with regard to (a) subject-matter and situations, which may range from 'peasantry' to urban/modern, or varying mixes of the two; (b) filmic *bricolage* involving overt commentary on the *mise-en-scène*, the use of the camera etc., and, crucially, (c) linguistic *bricolage* involving the use of basilectal/obsolete Cypriot forms, hyperdialectism, including the Cypriotization of Standard Greek forms (Tsiplakou 2003/in press) and code-mixing between Standard and Cypriot Greek (Tsiplakou *et al* 2006, Tsiplakou 2009).

Such self-stylization has rich interpretive potential. From a cinematic perspective, the foregrounding of the cinematic apparatus and its incorporation in the narrative in effect invites the viewer to focus on the processes of narrative construction (Kolker 1998). Similarly, from a sociolinguistic perspective, the overtly aberrant stylization of the Cypriot Greek dialect may be seen as performative destabilizing of dominant folk linguistic constructs about standard language and dialect and tensions between the two in a context of levelling and emergent diglossia resolution (Tsiplakou 2009).

#### References

- Bell, A. 1999. Styling the other to define the self: a study in New Zealand identity making. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 3, 523-541.
- Coupland, N. 2001. Dialect stylisation in radio talk. *Language in Society* 30, 345-375.
- Coupland, N. 2007. *Style: Language Variation and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kolker, R. 1998. The film text and film form. J. Hill & P. Gibson (eds) *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 11-20.
- Preston, D. R. 2004. Folk metalanguage. A. Jaworski, N. Coupland & D. Galasiński (eds) *Metalanguage: Social and Ideological Perspectives*. Berlin: Mouton, 75–101.
- Rampton, B. 1995. *Crossing: Language and Ethnicity among Adolescents*. New York: Longman.
- Tsiplakou, S. 2009. Code-switching and code-mixing between related varieties: establishing the

- blueprint. *The International Journal of Humanities* 6, 49-66.
- Tsiplakou S. 2003/in press. Linguistic attitudes and emerging hyperdialectism in a diglossic setting: young Cypriot Greeks on their language. C. Yoquelet (ed.) *Berkeley Linguistic Society 29. Special Volume: Minority and Diasporic Languages of Europe*. University of California at Berkeley.
- Tsiplakou, S., A. Papapavlou, P. Pavlou & M. Katsoyannou. 2006. Levelling, koineization and their implications for bidialectism. F. Hinskens (ed.) *Language Variation – European Perspectives. Selected Papers from the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference on Language Variation in Europe (ICLaVE 3), University of Amsterdam, 23-25 June 2005*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 265-276.

## **English as a plurilithic language: a sociolinguistics of its international form and function**

**Allan James**

*University of Klagenfurt*  
allan.james@uni-klu.ac.at

Sociolinguistic analysis of international English has oscillated uncertainly between understanding the language as structural code, as in the World Englishes (Kachru 1986) and English as Lingua Franca (Jenkins 2006) paradigms vs. the language as semiotic resource, as in the transcultural flows (Pennycook 2007) and Lingua Franca English (Canagarajah 2007) paradigms. In this respect, a comprehensive theory of code is offered by Schneider (2007) and of resource by Blommaert (2010). However, it will be argued here that a fine-tuned multilayered/plurilithic framework of formal-functional analysis which recognises the identification, representation and action semiotics (Fairclough 2005) of English in international use as being directly manifested in its structure at the level of, respectively, dialect, register and genre (James 2008) can resolve the seemingly opposing dichotomies of code and resource, structure and agency. In this way English is a plurilithic language in that it makes available a three-way set of co-occurring and competing structural-functional complexes for the expression of social meanings in international use. It can also be shown that the organisation and function of these *potential* structural-semiotic frameworks of 'affordances' and 'constraints' reflect, respectively, the fundamental contrastive, culminative and concatenative patterning of language. Data from a variety of corpora of international English will be examined in illustration of the theoretical arguments.

## **Levels of Burnout among EFL Teachers in Poland and their Relationship with some Demographic Variables**

**Barbara Jaroszewicz**

*Foreign Languages Teacher Training College, Opole, Poland*  
basiajar@yahoo.com

The job of foreign language teachers is both challenging and demanding. Their task is to prepare young adults to function competently in an English speaking world. Unfortunately, EFL teachers have to complete this task while coping with stressors related to the classroom situation: students misbehavior, overcrowded classes, students' negative attitudes as well as aggression and conflicts with their parents. Other stressors relate to working conditions: low income, heavy workload, lack of technical support, excessive demands from the supervisors and lack of support from colleagues. As a result, many teachers end up having more negative feelings about themselves, their students and their profession than they were initially.

The aim of the paper is to describe the syndrome of 'burnout' as experienced by foreign language teachers and to present the results of the study conducted in a group of Polish EFL teachers. The study aimed at recognizing the extent to which burnout is spread among secondary school EFL

teachers and to investigate the effect of some demographic variables such as age, gender, education level, teaching experience on burnout.

### **Case Agreement in Relative Clauses of Ancient Greek A Study in the Diachrony of the Syntax – Morphology Interface**

**Konstantinos Kakarikos**

*University of Patras*

k\_kakarikos@hotmail.com

TOPIC: The asymmetric relations in the interfaces between syntax and morphology are a multi-debated issue in modern linguistic literature (Ralli 1998, 1999, 2000, 2005, Español-Echevarría & Ralli 2000, Spencer 2003). A typical instance of this asymmetry in ancient Greek is exhibited (among other things) by case agreement in the syntax of relative clauses. In particular, whereas case agreement is a process generally controlled by syntax (cf. the subject/object – verb agreement), structures with relative clauses, while showing syntactic agreement in the features of gender and number, express no agreement in the feature of case. On the other hand, there are also instances, as the so called case attraction, in which case agreement is overtly expressed, but without being syntactically justified (Ralli 2005). In this paper we examine the syntax – morphology interface, as it is expressed by case agreement in the relative clauses of ancient Greek from the Classic to the early Hellenistic period.

STRUCTURES: According to traditional descriptions (Humbert 1960, Monteil 1963, Smyth 1976<sup>10</sup>, Mandilaras 1998<sup>5</sup>, Schwytzer [1950] 2002) the idiosyncratic character of case agreement in both free and appositional relative clauses (i.e. clauses with a covert and an overt head respectively) is illustrated by two constructions. In the first the case of the relative pronoun and that of its governing head obey to the syntactic demands of the verb of the relative and the main clause respectively. As a result the agreement relation involves the features of gender and number but not that of case (1 – 2). In the second the case of the relative pronoun is assimilated to that of its head, but in a way that violates the syntactic demands of the verb of the relative clause (3 – 4).

(1) oi de *he:gemones*, *ho:s ek<sup>h</sup>omen*, oy p<sup>h</sup>asin e:nai alle:n hodon (*Xen. Anab. 4.1.21*)

[MASC. PL. NOM.] [MASC. PL. ACC.]

(2) oik<sup>h</sup>etai p<sup>h</sup>eygo:n (*pro*) *hon eik<sup>h</sup>es martyra* (*Arist. Pl. 933*)

[MASC. SG. NOM.] [MASC. SG. ACC.]

(3) aksioi te:s *eleyt<sup>h</sup>erjjas* *he:s kek<sup>t</sup>e:st<sup>h</sup>ai* (*Xen. Anab. 1.7.3*)

[FEM. SG. GEN.] [FEM. SG. GEN.] [instead of: *eleyt<sup>h</sup>erjjas*<sub>[GEN]</sub> *he:n*<sub>[ACC]</sub>]

(4) oligoi (*pro*) *ho:n ego: entetyk<sup>h</sup>e:ka* (*Pl. Res. 531e*)

[MASC. PL. GEN.] [MASC. PL. GEN.] [instead of: (*pro*)<sub>[GEN]</sub> *hois*<sub>[DAT]</sub> ego: entetyk<sup>h</sup>e:ka]

DISCUSSION: The examination of the structures presented reveals two main points. The first is that case agreement in relative constructions is a quite complicated matter which seems to be controlled either by syntax (as in structures 1 – 2) or by morphology (as in structures 3 – 4). The second is that case agreement, when it happens, conforms with almost no exception, to an internal case ranking, totally unrelated with narrow syntax. In view of these facts, we argue that case agreement is a surface phenomenon, absolutely controlled by morphology in accord to this case hierarchy. Therefore the derivation of structures with or without case agreement depends exactly on the degree which the case of the relative pronoun as well as that of its head conform to this case hierarchy each time. Such an approach is built on the assumption that morphology and syntax exist independently as separate grammatical components, and also that the grammatical features of gender, number and case may equally function as syntactic and morphological elements depending on the structure they refer to each time (i.e. a phrasal or a terminal node respectively) (Spencer 2006).

On the other hand, case hierarchy is a morphological phenomenon supported by both empirical and theoretical evidence and has great synchronic validity (Grosu 1994). However, its diachronic importance may also be proved by its reliability in interpreting similar constructions in language forms other than classical Attic, like the Hellenistic Koine. In practical terms this is to be found through the detailed examination of the morphological changes of the period, such as (i) the loss of

the dative, (ii) the emergence of prepositional constructions, (iii) the role of syncretism as a mechanism neutralizing morphological distinctions, (iv) the changes in the system of relative pronouns (cf. the interaction between *hos* and *hostis*) and finally (v) the influence that languages, like Hebrew, had over Greek.

This analysis has the merit of (a) examining case agreement from a morphological viewpoint corresponding to the evidence for its morphological rather than syntactic nature, (b) fitting to the current views about the syntax – morphology interface and supporting the autonomy of morphology without precluding its relation to syntax under certain conditions and (c) showing the role of the hierarchy of case in the interpretation of syntactic information.

## Διαχωριστικά προτασιακά επιρρήματα της Νέας Ελληνικής

**Fryni Kakoyianni-Doa**  
Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου  
frynidoa@spidernet.com.cy

Η παρούσα ανακοίνωση έχει ως αντικείμενο την παρουσίαση μιας έρευνας αναφορικά με τα “διαχωριστικά προτασιακά επιρρήματα” της Νέας Ελληνικής (NE).

Γενικότερα, τα προτασιακά επιρρήματα διαχωρίζονται σε δύο μεγάλες κατηγορίες: α) τα “συνδεδετικά” επιρρήματα που συνδέουν περισσότερες από μία προτάσεις και εμφανίζουν περιορισμένη μετατόπιση μέσα στην πρόταση στην οποία απαντούν και β) τα “διαχωριστικά” επιρρήματα που ισοδυναμούν με μια παρενθετική πρόταση που συνήθως επιτάσσεται και μπορούν να παραφραστούν είτε με δομές που περιλαμβάνουν τα ρήματα *λέω*, *μιλώ* ή παράγωγά τους (*αλήθεια, για να πω την αλήθεια*), είτε με τη δομή *Το ότι Φ είναι Εθ (Ε + γεγονός) (ευτυχώς)*.

1. *Ευτυχώς ο Παύλος δεν άργησε*

= *Το ότι ο Παύλος δεν άργησε είναι ευτυχές γεγονός*

Ειδικότερα, στην ανακοίνωση αυτή θα παρουσιάσουμε ένα διμερές μοντέλο σημασιολογικής ταξινόμησης των “διαχωριστικών” προτασιακών επιρρημάτων της Νέας Ελληνικής (NE): μεταγλωσσικά και διαθεσιακά. Βάσει αυτού του μοντέλου συλλέξαμε τα συγκεκριμένα επιρρήματα και μελετήσαμε την μορφολογική και συντακτική δομή τους.

Η παρούσα έρευνα των διαχωριστικών προτασιακών επιρρημάτων της NE περιλαμβάνει 370 λήμματα που έχουν συλλεχθεί με ημιαυτόματους (χρήση λογισμικών H-Κόμβος<sup>1</sup> και Εθνικός Θησαυρός Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (ΕΘΕΓ)<sup>1</sup>) και συμβατικούς τρόπους αναζήτησης (χειρωνακτική διαδικασία αποδελτίωσης λεξικών, γραμματικών και αυθεντικών κειμένων του ημερησίου τύπου και της λογοτεχνίας). Πιο συγκεκριμένα, έχουμε συλλέξει περίπου 150 μονολεκτικές δομές (π.χ.: *γενικά, γενικώς*) και 220 πολυλεκτικές δομές (π.χ.: *σε γενικές γραμμές, κατά την γνώμη μου*).

Στην παρούσα ανακοίνωση θα παρουσιάσουμε, αρχικά, τις επτά διαφορετικές κατηγορίες των “διαχωριστικών” προτασιακών επιρρημάτων της Νέας Ελληνικής (NE), π.χ. την κατηγορία που εκφράζει την ψυχολογική διάθεση του ομιλητή προς τον συνομιλητή του, (F. Kakoyanni-Doa 2008), μετά θα παρουσιάσουμε τα γενικά κριτήρια αναγνώρισης τους αλλά και τα ειδικότερα κριτήρια αναγνώρισης πάνω στα οποία στηρίχθηκε η συλλογή του υλικού μας. Δύο βασικά κριτήρια επέτρεψαν αυτή την αναγνώριση (Kakoyanni-Doa, 2008: 76-78) είναι η δυνατότητα εμφάνισης του επιρρηματος στην αρχική θέση αρνητικής πρότασης και η δυνατότητα εστίασης του επιρρηματος μέσα στη δομή *Είναι Ερ...που Φ*.

Παραδείγματος χάριν :

2. *Ευτυχώς ο Παύλος δεν άργησε*

*\*Είναι ευτυχώς που ο Παύλος δεν άργησε*

Τέλος θα παρουσιάσουμε τις βασικές μορφοσυντακτικές και σημασιολογικές ιδιότητες που χαρακτηρίζουν τις επιρρηματικές αυτές δομές.

Η συγκεκριμένη μελέτη είναι εμπνευσμένη από ανάλογες ερευνητικές εργασίες που έχουν πραγματοποιηθεί στην αγγλική (Greenbaum, 1969) και στη γαλλική (Ch. Molinier, 1984, 2000), καθώς και από τη μετασημασιολογική θεωρία του Z. S. Harris (1964, 1968, 1976).

Ενδεικτική βιβλιογραφία:

Greenbaum, Sidney. 1969. *Studies in English Adverbial Usage*. London : Longman.

Kakoyianni Doa, Fryni. 2008. *Adverbes de phrases français et grecs : étude contrastive et perspectives didactiques*, Διδακτορική Διατριβή, Τουλούζη: Πανεπιστήμιο Toulouse II Le Mirail.  
Molinier, Christian ; Lévrier, Françoise. 2000. *Grammaire des adverbes. Description des formes en -ment*. Genève : Librairie Droz.

### On the role of repetition in the rise of concessivity

Haritini Kallergi

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

hkallerg@enl.auth.gr

The following three cases of lexical repetition, which are found in oral, colloquial speech of Modern Greek (MG), seem to invite concessive readings (of the type: although p > q):

1. *grijazes mijazes, to fajes olo sto telos* “you were nagging and all, but you ate it all in the end”
2. *grijazes ksegrijazes, to fajes olo sto telos* “despite your nagging, you ate it all in the end”
3. *grijazes grijazes, to fajes olo sto telos* “you were nagging and nagging, but you ate it all in the end”

With a broad sense of concessivity in mind, these types of structure appear to comprise only a small part of a larger group of structures which can have concessive readings (signaled by one or more lexical or grammatical items or even without any overt concessive marker). That is, concessivity may well arise outside repetition, as in *ce na grijaksi, tha to fai* (“even if s/he nags, s/he will eat it”). However, the present discussion will focus on structures involving repetition and, in particular, on the three types exemplified above. Attention will be drawn to their common features, which seem to play a role in their interpretation as concessive. That is, an exploration of their similarities and differences can show how different levels of repetition are involved in various semantic effects and how repetition may even lead, ultimately, to the expression of grammatical meanings. More generally, repetition will be discussed as a basic mechanism in grammar and discourse which may involve many of the semantic elements proposed as possible sources for the rise of concessive markers. Such elements have been identified on a cross-linguistic basis: contempt/indifference, quantification, conditionality, and emphasis/emphatic assertion of the truth of a proposition (König 1988) or epistemic necessity (Veloudis 1997, van der Auwera & Plungian 1998). Thus, a treatment of cases such as the above as concessive *constructions* (in the Fillmorean sense of the term) underlines the role of repetition as a field of possible grammaticalization from discourse.

### Common characteristics in compound formation: evidence from bilingual acquisition and L2 language learning

<sup>1</sup>Styliani Kalligiannaki & <sup>2</sup>Marina Tzakosta

<sup>1,2</sup>University of Crete

<sup>1</sup>stella\_kalligiannaki@hotmail.com, <sup>2</sup>martzak74@gmail.com

Compound formation is in the centre of morphological attention because it provides important information regarding the order of acquisition of word formation mechanisms as well the knowledge of a language’s vocabulary. For Greek, theoretical research has focused on the internal structure of compound forms placing emphasis on the determinant role of heads, linking vowels and the relation holding between compound elements (cf. Pάλλη 1999, Nesp̄or & Ralli 1996, Ralli 2005). On the other hand, experimental data from L1 acquisition and L2 learning have highlighted that both native speakers and L2 learners of Greek provide equivalent results regarding the strategies which govern compound formation. Good or low performance rates depend on proficiency level and structural adjacency of L1s and L2s. To give an example, native speakers and L2 learners of Greek exhibit a high degree of variation in the formation of different compound types, i.e. [stem+stem]+deriv.Suff.] and [stem+word] forms, which are used interchangeably (1a-b). Additionally, head misperception



is mediated by Aspect (Tenny 1987; Borer 2005; for Greek see Mozer 1994; Chila-Markopoulou and Mozer 2001; Sioupi 2005; Tsimpli & Papadopoulou 2006).

For the purposes of our research, we will assume that a sentence is interpreted as telic if the event is represented as having an endpoint beyond which the event cannot continue (Depraetere 2007). The aim of the present study is to identify the developmental stages in the acquisition of aspect by comparing activity with motion verbs in the telic and atelic conditions. The difference between the two verb classes concerns the nature of the complement: activities select a DP while motion verbs a PP complement (e.g. (1) & (2) respectively). The endpoint of the event is denoted by the complement in each case:

(1) To koritsi efage to milo  
the girl ate-PERF the apple  
'The girl ate the apple.'

(2) To agori etrekse sti kouzina  
the boy run-PERF s-the kitchen  
'The boy ran to the kitchen.'

The research questions concern a) the development of the interaction between the verb's aspectual marking (perfective/imperfective) and the presence of a complement both being used to mark telicity compositionally in adult language, and b) the developmental difference between activities and motion verbs in the expression of event completeness/telicity (DP vs. PP complements).

We tested 250 monolingual Greek learners aged 5 to 10 year-old (5 age groups) and 40 adults (control group). The experiment consisted of 64 short video stimuli for 18 target verbs (6 intransitive, 6 activity and 6 motion verbs) and 14 filler verbs. For each verb we constructed two videos, the one presenting a telic/completed event and the other an atelic/ongoing one. The task was to describe the event presented in the video. Results show that (a) 5-7 year-old children prefer using imperfective aspect across verb types and (a)telic events, (b) 9-10 year-old children distinguish between activity and motion verbs in marking telicity and (c) morphological aspect is used to denote telicity earlier than complement DPs or PPs.

References:

- Borer, H. (2005). *Structuring Sense, Volume 2: The Normal Course of Events*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chila-Markopoulou, D. & A. Mozer (2001). Telicity and referentiality in the VP of Modern Greek: Aspect and Determiner. In *Proceedings of the 4th International Conference on Greek Linguistics*, Y. Agouraki et al (eds.), 138-145. Nicosia: University Studio Press.
- Depraetere, I. (2007). (A)telicity and Intentionality. *Journal of Linguistics* 45.2: 243-269.
- Mozer, A. (1994). *Ποιόν και Απόψεις του Ρήματος* [Situational and View point Aspect of the Verb]. Athens: Parousia.
- Sioupi, A. (2005). Morphological and telicity aspect with accomplishment VPs in Greek. In *Crosslinguistic Views on Tense, Aspect and Modality*, B. Hollebrandse, A. Van Hout and C. Vet (Eds.) [Cahiers Chronos 13] 131-144, Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi.
- Smith, C. (1991). *The parameter of Aspect*. *Studies in Linguistics and Philosophy* 43. Dordrecht, Boston, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Tenny, C. (1987). *Grammaticalising aspect and affectedness*. PhD dissertation, MIT.
- Tsimpli, I.M. & D. Papadopoulou (2006). Aspect and argument realization: A study on antecedentless null objects in Greek. *Lingua* 116, 1595-1615.

### **Modality-specific noun–verb dissociations in L1 but no effect in L2: evidence from multilingual aphasics**

**Maria Kambanaros**  
*University of Cyprus*  
kambanaros@gmail.com

Not much is known about spoken and written breakdown processes, particularly for verbs and nouns, in bilingual speakers after brain impairment. In this study, the spoken and written naming abilities of a simultaneous trilingual fluent aphasic individual in two of his (three) languages, Greek

and English, which differ markedly in morphological complexity, orthographic transparency, and alphabetic script on action and object retrieval at the single-word level are reported. Picture naming and writing (that is, naming aloud and writing down the name of a pictured item) both share conceptual representation and semantic processing levels, but post-semantically they have different processing outputs.

The participant, AA, is a twenty-five year-old, right-handed male university student who sustained a left parieto-occipital lesion verified by neuroimaging (CT) as a result of cerebral hemorrhage. He was administered (i) the Boston Diagnostic Aphasia Examination in English (Goodglass & Kaplan, 1983) and Greek (Papathanasiou, et al., 2008) to determine aphasia type and severity in both languages and (ii) the Greek Object and Action Test (Kambanaros, 2003) for spoken and written retrieval of action and object names. Object pictures were concrete inanimate nouns and verbs were monotransitive. All items were measured for word frequency, imageability, age of acquisition, and picture complexity. Each language was tested at least one week apart and subtests were given in random order.

He was able to name 36 out of 84 pictures correctly in L1 (42.8%): 19/42 action names (45.2%) and 17/42 object names (40.5%); in L2, he named 24/84 pictures correctly (28.5%): 12/42 action names (28.5%) and 12/42 object names (28.5%). A chi-square analysis revealed a significant difference in verbal naming performances between L1 and L2 ( $\chi^2 = 21.429$ ;  $p < .001$ ), with AA showing a better overall performance in L1 compared to L2, for both action names ( $\chi^2 = 8.679$ ;  $p = .003$ ) and object names ( $\chi^2 = 27.429$ ;  $p < .001$ ).

He was able to correctly write the names of 62/84 pictures in L1 (73.8%): 34/42 action names (81.0%) and 28/42 object names (66.6%); in L2, he correctly wrote the names of 16/84 pictures (19.0%): 8/42 action names (19.0%) and 8/42 object names (19.0%). A chi-square analysis revealed a significant difference in written naming performances between L1 and L2 ( $\chi^2 = 3.429$ ;  $p < .001$ ), with AA showing a better written performance in L1 compared to L2, for both action names ( $\chi^2 = 5.250$ ;  $p = .022$ ) and object names ( $\chi^2 = 42.857$ ;  $p < .001$ ). Furthermore, there was a significant difference in AA's performance for written action names compared to written object names in L1 ( $\chi^2 = 5.950$ ;  $p < .001$ ), with a significantly better performance for action words.

AA exhibited a modality-specific grammatical class effect between impaired spoken naming and relatively preserved written naming and spelling in his L1 (Greek) for action over object names. In his L2 (English), there were similar levels of impairment across all three tasks (spoken and/written naming and spelling) for both word classes (i.e. verbs and nouns). This research supports earlier claims that the cognitive processes which underlie tasks such as naming and spelling, and comprehension of words, consists of relatively independent processing components that can be selectively impaired and/or spared by brain impairment (see Hillis & Caramazza, 1991 for a detailed explanation). In the case of bilingual aphasia, this can involve both languages and to differing degrees across processes, as reported in the present study. The findings are discussed in relation to lemma-based and lexeme-based accounts.

## **Sluicing and VP-ellipsis: evidence for a phase-by-phase derivation**

**Antri Kanikli**  
*University of York*  
 ak569@york.ac.uk

This paper argues that sluicing and VP-ellipsis reflect the way narrow syntax is assumed to operate and interface with the Semantic (SC) and the Phonetic Component (PC) in Phase Theory. The analysis of the data, however, suggests that some of the basic architectural assumptions in Phase Theory need to be revised. In particular, the structure-units assumed to be relevant for Transfer operations fail to capture the data. Furthermore, on the assumption that ellipsis is semantically licensed, the idea that Transfer to the PC precedes Transfer to the SC is problematic.

(1) John has attended the Syntax seminar but I do not know [<sub>CP</sub> whether Mary has [<sub>VP</sub> attended the Syntax seminar].

(2) Speaker A: John has requested something. Speaker B: [<sub>CP</sub> What <sub>C</sub> has [<sub>IP</sub> John requested]?

The structures-units which are bled by ellipsis in (1) and (2) are phases. On the grounds that phase domains are the structure-units which are Transferred to the SC and the PC, I propose that sluices and VP-ellipsis data derive from the *Non-Transfer* of the constructed C and *v* phase respectively to the PC, rather than from deletion or a PC operation which results in their non-pronunciation. I argue that the presence of elliptical material at the PC is problematic for reasons that derive from conceptual necessity. Given that PC is the language component where structures are sent to receive phonetic realization by the Sensory-Motor (SM) system, a phase which may not receive phonetic realization is PC-redundant. Therefore, I dispense with deletion operations at PC and argue that the non-pronunciation of the *v* and C phase domain in (1) and (2) respectively, derives from their *Non-Transfer* to the PC. *Non-Transfer* of a given phase domain is licensed when this has an appropriate antecedent. Let us call this the *PC-Inaccessibility Hypothesis* given below in (3).

(3) A phase  $\alpha$ , but not its edge  $e\alpha$ , is *Non-Transferred* to the PC, iff phase  $\alpha$  has an appropriate antecedent. Take phase  $\alpha$  to be (4).

(4) [ $\alpha$  XP H [YP]], where H is the head of the phase, YP is its sister and XP an element occupying a Spec position headed by H. XP is  $e\alpha$  in (4).

The *PC-Inaccessibility Hypothesis* defines the phase head and its sister as the domain of the phase which fails to be Transferred (hence becomes *inaccessible*) to the PC. Notice that this diverges from the domain assumed to undergo Transfer to the PC under Phase Theory. The latter does not involve the phase head. Nevertheless, notice that the examples in (1) and (2) show that *v* and C respectively cannot be pronounced. Chomsky assumes that the phase head should not be part of the phase domain which undergoes Transfer taken that once Transferred, it cannot be accessible to further syntactic computations. However, on the assumption that a phase undergoes Transfer at the next strong phase level, this argument is weakened and the phase head may be part of the phase domain which is relevant for Transfer operations. In fact, assuming the *v* head to be part of the *v* phase domain which may undergo Transfer or *Non-Transfer*, can account for the lack of VP-ellipsis in languages which display verb movement to I. To put it simply, if the *v* head and its sister are the phase domain which undergoes *Non-Transfer* in VP-ellipsis, then the reason why the verb cannot be deleted in these languages is because it has moved to the I domain.

According to the *PC-Inaccessibility Hypothesis*, *Non-Transfer* is licensed when a given phase has an appropriate antecedent. This clearly hinges on the standard idea that ellipsis is semantically licensed. However, it entails that the SC applies to a constructed structure prior to the PC. Phase Theory, though, assumes the PC to apply prior to the SC to a phase. This is taken to derive from the need to remove any checked *u*features which may cause a crash at the SC. In line with Pesetsky and Torrego (2007), I argue that *u*features, once checked, lose their uninterpretable instance and acquire a semantically interpretable one. Thus, there is no need for the PC to apply first.

To sum up, this paper argues that sluicing and VP-ellipsis derive from the *Non-Transfer* of the *v* and the C phase domain respectively to the PC. On these grounds, they support a phase-by-phase derivation computed by narrow syntax, but in a way which diverges from basic architectural assumptions in Phase Theory. The structure-units which may undergo (*Non-Transfer*) involve the phase head, whereas Transfer to the SC precedes Transfer to the PC.

#### References

- Merchant, J. (2001). *The syntax of silence*. Oxford University Press.  
 Pesetsky, D. & Torrego, E. (2007). The syntax of valuation and the interpretability of features. In Karimi, Samiian & Wilkins, eds. *Phrasal and clausal architecture*. Benjamins.

## Επίγνωση της Διαγλωσσικής Παρεμβολής μεταξύ Ιταλικής και Ισπανικής Γλώσσας ως Ξένες Γλώσσες σε Έλληνες χρήστες

<sup>1</sup>Νικόλαος Καρατσιώλης & <sup>2</sup>Πηνελόπη Καμπάκη-Βουγιουκλή

<sup>1,2</sup>*Democritus University of Thrace*

<sup>1</sup>nikos@prozero.com & <sup>2</sup>pekavou@helit.duth.gr

Σκοπός αυτής της έρευνας είναι να μελετήσει πιλοτικά την επίγνωση του φαινομένου της διαγλωσσικής παρεμβολής σε Έλληνες χρήστες της ιταλικής και ισπανικής γλώσσας και να ερευνήσει κατά πόσο η επίγνωση αυτή σχετίζεται με παράγοντες όπως φύλο, ηλικία, εκπαιδευτικό επίπεδο, κατεύθυνση σπουδών, <sup>1</sup>η γλώσσα εκμάθησης και γνώση επιπλέον γλωσσών. Επιπλέον συνεκτιμήθηκε κατά πόσο η χρήση στρατηγικών με τις οποίες θα μπορούσε κανείς να οδηγηθεί επιτυχώς στον περιορισμό της αρνητικής αυτής παρεμβολής σχετίζονται με τους προαναφερόμενους παράγοντες. Για την μελέτη των ανωτέρω συντάχθηκε πειραματικό ερωτηματολόγιο. Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας οδήγησαν στο συμπέρασμα πως η γνώση επιπλέον γλωσσών επηρεάζει αντιστρόφως ανάλογα την αρνητική παρεμβολή έτσι όπως την αντιλαμβάνονται οι χρήστες, γεγονός που ενδεχομένως να οφείλεται στην εμπειρία που έχουν από τις ήδη κατεκτημένες γλώσσες.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά : (δια)γλωσσική παρεμβολή, διαγλώσσα, Υπόθεση Συγκριτικής Ανάλυσης, Ανάλυση Λαθών, Ιταλικά, Ισπανικά

### Morphological Agreement in L2 (Standard Modern and Cypriot) Greek

**Sviatlana Karpava**

*University of Cyprus*

karpava@gmail.com

This study investigates morphological agreement in L2 (Standard Modern and Cypriot) Greek (SMG and CG, respectively) verbal and nominal domains by L1 Russian, Bulgarian, and Turkish speakers involving several features (e.g., person, number, gender, and case) as well as different levels of locality (short- and long-distance dependencies, following Tsimpli et al., 2005). Russian, Bulgarian, and (both varieties of) Greek are similar in terms of phi-feature agreement, but different from Turkish.

According to the Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis (Haznedar & Schwartz 1997, Lardiere 1998, Prévost & White 2000), L2 acquisition is UG-constrained, so the operation Agree is available to L2 learners. Morphological agreement is realized post-syntactically at the PF-interface. Syntax and morphology develop independently in L2A without a straight-forward mapping between them (Smith & Tsimpli 1995). It is difficult for L2 learners to access and match the morpho-phonological form with the relevant feature(s) (Lardiere 2005). The variability of L2 output by non-native speakers depends on their L1 as well as the length of exposure and age of onset to L2, the domain of agreement, locality, and features involved.

The data of this research come from 41 oral interviews conducted in two countries, Mainland Greece (with 8 Russian–SMG adult speakers) and Cyprus (with 17 Russian–CG, 8 Bulgarian–CG, and 8 Cypriot Turkish–CG adults). The interviews included four parts (Tsimpli et al. 2005): (1) natural conversation on background information, (2) story-telling while describing of eight sets of pictures, (3) two-instruction-giving tasks, and (4) general discussion on various daily life topics.

The analysis of the recordings shows that gender was the most problematic feature for non-native speakers of L2 Greek and Cypriot, both in the verbal and in the nominal domain. Grammatical gender is an uninterpretable feature as it does not coincide with natural gender and lacks semantic content (Franceshina 2001, Tsimpli 2004). So L2 learners have problems assigning gender features and gender concord. L2 learners of either variety of Greek, SMG or CG, in this study either relied on phonological agreement or used the default neuter gender. It has also been found that length of exposure to L2 influences the production of surface morphology, in line with findings by Gess & Herschensohn (2001), Lardiere (2005), Tsimpli et al. (2005).

## References:

- Gess, R. & J. Herschensohn (2001). Shifting the DP parameter: A study of anglophone French L2ers. In C.R. Wiltshire & J. Camps (eds.), *Romance syntax, semantics and their L2 acquisition*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 105-119.
- Franceschina, F.(2001). Against an L2 morphological deficit as an explanation for the differences between native and non-native grammars. *EUROSLA Yearbook 1*: 143-158.
- Haznedar, B. & B.D. Schwartz (1997). Are there optional infinitives in child L2 acquisition? In E. Hughes, M. Hughes & A. Greenhill (eds.) *Proceedings of the 21st Annual BUCLD*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 257-268.
- Lardiere, D. (1998). Dissociating syntax from morphology in a divergent L2 end-state grammar. *Second Language Research 14*: 359-375.
- Lardiere, D. (2005). On morphological competence. In L. Dekydtspotter, R. Sprouse & A. Liljestrang (eds.), *Proceedings of the 7th GASLA Conference (GASLA 2004)*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 178-192.
- Prévost, P. & L. White (2000). Missing surface inflection or impairment in second language acquisition? Evidence from tense and agreement. *Second Language Research 16*: 103-133.
- Smith, N.V. & I.-M. Tsimpli (1995). *The mind of a savant: Language learning and modularity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Tsimpli, I.-M., A. Roussou, G. Fotiadou & M. Dimitrakopoulou (in press). The syntax/ morphology interface: Agree relations in L1 Slavic/L2 Greek. *Proceedings of the 7th International Conference on Greek Linguistics (2005)*.
- Tsimpli, I.M. (2004). Features in L1 and L2 acquisition: Evidence from Greek clitics and determiners. In H. Hendricks (ed.), *Analyse comparative des processus d'acquisition en L1 et L2 — Special Issue of AILE (Acquisition et Interaction en Langue Étrangère) 20*: 87-128.

## Greek Embedded Aspect in Child and Adult L2/L3 Acquisition

<sup>1</sup>Sviatlana Karpava & <sup>2</sup>Kleanthes K. Grohmann

<sup>1,2</sup>University of Cyprus

<sup>1</sup>karpava@gmail.com & <sup>2</sup>kleanthi@ucy.ac.cy

This study compares child and adult acquisition of Greek embedded aspect by learners from different L1 backgrounds, Russian (L2 Greek) and Georgian (L3 Greek), living in Cyprus and Greece.

In both varieties of Greek (Standard Modern Greek/SMG in Greece, and Cypriot Greek/CG in Cyprus), verb complementation takes a finite form instead of an infinitival form as is also an option in Russian. Sentences with the particle *na* are subjunctive clauses, with *na* traditionally analyzed as a subjunctive marker (Veloudis & Philippaki-Warbuton 1983, Roussou 2009). The *na*-clause is a complement clause that is controlled by the main verb. Aspect in subjunctive subordinate *na*-clauses depends on the kind of verb in the main clause (Malagardi 1994). According to Moser (1994), there is an interaction between lexical and grammatical aspect that influences the aspect of the embedded verb in *na*-clauses. Four lexical aspects (states, activities, achievements, and accomplishments) interact with two grammatical aspects (perfective and imperfective).

In Russian, if the complementation is infinitival, the subject of the main clause and the embedded clause should be the same. If the complementation is with a finite verb, the complementizer *čtoby* 'in order to' is used; there is a restriction on tense of the embedded finite verb, the verb should be only in the past, and the subjects of the main and embedded clauses should be different.

There were two tasks in which nearly 400 participants took part. The participants were offered a sentence picture-matching task (written) and an elicited production task (oral). In the written task, 75 bilingual Russian–Cypriot (25 adults/50 children), 32 multilingual Russian–Georgian–Cypriot (7/25), and 58 bilingual Russian–Greek (13/50) participated, with two control groups of 63 monolingual Greek (25/38) and 75 monolingual Cypriot (25/50) and in the oral task, 36

bilingual Russian–Cypriot (18 adults/18 children), 42 Russian–Greek (5/37), 30 monolingual Cypriot (9/21), and 16 monolingual Greek (10/6), with some individuals participating in both tasks.

In the sentence picture-matching task, participants were expected to choose (i) perfective in embedded environments which allow only perfective aspect in Greek but either perfective or imperfective in Russian: with an accomplishment main verb that has a continuous interpretation (*prospathusa* ‘try’), a perfective non-ingressive state main verb (*fovithika* ‘be afraid’), a perfective ingressive state main verb (*boresa* ‘be able’), a perfective volitional verb (*ithela* ‘want’), and an activity verb expressing a purpose or a goal with *na* being a short form of *gia na* ‘in order to’; and (ii) imperfective aspect of the complement verb in sentences where both Russian and Greek allow only imperfective: when the main verb is inchoative (*arhise* ‘start’).

The oral-production video task included 36 short video stimuli with 6 types of main verbs (6 video clips for each type) and two conditions: perfective and imperfective. The video clips showed on-going actions and participants were asked to complete the sentence with the embedded clause in the past tense. Examples are (1b) in order to complete (1a) for the imperfective condition and (2b) to complete (2a) for the perfective condition.

- |     |    |  |                                   |
|-----|----|--|-----------------------------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>To koritsi arhise na...</i>             | the girl began NA...              |
|     | b. | <i>... horevi.</i>                         | ...to dance-IMP                   |
| (2) | a. | <i>To koritsi pire tin petra gia na...</i> | the girl took the stone for NA... |
|     | b. | <i>... petaksi sti thalassa.</i>           | ...throw-PERF into-the sea        |

The results of both experiments are consistent with and provide further evidence in support of the Full Transfer/Full Access Hypothesis (Schwartz & Sprouse 1994, 1996; Kempchinsky & Slabakova 2005; Chin 2009). Aspect is part of Universal Grammar, L2 learners can reach native-like attainment due to the access to UG, while at the initial stage of L2 acquisition transfer from L1 into L2 takes place. Native speakers performed better than the non-native groups on both conditions, perfective and imperfective, and the Russian–SMG group has more target-like production than the Russian–CG speakers. The non-target test production by the Russian–CG group may be due to the diglossic or bilingual-like situation in Cyprus that influences language acquisition and learning.

Other factors such as age of onset, length of exposure, level of proficiency, and education influence the test production of both Russian groups, but not the Georgian speakers. Interference from L1 Georgian rather than L2 Russian, the default, unmarked nature of the imperfective aspect in Georgian, and the cognitive difficulty of L3 acquisition are possible explanations of the differences between the non-native groups.

## Idiom Identification and Comprehension in L2 Reading by Greek Learners of English

**Eirene Katsarou**  
ekatsai@otenet.gr

This study investigates the extent of identification and comprehension success achieved by Greek EFL high school students via lexical inferencing when encountering phrasal idioms while reading English as a foreign language. The study also examines the relationship of the above with five idiom type features, i.e. (i) contextual guessability, (ii) frequency of words in the idiom, (iii) interlingual similarity, (iv) transparency and (v) existence of an idiom in Greek and four learner factors: (i) L2 language proficiency, (ii) gender, (iii) motivation and (iv) field-independence/-dependence. Data was collected from 60 Greek EFL senior high school students in first and second grades using five instruments: an Idiom Identification and Comprehension Elicitation Instrument, Nation’s (2001) Vocabulary Levels Test, the Greek Version of the Groups Embedded Figures Test, the Oxford Placement Test and an Individual Background Survey. Qualitative semi-structured oral interviews of 10 subjects chosen randomly, were also conducted to supplement and verify the quantitative data.

The results indicate that overall scores for L2 idiom identification and comprehension were remarkably low. Successful L2 idiom identification was found to correlate strongly but negatively both with frequency of occurrence of the component words of the idioms and with interlingual similarity while L2 idiom comprehension was found to correlate significantly positively with

interlingual similarity only. No significant correlations were obtained between any of the four learner-related variables and the two main variables of L2 idiom identification and L2 idiom comprehension while guessing the meaning of unknown target idioms in text context.

### Typical and Atypical Children's Processing of PP Attachment Ambiguities: Evidence from Greek

<sup>1</sup>Kalliopi Katsika & <sup>2</sup>Maria Mastropavlou

<sup>1</sup>Aristotle University of Thessaloniki & <sup>2</sup>University of Ioannina

<sup>1</sup>kkatsika@enl.auth.gr & <sup>2</sup>mariamst@gmail.com

The aim of the present paper is two-fold: firstly, to examine the processing of prepositional phrase (PP) attachment ambiguities in children of typical language development (TD), and secondly to investigate the extent to which parsing strategies are disrupted in children with left hemisphere (LH) brain damage. Specifically, PP attachment preferences were investigated in sentences such as:

[1] O kipuros ekopse to kladhi me to maheri. (*VP Attachment*)

the-NOM gardener-NOM cut-PERF.3S the-ACC branch-ACC with the-ACC knife-ACC

"The gardener cut the branch with the knife."

[2] O kipuros ekopse to kladhi me to luludhi. (*NP Attachment*)

the-NOM gardener-NOM cut-PERF.3S the-ACC branch-ACC with the-ACC flower-ACC

"The gardener cut the branch with the flower."

Most previous psycholinguistic studies have found faster online reading times for VP attachment structures [1]. This VP attachment preference has been attributed to the parser's initial interpretation of temporarily ambiguous PPs such as *me to maheri* and *me to luludhi* (in [1], [2] respectively) as potential arguments of the V *ekopse* (e.g. Rayner, Carlson & Frazier, 1983); the initial interpretation proves to be wrong when the PP is a modifier of the preceding NP [2], thus the parser takes longer to reach the correct interpretation due to reanalysis of the structure (garden path effect). Psycholinguistic research has shown that children generally process real time linguistic input similarly to adults (*Continuity of Parsing Hypothesis*, Clahsen & Felser, 2006), although it has been argued that children tend to rely more on structural information than adults (e.g. Trueswell, Sekerina, Hill & Logrip, 1999). As far as patients with aphasia, it has been shown that agrammatic patients do not exhibit disrupted activation of the verb argument structure during real-time sentence processing (Shapiro & Levine, 1990), but they do often present a selective impairment in recovering from garden paths (Novick et al., 2005). Finally, children with brain damage have been shown to perform poorly in online tasks of sentence comprehension (Fredman, MacWhinney & Sacco, 2002), which has been associated to semantic short-term memory deficits often caused by lesions in frontal or prefrontal regions of the brain (Hanten & Martin, 2000).

Twenty-two typically developing (TD) Greek monolingual children, aged eleven to twelve years old (mean age: 11.5, range: 10.11-12.3, SD: .58), participated in an online self-paced reading (SPR) experiment. Additionally, a 15-year old girl (V.K.) with a history of ischemic stroke agrammatic aphasia was also engaged in the same task. The experimental sentences included temporarily ambiguous Greek sentences of the V-NP-PP structure in which four different types of Greek prepositions were inserted (*me* [with], *se* [in, into], *ja* [for], *apo* [from, by]) so as to examine whether or not the lexical choice of the preposition plays a role in children's attachment preferences.

The results showed no strong effect of attachment for the TD children in the online reading task, but a significant main effect of attachment (regardless of P) was found in the offline grammaticality judgment task that immediately followed the online task. V.K. exhibited significantly slower reading times compared to the TD children, while a garden path effect emerged online and was also retained during the grammaticality judgment task. These results indicate that TD children basically apply the same parsing mechanisms as adults but most probably need more time to integrate structural information than adults do. Eventually, however, children are less affected by lexical-semantic information than adults (no effect of preposition in the offline task). V.K.'s results indicate intact representation of verb argument structure but limited effect of lexical information during processing, as well as difficulty to recover from garden-path effects both online and offline. The

findings are discussed in the light of the *Continuity of Parsing* hypothesis as well as in relation to the effect of age of injury on recovery from childhood aphasia.

#### References

- Clahsen, H., & Felser, C. (2006). Grammatical processing in language learners. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 27, 3-42.
- Fredman, H.M., MacWhinney, B., & Sacco, K. (2002). Sentence processing in children with early unilateral brain injury. *Brain and Language* 83, 335-352.
- Hanten, G., & Martin, R.C. (2000). Contributions of phonological and semantic short-term memory to sentence processing: evidence from two cases of closed head injury children. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 43, 335-361.
- Novick, J.M., Trueswell, J.C. & Thompson-Schill, S.L. (2005). Cognitive control and parsing: Reexamining the role of Broca's area in sentence comprehension. *Cognitive, Affective & Behavioural Neuroscience*, 5(3), 263-281.
- Rayner, K., Carlson, M., & Frazier, L. (1983). The interaction of syntax and semantics during sentence processing: eye movements in the analysis of semantically biased sentences. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 22, 358-374.
- Shapiro, L.P., & Levine, B.A. (1990). Verb processing during sentence comprehension in aphasia. *Brain and Language*, 38, 21-47.
- Trueswell, J., Sekerina, I., Hill, N., & Logrip, M. (1999). The kindergarten-path effect: studying on-line sentence processing in young children. *Cognition*, 73, 89-134.

### Τα ν.ε. ρήματα σε -άμαι

Γεωργία Κατσούδα

Ακαδημία Αθηνών

katsouda@academyofathens.gr

Τα ν.ε. ρήματα σε -άμαι (*κοιμάμαι < κοιμῶμαι, λυπάμαι < λυποῦμαι, φοβάμαι < φοβοῦμαι, θυμάμαι < ἐνθυμοῦμαι*) αποτελούν ένα ρηματικό υποσύστημα, το οποίο οι σύγχρονες νεοελληνικές γραμματικές και λεξικά αντιμετωπίζουν διαφορετικά ως προς α) την κατηγοριοποίησή του (βλ. Τριανταφυλλίδη (1941) 1996, Holton-Mackridge-Warburton 1999, Κλαίρη-Μπαμπινιώτη 2005, Κατσούδα 2009<sup>11</sup>, Χατζησαββίδη-Χατζησαββίδου 2009), β) τη λημματογράφησης του και τις παρεχόμενες γραμματικές πληροφορίες (βλ. ενδεικτικά ΝΕΛ 1995, ΛΚΝ 2007, ΛΝΕΓ 2005<sup>2</sup>, 2009<sup>3</sup> στο λήμμα *λυπῶ* και *λυπάμαι*). Οι παραπάνω διαφορές οφείλονται εν μέρει στη μέχρι σήμερα απουσία εξειδικευμένης διαχρονικής και συγχρονικής μελέτης αυτής της ρηματικής κατηγορίας, η οποία συμπεριλαμβάνει ρήματα που δεν μεταπλάστηκαν σε *-ιέμαι /-ieme/*, όπως συνέβη σε μεγάλο αριθμό ρημάτων (βλ. Κατσούδα 2007), αλλά απέκτησαν κατόπιν μεταπλαστικής διαδικασίας ένα ιδιότυπο ν.ε. κλιτικό παράδειγμα.

Στην παρούσα ανακοίνωση α) θα παρουσιάσουμε τη μορφολογική εξέλιξη του παραπάνω ρηματικού υποσυστήματος από την α.ε στη ν.ε. και θα το συγκρίνουμε και συσχετίσουμε με τον μεταπλασμό που υπέστησαν συναφείς ρηματικές τάξεις, β) συνυπολογίζοντας τα δεδομένα και συμπεράσματα της διαχρονικής μελέτης του και αξιοποιώντας τα δεδομένα των σύγχρονων ηλεκτρονικών σωμάτων κειμένων (ΕΘΕΓ, ΣΕΚ) αλλά και υλικό από τις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους και ιδιώματα, θα επισημάνουμε τα μεθοδολογικά προβλήματα που προκύπτουν από συγκεκριμένες κατηγοριοποιήσεις και λεξικογραφικές πρακτικές, γ) θα προτείνουμε λύσεις για τα παραπάνω προβλήματα, οι οποίες μπορούν να βρουν εφαρμογή τόσο στη γραμματική θεωρία όσο και στη λεξικογραφία.

#### ΒΙΒΛΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ

- Ίδρυμα Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη [Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών] 2007: *Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής*. Θεσσαλονίκη: Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης. (=ΛΚΝ)
- Holton, P., Mackridge, P & Φιλιππάκη-Warburton, E. 1999: *Γραμματική της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* (μτφ. Β. Σπυρόπουλου). Αθήνα: Πατάκης.

- Κατσούδα, Γ. 2007: *Ρηματικοί Μεταπλασμοί (Μεταδομήσεις ενεστωτικού και αοριστικού θέματος)*. Αθήνα: Βιβλιοθήκη της Σοφίας Σαριπόλου. Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών. Φιλοσοφική Σχολή.
- Κατσούδα, Γ. 2009<sup>11</sup>: *Σύγχρονη Πρακτική Γραμματική τσέπης*. Αθήνα: Άγκυρα.
- Κλαίρης, Χρ. & Μπαμπινιώτης, Γ. (Σε συνεργασία με τους Μόζερ Αμαλία, Μπακάκου-Ορφανού Αικατερίνη, Σκοπετέα Σταύρο) 2005: *Γραμματική της Νέας Ελληνικής. Δομολειτουργική-Επικοινωνιακή*. Αθήνα: Ελληνικά Γράμματα.
- Τριανταφυλλίδης, Μ. (1941) 1996: *Νεοελληνική Γραμματική (της δημοτικής). (ανατύπωση της έκδοσης του ΟΕΣΒ (1941) με διορθώσεις)*. Θεσσαλονίκη: Ίδρυμα Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη [Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών].
- Κριαράς, Ε. 1995: *Νέο Ελληνικό Λεξικό. Λεξικό της Σύγχρονης Δημοτικής Γλώσσας*. Αθήνα: Εκδοτική Αθηνών. (=ΝΕΛ)
- Μπαμπινιώτης, Γ. 2005<sup>2</sup>, 2009<sup>3</sup>: *Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας*. Αθήνα: Κέντρο Λεξικολογίας. (= ΛΝΕΓ)
- Χατζησαββίδης, Σ. & Χατζησαββίδου, Α. 2009: *Γραμματική της Νέας Ελληνικής γλώσσας Α', Β', Γ' Γυμνασίου*. Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο.

### **The Syntax-IS interface: On the functional discrepancies of Clitic Left Dislocation and 'Topicalisation' in Modern Greek**

**Axiotis Kechagias**

UCL

axiotis@ling.ucl.ac.uk

Until the late nineties there had been a—primarily tacit— consensus in the literature that Greek patterned with Italian and Spanish in that Left Dislocation of non-focal objects was not permissible (i) unless a pronominal clitic resumed the dislocated DP (2), unlike English.

(1) \*tin brizola efaga  
the steak ate-1s

(2) tin brizola tin efaga (CLLD)  
The steak it-CL ate-1s

(3) the steak I ate (English-style Topicalisation)

Nonetheless, during the last decade several researchers<sup>1</sup> have pointed out that this assumption is actually too strong as the grammaticality of the utterances below indicate: a non-focal fronted object is possible to occur without being doubled by a clitic, that is, in a CLLDed fashion:

(4) ti lisi vrike mono o Nikos (Topicalisation)  
The solution found only the Nick

"Only Nick found the solution"

(5) ton prothipuryo tha sinodefsi o ipuryos aminas  
The prime-minister-acc will accompany the minister of-defense-nom  
"The prime minister, the minister of defense will accompany"

In the light of these observations there is a question that needs to be tackled: What exactly regulates the presence/absence of a pronominal clitic? In other words, what are the functional discrepancies of the two constructions? As I will show, only in CLLD the DP performs the discourse function 'Topic' partitioning the utterance into a [TOPIC] + [COMMENT] block; non-focal LDed DPs are fronted [GROUND] material partitioning the utterance into [GROUND]+[FOCUS]. In other words, the two constructions correspond to two different information packaging strategies. As such, I will propose that Topicalisation is a misleading term for this kind of left dislocation; rather 'Ground Left Dislocation' is a term that captures both the syntactic and functional properties of the construction.

## Perfective - Imperfective: Asymmetrical development of the aspectual distinction in Greek child language

<sup>1</sup>Katerina Konstantzou, <sup>2</sup>Angeliek van Hout & <sup>3</sup>Spyridoula Varlokosta

<sup>1,3</sup>University of Athens & <sup>2</sup>University of Groningen

<sup>1</sup>kkonstantzou@phil.uoa.gr, <sup>2</sup>a.m.h.van.hout@rug.nl & <sup>3</sup>svarlokosta@phil.uoa.gr

Aim: We investigated possible asymmetries in children's knowledge of the perfective–imperfective distinction in Greek.

Methodology: 40 4-to-6-year-old children divided into 2 groups (group A:4;0-4;11, mean age 4;5 and group B:5;0-5;11, mean age 5;3), and 15 adults participated in a task<sup>1</sup> which involves mini-films of a clown performing completed vs. interrupted actions along with music. While watching the films, participants should accept or reject the combinations of complete situations with imperfective/perfective aspect and incomplete situations with imperfective/perfective aspect, and were prompted to produce aspect forms for both types of situations<sup>2</sup>. All verbs were transitive and telic with regular aspect inflection in the past tense.

Results:

Comprehension: All children behaved adult-like for complete events. As for incomplete events, they, like adults, rejected perfectives. However, whereas adults generally accepted imperfective aspect, the 4-year-olds rejected it in the majority of their answers and 5-year-olds rejected it in almost half of theirs.

Production: Regarding complete events, all children produced both aspects with a preference for perfectives, while adults produced exclusively perfectives. As for incomplete events, children, unlike adults, did not produce imperfectives. The 4-year-olds mainly produced negated perfectives<sup>3</sup> or relevant periphrases<sup>4</sup>; 5-year-olds produced fewer negated perfectives and more imperfectives and periphrases<sup>5</sup>.

Discussion: The comprehension and production results for perfective aspect are consistent and show that children are aware that it entails completion. Their performance with imperfective aspect, however, is poor on both tasks, which suggests inadequate knowledge of imperfective. This is consistent with previous studies (Kazanina & Phillips 2003, van Hout 2005, 2008), but differs from Kazanina & Phillips (2007) who claim that children can deal with imperfectives in a *while*-clause context. Our study supports the Semantic Complexity Hypothesis<sup>6</sup>, which states that aspectual coercion is difficult and predicts that perfective is acquired before imperfective for telic predicates (van Hout 2008).

<sup>1</sup>The task was designed within COST Action A33 (van Hout et al., in preparation).

<sup>2</sup>All sentences that should be evaluated or continued by the participants, started with "While the music was playing" in order to establish a specific time frame within which the action could be complete or incomplete.

<sup>3</sup>E.g. *He didn't draw the circle.*

<sup>4</sup>E.g. *He wasn't in time/he couldn't finish etc.*

<sup>5</sup>E.g. *He wanted to make a bird/he was trying to open the box etc.*

<sup>6</sup>The Semantic Complexity Hypothesis states that the semantics of simple semantic operation is acquired early (van Hout 2008).

## The role of synopsis and analysis of lexical meaning as a strategy for maintaining teacher's leading role in school discussion

**Manolis Koskinas**

*Democritus University of Thrace*

manolis-k@hotmail.com

The purpose of the present paper is to examine a method of control and manipulation of pupils' talk on behalf of the teacher during class. More specifically is the strategy of synopsis and analysis of pupils' semantic lexical features and renegotiation from the teacher. This strategy is fulfilled with the semantic shift or metaphor of secondary semantic features through synonymity or

“micro-synonymity” (Cruse, 1989), retaining the control of the discussion. 121 students of 13 years’ old participated in the research that was conducted at the municipality of Oraioakastro of Thessaloniki. The data that derived from the discourse analysis indicate that the important teachers’ initiative for thematic choice is due less to direct subject change than indirect (Kress, 2000). This particular strategy is detected in other kinds of discourse, mainly in interview (Kress, 1989, Lorenz-Dus & Meara, 2005), making school discourse more familiar to interview as it has been rated until now.

#### References

- CRUSE, D.A. *Lexical semantics*. Cambridge University Press, New York, 1989.
- KELLY HALL, J., (1998) Differential teacher attention to student utterances: the construction of different opportunities for learning in the IRF, *Linguistics and Education*, 9, pp 287-311.
- KRESS G., *Linguistic processes in sociocultural practice*, Oxford University Press, Hong Kong, 1989.
- KRESS G., (2000), You’ve just got to learn how to see: curriculum subjects, young people and schooled engagement with the world, *Linguistics and Education*, 11, 401-415.
- LORENZO-DUS N. & MEARA P., (2005), Examiner support strategies and test-taker vocabulary, *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching (ALPSP)*, 43.

### **Developing English language support for immigrant students in Irish post-primary education: A corpus-linguistic analysis of subject textbooks and examination papers**

**Stergiani Kostopoulou**

*Trinity College Dublin*

kostopos@tcd.ie

The linguistic integration of immigrant students into schools across Europe constitutes a major challenge which has been addressed in different ways by educational systems. Specifically in Irish post-primary (secondary) education, English language support is provided to students with English as a second language (ESL students) to help them master the language of schooling so that they become fully integrated into the mainstream classroom. Research into current language support practices (ESRI, 2009; Lyons and Little, 2009), however, reveals that English language instruction is not directly linked to the specialized language demands of the post-primary curriculum, failing thus to address ESL students’ needs. This failure can be largely attributed to a lack of understanding of the nature of language students encounter in the post-primary subject classroom as, to date, there has been no research into this area. This paper aims to address this gap by providing empirically-based descriptions of the linguistic characteristics of six post-primary curriculum subjects (English, Geography, History, Civic, Social and Political Education, Mathematics and Science), as these are manifested in school textbooks and examination papers.

The discussion is divided into three parts. First, I describe the corpus-based methodology that was used in this research study (i.e. quantitative and qualitative computational analysis of subject-specific text corpora using two statistical software tools; Wmatrix2 by Rayson, 2008 and WordSmith Tools 4 by Scott, 2004). Then I present some of the key findings into the distinctive lexical, grammatical and semantic features and patterns that characterize the textbooks and examination papers of individual subjects. Insights are also offered into certain language features that cut across subject areas, forming a core of transversal academic language. Finally, I outline the pedagogical applications of these findings, explaining how these can be used to facilitate a principled approach to the planning, design and delivery of English language support. It is specifically argued that these findings can usefully inform i) content-and-language-integrated teaching and learning, ii) ESL curriculum and syllabus design, iii) pedagogical materials and textbooks development, and iv) assessment instruments and procedures. By making explicit the way curriculum subjects are constructed in language, this research demonstrates how a visible pedagogy can be promoted in order to encourage a whole-school approach to language learning across the curriculum and support all students’ academic literacy development (Schleppegrell, 2004). As such, this research study becomes immediately useful for and applicable to the Greek and other European educational contexts with similar pedagogical needs.

## The acquisition of motion verbs in Greek as a native language

**Maria Kotroni**

*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

mkotroni@hotmail.com

This study addresses the issue of how motion verbs interact with aspect in the expression of manner of motion and how this interaction evolves in child language acquisition. More specifically, we investigate children's and adults' preferences in interpreting motion events as telic, atelic locative or atelic directional when expressed by an ambiguous manner of motion verb followed by a PP<sub>(path/goal)</sub>, (adjunct or complement). The aspectual form of the verb (perfective or imperfective) was also a dependent variable. For example, in Greek the sentence *η πεταλούδα πέταξε/πετούσε στην κουζίνα* is ambiguous: a. the butterfly was outside the kitchen and it was flying towards the kitchen but the event stops before the butterfly reaches the kitchen (atelic directional) and b. the butterfly was outside the kitchen and it was flying towards and reaches the kitchen (telic-endpoint reached) and c. the butterfly was inside the kitchen and it was flying there (atelic locative). The study comprised both real and novel verbs, in order to examine the role of aspect independently from verb meaning.

Based on Horrocks and Stavrou 2003, 2007, Papadopoulou 1996, Papafragou and Selimis 2007, we predicted that imperfective aspect mostly denotes atelic locative events with the PP being an adjunct. In a more restricted use, imperfective aspect can also denote atelic directional events, but in that case the verb requires a complement PP usually introduced by the preposition *pros*. On the other hand, Greek perfective aspect is ambiguous between a telic and an atelic reading. In the telic reading, the PP is a complement. This use is more strongly preferred with perfective aspect. In the atelic reading, which is more restricted in use, the PP can be either a complement or an adjunct. Consequently, imperfective aspect and atelic readings are predicted to prevail over perfective aspect and telic readings respectively.

In some previous comprehension studies, researchers conclude that Polish and Russian speaking children know the aspectual semantics of perfective and imperfective aspect (Weist et al.1991, Vinnitskaya and Wexler 2001, Stoll 1998). However in two other comprehension studies (Kazanina and Philips 2002 and van Hout 2002 for Russian, Polish and Dutch), children have acquired the aspectual semantics of the perfective-imperfective aspect, but they do not employ it appropriately in a pragmatic sense. Moreover, no developmental advantage of aspect as a dedicated grammatical category is found. Therefore the developmental pattern does not reveal insufficient processing resources but insufficient knowledge of the morphosyntax-discourse interface conditions which, in turn, occasionally fail to establish proper discourse relations.

The present study is based on data from two offline comprehension sentence-video matching tasks. Three age groups were recruited: one group of adult monolingual native speakers of Greek (control group-76 adults) and two groups of Greek monolingual children (1<sup>st</sup> group: mean age of 5;7 and 2<sup>nd</sup> group: mean age 9;6-196 children in total).

Regarding the control group, the results indicate that adults interpreted the combination of motion verbs with imperfective aspect as atelic locative (PP adjunct). However, they assigned a telic interpretation (PP complement) to perfective real verbs, while such a preference is not significant with novel verbs. Therefore, they seemed to rely on aspect alone for the interpretation of imperfective motion verbs, whereas perfective aspect was interpreted as telic only with real verbs, indicating that it was not the only cue used for this interpretation (lexical and syntactic cues were also considered). Children with a mean age of 9;6 seemed to rely on aspect for the interpretation of real and novel verb forms as atelic locative. Regarding perfective real verb forms, however, there is a tendency towards a telic interpretation, given the observation that verb type affects preferences for telic readings. Finally, children with a mean age of 5;7 preferred the atelic locative interpretation for both aspectual verb forms and with both real and novel verbs, without any of the aspectual, verb type or syntactic cues being related to this preference. Finally, no ambiguity and frequency effects were observed regarding all three age groups.

The results from the control group indicate that in Greek the interpretation of manner of motion verbs and the attribution of their aspectual values involves the integration of: a. morphological aspect (perfective vs imperfective), b. motion event (complete or incomplete) and c. structural information (PP complement vs adjunct). However, the results from Greek children also point to inappropriate aspectual knowledge of aspect at discourse level and that knowledge integrating aspect in discourse structure is not fully developed even at the age of 10. Therefore, a developmental pattern is observed in the acquisition of such integration, due to its compositional nature. Thus, this study concludes in favor of an account of Lexicon-Morphosyntax Interface.

### **Teacher Observation and Greek state teachers of English: current practices and suggestions for improvement.**

**Maria Kotsiomyti**  
m\_kotsiomyti@yahoo.gr

This presentation focuses on current practices of teacher observation in teacher education programs addressing Greek state teachers of English. After critically addressing them, I make recommendations about what needs to be done so that teacher observation may contribute to teachers' development and the improvement of their practice.

I begin with a presentation of the actual use of teacher observation as a tool within the context of any education program that wishes to bring about change in Greek state teachers of English and their teaching. After the existing reality concerning teacher observation is presented, I offer a review of what the Transformative Learning theory says about the potential contribution of observation to the improvement of one's teaching practices and the ways in which this change could be achieved in the best possible way.

After that, I present the findings of a research I conducted three years ago in which I addressed the views of Greek state teachers of English on observation. The research was realised in two phases. In the first phase, a questionnaire was used to reveal English teachers' reaction to and evaluation of the observation practices they had experienced so far, along with their beliefs, needs and attitudes towards the main aspects of teacher observation aiming at their change and growth. Then, there followed interviews of four respondents of the previous phase that could function as "qualified consultants". The interviews aimed to address issues that had emerged from teachers' answers to the questionnaires as well as issues inherently difficult to be covered by means of a questionnaire (e.g. the roles of the parties involved or the means used). This helped complete the image of how an observation scheme should be designed in order to help Greek state teachers change and improve.

I close my presentation with the conclusions drawn from both the theory and the research combined. Once Greek state teachers of English are open to teacher observation practices aiming at their transformation (as my research has revealed), I use the guidelines set by the Transformative theory, on the one, and the data drawn from my research, on the other, to make suggestions about how observation should be shaped in order to successfully address the specific context and serve teacher transformation.

### **Distributivity and genericity in Greek: *kathe* with the definite article**

**Dimitra Lazaridou-Chatzigoga**  
*University of Crete*  
dimitrala\_cha@yahoo.gr

OVERVIEW. This talk concerns the interaction between determiners and quantifiers, as evidenced in the construction [definite article (*o/i/to*) + *kathe* + Noun] in Greek, focusing on two semantic properties, distributivity and genericity. On the basis of the type of distributivity involved and the distribution in generic contexts, this construction is claimed to be associated only with a restricted

set of interpretations in comparison to *kathe*-phrases without the article.

DISCUSSION. The first task is to provide a clear-cut description of the differences between *kathe* and *o kathe*-phrases and the second is to formalize the contribution of the definite article taking into consideration its 'regular' interpretation in Greek. Accounts have been offered for the co-occurrence of other universal quantifiers with the definite article that appeal to the *floating* and non-quantificational nature of items like *all* (Brisson 1998). This proposal though cannot be extended to *kathe* 'every/each', since we have evidence that *o kathe* is indeed a quantifier and it does not float. Building on the literature on *o kathe* (Giannakidou 1999, 2004, Tsili 2001, Tsamadou-Jacobberger 2002), I discuss in depth two aspects of its semantic interpretation that prove to be decisive.

The first property under consideration is distributivity (Beghelli&Stowell 1997). Following Tunstall (1998), it is argued that the subevents associated with *kathe*-phrases may be only partially distributed, while *o kathe*-phrases require a total distribution. In the example below, with *kathe*, Ino must have photographed every animal, but there might be one subevent of a photo showing two animals together, while with *o kathe* each animal must have been photographed separately:

1. I Ino fotoghrafise [kathe /to kathe] zoo tu zoologiku kipu.  
'I no photographed *kathe/ the kathe* animal of the zoo.'

The second property is genericity, as expressed in nominals referring to kinds (Carlson 1977). On the one hand, we study examples with individual-level predicates, where kinds with no instances in the actual world are necessarily referred to without the article, as below:

2. Kathe monokeros exi ena kerato/ # O kathe monokeros exi ena kerato.  
'Every unicorn has one horn./'Each unicorn has one horn.'

On the other hand, we look at *there*-insertion contexts, which in general disallow strong quantifiers like *every* (Milsark 1974), but may favor a kind interpretation under certain conditions (McNally&Van Geenhoven 1997), as seen below:

3. Sto diadiktio iparxi kathe/\*i kathe idhous priloforia ghia tin evrizonikotita.  
'In internet, there is every kind of information on broadband.'

I argue that *kathe*-phrases are non-veridical (Giannakidou 1999), they receive both kind and instance-of-kind interpretation and they refer both to the actual and to possible worlds, while *o kathe*-phrases are veridical, they can only be linked to instance-of-kind interpretation and they can refer only to the actual world, that is, the quantification must be over a *realistic modal base* (Kratzer 1981). Additional evidence comes from intensional contexts with verbs like *psaxno* 'look for', where *kathe*-phrases give rise both to opaque and transparent readings, while *o kathe*-phrases only to transparent ones:

4. Epsaksa kathe lathos sto xirografo (ala den ipirxe kanena)/ to kathe lathos sto xirografo (#ala den ipirxe kanena).  
'I looked for *kathe/ the kathe* error in the manuscript (but there wasn't any)'

PROPOSAL. In the light of the above distribution of *o kathe*-phrases, it is evident that *kathe* and *o kathe*-phrases are not interchangeable and that the definite article has a semantic repercussion in the nominal. I implement an analysis that draws from one of the two conditions associated to definiteness, namely, uniqueness, redefined as the *count-as-unique* (count-U) condition (based on Badiou 1988), the idea being in a nutshell that a counting operation takes place when a definite article is used. The proposal is formalized as below, with *kathe* denoting a generalized quantifier (Barwise & Cooper 1981) and the definite article adding the count-U condition, which is treated as a background condition:

5. [[kathe]] =  $\lambda P \lambda Q [\forall x: P(x)] [Q(x)]$  and  $[\forall x: P(x)]$  [count-U (x)]

The proposal presented here emphasizes the counting process of each and every entity involved, representing the total distribution and the non-generic nature of the construction.

SELECTED REFERENCES. Badiou, A. (1988). *L'être Et l'Événement*. Paris, Seuil. Beghelli, P.&T. Stowell. (1997). Distributivity and Negation. In *Ways of Scope Taking* ed. by A. Szabolcsi, Dordrecht: Kluwer. Carlson, G. (1977) *Reference to kinds*. New York: Garland. PhD thesis, UMass, Amherst. Giannakidou, A. (1999). Affective dependencies. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 22: 367-421. (2004). Domain restriction and the arguments of quantificational determiners. In *SALT 14*. Cornell Linguistics Club: Ithaca, NY. p.110-128. Giannakidou, A. & Etxeberria, U. (2010) Definiteness, contextual domain restriction, and quantifier structure: a crosslinguistic perspective. ms. Tsili, M. (2001) The quantificational phrases (*o kathe NP*, (*o katheras* > universality and distributivity (In

Greek). *Studies in Greek Linguistics* 21. p.783-794. Tunstall, S. (1998). *The Interpretation of Quantifiers: Semantics and Processing*. PhD thesis. UMass.

## The acquisition of English intonation by native Greek speakers

<sup>1</sup>Angelos Lengeris & <sup>2</sup>Evia Kainada

<sup>1</sup>UCL & <sup>2</sup>Technological Educational Institute of Patras

<sup>1</sup>a.lengeris@uclmail.net & <sup>2</sup>ekainada@teipat.gr

Prosody, and particularly intonation, plays an important role in second language (L2) learning. However, the underlying processes involved in the acquisition of the intonational component of the L2 grammar still remain elusive for researchers and teachers alike. Previous research comparing the relative contribution of segmental vs. prosodic features of speech in degree of foreign accent demonstrates that deviations in the latter may affect listeners' judgement of accentedness more than deviations in the former (e.g. Munro 1995; Anderson-Hsieh, Johnson and Koehler, 1992).

Despite the importance of intonation in second language (L2) learning, the number of studies examining L2 intonation is rather limited compared to studies examining the learning of L2 segmentals (vowels and consonants). These studies show clear effects of native language (L1) on the way learners perceive and produce the L2 intonational patterns, but until relatively recently research focused on the errors produced by learners (e.g. Backman, 1979). More recent research (e.g. Mennen, 2006) stresses the need to adopt a generally agreed framework for intonational analysis to better examine cross-linguistic similarities and differences in intonation.

This study is part of a larger project investigating the learning of English intonation by Greek native speakers with the goal of identifying and clarifying phonological and phonetic L1 transfer effects on the acquisition of L2 intonation. To do so, we adopt the autosegmental framework for intonational analysis (Pierrehumbert, 1980), which has been applied successfully in recent L2 intonation research (e.g. Jilka 2000; Jun and Oh, 2000; Mennen, 2004, 2006). This framework distinguishes between the underlying phonological representation of intonation (e.g. tonal inventory) and its phonetic manifestation (e.g. peak alignment), providing a test-bed for the acquisition of L2 intonational targets, while at the same time allowing for direct testing and extension of speech learning models originally developed for the learning of L2 segmentals (e.g. Flege's Speech Learning Model, see Flege, 1995). Here we focus on one phonological and one phonetic aspect of the acquisition of L2 intonation, namely the production of English tonal targets by Greek native speakers and their range of pitch when speaking English. Baseline productions of Greek and English by native speakers are used to access phonological and phonetic transfer.

### References

- Anderson-Hsieh, J., Johnson, J., and Koehler, K. 1992. The relationship between native speaker judgments of nonnative pronunciation and deviance in segmentals, prosody and syllable structure. *Language Learning*, 42, 529-555.
- Backman, N. 1979. Intonation errors in second language pronunciation of eight Spanish speaking adults learning English, *Interlanguage Studies Bulletin*, 4(2), 239-266.
- Flege, J. E. 1995. Second language speech learning: Theory, findings, and problems. In *Speech perception and linguistic experience: Issues in cross-language research*, W. Strange (Ed.), pp. 233-277, York Press, Baltimore.
- Jilka, M. 2000. *The contribution of intonation to the perception of foreign accent*. PhD dissertation, University of Stuttgart.
- Jun, Sun-Ah and Oh, M. 2000. Acquisition of 2<sup>nd</sup> language intonation. *Proceedings of International Conference on Spoken Language Processing*, 4, 76-79.
- Mennen, I. 2004. Bi-directional interference in the intonation of Dutch speakers of Greek. *Journal of Phonetics*, 32, 543-563.
- Mennen, I. 2006. Phonetic and phonological influences in non-native intonation: an overview for language teachers. *QMUC Speech Science Research Centre Working Papers* WP-9.
- Munro, M. 1995. Nonsegmental factors in foreign accent. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 17, 17-34.

## Γλώσσα και σεξουαλικός προσανατολισμός

Μαριάνθη Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου

Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης

mmakrits@enl.auth.gr

Η μελέτη του φύλου και της γλώσσας διεξαγόταν, έως πολύ πρόσφατα, στη βάση της άρρητης παραδοχής της *ετεροφυλοφιλίας* των υποκειμένων (γυναίκες που ελκύονται από άνδρες, άνδρες που ελκύονται από γυναίκες), ακριβώς επειδή η *ετεροκανονικότητα* εξακολουθεί να αποτελεί την κυρίαρχη, και άρα 'φυσική', σεξουαλική πρακτική. Τα τελευταία χρόνια, ιδίως μετά την απομάκρυνση από την αντίληψη ότι το φύλο αποτελεί *ουσία* του υποκειμένου, έχουν προκύψει μια σειρά από μελέτες που διερευνούν τη συμμετοχή της γλώσσας στην *κατασκευή* και *επίτευξη* της ανδρικής και γυναικείας *ομοφυλόφιλης* ταυτότητας, όπως ακριβώς και της *ετεροφυλόφιλης*, αφού η σεξουαλικότητα ορίζεται ως η πολιτισμικά διαμεσολαβημένη ερωτική επιθυμία. Στην ανακοίνωση, αξιολογούνται σχετικά κοινωνιογλωσσικά ευρήματα, τα οποία, εντέλει, υποστηρίζουν την τάση για αποσύνδεση της σεξουαλικής από την έμφυλη ταυτότητα.

Βιβλιογραφία

- Γιαννακόπουλος, Κώστας (επιμ.) (2006). *Σεξουαλικότητα: Θεωρίες και πολιτικές της σεξουαλικότητας*. Αθήνα: Αλεξάνδρεια.
- Κανάκης, Κώστας (2008). Γλώσσα, αρσενικότητα και σεξουαλικότητα στο διαδίκτυο. *Μελέτες για την Ελληνική Γλώσσα* 28: 159-70. Θεσσαλονίκη: Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών (Ίδρυμα Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη).
- Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου, Μαριάνθη (2010). Η «γυναικεία γλώσσα» και η γλώσσα των γυναικών. Στο Β. Καντσά, Β. Μουτάφη & Ε. Παπαταξιάρχης (επιμ.) *Φύλο και κοινωνικές επιστήμες στη σύγχρονη Ελλάδα*, 119-146. Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Αλεξάνδρεια.
- Πετρόπουλος, Ηλίας (1993 [1971]). *Καλιαρντά*. Αθήνα: Νεφέλη.
- Baker, Paul (2002). *Polari: The Lost Language of Gay Men*. London: Routledge.
- Barret, Rusty (1994). Appropriation of white women's language by drag queens. In M. Bucholtz, A.C. Liang, L.A. Sutton and C. Hines (eds) *Cultural Performances*, 1-14. Berkeley, CA: BWLG
- Cameron, Deborah & Don Kulick (2003). *Language and Sexuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crist, Sean (1997). Duration of onset consonants in gay male stereotyped speech. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 4(3): 53-70.
- Gaudio, Rudolph R. (1994). Sounding gay: Pitch properties in the speech of gay and straight men. *American Speech* 69(1): 30-57.
- Hall, Kira and Mary Bucholtz (eds) (1995). *Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self*. London: Routledge.
- Johnson, Sally & Ulrike Hanna Meinhof (eds) (1997). *Language and Masculinity*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Kulick, Don (2000). Gay and lesbian language. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29: 243–85.
- Leap, William M. (1996). *Word's Out: Gay Men's English*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Livia, Anna and Kira Hall (eds) (1997). *Queerly Phrased. Language, Gender and Sexuality*. New York /Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moonwomon, Birch (1997). Towards a study of lesbian speech. In A. Livia & K. Hall (eds), 202-13.
- Podesva, Robert, Sarah Roberts and Kathryn Campbell-Kibler (2002). Sharing resources and indexing meanings in the production of gay styles. In K. Campbell-Kibler, R. Podesva, S. Roberts and A. Wong (eds) *Language and Sexuality: Contesting Meaning in Theory and Practice*, 175-90. Sanford: CSLI Press.
- Queen, Robin (1997). "I don't speak spritch": Locating lesbian language. In A. Livia & K. Hall (eds) *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality*, 233-56. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rogers, Henry, Ron Smyth and Greg Jacobs (2000). Vowel and sibilant duration in gay- and straight-sounding male speech. Paper presented at the International Gender and Language Association, Stanford.

Smyth, Ron, Greg Jacobs and Henry Rogers (2003) Male voices and perceived sexual orientation: An experimental and theoretical approach. *Language in Society* 32: 329–50.

### Adjectival Participles: A morphological approach. Evidence from Modern Greek.

Elizabeth Mela – Athanasopoulou

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

ema@enl.auth.gr

The premodifying use of participles has been discussed at length in the literature (Hoekstra 1984, Burzio 1986, Levin & Rappaport 1986, and 1995, Markantonatou 1995, Cetnarowska 2000, et al.). The main scope of this paper will be the behaviour of those adjectival participles formed from unaccusative verbs (contra Pesetsky 1995). I propose in this study, on the basis of data from Modern Greek (MG), a morphological rule of conversion which changes the categorial meaning of a present or past participle from that of a verb (unaccusative) to that of an adjective. In particular, in MG, participial adjectives of unaccusative verbs can be derived from both present and past participles of such verbs by means of conversion:

1. *Participle – Adjective Conversion*

Morphological change:  $V_{[Part.]} \rightarrow [V_{[Part.]}]_A$

2. i katilimeni yrami 'the engaged line'

Art<sub>F/Sg</sub> AdjPart<sub>F/Sg</sub> N<sub>F/Sg</sub>

3. ta pesmena fila 'the fallen leaves'

Art<sub>NTR/PI</sub> AdjPart<sub>NTR/PI</sub> N<sub>NTR/PI</sub>

The nouns premodified by the adjectival participles are either objects of transitive verbs or subjects of unaccusative (yet not unergative) verbs.

Within the framework of the theory of Relational Grammar (Perlmutter & Postal 1984) the unaccusative verbs, from which all the adjectival participles derive, are assumed to have an underlying object, which becomes a surface subject later in the derivation of the sentence, but no underlying subject (Spencer 1991: 260).

Furthermore, I will show that adjectival participles are not derived from stative (atelic) verbs in MG (Cetnarowska, 2000: 61).

#### References

Bresnan, Joan. 1982b. *The Mental Representation of Grammatical Relations*. MIT, USA

Burzio, L. 1986. *Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Reidel.

Cetnarowska, B. 2000. Adjectival past-participle formation as an unaccusativity diagnostic in English and in Polish. In *Morphology 2000*, Bendjaballah, S., Dressler W.U., Pfeiffer O.E., Voeikova MD. John Benjamins, Vienna.

Cleris, C. & George Babiniotis. 1999. *Neoelliniki Grammatiki. To rima*. (Modern Greek Grammar. The Verb)

Don, Jan et al. 2000. Conversion and category indeterminacy. In Booij, G. at al. editors, *Morphology 2000*, Berlin: de Gruyter

Levin, B. & M. Rappaport. 1986. The formation of Adjectival Passives, *LI Vol 17, No. 4, Fall 1986*, pp 623-661, MIT.

Markantonatou, S. 1995. Modern Greek deverbal nominals: an LMT approach. *J. Lings* 31, 1995, pp 267-299. CUP.

Nedjalkov Vladimir P. 1988. *Typology of Resultative Constructions Vol 12*, Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Ralli, Angela. 2006. *Morphologia*. Athina: Patakis.

Rappaport, M. 1989. Unaccusativity and verbs of Motion, pp 114-140, *2<sup>nd</sup> Symposium on English and Greek*, University of Thessaloniki, Greece

## **Peer assessment of writing in the Cypriot secondary education**

**<sup>1</sup>Elena Meletiadou & <sup>2</sup>Dina Tsagari**

*<sup>1,2</sup>University of Cyprus*

<sup>1</sup>eleni.meletiadou@gmail.com & <sup>2</sup>tsagari.konstantia@ucy.ac.cy

In the last two decades, there has been a strong interest in peer assessment as a tool for learning and improving student writing skills (Topping, 2010; van Zundert et al., 2010). Strong justification for the use of peer assessment is found in four theoretical stances: process writing, collaborative learning, Vygotskian learning theory and interactionist theories of L2 acquisition (Liu & Hansen, 2002). However, there has been no research in the Cypriot context to the knowledge of the present researcher.

The present study focused on peer assessment of writing skills in secondary education in Cyprus. It aimed to answer the following research questions:

- Is peer assessment a valid and reliable method of assessment?
- What is the effect of peer assessment on the students' writing performance?

Participants of the study were 3 groups of 20 Cypriot intermediate EFL students. These were involved in two rounds of composition writing for three writing tasks. The researcher employed an analytic rating scale. All groups (one control and two experimental) received teacher feedback, while the second group (student/assessees) also received peer feedback from group C (student/assessors).

The researcher compared the marks the teacher provided to all groups and reached the conclusion that learners in the experimental groups improved their writing performance more than learners in the control group. Finally, peer assessment proved to be a reliable and valid method of assessment since there was a high correlation between the teacher's and the student/ assessors' marks.

## **Words don't come easy to me: A study on Tunisian students' lexical problems in French (L2) and English (L3) writing.**

**Amel Meziane**

*University of Essex*

amezia@essex.ac.uk

Process-based writing research carried so far has been interested in investigating the composing behaviour of L1 and/or L2/L3 writers and how these plan, formulate their ideas and revise throughout the writing task (El Mortaji, 2001; Mahfoudhi, 2003; Manchón et al., 2007; Zamel, 1983). The relationship between L2 and L3 writing especially the lexical problem-solving behaviour of multilingual students is a little studied area.

This paper focuses on identifying, analyzing, and classifying lexically-driven problems that twenty Tunisian students (with different lexical proficiency levels) confront while composing exam-simulated argumentative essays in French (L2) and English (L3).

Background questionnaires together with vocabulary tests, think-aloud protocols and retrospective interviews constitute the main research instruments of the study. Data is analyzed in relation to one independent variable namely language used as a medium of written expression (French (L2) and English (L3)). Quantitative and qualitative results show that different types of competence-based (lexical voids and partial knowledge of one aspect of a word) and performance-based (temporary inability to retrieve one word or an aspect of a word and attempts to upgrade the quality of the compositions) lexical problems cropped up during the process of writing. The frequency of these problems depended on the language used in writing.

The taxonomy of lexical problems can be used by future research targeting similar objectives. Additionally, several pedagogical implications are suggested in order to help students overcome their lexical deficiencies.

## REFERENCES

- El Mortaji, L. (2001). Writing ability and strategies in two discourse types: a cognitive study of multilingual Moroccan university students writing in Arabic (L1) and English (L3). PhD dissertation, University of Essex, UK
- Mahfoudhi, A. (2003). Writing processes of EFL students in argumentative essays: A case study. *I.T.L. Review of Applied Linguistics*. 139-140, 153-190.
- Manchón, R. M. and Roca de Larios, J. (2007a). On the temporal nature of planning in L1 and L2 composing: A study of foreign language writers. *Language Learning* 57, 549-593.
- Zamel, V. (1983). The composing process of Advanced ESL students: six case studies. *TESOL Quarterly* 17, 165-187.

### **Raising pragmatic awareness through teacher illocutionary acts**

**Evangelia Michail**

*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

michaileva@yahoo.com

Raising learners' pragmatic awareness has become one of the main goals in the EFL classroom and many researchers have been concerned with the 'teachability' of different pragmatic aspects (Kasper, 1997). Bardovi-Harlig (1996) argues that researchers and teachers should work towards making the connection between pragmatics research in language teaching and the role such research should play in the language classroom. Moreover, recent curriculum innovation and revised textbooks comprise strong pragmatic components, thus bringing new demands to teachers, students, and schools. It was against this context that the present study was conceived.

This case study is a pedagogical intervention in the teaching of pragmatics in the Greek EFL classroom, aiming to redefine the classroom as a curricular space (Graves, 2008), exploring it as a source of input in order to raise students' pragmatic awareness. Particular emphasis is placed on the illocutionary force of teacher questions.

Adopting the framework of Exploratory Practice, it takes the notion of research as a supportive rather than as a parasitic activity (Allwright, 2005), thus carrying out research via normal classroom activities, engaging 22 upper-intermediate students as co-researchers.

Data collection was carried out by monitoring lessons (video-recording and reflective lesson plans), reflecting on students' choices, and reflecting on students' reflections.

Preliminary positive outcomes of the study lead to the conclusion that we can raise learners' pragmatic awareness on condition that we adhere to Austin's suggested moral to "engage in elucidating the total speech act in the total speech situation" (1962, p. 147).

Key terms: pragmatic awareness, illocutionary acts, illocutionary force

#### References

- Allwright, D. (2005). Developing Principles for Practitioner Research: The Case of Exploratory Practice. *The Modern Language Journal*, 89(3): 353-366.
- Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bardovi-Harlig, K. (1996). Pragmatics and language teaching: Bringing pragmatics and pedagogy together. In *Pragmatics and Language Learning*, 7, ed. L. F. Bouton. University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign: Division of English as an International Language, pp. 21-39.
- Graves, K. (2008). The language curriculum: A social contextual perspective. *Language Teaching*, 41(2):147-181.
- Kasper, G. (1997). *Can pragmatic competence be taught?*. Retrieved December 15, 2010 from <http://www.nflrc.hawaii.edu/networks/NW06/default.html>

## Το κειμενικό μοντέλο πρόσληψης λόγου ως πρότυπο πύκνωσης κειμένου: κριτική προσέγγιση

**Αθανάσιος Μιχάλης**  
Πανεπιστήμιο Αιγαίου  
michathan@rhodes.aegean.gr

Μία από τις βασικότερες δραστηριότητες στις οποίες εμπλέκονται οι μαθητές της πρωτοβάθμιας και κυρίως της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης είναι η σύνθεση της περίληψης πρωτότυπου κειμένου, η οποία νοείται ως διαδικασία πύκνωσης του περιεχομένου του και σύνοψης των ιδεών του (Δαμιανού, Παπαϊωάννου, Πατούνα 2001) και αποτελεί αντικείμενο εξέτασης των μαθητών στο πλαίσιο του μαθήματος της νεοελληνικής γλώσσας κατά τη διαδικασία αξιολόγησής τους για την εισαγωγή τους στην ανώτατη εκπαίδευση.

Στα σχολικά εγχειρίδια του γυμνασίου και του λυκείου ως βασική μέθοδος σύνθεσης της περίληψης προτείνεται η επεξεργασία των παραγράφων του πρωτότυπου κειμένου με στόχο την εξαγωγή ενός πλαγιότιτλου ή της κεντρικής ιδέας από κάθε παράγραφο και η ανασύνθεση των πλαγιότιτλων αυτών σε νέο κείμενο.

Ωστόσο, στη διεθνή διδακτική πρακτική έχουν προταθεί και εφαρμόζονται διαφορετικά μοντέλα διδασκαλίας της περίληψης. Συγκεκριμένα, στη διεθνή βιβλιογραφία την τελευταία δεκαπενταετία παρουσιάζονται πορίσματα ψυχολογολογικών ερευνών σε σχέση με τις στρατηγικές κατανόησης κειμένων από τους αναγνώστες, σύμφωνα με τα οποία η πρόσληψη ενός κειμένου υλοποιείται όχι μόνο σε επίπεδο κατανόησης των λέξεων και των προτάσεών του (lower - level processes), αλλά κυρίως μέσω της εφαρμογής των ακόλουθων σύνθετων διαδικασιών (higher - level processes): α) συνειδητοποίηση της οργανωτικής υπερδομής (discourse organization) του πρωτότυπου κειμένου βάσει και του κειμενικού είδους στο οποίο ανήκει, β) επεξεργασία των κειμενικών δεικτών και των συνοχικών μηχανισμών του (αναφορικών, υποκαταστατικών, συζευκτικών) και γ) κατανόηση των στρατηγικών επανάληψης νοήματος ή υποκατηγοριοποίησης εννοιών. Αποτέλεσμα της εφαρμογής των ανωτέρω προσληπτικών διαδικασιών από τον αναγνώστη είναι η δημιουργία ενός δικτύου των νοημάτων του κειμένου (network of text ideas), στο πλαίσιο του οποίου πραγματοποιείται η πλήρης επεξεργασία των κειμενικών ιδεών (ιεράρχησή τους σε ουσιώδεις και επουσιώδεις, σύνδεση και ομαδοποίησή τους).

Το συγκεκριμένο αναγνωστικό μοντέλο ορίζεται ως κειμενικό πρότυπο κατανόησης λόγου (text model of reading comprehension), στηρίζεται στη διαδικασία εσωτερικής πύκνωσης των κειμενικών ιδεών (internal summary of text ideas) και συνδέεται τόσο με τα διαδραστικά μοντέλα ανοδικής και καθοδικής πρόσληψης λόγου (interactive reading models), όσο και με το ψυχολογολογικό πρότυπο επεξεργασίας γλωσσικών πληροφοριών (information processing model) ως μέσο κατάκτησης της γνώσης (Grabe & Stoller 2002, Lightbown & Spada 2006, Saville - Troike 2006). Δεδομένης της σύνδεσης των διαδικασιών επεξεργασίας και κατανόησης κειμένου με τις στρατηγικές συναγωγής των βασικών ιδεών του στο πλαίσιο του συγκεκριμένου μοντέλου, στην παρούσα εισήγηση προτείνεται η αξιοποίησή του ως προτύπου διδασκαλίας της πύκνωσης και της σύνοψης κειμένου.

Η παρούσα ανακοίνωση, λοιπόν, αφορά σε έρευνα σύγκρισης ομάδων υπό την εποπτεία του γράφοντος, η οποία διεξήχθη σε γυμνάσια και λύκεια των Αθηνών και της Ρόδου. Συγκεκριμένα, σε τέσσερα τμήματα διδάχθηκε η σύνθεση περίληψης με βάση το σχολικό πρότυπο και σε ισάριθμα τμήματα με βάση το προτεινόμενο κειμενικό προσληπτικό πρότυπο. Ακολούθως, οι μαθητές και των οκτώ τμημάτων υποβλήθηκαν στη δοκιμασία της πύκνωσης συγκεκριμένου κειμένου, στην οποία και αξιολογήθηκαν βάσει συγκεκριμένων κριτηρίων, ώστε να αναδειχθούν οι διαφορές στην επίδραση του καθενός προτύπου στη δεξιότητα σύνθεσης κειμενικής σύνοψης. Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας παρουσιάζονται, αναλύονται και ερμηνεύονται στην παρούσα εισήγηση (κατά την ερμηνεία των αποτελεσμάτων επιχειρείται κριτική θεώρηση του ρόλου των θεματικών περιόδων στη γενικότερη λειτουργία των παραγράφων στο πλαίσιο του κειμένου).

## Advanced learners' competence and French relative clauses in oral narratives

<sup>1</sup>Monique Monville-Burston & <sup>2</sup>Maria Kounouni

<sup>1</sup>University of Cyprus & <sup>2</sup>Cyprus University of Technology

<sup>1</sup>mburston@ucy.ac.cy & <sup>2</sup>mkounouni@hotmail.com

The work presented here is part of a larger project on the acquisition of relativisation by advanced Greek-speaking learners of French. In previous studies we dealt with the acquisition of relative clauses, of their structure and introductory terms, in students' written productions. In this paper we concentrate on the advanced learners' use of relative clauses in discourse.

Sixteen subjects took part in the project, seven native speakers of French [NS] (Erasmus exchange students) and nine Fourth Year and Masters' Cypriot French students [non-native speakers: NNS], all at the University of Cyprus. Three short videos (wordless cartoons) were played to them and they were asked to recount the story they had just watched. Their performances were recorded and allowed us to identify discourse similarities and differences in NS and NNS narratives.

With respect to relative clauses, the following questions were addressed:

- 1) What is the frequency of relative clauses in the subjects' productions?
- 2) Which relative pronouns are used the most?
- 3) What are the discursive functions of the relative clauses used: identification-referential function (*l'homme qui était sur la terre* 'the man who was lying on the ground') or predicative-attributive function (*On entend des gens qui sifflent et qui applaudissent* 'we hear people whistling and cheering'; *il y a un marchand de ballons qui passe* 'A balloon seller is passing by')?
- 4) How do the relative clauses function, from an 'informational' perspective?
  - a) Do they have a rhematic value (e.g., in cleft constructions, with presentatives such as *c'est... il y a*, or with *on voit*, *on entend*): *il y a un homme qui arrive tout doucement* 'A man is coming very slowly'.
  - b) Are they 'integrated' into an NP, i.e., closely linked to their antecedent at the micro-syntactic level (*ils ont soigné l'arbre sous lequel l'homme a été tombé avec sa voiture* 'They looked after/nursed the tree into which the man had crashed with his car')?
  - c) Are they autonomous, i.e., relatively free from their antecedents? Autonomous relatives are similar to independent utterances, the relative pronoun behaving more like a coordinating element than a subordinating one: *il les donne à l'enfant... qui cette fois-ci accepte*: 'he gives them to the child... who this time accepts them (= and this time he accepts them)'. They are also marked by specific intonational contours (Morel & Danon-Boileau 1998).

The data analysis reveals a number of similarities between NS and advanced NNS narratives: for example, with respect to frequency of rhematic relatives –which are text cohesion devices. There are differences too: NNS for instance use more integrated relatives than NS. The most interesting result (consistent with Hancock & Kirchmeyer's study of Swedish learners' narrative competence) concerns autonomous relatives, which are significantly more frequent in NS narrations. It seems therefore that NNS, as compared to NS, focus more on the local organization of sentences than on the overall organization of the oral texts they produce. The use of autonomous relatives can thus be considered to be, in French, a characteristic of NS and very advanced learner/user competence. (See Bartning and Kirchmeyer 2003, Bartning and Schlyter 2004)

### References

- Bartning, I & N. Kirchmeyer. 2003. 'Le développement de la compétence textuelle à travers les stades acquisitionnels en français L2', *Acquisition et interaction en langue étrangère* 19: 9-39.
- Bartning, I & S. Schlyter. 2004. 'Itinéraires acquisitionnels et stades de développement en français L2', *French Language Studies* 14: 281-299.
- Flament-Boistrancourt, D. 2000. *Productions langagières de non-natifs, recherches linguistiques et enseignement du français L2*, Mémoire d'habilitation, Université Paris X-Nanterre.
- Hancock, V. & N. Kirchmeyer. 2002. 'A la recherche des traits d'une organisation discursive avancée en français L2. La relative aux micro- et macro-niveaux dans un corpus d'apprenants', *L'Information grammaticale* 93: 3-9.
- Morel, M-A. & L. Danon-Boileau. 1998. *Grammaire de l'intonation*. Paris: Ophrys.

**Καθάρισε αμέσως την κουζίνα παρακαλώ!:**  
**Αιτήματα μαθητών της Ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας**

**Σπυριδούλα Μπέλλα**  
Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών  
sbella@phil.uoa.gr

Η ανακοίνωση ασχολείται με τις στρατηγικές που χρησιμοποιούν οι μαθητές της Ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας για τη διατύπωση αιτημάτων και συνιστά μια προκαταρκτική μελέτη στο πλαίσιο ευρύτερης έρευνας για τα αιτήματα στη διαγλώσσα.

Τα αιτήματα αποτελούν μία από τις πιο ενδιαφέρουσες γλωσσικές πράξεις στην έρευνα της πραγματολογίας της διαγλώσσας, εφόσον ως απειλητικές για το πρόσωπο του συνομιλητή πράξεις (Brown & Levinson 1987) απαιτούν αρκετά υψηλά επίπεδα κοινωνιοπραγματολογικής ικανότητας (βλ. π.χ. Trosborg 1995, Hendriks 2010). Μεταξύ άλλων η σχετική έρευνα έχει δείξει ότι το εκάστοτε επίπεδο γλωσσικής (γραμματικής) ικανότητας δεν συνεπάγεται αντίστοιχο επίπεδο πραγματολογικής ικανότητας (Bardovi-Harlig 1999, Kasper & Rose 2002, Bella [υπό έκδοση]) και ότι η κατάκτηση των πραγματολογικών στοιχείων παρουσιάζει σαφώς μεγαλύτερη δυσκολία για τους μαθητές μιας γλώσσας ως ξένης, δεδομένου ότι η πρόσβασή τους σε αυθεντικό πραγματολογικό γλωσσικό εισαγόμενο περιορίζεται στη γλωσσική τάξη (Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei 1999, Martínez-Flor & Usó-Juan 2006). Με αυτή την αφετηρία η παρούσα έρευνα επικεντρώνεται σε δύο ζητήματα: α) στις διαφορές που εμφανίζονται ανάμεσα στα αιτήματα των μαθητών της Ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας και των φυσικών ομιλητών, και β) στο βαθμό στον οποίο η αύξηση του επιπέδου γενικότερης γλωσσικής ικανότητας εξασφαλίζει και ανάπτυξη της πραγματολογικής ικανότητας.

Στην έρευνα συμμετείχαν 100 μαθητές της Ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας (50 μέσου και 50 προχωρημένου επιπέδου) που βρέθηκαν στην Ελλάδα το καλοκαίρι του 2010 για να παρακολουθήσουν τα διαρκείας έξι εβδομάδων μαθήματα Ελληνικής γλώσσας στο πλαίσιο του Προγράμματος Θερινών Υποτροφιών Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών (ΘΥΕΣΠΑ) καθώς και 50 φυσικοί ομιλητές. Τα δεδομένα συλλέχθηκαν μέσω ενός τεστ συμπλήρωσης συνομιλίας σχεδιασμένου έτσι, ώστε να εκμαιευθούν αιτήματα σε ποικίλες ως προς τους κοινωνικούς ρόλους των συμμετεχόντων καταστάσεις. Η ανάλυση των δεδομένων είναι ποσοτική και ποιοτική και επικεντρώνεται σε δύο παραμέτρους της διατύπωσης αιτημάτων: στην κύρια στρατηγική που επιλέγεται για τη διατύπωση του αιτήματος και στην εσωτερική τροποποίησή του (συντακτική και λεξιλογική). Από την ανάλυση των αποτελεσμάτων αναδεικνύονται σημαντικές διαφορές ως προς τις στρατηγικές που χρησιμοποιούνται από τις τρεις ομάδες υποκειμένων. Επιπλέον, προκύπτει ότι η αύξηση του επιπέδου γενικής γλωσσικής ικανότητας διασφαλίζει ανάπτυξη της κοινωνιοπραγματολογικής ικανότητας μόνο ως προς ορισμένες παραμέτρους και ορισμένους τύπους επικοινωνιακών καταστάσεων.

Η έρευνα αποσκοπεί στο να προσφέρει περαιτέρω στοιχεία σχετικά με τα αιτήματα στη διαγλώσσα, και στο να παράσχει μια πρώτη εικόνα για την ανάπτυξη της συγκεκριμένης γλωσσικής πράξης στο διαγλωσσικό σύστημα των μαθητών της Ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας.

**Βιβλιογραφία**

- Bardovi-Harlig, K. 1999. Exploring the interlanguage of interlanguage pragmatics: a research agenda for acquisitional pragmatics. *Language Learning* 49, 677-713.
- Bardovi-Harlig K. & Z. Dörnyei 1998. Do language learners recognize pragmatic violations? Pragmatic versus grammatical awareness in instructed L2 learning. *TESOL Quarterly* 32, 233-262.
- Bella, S. (υπό έκδοση) Mitigation and politeness in Greek invitation refusals: Effects of length of residence and intensity of interaction on non-native speakers' performance, *Journal of Pragmatics* (2010), doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2010.11.005
- Brown, P. & S. Levinson 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hendriks, B. 2010. An experimental study of native speaker perceptions of non-native request modification in e-mails in English. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 7, 221-255.

- Kasper, G. & K. Rose 2002. *Pragmatic Development in a Second Language*. University of Michigan: Blackwell.
- Martínez-Flor, A. & E. Usó-Juan 2006. Learners' use of request modifiers across two University ESP disciplines. *Ibérica* 12, 23-41.
- Trosborg, A. 1995. *Interlanguage Pragmatics: Requests, Complaints and Apologies*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

### Clitic Placement in Early Grammars: The case of Cypriot-Greek

<sup>1</sup>Theoni Neokleous & <sup>2</sup>Teresa Parodi

<sup>1,2</sup>University of Cambridge

tn247@cam.ac.uk & tp209@cam.ac.uk

The first language acquisition of clitic constructions has been widely studied cross-linguistically (such as Hamann et al. 1996 for French, Schaeffer 1997 for Dutch, Costa et al. 2007 *et seq.* for European Portuguese, Marinis 2000 for Greek, Guasti 1993/94 for Italian, Babyonyshev & Marin 2005 for Romanian, Ilic & Ud Deen 2003 for Serbo-Croatian, Wexler et al. 2004 for Spanish). Clitics are lexical elements highly dependent on the functional domain, therefore they constitute a good tool for assessing language development, and more specifically, the inflectional domain.

Pronominal clitics in Cypriot Greek (Terzi 1999a, 1999b, Agouraki 2001), but also in Standard Modern Greek (Mavrogiorgos 2009), and the Romance languages (Roberts 2010, Uriagereka 1995), appear either pre- or post-verbally depending on the syntactic context. So far, the focus of acquisitional studies regarding the syntax of pronominal clitics has been the phenomenon of clitic realisation and omission, and especially the reason why there are languages exhibiting or not the phenomenon of clitic omission in the course of first language acquisition (e.g. Wexler et al. 2004 *et seq.*). There is, however, another interesting discrepancy among clitic languages: only children acquiring enclitic languages seem to misplace clitics in the initial stages (see Duarte & Matos 2000 for European Portuguese and Petinou & Terzi 2002 for Cypriot Greek).

In this paper, we investigate the acquisition of clitic placement in Cypriot Greek, based on spontaneous speech and experimental data. Spontaneous speech data are comprised of one-hour recordings of a number of young Greek-Cypriot children. The experimental investigation involves the implementation of semi-structured elicitation techniques, including a picture task and a puzzle task, in young Greek-Cypriot children, 2-, 3- and 4-year-olds. Initial findings reveal a different pattern for the acquisition of enclisis- and proclisis- environments. Enclisis contexts are adult-like from the onset, whereas proclisis contexts remain problematic for some children, who over-generalize enclisis independently of the syntactic environment. This result is explained on the grounds of enclisis being derived from proclisis with the manifestation of verb movement, while the overgeneralization of enclisis is attributed to the overgeneralization of verb movement across proclisis and enclisis contexts.

#### Selected References

- Costa, J. & M. Lobo. 2007. Clitic Omission, null objects or both in the acquisition of European Portuguese? In S. Baauw, F. Drijkoningen & M. Pinto (eds.) *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2005*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 59-72.
- Duarte, I. & G. Matos. 2000. Romance clitics and the Minimalist Program. In J. Costa (ed.) *Portuguese Syntax*. Oxford University Press, pp. 116-142.
- Guasti, T. 1993/94. Verb syntax in Italian child grammar: Finite and nonfinite verbs. *Language Acquisition* 3: 1-40.
- Hamann, C., L. Rizzi, & U. Frauenfelder. 1996. On the acquisition of the pronominal system in French. In H. Clahsen (ed.) *Generative Perspectives on Language Acquisition*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, pp. 309-334.
- Marinis, T. 2000. The acquisition of clitic objects in Modern Greek: Single clitics, clitic doubling, clitic left dislocation. In A. Alexiadou, N. Fuhrop, U. Kleinhenz & P. Law (eds.) *ZAS Working Papers 15*. Humbolt University, pp. 260-283.

Petinou, K. & A. Terzi. 2002. Clitic (mis)placement in Cypriot Greek normally developing and language impaired children. *Language Acquisition* 10: 1-28.

Wexler, K., A. Gavarró & V. Torrens. 2004. Feature checking and object clitic omission in child Catalan. In R. Bok-Bennema, B. Hollebrandse, B. Kampers Mahne & P. Sleeman (eds.) *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2002*. John Benjamins: Amsterdam/Philadelphia, pp. 253–268.

### **Wh-questions in Greek aphasia: Evidence from production and comprehension**

**<sup>1</sup>Michaela Nerantzini, <sup>2</sup>Despina Papadopoulou & <sup>3</sup>Spyridoula Varlokosta**

<sup>1,3</sup>*University of Athens* & <sup>2</sup>*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

<sup>1</sup>m\_nerantzini@phil.uoa.gr, <sup>2</sup>depapa@lit.auth.gr & <sup>3</sup>svarlokosta@phil.uoa.gr

Background: Cross-linguistic studies have shown that agrammatic speakers tend to have severe difficulties with both wh-production and comprehension (Thompson & Shapiro, 1994; 1995; Avrutin, 2000; Friedmann, 2002; Ruigendijk, Kouwenberg & Friedmann, 2004; Meulen, Bastiaanse & Rooryck, 2005; Neuhaus & Penke, 2008; Fyndanis, Varlokosta & Tsapkini, 2010; among others). Asymmetries have been observed in structures such as a) wh-questions vs. yes/no-questions (Friedmann, 2002), b) argument vs. adjunct questions (Meulen et al., 2005; Thompson et al., 1996) and c) referential vs. non referential questions (Hickok & Avrutin, 1996). Given that only the production of argument vs. adjunct questions has been investigated in Greek aphasic speakers up to now (Fyndanis et al., 2010), the purpose of this study is to offer a thorough investigation of wh-questions in Greek aphasia by contributing some new data on the production as well as on the comprehension of wh-questions.

Method: Participants

Seven agrammatic speakers were tested on a comprehension task, while only three of them (the mildest) managed to participate in the production task. Additionally, a control group of ten non-impaired participants undertook both tasks.

Materials: Regarding production, an elicitation task was employed which contained 20 non referential subject/object questions (*pjos/pjon*) and 20 referential subject/object questions (*pjos giatros/pjon giatro*). The comprehension task consisted of 60 sentences in total, 30 non referential and 30 referential subject/object questions.

Procedure: Both tasks were implemented on a computer. More specifically, participants were presented with pictures -one at a time- on a computer screen, which depicted an action made by three agents. In the comprehension task, participants were presented with a picture while they heard a question orally presented to them. They were asked to point to the correct agent of the action. In the production task, participants were shown a picture with a hidden agent and a sentence with an indefinite pronoun (*kapjos/kapjon*) was orally presented to them.

Example for the elicitation task

Experimenter: Someone is kicking the doctor-ACC.

We want to know the one that is kicking the doctor\_ACC, so we ask ...

Target: Who is kicking the doctor-ACC?

Results: In our agrammatic speakers' production data we observed a better performance on non referential questions compared to referential ones (though only three out of seven participants managed to complete the task). Interestingly, although individual variation was attested, our results on comprehension indicate that our agrammatic speakers had a better understanding of subject referential questions (*pjos giatros*) compared to object referential questions (*pjon giatro*), while no such asymmetry was observed in non referential questions.

Discussion: Our results are in line with studies which support that a) in agrammatism the representations of the phrase structure do not necessarily lack CP (Penke, 2001) and b) agrammatic speakers have severe difficulties in comprehending referential object questions (Hickok & Avrutin, 1996; Salis & Edwards, 2008).

References

- Avrutin, S. 2000. Comprehension of discourse-linked and non-discourse-linked questions by children and Broca's aphasics. In Y. Grodzinsky, L. Shapiro, & D. Swinney (Eds.), *Language and the brain: Representation and processing* (pp. 295–313). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Friedmann, N. 2002. Question production in agrammatism: The Tree Pruning Hypothesis. *Brain and Language* 80: 160-187.
- Fyndanis, V., Varlokosta, S. & Tsapkini, K. 2010. Exploring wh-questions in agrammatism: Evidence from Greek. *Journal of Neurolinguistics* 23: 644-662.
- Hickok, G., & Avrutin, S. (1996). Comprehension of wh-questions in two Broca's aphasics. *Brain and Language* 52: 314–327.
- Meulen, vander I., Bastiaanse, R. & Rooryck, J. 2005. Wh-questions in agrammatism: a movement deficit? *Stem-, Spraak-en Taalpathologie* 13:24-36, Nijmegen University press.
- Neuhaus, E. & M., Penke. 2008. Production and comprehension of wh-questions in German Broca's aphasia. *Journal of Neurolinguistics* 21: 150-176.
- Penke, M. (2001). Controversies about CP: a comparison of language acquisition and language impairments in Broca's aphasia. *Brain and Language* 77: 351–363.
- Ruigendijk, E., Kouwenberg, M., & Friedmann, N. 2004. Question production in Dutch agrammatism. *Brain and Language* 91: 116-117.
- Salis, C., & Edwards, S. (2008). Comprehension of wh-questions and declarative sentences in agrammatic aphasia: the set partition hypothesis. *Journal of Neurolinguistics* 21: 375–399.
- Stavrakaki, S. & Kouvava, S. 2003. Functional categories in agrammatism: Evidence from Greek. *Brain and Language* 86: 129-141.
- Thompson, C. K. & Shapiro, L. P. 1994. A linguistic specific approach to treatment of sentence production deficits in aphasia. *Clinical Aphasiology* 22: 307-323.
- Thompson, C. K. & Shapiro, L. P. 1995. Training sentence production in agrammatism: Implications for normal and disordered language. *Brain and Language* 50: 201-224.

### **Συμπληρωματικοί δείκτες: τι (δεν) ξέρουν και τι (δεν) διδάσκονται οι μαθητές της ΝΕ ως Γ2**

**Ελισάβετ Νουχουτίδου**  
*Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών*  
 enouchou@phil.uoa.gr

Η ανακοίνωση αναφέρεται στην κατάκτηση των δεικτών εισαγωγής συμπληρωματικών προτάσεων της Νέας Ελληνικής (NE) ως δεύτερης γλώσσας (Γ2), εστιάζοντας στα προβλήματα που ρωσόφωνοι ομιλητές της NE ως Γ2 αντιμετωπίζουν κατά την επιλογή των *ότι/πως, που και να σε* σχέση με όσα τα εγχειρίδια για τη διδασκαλία της NE ως Γ2 περιλαμβάνουν για το θέμα.

Αφετηρία της έρευνας αποτέλεσαν οι αναλύσεις για τις παραμέτρους που ρυθμίζουν αυτή την επιλογή (ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστικά του κάθε δείκτη, σημασία του ρήματος εξάρτησης, συνάρτηση της σημασίας του ρήματος με τη σημασία του δείκτη, παρουσία προτασιακών τελεστών, τύπος ρήματος στην πρόταση εξάρτησης· βλ. Ρούσσου 2006, 2010, Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού κ.ά. 1998, μεταξύ άλλων) και προηγούμενες έρευνες για τις δυσκολίες που εμφανίζονται όταν ένα ρήμα εξάρτησης είναι συμβατό με δύο ή περισσότερους δείκτες (Βαρλοκώστα & Τριανταφυλλίδου 2003, Nouchoutidou 2008).

Η διερεύνηση του ζητήματος βασίστηκε σε ερωτηματολόγια που δόθηκαν σε ενήλικους που μαθαίνουν τη NE ως Γ2 σε περιβάλλον τάξης με σκοπό να συμμετάσχουν στις εξετάσεις Ελληνομάθειας. Οι μαθητές, που είχαν ως μητρική γλώσσα τη Ρωσική, ανήκαν σε τάξεις τριών επιπέδων γνώσης της NE: αρχάριο, μέσο και προχωρημένο. Η επιλογή του τύπου των ασκήσεων, των ρημάτων και του λεξιλογίου που περιείχε το ερωτηματολόγιο έγινε με βάση το αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα και μεγάλο αριθμό εγχειριδίων για τη διδασκαλία της NE ως Γ2 (Νουχουτίδου 2010). Τα αποτελέσματα του γραπτού ερωτηματολογίου που περιλάμβανε μία άσκηση ελέγχου αποδεκτότητας (acceptability judgment task) και μία άσκηση συμπλήρωσης κενών (cloze test) εξετάστηκαν ανά επίπεδο και σε σύγκριση με τις απαντήσεις που φυσικοί ομιλητές της NE είχαν δώσει όταν τους ζητήθηκε να συμπληρώσουν το ίδιο ερωτηματολόγιο. Σύμφωνα με τις απαντήσεις των συμμετεχόντων, οι μαθητές έχουν καλύτερες επιδόσεις όσο αυξάνεται το επίπεδο των σπουδών

τους και κατακτούν σταδιακά το σύστημα των συμπληρωματικών δεικτών. Από την άλλη πλευρά, υπάρχουν ζητήματα που προκαλούν δυσκολία ακόμη και σε προχωρημένους μαθητές, όπως η επιλογή του δείκτη με ρήματα εξάρτησης που ανήκουν σε συγκεκριμένες ρηματικές ομάδες και περιπτώσεις που η επιλογή εξαρτάται από την παρουσία τελεστών στην πρόταση εξάρτησης. Προβλήματα φαίνεται να προκαλεί, επίσης, η διάκριση μεταξύ *ότι/πως* και *που*, ειδικά με ρήματα ψυχικού πάθους, αισθήσεως και αντίληψης.

Τα αποτελέσματα του πειράματος συγκρίνονται με προηγούμενες έρευνες για τις συμπληρωματικές προτάσεις στην κατάκτηση της ΝΕ ως μητρικής γλώσσας (Katis & Stampouliadou 2009, Mastropavliou & Tsimpli 2011) και επιχειρείται η ερμηνεία τους σε σχέση με θεωρίες για την κατάκτηση της Γ2 (Bhatt & Hancin-Bhatt 2002, Dekydtspotter κ.ά. 2005, Tsimpli & Mastropavliou 2007). Επιπλέον, οι επιδόσεις και οι δυσκολίες των μαθητών σε κάθε επίπεδο εξετάζονται σε σχέση με όσα διδάσκονται μέσω των εγχειριδίων της ΝΕ ως Γ2 και όσα το αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα προτείνει να διδαχθούν και επισημαίνεται ποιες αλλαγές θα μπορούσαν να γίνουν.

Αναφορές

- Βαρλοκώστα, Σ. & Λ. Τριανταφυλλίδου. 2003. *Επίπεδα γλωσσομάθειας στην Ελληνική ως δεύτερη γλώσσα*. Αθήνα: Ε.Κ.Π.Α.
- Bhatt, R.M. & B. Hancin-Bhatt. 2002. Structural Minimality, CP and the initial state in second language acquisition. *Second Language Research* 18: 348-392.
- Dekydtspotter, L., B.D. Schwartz, R.A. Sprouse & A. Liljestrang. 2005. Evidence for the C-domain in early interlanguage. Στο S.H. Foster-Cohen, M. Carcía Mayo & J. Cenoz (εκδ.), *EUROSLA Yearbook* 5, 7-34. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού, Δ., Γ. Κατσιμαλή, Α. Μόζερ, Β. Νικηφορίδου & Δ. Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου (επιμ.) 1998. *Θέματα νεοελληνικής σύνταξης: θεωρία – ασκήσεις*. Αθήνα: Ε.Κ.Π.Α.
- Katis, D. & C. Stampouliadou. 2009. The development of sentential complement constructions in Greek: Evidence from a case study. *Constructions and Frames* 1(2): 222-261.
- Mastropavliou, M. & I.M. Tsimpli. 2011. Complementisers and subordination in typical language acquisition and SLI. *Lingua* 121(3): 442-462.
- Nouchoutidou, E. 2008. Complementizers in L2 Greek: a preliminary research with adult learners. Στο N. Lavidas, E. Nouchoutidou & M. Sionti (επιμ.), *New perspectives in Greek linguistics*. Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 273-288.
- Νουχουτίδου, Ε. 2010. *Ότι-, πως-, που-συμπληρωματικές προτάσεις στα εγχειρίδια της Ελληνικής ως Γ2 για ενήλικους. Πρακτικά 14<sup>ου</sup> διεθνούς συνεδρίου της Ελληνικής Εταιρίας Εφαρμοσμένης Γλωσσολογίας, Θεσσαλονίκη, 14-16/12/07* (CD-Rom).
- Ρούσσου, Α. 2006. *Συμπληρωματικοί δείκτες*. Αθήνα: Πατάκης.
- Roussou, A. 2010. Selecting complementizers. *Lingua* 120(3), 582-603.
- Tsimpli, I.M. & M. Mastropavliou. 2007. Feature-interpretability in L2 acquisition and SLI: Greek clitics and determiners. Στο J. Licerias, H. Zobl & H. Goodluck (εκδ.), *The role of formal features in second language acquisition*. Routledge, 142-183.

### Stranded quantifiers, reconstruction and QR

Masaki Ohno

Showa University

mohno@cas.showa-u.ac.jp

Sportiche's (1988) theory of quantifier stranding does not in principle exclude the possibility of a quantifier being stranded in a theta-position. This prediction is not borne out, however, as in *\*The students were arrested all*. Bošković (2001, 2004) observes that quantifiers cannot be stranded in theta-positions. In this paper I argue that the object part of Bošković's generalization is derived from the interaction between Reconstruction and QR.

In general, the position of a stranded quantifier corresponds to the place where its scope is determined with respect to other quantificational expressions. Consider the following.

- (1) a. All the boys aren't happy. <sup>OK</sup> (*all > not*), <sup>OK</sup> (*not > all*)  
 b. The boys aren't all happy. \* (*all > not*), <sup>OK</sup> (*not > all*)

(1b) shows that the stranded *all* disambiguates the sentence. Bobaljik (2003:130) notes that Williams (1982) is the first to observe such a fact. Assuming that the restriction part of a quantifier must be interpreted within the scope of that quantifier, I describe Williams' observation as an interpretive condition on NPs and their stranded quantifiers.

(2) *Condition W*: At LF, host NPs must be reconstructed and interpreted in the position where their stranded quantifiers are located.

This explains why the sentence in (3) is ungrammatical.

(3) \*John kicked the students all.

The LF Reconstruction of a host NP requires that *the students* move back to its base position. However, the resulting structure is not interpretable, as it incurs a type mismatch problem (Heim and Kratzer 1998). If Reconstruction does not occur, it leads to a failure of quantification of a stranded quantifier. If Reconstruction occurs, the result is a type mismatch and semantic computation is stuck. Because of a contradictory requirement of Reconstruction and QR, therefore, object quantifiers cannot be stranded in their base positions.

QNP in the subject position does not incur a type mismatch problem. The Reconstruction-QR approach does not rule out the possibility of a subject quantifier being stranded in a theta-position. This does not coincide with the subject part of Bošković's generalization. Consider the following Japanese sentences, in which (i) the subject quantifier cannot be separated from its host NP by the intervening object NP (4c) and (ii) the object quantifier can be separated from its host NP by the intervening subject NP (5c). This contrast forms a subject-object asymmetry (Miyagawa 1989).

- |     |  |     |   |
|-----|--|-----|---|
| (4) | 'Two students bought pizza'                    | (5) | 'A student bought two pizzas'               |
| a.  | <u>2-ri</u> <u>Gakusei-ga</u> pizza-o katta.   | a.  | Gakusei-ga <u>2-tu</u> <u>pizza-o</u> katta |
|     | 2-cl students-Nom pizza-Acc bought             | b.  | Gakusei-ga <u>pizza-o</u> <u>2-tu</u> katta |
| b.  | <u>Gakusei-ga</u> <u>2-ri</u> pizza-o katta.   | c.  | <u>Pizza-o</u> Gakusei-ga <u>2-tu</u> katta |
| c.  | * <u>Gakusei-ga</u> pizza-o <u>2-ri</u> katta. |     |   |

It is widely accepted that stranded subject quantifiers have much in common with adverbs as to their syntactic and semantic behavior, suggesting that they occupy an adverbial position. Given that Bošković's generalization itself does not rule out the possibility of a quantifier being stranded in a derived position, I argue that the stranded quantifiers in (4) and (5) are located in a derived position. I suggest that the (un)grammaticality of (4c) and (5c) is simply due to the positional difference between the specifier and the complement with regard to extraction. Regarding (4c), I propose a phase-based account for subject condition.

## Variation in the Morphology of Past Perfective in Catalan

Isabel Oltra-Massuet

CCHS-CSIC

isabel.oltra@cchs.csic.es

The Catalan past perfective tense shows up to three different forms (1). There is a synthetic form, spoken in some varieties of Valencian and Balearic Catalan (1a). And two analytic forms, the standard form, which contains an inflected element historically derived from the present tense of the verb *go* and the infinitive of the corresponding verb (1b); and a non-standard variant heard all over the Catalan-speaking area, whose first element resembles the synthetic past (1c). They all have exactly the same semantics, 'you-sg went', and speakers use some subset of them without distinction.

- |     |           |                |                |
|-----|-----------|----------------|----------------|
| (a) | a) anares | b. vas anar    | c. vares anar  |
|     | went-2sg  | AUX-2sg go-INF | AUX-2sg go-INF |

These data raise empirical as well as theoretical questions regarding (i) the synchronic relation between the auxiliary of the analytic forms (b) and the present tense indicative forms of the irregular lexical verb *anar* 'go'(c); and (ii) the combinations that speakers use without distinction, and the kind of structural micro-variation that can derive those differences.

- |     |            |       |    |       |       |        |   |      |
|-----|------------|-------|----|-------|-------|--------|---|------|
| (b) | a) {vaig   | vas   | va | vam   | vau   | van}   | + | anar |
|     | b) {vàreig | vares | va | vàrem | vàreu | varen} | + | anar |

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl	go-INF
(c)	vaig	vas	va	anem	aneu	van	
	go-1sg	go-2sg	go-3sg	go-1pl	go-2pl	go-3pl	

As for (i), although the grammaticalization process from lexical *anar* 'go' to auxiliary *va-* has been well-studied, and there are various hypotheses on the path from one form to the other (e.g. Colón 1976, Pérez Saldanya 1996), the synchronic relation between the auxiliary of the analytic forms and the present tense indicative of the lexical verb *anar* 'go' has not been formally undertaken yet. For instance, whereas Badia i Margarit (1994) analyzes the full paradigm as forms of the present indicative of the verb *anar* with analogic regulation for 1/2nd plural, Mascaró (1986, 2002) treats this formative as a *defective auxiliary va-* with a second (allomorphic) root *var-*. Similarly, Vallduví (1988), Wheeler (1997), and Pérez Saldanya (1998) consider it as a *past tense auxiliary marker*. If related, we must account for the different forms appearing in the plural, as well as for the syntax-morphology mismatch arising from the fact that the auxiliary in (2a) is (allegedly) in the present tense, but the whole expression conveys a past perfective meaning. Also challenging is the analysis of (1c); descriptively, it seems to be the result of mixing (1a-b), thereby being apparently marked twice for past perfective, i.e. the periphrastic form in (1b), which is already a past perfective, is added the past perfective morphology *-re-* found in the synthetic form (1a). With respect to (ii), connected with the fact that we have three different forms appearing in a single paradigmatic cell in a community, and that individual speakers freely select some subset of them, is the question of the existence of doublets (or triplets) in the speaker's individual grammar, and whether they are the result of competing grammars, as suggested in Kroch (1994), or whether they are the outcome of a single grammar (Embick 2008).

In this talk I first provide an analysis of the internal structure of these forms within the Distributed Morphology [DM] framework (Halle & Marantz 1993, 1994 and related work) that accounts for the (partial) syncretism in a principled way. Using standard syntactic structures and following basic assumptions about the structure of the Catalan verb, I show that the late insertion of underspecified functional Vocabulary Items explains this surface morphosyntactic mismatch without stipulating the existence of a special (defective) past auxiliary. Also, the lack of syncretism in the 1/2PI forms can be accounted for in DM, by treating root allomorphs as functional Vocabulary Items specified for insertion in different contexts. As for variation in grammar, in the DM framework, competition is restricted to occur at the level of Vocabulary Insertion (Embick & Marantz 2006, Embick 2007), so that for each input structure there can be just one output structure. This means that there must be three different structures for the Catalan past perfective, which must contain exactly the same semantic features to convey exactly the same semantic meaning. Empirical evidence based on clitic climbing, coordination, negation and adverbial position supports the existence of two syntactic structures instantiated by the synthetic (1a) and the *r*-analytic (1c) forms. Further, the analytic structure gives rise to another periphrastic form (1b) as a result of a process of T-improvement. Ultimately, I claim that a DM-analysis avoids the problems that these data pose for proposals based on a generative lexicon with early insertion, as well as for analyses based on the paradigm as a linguistically relevant object.

#### REFERENCES

- Badia i Margarit, A. M. 1994. *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana*. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana.
- Colón, G. 1976. Sobre el perfet perifràstic *vado*+infinitiu en català, en provençal i en francès. *Problemes de llengua i literatura catalanes: Actes del II Col·loqui Internacional sobre el català. Amsterdam 1970*, 101-144. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Embick, D. 2007. Blocking Effects and Analytic/Synthetic Alternations. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25:1.1-37.
- Embick, D. 2008. Variation and Morphosyntactic Theory: Competition Fractionated. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2:1.59-78.
- Embick, D. & A. Marantz. 2006. Architecture and Blocking. Ms., University of Pennsylvania and MIT.
- Halle, M. & A. Marantz. 1993. Distributed Morphology and the Pieces of Inflection. *The View from Building 20: Essays in Honor of Sylvain Bromberger* ed. by K. Hale & S. J. Keyser, 11-176. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Halle, M. & A. Marantz. 1994. Some Key Features of Distributed Morphology. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 21.275-288.

- Kroch, A. 1994. Morphosyntactic Variation. *Papers from the 30th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society: Parasession on Variation and Linguistic Theory* ed. by Katharine Beals et al., 180-201. Chicago, IL: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Mascaró, J. 1986. *Morfologia*. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana.
- Mascaró, J. 2002. Morfologia: Aspectes generals. *Gramàtica del català contemporani* ed. by J. Solà et al., Vol. 1:465-482. Barcelona: Empúries.
- Pérez Saldanya, M. 1996. Gramaticalització i reanàlisi: el cas del pretèrit perfet perifràstic en català. *Actes del Desè Col·loqui Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes*, Vol. III: 71-107. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Pérez Saldanya, M. 1998. *Del llatí al català. Morfosintaxi verbal històrica*. València: Universitat de València.
- Vallduví, E. 1988. Sobre el perfet perifràstic del català. *Actes del Cinquè Col·loqui d'Estudis Catalans a Nord-Amèrica*, 85-98. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Wheeler, M. 1997. Catalan. *The Romance Languages* ed. by M. Harris & N. Vincent, 170-208 Taylor and Francis.

**Πιστοποίηση Επάρκειας της Ελληνομάθειας,  
τα νέα επίπεδα ελληνομάθειας του Κέντρου Ελληνικής Γλώσσας**

**<sup>1</sup>Βικτωρία Παναγιωτίδου, <sup>2</sup>Μαρία Καρακύργιου, <sup>3</sup>Αικατερίνη Πρανέντση & <sup>4</sup>Νιόβη Αντωνοπούλου**

<sup>1,2,3,4</sup>Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας

<sup>1</sup>vicky@komvos.edu.gr, <sup>2</sup>memi@komvos.edu.gr, <sup>3</sup>kathrine@komvos.edu.gr, <sup>4</sup>jga@auth.gr

Ο θεσμός των εξετάσεων πιστοποίησης επάρκειας της ελληνομάθειας δεν είναι νέος. Από το 1999 και στο πλαίσιο της προσπάθειας προβολής και στήριξης της ελληνικής γλώσσας το Υπουργείο Παιδείας Δια Βίου Μάθησης και Θρησκευμάτων και το Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (Ν.Π.Ι.Δ. του ΥΠΔΒΜΘ) υλοποιούν το πάγιο αίτημα των ελληνογλωσσων και ελληνομαθών: τις εξετάσεις για τη χορήγηση του κρατικού τίτλου πιστοποίησης ελληνομάθειας. Οι εξετάσεις διεξάγονται σε εξεταστικά κέντρα (ο αριθμός των οποίων ανέρχεται στα 110) που έχει αναγνωρίσει το ΚΕΓ στην Ελλάδα και στο εξωτερικό. Οι υποψήφιοι μέχρι το 2010 εξετάζονταν σε τέσσερα επίπεδα γλωσσικής επάρκειας (Α, Β, Γ, Δ) και αξιολογούνταν σε τέσσερις δεξιότητες, δηλαδή στην κατανόηση και παραγωγή γραπτού και προφορικού λόγου.

Από το Μάιο του 2011 θα γίνουν ουσιαστικές και ριζικές αλλαγές στο πιστοποιητικό ελληνομάθειας, που αφορούν τόσο τον αριθμό των επιπέδων όσο και την τυπολογία των ασκήσεων. Οι αλλαγές αυτές κρίθηκαν απαραίτητες προκειμένου το πιστοποιητικό ελληνομάθειας να καλύπτει περισσότερο τις ανάγκες του κοινού στο οποίο απευθύνεται. Τόσο τα αιτήματα των ελληνογλωσσων, κυρίως των ομογενών, για την ύπαρξη κατάλληλου επιπέδου για μικρά παιδιά και ενήλικες αρχάριους όσο και η ανάγκη ευθυγράμμισης του πιστοποιητικού με τα αναγνωρισμένα επίπεδα του ΚΕΠΑ είχε ως αποτέλεσμα την αύξηση των επιπέδων ανάλογα με την εξάβαθμη κλίμακα του ΚΕΠΑ. Από το 2011 οι υποψήφιοι ελληνομάθειας θα παίρνουν μέρος στις εξετάσεις των επιπέδων Α1, Α2, Β1, Β2, Γ1, Γ2. Ειδικότερα το επίπεδο Α1 θα διακριθεί σε αυτό που απευθύνεται σε μικρά παιδιά 8-12 ετών και σε εφήβους κι ενήλικες.

Η παραπάνω αλλαγή στον αριθμό των επιπέδων προκάλεσε επιπλέον αλλαγές τόσο στο ΑΠ όσο και στην τυπολογία των ασκήσεων. Συντάχθηκε νέο ΑΠ, που και αυτό, όπως και το παλαιότερο βασίζεται στα επίπεδα του ΚΕΠΑ προσαρμοσμένο βέβαια στις ιδιαιτερότητες της ελληνικής γλώσσας. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο παύει η ύλη των εξετάσεων να είναι συμπυκνωμένη και η διάκριση του επιπέδου γλωσσομάθειας γίνεται πιο εύκολη και ουσιαστική.

Οι νέοι τύποι ασκήσεων δίνουν ανανεωτικό χαρακτήρα στο πιστοποιητικό. Παράλληλα το γεγονός ότι παγιώνονται οι τύποι ασκήσεων σε κάθε επίπεδο δίνει πλέον την δυνατότητα σύγκρισης των αποτελεσμάτων των εξετάσεων διαφορετικών επιπέδων.

Στην εισήγηση θα παρουσιαστούν τα νέα επίπεδα ελληνομάθειας, το ΑΠ και οι γνώσεις που απαιτούνται για κάθε επίπεδο. Παράλληλα θα παρουσιαστούν οι νέοι τύποι ασκήσεων σε κάθε επίπεδο και όλες οι αλλαγές που θα ισχύσουν από το Μάιο 2011.

**Greek as Controlled Language:  
The European Project Message for alert messages and protocols**

**Eleni Papadopoulou**  
*Democritus University of Thrace*  
papadopoulou.lena@gmail.com

The purpose of this paper is to present the characteristics of Greek as Controlled Language (CLgr) within the frame of the project MESSAGE. The MESSAGE project (full name Alert Messages and Protocols) was concerned with the development and transfer of a methodology and technology created by the Centre Tesnière (Project Coordinator) and developed in collaboration with the aircraft industry, the health profession, and emergency services for establishing standards (*controlled languages*) concerning the writing of alert messages and *security protocols* for safety-critical applications which could be easily translated in various languages as French, Spanish, Polish, Greek (<http://message-project.univ-fcomte.fr/description-en.html>).

By the term controlled language (CL) we refer to a restricted version of a natural language, which uses a well-defined subset of the language's grammar and lexicon and it has been engineered to meet a special purpose (Mitkov, 2003). On the other hand security protocols are texts that aim to communicate to an end-user actions that must be executed immediately or not with different levels of urgency (Renahy, Devitre, Thomas, & Dziadkiewicz, 2009). According to the above mentioned definitions, the final users of such texts are not only passive readers but they must also act, in order to execute the guidelines contained in a specific alert message. Consequently the text has to be clear and free of ambiguities.

In this paper we will describe the characteristics of Greek as controlled language as well as the procedure undertaken for the creation of the redaction guide for CLgr (compilation of a corpus of health and civil security protocols, consultation of the relevant guides in Spanish (Puig, 2009) and French (Renahy, 2008), identification and formalization of the internal structures of protocols etc.). Special emphasis will be placed on the grammatical and syntactic level (frequent phrase structures, tense and vocabulary restrictions). Applications of LCgr will be also pointed out, such as the automatic translation and learning Greek as a foreign or second language.

References

- Mitkov, R. (2003). *The Oxford Handbook of Computational Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Puig, M. (2009). *Guía de Redacción: español lengua controlada*. Barcelona. España: fLexSem. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Renahy, J. (2008). *Guide de Redaction: Français Contrôle pour le Français*. Francia: Centre Tesnière. Université de Franche-Comté.
- Renahy, J., Devitre, D., Thomas, I., & Dziadkiewicz, A. (2009). Controlled language norms for the redaction of security protocols: finding the median between system needs and user acceptability. *Proceedings of the 11th International Symposium on Social Communication*. January 19-23. Santiago de Cuba.

**Syntactic transfer in third and fourth language acquisition**

**Zafeiroula Papadopoulou**  
*Université Paris III – La Sorbonne Nouvelle*  
papadopoulou\_zafi@yahoo.com

The acquisition of a third language is not the continuation of the second language. While in the acquisition of the L2 the transfers can be influenced by the L1, in third language learners have two systems that can influence each other. This influence covers different levels of the language such

as the morphology, the vocabulary and the syntax. Our main aim in this study is to trace the cross-linguistic influence on the syntactic level among 3 different groups of learners of French:

- As second language (G1)
- As third language (G2)
- As fourth language (G3)

In order to trace the influence of the previously acquired languages in the French syntax we will present the leading theories of the interlanguage transfer and we will demonstrate the similarities and the differences in syntax of the four languages involved in this research ; Greek, Albanian, English, French. Our results will reveal how much the cross-linguistic influence depends on the level of proficiency and on the previously learned languages.

Key words : syntax, translinguistic influence, levels of proficiency, FL2, FL3,

References

- Babinotis, G., Clairis, Ch., Γραμματική της Νέας Ελληνικής, δομολειτουργικών – επικοινωνιακή. Τα επιρρηματικά στοιχεία, η εξειδίκευση του μηνύματος, Ελληνικά γράμματα, Αθήνα. 2001
- Cenoz, J., The effect of linguistic distance, L2 status and age, *Cross-Linguistic Influence in Third Language Acquisition: Psycholinguistic Perspectives*, pp. 8-20, ed. Multilingual Matters, 2001
- De Angelis, G., Selinker, L., Interlanguage transfer and competing linguistic systems in the multilingual mind, *Cross-Linguistic Influence in Third Language Acquisition: Psycholinguistic Perspectives*, ed. Multilingual Matters, pp. 42-58, 2001
- Hammarberg, B., Roles of L1 and L2 in L3 production and acquisition, *Cross-Linguistic Influence in Third Language Acquisition: Psycholinguistic Perspectives*, ed. Multilingual Matters. pp. 21-41. 2001
- Kellerman, E., Now you see it, now you don't. In S. Gass & L. Selinker (Eds.), *Language transfer in language learning* pp. 112-134. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1983
- Le Goffic, P., *Grammaire de la phrase française*, Hachette supérieur, Paris, 1993
- Williams, S., Hammarberg, B., Language switches in L3 production: implications for a polyglot speaking model. *Stockholm University, Applied linguistics 19/3 295-333 oxford university press 1998*
- Riegel, M., Pellat, J.-C., Rioul, R., *Grammaire méthodique du français*, Presses universitaires de France, Paris. 1999
- Tzartzanis, Ax., *Νεοελληνική Σύνταξις (της κοινής δημοτικής)*, Β' έκδοση. Εκδοτικός οίκος Αδερφών Κυριακίδη, Θεσσαλονίκη. 1996

### **The acquisition of (non)temporal adverbial clauses: the role of connectives and aspect**

**Maria Papakonstantinou**

*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

mpapakon@enl.auth.gr

In many languages, temporal connectives allow non-temporal readings, too (Hornstein, 1990). In Greek, the connectives “eno” and “kathos” (=while) which express simultaneity and the connective “afu”(=after) which expresses anteriority can also have a non-temporal interpretation. Recent work (Tsimpli et al, 2010) shows that the availability of the temporal interpretation is largely determined by morphological aspect.

The aim of this study is to examine whether the suggested dependency between Aspect and the connective receives support from a developmental perspective.

The main research questions are to determine:

- the age of acquisition of the semantics of these three connectives and of their two possible interpretations
- the acquisition of the interaction between grammatical aspect and the interpretation of the connective.

To answer these questions a Truth-value Judgment task was designed, comprising 18 stories, which were enacted by animal toy-puppets. After each story ended, two other puppets commented

on it. Only one produced the target statement in each story. The participants' task was to reward the puppet, which correctly understood the story.

The statements in each story were minimal pairs differing only either in the choice of the connective -when the semantics of the connective was examined –or in the aspectual form of the verb -when aspectual differences were investigated.

Four age groups, each consisting of 30 typically-developing Greek children were included (6, 8, 10, 12 years) and a control group of 15 adults.

As for the first research question, results indicate that the non-temporal interpretation is acquired later than the temporal; only 12 year olds gave target responses above chance level. As for the second question, children show sensitivity to aspectual differences on the verb of the adverbial clause around age 12. Younger children do not significantly differentiate between perfective and imperfective aspect to derive the temporal reading. The controls gave very high scores of target responses. The implication of these findings is that up to the age of 12, connectives are intrinsically associated with a temporal reading rather than being underspecified. It is possible that their entry lacks the relevant feature that necessitates the formation of a dependency with the aspectual form of the verb they introduce.

References

Hornstein, N., 1990. *As Time goes by. Tense and Universal Grammar*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

Tsimpili, I.M. et al, 2010. Temporal modification in Greek adverbial clauses: The role of aspect and negation. *Lingua* 120, 649-672.

### **The language of advertising in the Greek-Cypriot community: standardisation (SMG), adaptation (GCD) or anglicisms?**

**<sup>1</sup>Andreas Papapavlou & <sup>2</sup>Melanie Satraki**

<sup>1,2</sup>*University of Cyprus*

<sup>1</sup>andreas@ucy.ac.cy & <sup>2</sup>satraki.melanie@ucy.ac.cy

Advertising has been into existence for many years. But, since technology develops rapidly and mass production has become an indispensable part of modern society, the use of advertising is 'inevitable' (Vestergaard & Schroder 1985). One of the most important manipulative tools in advertising is language. However, "with other genres we usually know where our loyalties lie; with ads we are just confused" (Cook 2006: p. 3), and if we refer to advertising within an already 'confusing' linguistic setting, the situation becomes even more intriguing for investigation. The Greek-Cypriot community constitutes such an interesting setting where two linguistic codes are used side by side (Standard Modern Greek and Greek Cypriot Dialect) and their separation on both the social and linguistic level is a perplexing issue. This situation becomes even more interesting with the extensive and frequent use of the English language among the members of the community. Some research on the use of GCD and English in advertising and in the mass media has already been carried out (Pavlou 1992, Pavlou 2004). However, no effort was made to explore people's reactions towards the code being used in an advertisement in relation to the nature – stereotype – of the advertised product.

Therefore, the aim of the present paper is to study the Greek-Cypriots' reactions towards the use of SMG, GCD and English in advertising different kinds of products. Thus, an effort is made to provide answers to the following questions: a) Do Greek-Cypriots have positive attitudes towards the appearance of GCD in advertising?, b) Do Greek-Cypriots have positive attitudes towards the appearance of English in advertising?, c) Are their attitudes influenced by the stereotype reflected in the advertised product?, d) Does the medium used to present the advertisement have any impact on their attitudes? Therefore, to carry out this study, advertisements of different products that include the above mentioned codes were designed. These advertisements were part of a questionnaire, along with objective-scale questions, which was randomly distributed to Greek-Cypriot adults in order to express their attitudes indirectly towards the use of the three codes.

References

Cook, G. (2006). *The Discourse of Advertising (Second Edition)*. London, New York: Routledge.

- Pavlou, P. (1992). The use of the Cypriot-Greek dialect in the commercials of the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation. Paper presented at the *Annual Meeting of the International Linguistics Association*. Washington.
- Pavlou, P. (2004). Greek dialect use in the mass media in Cyprus. In *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (168). Walter de Gruyter, 101-118.
- Vestergaard, T. and Schroder, K. (1985). *The Language of Advertising*. Oxford: Blackwell.

**Measuring the productivity of noun-deriving suffixes across languages:  
Greek *-tita* vs. English *-ness***

**Theofanis Papoutsis**  
*University of Athens*  
fanispapoutsis@hotmail.com

This paper investigates the productivity of the Greek noun-forming suffix *-tita* (e.g. *kakós* > *kakótita* 'bad' > 'badness') and its English equivalent *-ness* (e.g. *bad* > *badness*). Both of these suffixes are intuitively felt to be extremely productive, in that they give rise to new formations. However, it is only for *-ness* that these intuitions have been verified by empirical research, based on quantitative evidence (see e.g. Baayen & Lieber 1991, Plag et al. 1999), whereas for *-tita* (as well as any other Greek affix), there is practically no empirical evidence to this day. Therefore, it is deemed equally worthwhile to empirically verify whether Greek *-tita* is also a productive suffix.

More specifically, the aim of this corpus-based research is threefold: (a) to verify and quantify our intuitions about the high degree of productivity of both *-tita* and *-ness*; (b) to compare and contrast the productivity degrees of a pair of interlingually equivalent suffixes; and (c) to apply the quantitative approach to morphological productivity to Greek data for the first time.

The Greek data are extracted from the Corpus of Greek Texts (see Goutsos 2003), whereas the English data are taken from the Contemporary Corpus of American English (see Davies 2010). The data are analysed with the aid of statistical measures which originate in the pioneering work of Baayen and his associates (Baayen 1992, 1993, 2008, Baayen & Lieber 1991, Baayen & Renouf 1996). These measures presuppose the existence of language corpora and serve (a) to discriminate productive from unproductive morphological processes and (b) to estimate the degree of productivity of productive morphological processes. Among the basic measures used to estimate the productivity of a morphological process, are: (a) the number of tokens with a given affix ( $N^{aff}$ ), (b) the number of types with that affix ( $V^{aff}$ ), and (c) the number of hapax legomena with that affix ( $n_1^{aff}$ ). A derived measure of productivity is the 'productivity in the narrow sense' ( $P$ ), i.e. the possibility of finding an unattested formation with a given affix. This possibility is expressed by the formula  $P = n_1^{aff} / N^{aff}$ .

Three main findings emerge from the analysis. First, *-tita* is a very productive suffix with respect to the Greek derivational system. Similarly, *-ness* is a very productive suffix with regard to the English derivational system. However, the interlingual comparison shows that the latter is more productive than the former. Second, both suffixes attach not only to adjectival bases, but also to other types of bases. The Greek suffix can productively combine with nouns and pronouns, while its English counterpart can be fruitfully attached to nouns, pronouns, adverbs and phrases. Third, as far as the adjectival base words are concerned, neither *-tita* nor *-ness* exhibit a uniform degree of productivity. In other words, some combinations of adjectival bases and the two noun-forming suffixes are more productive than other combinations.

In conclusion, some possible interpretations of and tentative explanations for the above findings are put forward. Finally, some remarks are made, regarding the difficulties of quantitatively investigating the productivity of Greek derivational processes. These difficulties appear to arise from the rich inflectional system of Greek and from the unavailability of part-of-speech-tagged as well as morphologically annotated Greek language corpora.

References

- Baayen, R. H. (1992) "Quantitative aspects of morphological productivity". In G. Booij & J. van Marle (eds.) *Yearbook of Morphology 1991*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. 109-149.

- Baayen, R. H. (1993) "On frequency, transparency and productivity". In G. Booij & J. van Marle (eds.) *Yearbook of Morphology 1992*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. 181-208.
- Baayen, R. H. (2008) "Corpus linguistics in morphology: morphological productivity". In A. Lüdeling & M. Kytö (eds.) *Corpus Linguistics: An International Handbook, vol. 2*. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter. 899-919.
- Baayen, R. H. & Lieber, R. (1991) "Productivity and English derivation: a corpus-based study". *Linguistics* 29: 801-844.
- Baayen, R. H. & Renouf, A. (1996) "Chronicling the *Times*: productive lexical innovations in an English newspaper". *Language* 72(1): 69-96.
- Davies, M. (2010) "corpus.byu.edu: five announcements/ new resources". corpora@listserv.byu.edu. (8/9/2010)
- Goutsos/ Γούτσος, Δ. (2003) «Σώμα ελληνικών κειμένων: σχεδιασμός και υλοποίηση». Στο Γ. Κατσιμαλή, Α. Καλοκαιρινός, Ε. Αναγνωστοπούλου & Ι. Κάππα (επιμ.) *Πρακτικά του 6ου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ελληνικής Γλωσσολογίας, Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης, 18-21 Σεπτεμβρίου 2003*. Ρέθυμνο: Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης (<http://www.philology.uoc.gr/conferences/6thICGL/>).
- Plag, I., Dalton, C. & Baayen, H. R. (1999) "Morphological productivity across speech and writing". *English Language and Linguistics* 3(2): 209-228.

### Grammatical gender and cognition

**<sup>1</sup>Theodossia-Soula Pavlidou & <sup>2</sup>Angeliki Alvanoudi**

<sup>1,2</sup>*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

<sup>1</sup>pavlidou@lit.auth.gr & <sup>2</sup>aalvanou@lit.auth.gr

In the spirit of linguistic relativity, more specifically, in its version as structural relativity (cf. e.g. Lucy 1992a, 1992b, Levinson 2003, Slobin 1996), this paper presents a research project that aims at examining the relationship between grammatical category of gender on speakers' perception of inanimate objects as 'male' or 'female'. Previous studies (e.g. Mills 1986, Konishi 1993, Sera et al. 1994, Sera et al. 2002, Boroditsky et al. 2003) have pointed to influences of grammatical gender on e.g. the meaning of nouns (connotations of femaleness/maleness) and the speakers' classification and description of nouns' referents as 'female' or 'male', across languages such as French, German, and Spanish. These studies use various experimental methods (e.g. semantic differential tests, classification, sex attribution and memory tasks), which explore the influence of grammatical gender on speakers' thinking in their native language or in a different language.

Following Levinson's (2003) criteria for an empirical approach to the study of linguistic relativity, and taking into account further critical assessments (cf. e.g. Gleitman & Papafragou (2005)) of such experimental approaches, we designed a set of experiments for native speakers of Greek or German –both languages with deeply rooted, tri-partite, gender divisions–, who also speak English as a foreign language. The present paper discusses our findings with respect to the Greek language. Although the experimental results bring evidence to a relationship between the grammatical category of gender and the attribution of sex to inanimate objects (i.e. feminine and masculine gender being associated with 'femaleness' and 'maleness', respectively), the overall picture is less orderly than other studies seem to convey. Possible explanations are considered and their consequences examined.

#### References

- Boroditsky, L., Schmidt, L. A. & Phillips, W. (2003). "Sex, syntax, and semantics". In: *Language in the Mind: Advances in the Study of Language and Thought*, D. Gentner & S. Goldin-Meadow (eds), 61-79. Cambridge/Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Gleitman, L. & Papafragou, A. (2005). "Language and thought". In: *The Cambridge Handbook of Thinking and Reasoning*, K. Holyoak & R. Morrison (eds), 633-661. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Konishi, T. (1993). "The semantics of grammatical gender: a cross-cultural study". *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 22(5): 519-534.

- Levinson, S. C. (2003). *Space in Language and Cognition: Explorations in Cognitive Diversity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lucy, J. A. (1992a). *Language Diversity and Thought: A Reformulation of the Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lucy, J. (1992b). *Grammatical Categories and Cognition: A Case Study of the Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mills, A. E. (1986). *The Acquisition of Gender: A Study of English and German*. Berlin: Springer-Verlag.
- Sera, M. D., Berge, C. A. H. & del Castillo Pintando, J. (1994). "Grammatical and conceptual forces in the attribution of gender by English and Spanish speakers". *Cognitive Development* 9: 261-292.
- Sera, M. D., Elieff, C., Forbes, J., Burch, M. C., Rodriguez, W. & Dubois, D. P. (2002). "When language affects cognition and when it does not: an analysis of grammatical gender and classification". *Journal of Experimental Psychology, General* 131: 377-397.
- Slobin, D. I. (1996). "From "thought and language" to "thinking for speaking"". In: *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity*, J. Gumperz & S. C. Levinson (eds), 70-96. New York: Cambridge University Press.

### **Linguistic processing and executive control: evidence for inhibition in Broca's aphasia**

**<sup>1</sup>Eleni Peristeri & <sup>2</sup>Ianthi Maria Tsimpli**

<sup>1,2</sup>*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

<sup>1</sup>eperiste@enl.auth.gr & <sup>2</sup>imt@enl.auth.gr

**Introduction.** We investigated the hypothesis that executive control is critically involved in some aspects of language processing in Broca's patients. Specifically, we focused on distractor interference and spatial negative priming (NP) effects, which involve the ability to inhibit distracting information within the same probe trial and the ability to inhibit irrelevant information that exerts its effect from one (prime) trial to the next (probe) trial, respectively. In balanced bilinguals, previous research has suggested that while the experimental subjects managed to efficiently inhibit the distractor co-occurring with the target without cost effects (*small distractor effect*) (see Figure (1b) below), they faced difficulty with overriding irrelevant information once the target position of the probe trial corresponded to the position of the previous-trial distractor (*large NP effect*; see Figure (2b)) (Treccani et al., 2009). We replicated the spatial NP experiment by assessing the distractor and the NP effect for eight Greek-speaking patients diagnosed with Broca's aphasia and a group of eighteen age- and education-matched language-unimpaired controls.

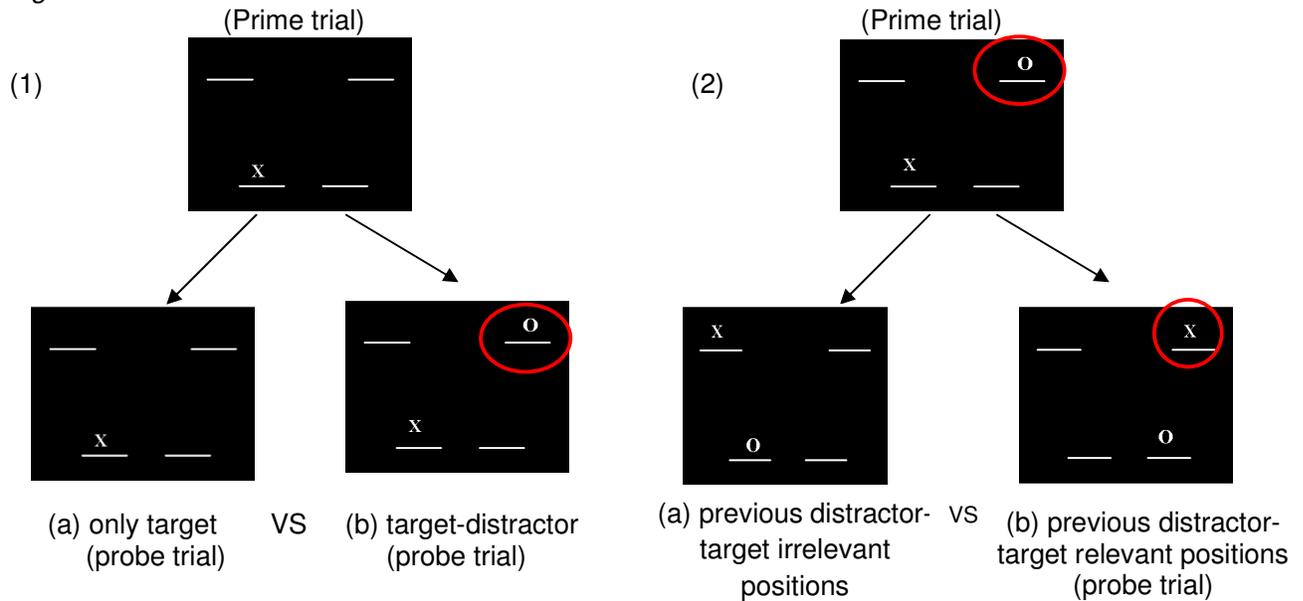
**Method.** On each trial, subjects saw four lines on a computer screen (two on the top and two on the bottom), which marked the locations in which the target and the possible distractor could appear. Half of the participants in each group (controls, Broca) were asked to press one key whose position corresponded to X (i.e. the target location) and to ignore O (i.e. the distractor location), whereas the opposite mapping (i.e. O = target, X = distractor) was assigned to the other half of the participants. Distractor and NP effects were calculated as the difference in errors and RTs between (i) only-target trials (see Figure (1a)) and distractor-target trials (see Figure (1b)), and (ii) trials where the target was presented in a previously vacant position (see Figure (2a)) and trials where the target position corresponded to the position of the previous-trial distractor (see Figure (2b)).

**Results.** The distractor effect was found to be significant for both the patients ( $p < .05$ ) and the controls ( $p < .005$ ) (in error rates and RTs, respectively) which shows that both groups' inhibition mechanism was sensitive to the activation of competing stimuli within the same trial. The increases in the controls' RTs and in the Broca's patients' error rates when selecting the target in the presence of the distractor reflect costs in both experimental groups' attentional switching mechanisms. On the other hand, while the distractor position in the previous (prime) trial showed no obvious relationship with inhibitory ability for the controls, the patients made a considerably larger percentage of errors ( $p < .05$ ) and spent significantly higher RTs ( $p < .05$ ) when the target position of the probe trial coincided with the distractor position of the previous (prime) trial (see Figure (2b)) compared to the

trials wherein the target appeared in a position irrelevant to the previous-trial distractor position (see Figure (2a)).

Conclusions. The results reflect a *distractor effect* for the Broca group (as well as for the controls) which runs counter to suggestions that executive functions are irreversibly impaired in aphasia (e.g. McNeil et al. 2010); the patients' sensitivity to the presence of the distractor and its subsequent suppression (though not as fast and accurately as observed for the control group) evinces that executive function in the Broca aphasics is ultimately recruited. On the other hand, the observed NP effect in the Broca group only, appears to stem from the patients' over-reliance on the distractor position (rather than the content of the activated information) which prevented them from monitoring and timely detecting the target information in the probe trial. Furthermore, the predictive relationship between the patients' behavior in this non-verbal/spatial NP task and their performance in two online linguistic tasks testing for the patients' sensitivity to the definite/indefinite article and grammatical gender distinctions is analyzed and discussed.

Figures



#### References

- McNeil, M. R., Kim, A., Lim, K., Pratt, S., Kendall, D., Pompon, R. H., Szuminsky, N., Fassbinder, W., Sung, J. E., Kim, H. S., & Hamer, K. (2010). Automatic activation, interference and facilitation effects in persons with aphasia and normal adult controls on experimental CRTT-R-Stroop tasks. Oral presentation at the Clinical Aphasiology Conference, South Carolina, USA.
- Treccani, B., Argyri, E., Sorace, A., & Della Sala, S. (2009). Spatial negative priming in bilinguals, *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*, 16 (2), 320-327.

### The effects of working on multi-word expressions on the development of lexical competence – a case of 26 students enrolled in one course

Liliana Piasecka  
Opole University  
elpia@o2.pl

Communicative competence – the major objective of language learning since the communicative turn which occurred at the turn of the 1970s and the 1980s – has been described as consisting of linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic competences (Richards & Rodgers, 2000). Linguistic competence comprises the knowledge of the grammatical system of the language along with the knowledge of vocabulary (eg. Bachman, 1990). It is the latter I would like to focus on in my

presentation since what has become to be known as “lexical competence” is of utmost importance to effective communication across the levels of proficiency and a variety of contexts.

Vocabulary is this component of linguistic knowledge that develops throughout lifetime and, due to the disappearance of some items and the appearance of the new ones, the foreign language learner has to be alert and responsive to the changes. Moreover, lexical competence is not limited to the knowledge of individual words and the relationships among them, but it also includes the ability to recognize and use fixed expressions and idioms that account for fluent language use and comprehension (eg., Carter 1987).

To assist university students of English as a foreign language in their lexical development, a course on fixed expressions and idioms was offered. The aim of my presentation is to discuss the effects that the participation in the course had on the students' lexical development. The discussion is based on the students' questionnaire concerning their involvement in the course which was learner-centered to promote creativity and autonomy, and the results of two tasks – a vocabulary test and a translation task which account for vocabulary gains. Generally, the results imply that involving students into cooperative learning through group assignments and micro teaching of self-chosen multiword expressions to other group members has positive effects on lexical development. Moreover, under such conditions the students also develop team-work skills along with information search and presentation skills.

### **Predictors of willingness to communicate in L2 among Polish adolescents learning English**

**Ewa Piechurska-Kuciel**

*Opole University*

epiech@uni.opole.pl

The ultimate goal of foreign language learning is authentic communication between people of different languages and cultures. In order to overcome these differences, interlocutors need a strong communicative target, which is defined as *willingness to communicate* (MacIntyre et al., 1998). It is defined as “a readiness to enter into discourse at a particular time with a specific person or persons, using a L2” (MacIntyre et al., 1998, p. 547).

A factor that plays a very important role in shaping L2 willingness to communicate (WTC) is perceived L2 competence, hereby understood as the individual's self-evaluation of their FL ability. It interacts with language anxiety, described as “a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and behaviors related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process” (Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope, 1989, p. 128).

It is stipulated that the relationship between these two factors may diverge as a function of experience with the foreign language (MacIntyre, Clément & Donovan, 2002). In more proficient students, language anxiety functions as a better predictor of their WTC; while in the case of less experienced ones – it is self-perceived competence (e.g., Baker & MacIntyre, 2000). This assertion is corroborated by empirical research proving that greater WTC is associated with higher self-perceived competence in L1 (Barraclough et al., 1988), as well as in L2 (e.g., Baker & MacIntyre, 2000; Yashima, 2002). Students with greater L2 WTC report using the language more often in the classroom (e.g., Hashimoto, 2002).

So far, the concept of L2 WTC has been researched in many Western countries (e.g., the United States or Canada), as well as in Far East ones (China and Japan). To date, there are very few European studies, and practically no research on Poles learning English. Consequently, the general aim of this study is to examine predictors of L2 WTC in Polish secondary grammar school students learning English as a foreign language. It is hypothesized that in Poland the main opportunities for L2 communication are created in the context of instructed FL learning with scarce possibility of using it authentically in the out-of-school context. It follows that self-perceived levels of FL skills, instead of language anxiety levels are the most reliable predictor of L2 WTC.

## Pronominal subjects in English L2 acquisition and in L1 Greek: issues of interpretation, use and L1 transfer

Alexandra Prentza

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki  
prentza@enl.auth.gr

This presentation will report the results of two experiments: the first targets the interpretation and use of pronominal subjects in L2 English by Greek intermediate and advanced learners, while the second focuses on the interpretation of subject pronouns in L1 Greek. It aims at evaluating the status of the relevant computations in L1 and L2 grammar, as well as to examine issues of L1 transfer.

The study was motivated by consideration of the following facts. First, in L1 Greek the distribution of pronominal subjects is regulated by the interpretable [topic-shift] feature: while null pronouns denote topic-maintenance, overt pronouns signify topic-shift. In L2 English on the other hand, the use of overt subject pronouns is obligatory, given that, unlike Greek, English is an overt subject language. Second, in Greek subject pronoun interpretation with competing antecedents has been argued to depend on the null/ overt realization of the pronoun to be assigned reference: whereas for null pronouns the preferred antecedent is in subject position, for overt pronouns it is in object position (Cardinaletti and Starke, 2001, Carminati, 2002, Tsimpli et al., 2004, Miltsakaki, 2007 among others)

Data from the first experiment obtained by means of three English tests (one judgement and two production tasks) has suggested that Greek L2 learners transfer an L1 property and produce more null pronominal subjects when these refer to the main clause subject (i.e. in topic-maintenance contexts) than when they are referentially disjoint from it (i.e. when there is a topic-shift).

For the second experiment a Greek anaphora resolution test was designed which not only exploited the variable of pronoun type (i.e. whether the pronominal subject to be assigned reference is null or overt) but also examined the interaction of this variable with the variable of pragmatic bias (i.e. whether for pragmatic reasons one referent is to be preferred over the other). See sentences (1) and (2):

(1) Καθώς ο γιατρός μιλούσε με τον ασθενή, αυτός συνταγογραφούσε.

While the doctor was talking to the patient, he was making up a prescription

*Bias for subject referent*

(2) Η Λίνα έφτιαχνε σούπα στην αδερφή της, επειδή \_ ήταν άρρωστη

\* Lina was cooking a soup for her sister because \_ was sick

*Bias for object referent*

The results from the non-pragmatically inferred items of the test (i.e. items not biased towards one referent) have shown that, as expected, when the subject pronoun is null Greek speakers opt for the subject antecedent choice, but when it is overt they choose the object referent. This corroborates our claim that pronominal subjects in the English subordinate clauses of the L2 tests are dropped because Greek learners, even advanced ones, resort to an L1 grammatical option under L1 influence. What is interesting is that the results from the pragmatically inferred items have also shown that the variable of pronoun type has a main effect on response as well as that it interacts with the variable of pragmatic bias. According to the analysis, in subject biased items the subject response is favoured significantly more when the pronoun to be assigned reference is null than when it is overt, while in the object biased items the object response is preferred significantly more when the subject pronoun is overt than when it is null.

Based on these results we claim that the null or overt realisation of the pronominal subject is such a decisive factor in anaphora resolution in Greek that its effect surfaces even in the presence of factors like pragmatic bias. Given that and observing the data from the English tests we also argue that the distribution, interpretation and use of null and overt pronominal subjects in the Greek/English interlanguage essentially follow L1 rules, the result being that Greek learner performance is target-deviant yet remains principled.

References

- Cardinaletti A. and Starke, M. (2001): The typology of structural deficiency. In H. van Riemsdijk (ed.), *Clitics in the languages of Europe, Vol. 8 of Language Typology*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Carminati, M. (2002): *The Processing of Italian Subject Pronouns*. PhD Thesis, University of Massachusetts Amherst.
- Miltsakaki, E. (2007): A rethink of the Relationship between saliency and Anaphora Resolution. In *Proceedings of the 6th Discourse Anaphora and Anaphor Resolution Colloquium*. Lagos, Portugal.
- Tsimpili, I.M., Sorace, A., Heycock, C., Filiaci, F. (2004). First Language Attrition and Syntactic Subjects: A Study of Greek and Italian Near-Native Speakers of English. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 8, 257-277.

## **L1-related strategy use in L2 processing**

**Angeliki Psaltou-Joycey**  
*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*  
 apsajoy@enl.auth.gr

Interest in the role of the first language (L1) in second/foreign language (L2) learning has long stimulated a considerable body of research in applied linguistics. The use of the L1 in L2 learning has been variously viewed as a central, occasional, insignificant, or forbidden tool and has created a lot of relevant literature either in favour of or against it. However, no matter how teaching has proceeded under the influence of different theories of L2 learning, the role of the L1 in L2 learning cannot be underestimated as L2 learners resort to using it either consciously or not and the L1 frequently acts facilitatively rather than negatively in L2 processing.

Most relevant studies have investigated differences in the use of learners' L1 according to their proficiency level, age, and gender, mainly in reading comprehension, vocabulary learning, and writing ability. The results in most of these studies have shown that *translation, transliteration, foreignisation, or code-switching*, are employed mainly by younger and less proficient L2 learners. Listening comprehension and speaking have less frequently been investigated for L1 strategy use as their nature makes its investigation less readily accessible.

In contrast to the above studies, the present paper examines the use of the L1 by experienced students of English as a foreign language (EFL) in its double function, as a learning and as a compensation strategy. More specifically, the purpose of the investigation was to examine the extent to which EFL Greek university students, majoring in English, employ their L1 while performing tasks in L2 listening, reading, speaking, and writing. Data were extracted through a questionnaire specially designed for this study and a number of interviews that followed, intending to examine more thoroughly the reasons for which students resort or not to their L1 during their studies.

Both quantitative and qualitative results of the study revealed that experienced EFL students make occasional use of their L1 for compensatory purposes in all four language skills when they take notes, summarise mentally or in writing, make a mental plan, or use a bilingual dictionary. The main L1-related strategies they use are verbal or mental translation, code-switching, and transfer. The reasons provided for resorting to their L1 have to do with psychological, linguistic, and pedagogical factors.

It is hoped that the results of the study will disincriminate the use of the L1 in L2 learning, and its facilitative role will be appreciated by those involved in L2 teaching and learning.

## Metaphoric and metonymic conceptualizations of the HEAD – a contrastive analysis of English and Serbian

<sup>1</sup>Biljana Radić-Bojanić & <sup>2</sup>Nadežda Silaški

<sup>1</sup>University of Novi Sad & <sup>2</sup>University of Belgrade

<sup>1</sup>radic.bojanic@gmail.com & <sup>2</sup>silaskin@sbb.rs

Within the theoretical framework of Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Radden & Kövecses 1999; Johnson 1987; etc.) in this paper we deal with the three selected metaphoric and metonymic conceptualizations of the HEAD in English and Serbian (HEAD IS AN OBJECT; HEAD IS A CONTAINER, and HEAD STANDS FOR A PERSON) to establish whether they are shared in the two languages or, alternatively, whether they manifest any cross-conceptual, cross-linguistic or cross-cultural differences.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) define *metaphor* as a partial mapping or set of correspondences between two conceptual domains, the source and the target domains. *Metonymy*, on the other hand, is understood as a conceptual projection whereby one domain is partially understood in terms of another domain included in the same experiential domain (Barcelona 2000). Since many authors claim that all metaphors are essentially metonymically-based (see e.g. Barcelona 2000; Radden and Kövecses 1999; etc.), a metonymy-based metaphor in this paper is understood as “a mapping involving two conceptual domains which are grounded in, or can be tracked to, one conceptual domain.” (Radden 2000: 93). We demonstrate how metaphor and metonymy are intertwined in the conceptualizations of the HEAD and how the demarcation line between them may not always be clear-cut, since they “often ‘meet’ at conceptual and linguistic crossroads” (Barcelona 2000: 1).

The first of the three analyzed conceptualizations, HEAD IS AN OBJECT, has proven to be a rich source of metaphoric expressions in both languages which can be grouped into several sub-metaphors: HEAD IS A SOLID OBJECT (e.g. *keep/lose your head, have your head screwed on // lupati glavom* [bang your head], *glava u torbi* [head in the bag], *tvrda glava* [hard head]), HEAD IS A MOVING OBJECT (e.g. *put your head down, shake your head, heads will roll // mućnuti glavom* [shake your head], *zavrteti nekome glavu* [spin someone's head]), HEAD IS A BRITTLE OBJECT (e.g. *banging/bashing your head against a brick wall // razbijati glavu o nečemu* [bang your head about something]), and HEAD IS A PRECIOUS OBJECT (e.g. *give somebody their head, pay with your head // stajati nekoga glave* [cost someone their head], *uceniti glavu nekome* [put a price on someone's head]). The second conceptualization, HEAD IS A CONTAINER, is to a great extent linked with the previous one since containers are objects of a sort. In this case, however, the most important aspect of the metaphor is the content of the container which is primarily viewed as a personality trait (e.g. *not right in the head // imati u glavi* [have something in your head]), then as an intellectual activity (e.g. *do something in your head // izračunati u glavi* [calculate in your head]), and lastly, as completely non-intellectual (e.g. *imati bube (mušice) u glavi* [have bugs (flies) in your head]). Finally, the metonymy HEAD STANDS FOR A PERSON is frequently chained to the previously explicated metaphor, HEAD IS A CONTAINER, since the content of the container is metonymically linked with the person. In other words, this metonymy is the condensation of two more basic and general metonymies, CONTENT FOR CONTAINER and PART FOR WHOLE, which means that the content of the head (e.g. the mind) is metonymically linked to the container, the head, which is in turn metonymically linked to the person.

The HEAD expressions used for our analysis have been compiled from various monolingual and bilingual English and Serbian dictionaries. The main hypothesis of the paper is the following: since the mind is embodied and human concepts are crucially shaped by our bodies and brains, we expect to find little difference in the three metaphoric and metonymic conceptualisations of the head between English and Serbian. However, since the mind is also enculturated, i.e. culturally constructed, we hypothesise that the differences will mainly manifest not at the conceptual level, but in the linguistic instantiations in the two languages.

References:

Barcelona, A. (ed.) (2000). *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.  
Johnson, M. (1987). *The body in the mind: The bodily basis of reason and imagination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.  
 Radden, G. & Z. Kövecses. "Towards a theory of metonymy". In *Metonymy in Language and Thought*, ed. by K. Panther and G. Radden, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999, 17-59.

### Result clauses in Modern Greek and Spanish: a contrastive study

**Antonio R. Revuelta Puigdollers**  
*Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*  
 antonio.revuelta@uam.es

The purpose of this paper is to make a contrastive study of result clauses in Modern Greek (MG) and Spanish (Sp). This type of subordinate clause has drawn little attention despite the different practical problems that it poses to non-native speakers. Apart from the usual connectors mentioned in most grammars and reference works, both MG and Sp exhibit some other subordinators that have been generally neglected, as for example MG *οπότε* (not to be confused with *όποτε*, see ΛΚΝ) and *με αποτέλεσμα να*, and Sp *por lo cual*. The topics that will be discussed are among others the following: a) scope of negation (see Mackridge: 272-3); b) mood selection (indicative, subjunctive, other); c) level of the clause (representative, presentative, see Dik); d) intensive antecedent (*τόσο ... που/ώστε ...*). The study of all these factors may explain the selection of the different subordinators by the native speakers and can be used as a guide for foreign students. The following table can give a provisional picture of the situation in MG:

Subordinator	Negation: scope	Mood	Level	Antecedent
ώστε	outside/inside	indicative/subjunctive	material consequence/logical inference	+
που	inside	indicative/subjunctive	material consequence	+
με αποτέλεσμα να	outside	subjunctive	material consequence	∅
οπότε	outside	indicative	logical inference	∅

#### References

- Álvarez, A.I. (1995): *Las construcciones consecutivas*. Madrid, Arco Libros.  
 Álvarez, A.I. (1999): "Las construcciones consecutivas". In I. Bosque & V. Demonte (eds.), vol. 3, 3739-3804.  
 Bosque, I. & V. Demonte (eds.) (1999): *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. 3 vols. Madrid, Editorial Espasa.  
 Dik, S.C. (1997), *The Theory of Functional Grammar*. 2 vols., ed. K. Hengeveld. Berlin, Gruyter.  
 Hesse, R. (2003): *Syntax of the Modern Greek Verbal System. The Use of the Forms, Particularly in Combination with θα and να*. Copenhagen, Museum Tusulanum Press.  
 Holton, D. & Mackridge, P. & Philippaki-Warbuton, I. (1997): *Greek: a comprehensive grammar of the modern language*. London, Routledge.  
 Κλαίρης, Χ. & Μπαμπινιώτης, Γ. *et alii* (1998-2001): *Γραμματική της νεας Ελληνικής. Δομολειτουργικής-επικοινωνιακής*. 4 vols. Athens, Ελληνικά Γράμματα.  
 ΛΚΝ = *Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής*, Thessaloniki.  
 Mackridge, P. (1985): *The Modern Greek Language*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.  
 Pérez Saldanya, M. (1999): "El modo en las oraciones relativas y adverbiales". In I. Bosque & V. Demonte (eds.), vol. 2, 3253-3323.  
 Τζάρτζανος, Α.Α. (1946, 1963): *Νεοελληνική Σύνταξις*. Thessaloniki, Αδερφοί Κυριακίδη.

## A vs. *en* in Spanish locatives

Juan Romeu

CCHS-CSIC Madrid

juanromeux@hotmail.com

The goal of this talk is to analyze the internal structure of locative constructions in Spanish in order to explain the contrast between the preposition *a* –associated with directional constructions – and the preposition *en* –associated with locative constructions. In particular, whereas the former can appear in locative constructions like (1a) but not (1b), the latter is fine in both.

Since Jackendoff (1973) PPs have been decomposed into Path and Place. Cartographic approaches to PPs such as Koopman (2000), den Dikken (2006) and Svenonius (2006, 2008) have further decomposed Path and Place into more specific projections.

The proposal: Building on these works, I propose that the main difference between *en* and *a* is that they encode different features so they can lexicalise different projections in the structure. More specifically, I argue that *a* lexicalises at least one projection that *en* can not spell-out. This projection encodes a semantic component that establishes that two entities (Figure and Ground, in the sense of Talmy 1975) must occupy different locations in space, i.e. they must be separated. I call this projection TerminalP, following the central/terminal coincidence opposition (since Hale 1986). To explain how TerminalP can be encoded in stative cases such as (1a) and the ones in (2), I argue that there must be a semantic component encoding the notion of ‘Distance’ in the structure, which refers to the existence of a set of points between two entities that separates them. I claim that this can be achieved in, at least, three ways: through spatial distance, by means of a scale or from pragmatic knowledge.

1. I will focus on the first way. This way corresponds to an example like (2a). In this case there exists a distance between the north and a reference point (in this case the centre) of Spain. Although the Ground is Spain, it is being divided into parts and one of them is being selected. This is different from a case in which a part of a place is being selected as the Ground independently from the place it belongs to. Consider the contrast in *Asturias está {a/en} la parte norte de España* (Asturias is {at/in} the part north of Spain). As in this case *la parte norte* is being considered as an independent Ground, it is impossible to establish a distance between that part and the “centre” of Spain. This point can be related to the *AxPart* (Axial Part: Svenonius 2006, 2008). Through the *AxPart*, this author distinguishes between *in front of the car* and *in the front of the car*.

Fábregas (2007) claims that the reason why *a* can appear in these constructions is that the Figure is in contact with one point of the boundary of the Ground. I argue that this can be explained considering that a boundary always keeps some Distance from the “centre” of the Ground. In this sense, consider the next contrast: *Está situado 20 kilómetros {a/en} el norte de Madrid*. Only the complement with *a* can be quantified because it represents a point in a line (the Distance) and not an independent point. Through this it is possible to explain why *a* is also necessary in the case of scales (next point).

2. In the second way the Distance is created by means of introducing a scale. This is represented in the example in (2b). In these cases a Distance can be created if there exists some referent point from which the point reached on the scale can be separated.

3. The third way has to do with pragmatic knowledge. It can be seen in the examples in (2c). In these cases the distance is pragmatically necessary.

I claim that all these cases have a TerminalP in the structure which encodes the Distance.

So, this analysis explains the *a/en* contrast in Spanish locative constructions. Apart from that, it can help to understand why *a* can also appear in directional constructions assuming that they all need a TerminalP in the structure. Besides, it provides a clue to solve the question about the directional (Demonte 2010) or locative (Fábregas 2007) condition of the preposition *a* in Spanish: it lexicalises projections that can be related to both.

Examples:

- (1) a. La camisa está {a/en} el fondo del cajón (The shirt is {at/in} the bottom of the drawer)
- b. Los niños están {a/en} el colegio (The kids are {at/in} the school)
- (2) a. Asturias está al norte de España. (Asturias is at the north of Spain)

- b. El agua está a cien grados (The water is at hundred degrees)
- c. Los niños ya están a la mesa (The kids already are at the table)

Selected references:

- Demonte, V. (2010): “Los eventos de movimiento en español. Construcción léxico-sintáctica y macroparámetros preposicionales”. In Juan Cuartero Otal, Luis García Fernández and Carsten Sinner (eds.): *Estudios sobre perífrasis y aspecto*. München, peniope. In press.
- Fábregas, A. (2007): “An Exhaustive Lexicalisation Account of Directional Complements”. *Nordlyd: Tromsø Working Papers on Language & Linguistics* 34/2, 165-199. //
- Hale, K. (1986): “Notes on world view and semantic categories: Some Warlpiri Examples”. In P. Muysken and H. van Riemsdijk, eds., *Features and projections*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Svenonius, P. (2006): “The emergence of axial parts”. *Nordlyd: Tromsø Working Papers in Language & Linguistics* 33/1, 49-77, *Special Issue on Adpositions* edited by P. Svenonius and -M. Pantcheva. Tromsø: University of Tromsø.
- Svenonius, P. (2008): “Spatial P in English”. CASTL, University of Tromsø.
- Talmy, L. (1975): *Semantics and syntax of Motion*. In J. Kimball (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics* vol. IV, 181-238. New York: Academic Press.

### In-situ, ex-situ, and (non)echo questions

<sup>1</sup>Anna Roussou, <sup>2</sup>Christos Vlachos & <sup>3</sup>Dimitris Papazachariou

<sup>1 2 3</sup>University of Patras

<sup>1</sup>aroussou@upatras.gr, <sup>2</sup>cvlachos@upatras.gr & <sup>3</sup>papaz@upatras.gr

It has long been argued that (non-multiple) interrogative *wh*-structures, in English-type languages, are formed as in (1a), where the *wh*-item (i.e., who) is phonetically realized at the left periphery of the clause (see, among others, Chomsky 1977, 1995; Lasnik & Saito 1992, Hagstrom 1998 and Cable 2007). On the other hand, non-interrogative, “echoic” interpretations are alleged to admit a structure such as (1b), where “who” is spelled out at its base-generated position (*wh*-echoes are illustrated in small caps and with ‘!’; see Bolinger 1978, for an early discussion, as well as Sobin 2010 and references cited therein).

- 1) a. And who do you think that she saw?
- b. He saw WHO!

(1a) and (1b) have led to the following statement: *wh*-interrogatives involve *wh*-movement, while *wh*-echoes do not.

We argue that this correlation does not necessarily hold. In particular, we draw on data from Greek (which generally patterns with English regarding the formation of *wh*-structures; see, for instance, Tsimpli 1998) which show that: a) interrogative interpretations of the form in (1a) may involve either movement (cf. (2a)) or no movement of the *wh*-item (cf. (2b); see Sinopoulou (2009) and Vlachos (2009) for an account of (2b)) and, similarly, b) echoic readings may be expressed either by no movement (cf. (3a)) or movement of the *wh*-item (cf. (3b)).

- 2) a. Ke pja nomizis oti idhe?  
And who-acc think-2sg that saw-3sg  
“And who do you think he saw?”
- b. Ke nomizis oti idhe pja?  
and think-2SG that saw-3SG who-ACC  
lit: “And you think that he saw who?”
- 3) a. Idhe PJA!  
saw-3sg who-acc  
lit: “He saw who!”
- b. PJA idhe!  
who-acc saw-3sg  
lit: “Who did he see!”

On the basis of the above data, we argue that there is no one-to-one correlation between movement and a given interpretation. At least with respect to languages like Greek, the choice between ex-situ

(‘movement’) and in-situ *wh*-constructions is freely provided by narrow syntax (cf. (2a), (3b) vs. (2b), (3a)). However, the different readings that arise are fixed at the relevant interface, i.e. LF. We also show that ex-situ and in-situ counterparts of the same core reading (cf. (2)) do not overlap in all respects: for example, (2a) can be uttered as an out-of-the blue question, while (2b) cannot (see Sinopoulou 2009, Vlachos 2009).

We further show that the echo vs. non-echo readings are marked at PF by different intonation contours. In order to support this claim we conducted an experiment that emulated the natural production of (2) and (3), in laboratory conditions (see the Appendix). Informants were asked to participate in a pre-constructed written dialogue. The structure of the particular dialogue facilitated the production of all the four possible syntactic structures under investigation, in a context that elicits these structures as naturally as possible. The results are: a) Informants produced casually all the four different structures (cf. Figures 1-4), b) (2a) and (2b) present a clear intonation contour pertaining to *wh*-questions (cf. Figures 1 & 2; see also Arvaniti 2002, 2008) and c) (3a) and (3b) present an identical intonation contour (cf. Figures 3 & 4), which is clearly distinct from that of (2a) and (2b).

In short, the constructions in (2) and (3) are quite revealing of the syntax-LF/PF interface.

#### Appendix

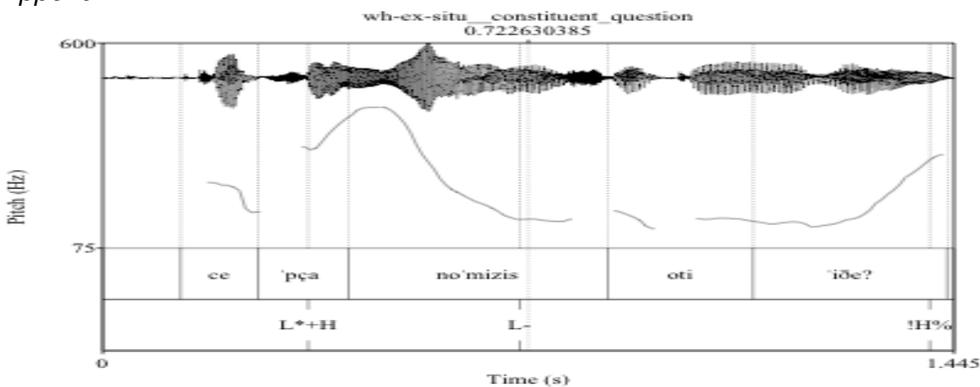


Figure 1: Intonation contour of the *wh*-ex-situ constituent question (2a) “ke pja nomizis oti idhe?” (and who do you think he saw?).

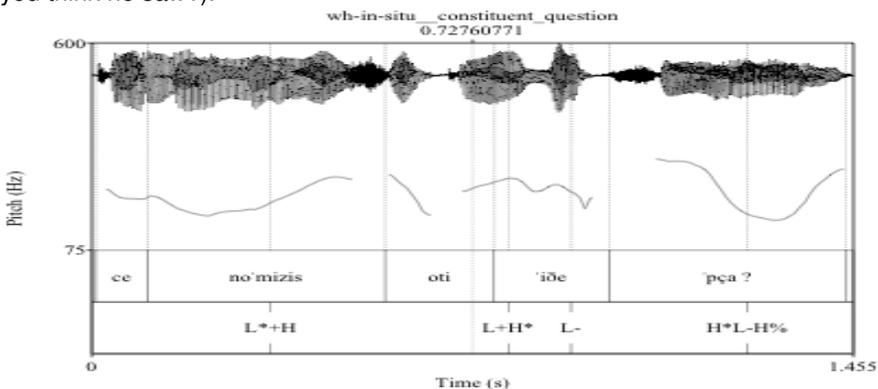


Figure 2: Intonation contour of the *wh*-in-situ constituent question (2b) “ke nomizis oti idhe pja?” (and you think he saw who?).

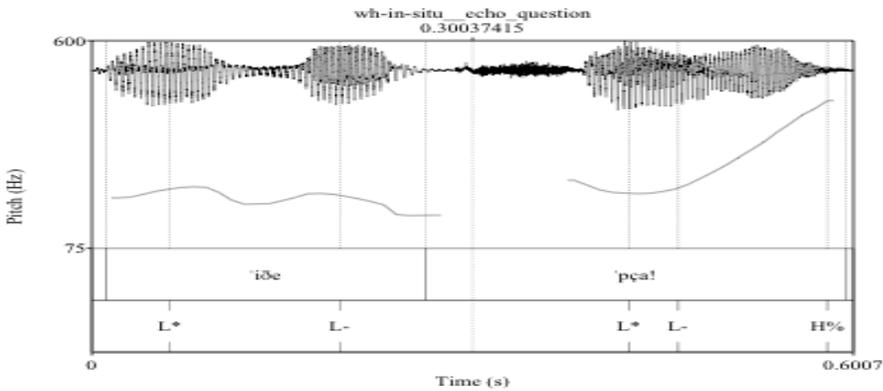


Figure 3: Intonation contour of the wh-in-situ echo question (3a) “idhe PJA?” (he saw WHO!).

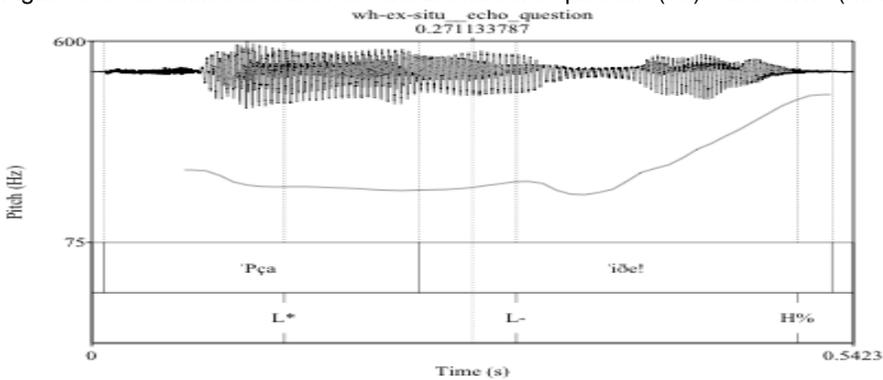


Figure 4: Intonation contour of the wh-ex-situ echo question (3b) “PJA idhe!” (WHO did he see!).

### **Mama Bear touches her’: the interpretation of pronouns, clitics and reflexives in Greek-speaking adults with Down Syndrome**

**<sup>1</sup>Eirini Sanoudaki & <sup>2</sup>Spyridoula Varlokosta**

<sup>1</sup>Bangor University & <sup>2</sup>University of Athens

<sup>1</sup>e.sanoudaki@bangor.ac.uk & <sup>2</sup>svarlokosta@phil.uoa.gr

Recent studies on the interpretation of pronominal and anaphoric elements in Down Syndrome (DS) have produced interesting but conflicting results. Specifically, English-speaking adults with DS were found to have difficulties in their comprehension of reflexives, interpreting a sentence such as ‘The girl is washing herself’ as ‘The girl is washing her’ (Perovic, 2001). They had no problems, however, with personal pronouns; sentences such as ‘The girl is washing her’ were interpreted correctly. Serbo-croatian speakers with DS show the same difficulty in their interpretation of reflexives (Perovic, 2008). In contrast, in a recent study on Greek-speaking children with DS it was observed that reflexives were not posing extra difficulty compared to other categories tested, such as pronominal clitics (Stathopoulou, 2009).

The Greek pronominal system has been shown to create interesting patterns in first language acquisition. Greek-speaking Typically Developing (TD) children appear to interpret correctly not only pronominal clitics and reflexives, as observed in many other languages, but strong pronouns as well (Varlokosta, 1999/2000), unlike what has been shown in a range of languages (Chien & Wexler, 1990). In contrast, they have problems in interpreting reflexives when there are two possible referents, one grammatical and one ungrammatical, as in the example: ‘The girl next to the woman washes herself’ (Varlokosta, 2001). Neither the interpretation of the latter structure nor that of Greek strong pronouns has been studied in individuals with DS.

The present study aims at shedding light on the linguistic abilities of Greek speakers with DS by examining their interpretation of strong pronouns, clitics, reflexives, and reflexives with two

possible referents. Using a version of the Picture Selection Task, we tested a group of seven adults with DS and a group of fourteen TD children matched to the DS group on productive vocabulary.

Our results indicate that TD children had difficulties with reflexives when there were two possible referents, while their performance on clitics and simple reflexives was at ceiling, replicating the findings of Varlokosta (1999/2000; 2001). Nonetheless, their performance on strong pronouns was significantly lower, unlike what has been reported by Varlokosta (1999/2000). Participants with DS had lower performance on strong pronouns, reflexives and reflexives with two possible referents compared to the clitic condition. In line with Perovic (2001), the DS group had poorer performance compared to the TD group on reflexives only, while there was no significant difference between the two groups in any other conditions. However, a preliminary test, using the Picture Selection Task, on 10 adults without any learning difficulties showed that Greek speakers sometimes interpret the strong pronoun 'afton/aftin' reflexively. Subsequent testing of a larger sample (18 adults total) showed that the pattern is consistent. In a further test of 10 adults using the Truth Value Judgment Task, as in Varlokosta (1999/2000), the strong pronoun 'afton/aftin' was never interpreted reflexively.

Our findings provide new information on the linguistic profile of Greek speakers with DS, while at the same time they provoke fruitful discussions regarding a number of methodological issues. Our results, in conjunction with those of Perovic (2001; 2008), create a uniform cross-linguistic profile for DS, which shows problems only with reflexives. We attempt to analyse the discrepancy between our findings and those of Stathopoulou (2009) based on methodological differences between the two studies. Similarly, in light of our new findings on the interpretation of pronouns in adults and TD children, we discuss how different experimental tasks may tap on different linguistic abilities, an issue that has only recently attracted attention in the study of pronominal reference (Baauw & Zuckerman, 2009; Conroy et al., 2009).

### **Some theoretical issues on the syllabification of a spontaneous speech corpus**

**<sup>1</sup>Fabiola Santos & <sup>2</sup>Lis Gonçalves**

*<sup>1,2</sup>ILTEC, Lisbon*

<sup>1</sup>fabiola.santos@iltec.pt & <sup>2</sup>lisdgoncalves@iltec.pt

This paper focuses, among the several problems raised by the phonetic annotation of spontaneous speech, on the specific task of dividing the continuous speech signal into syllables.

The starting point to this work was the Corp-Oral corpus which consists of 30 hours of recordings of spontaneous dialogues between speakers of standard European Portuguese. This corpus was created with the purpose of working as training data for speech synthesis systems.

The corpus was previously orthographically transcribed and in a second stage several tiers pertaining different kinds of annotation were created semi-automatically using an incremental process, in which each one derived from the previous.

These tiers consist of:

- POS tier
- Word tier
- Broad phonetic transcription (with information on stress)
- Broad phonetic syllable
- Narrow phonetic transcription
- Observations

Although all these tiers have particular difficulties associated to them, the broad phonetic syllable division raises very interesting theoretical issues.

We first start by presenting the usually accepted theories about the syllable in Portuguese and the restrictions associated with it. We then we try to show, based on the corpus' data, that what emerges in the case of spontaneous speech does not always comply with these rules.

Spoken Portuguese is known to have a high number of reduction phenomena, especially in what concerns vowels. However, our data shows that these phenomena may go beyond vowels and up to the point where a syllable may be reduced to something like a phonological feature. This is very problematic when you want to have time-aligned information since some syllables have no position in time and some positions in time are occupied by more than one syllable. Considering that one of the most used methods of speech synthesis is concatenative, meaning that units are put together to create words, this information becomes crucial. This raises one important question: what is the best way to encode this kind of information given the final objective of our corpus, or in other words, how should we represent this knowledge in such a way that is useful for a speech system?

### **Semantic clusters combined with kinematics: the case of English motion verbs**

**<sup>1</sup>Marietta Sionti, <sup>2</sup>Leonardo Claudino, <sup>3</sup>Stella Markantonatou,  
<sup>4</sup>Carolyn Rose & <sup>5</sup>Yiannis Aloimonos**

<sup>1</sup>University of Athens, <sup>2,5</sup>University of Maryland, <sup>3</sup>ISLP Athena, <sup>4</sup>Carnegie Mellon University

<sup>1</sup>marietsionti@gmail.com, <sup>2</sup>claudino@cs.umd.edu, <sup>3</sup>marks@ilsp.gr,

<sup>4</sup>cprose@cs.cmu.edu, <sup>5</sup>yiannis@cs.umd.edu

We combine linguistic knowledge from corpus data with sensorimotor data obtained experimentally in an effort to better specify the minimum conceptual representation of a motion event that distinguishes it from all other events, in order to better understand both language and perception. We use American English data as a case study, in order to extend our previous experiment in Modern Greek and enable crosslinguistic analysis. Linguistic knowledge is drawn from the existing literature and the study of corpora. Sensorimotor data are collected by measuring the behavior of speakers of American English and allow for optimal linking between embodied experience and language, since image schemas are learnt as a sequence of interrelated sensorimotor patterns (Johnson & Lakoff, 1999). These data will help to perceptually ground abstract notions, such as *transitivity*, that have traditionally been used in linguistics to study and classify verbal semantic and syntactic properties. By delineating in this way conceptual representations of motion events, we hope to both better understand semantic classifications of verbal predicates and offer a quantitative answer to long standing syntactic questions such as the distinction between “argument” vs “adjunct”, whose binary distinction has been questioned (Grimshaw, 1990; Galen, Grenager & Manning, 2004).

We draw from the extensive prior work related separately to Cognitive Science (Jackendoff, 1990; Feldman, 2006), Mirror Neurons and their impact on language (Fadiga Fadiga *et al*, 2006; Arbib, 2008; Kemmerer, 2006) and Computer Vision (Santello, 1998). This paper focuses on the collection of sensorimotor data, the clustering of motor actions and its correspondence to previous linguistic classifications of English verbs of motion (Levin, 1993; FrameNet). The detailed sensor data are analyzed to identify latent factors that represent stable patterns across the many dimensions of low level data. These factors appear as discrete sets (*synergies*) of joint angles and orientations associated with each action. They are correlated with linguistic descriptions, such as path and directionality, which were employed for the linguistic classifications of English verbs

The verbs used for the experiments fulfilled criteria such as one participant per action, including both intransitive and transitive verbs, and keeping to more literal meanings mainly due to lab limitations. In this study, sensorimotor data were collected from eight subjects, who performed 20 verbs and 17 augmented sentences (37 actions). In order to describe the prototypical behavior of each verb, we extract its average action. It is the first time that we can allocate the motor representation of each action, based on sensorimotor parameters, which can be correlated to language. These average actions are projected on two-dimensional principal component analysis plots, which visualize the groups that the captured actions form. In the middle of each plot we place the head verb of the linguistic classification and we observe whether the rest of the cluster’s verbs are coiled to the head or not, in terms of joint angles. We conclude with directions for our ongoing work, especially concerning the comparison between the results for English and Greek language.

#### References:

- Antonopoulou, E. (1987). Prototype theory and the meaning of verbs, with special reference to Modern Greek verbs of motion. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of London
- Arbib, M. A. (2008) From Grasp to Language: Embodied Concepts and the Challenge of Abstraction. *Journal of Physiology Paris* 102: pp. 4-20
- Fadiga, L., *et al.* (2006). Language in shadow. *Social Neuroscience*, 1(2): pp.77-89.
- Galen, A, Grenager. T. & Manning C. (2004). Verb Sense and Subcategorization: Using Joint Inference to Improve Performance on Complementary Tasks. *EMNLP 2004*: pp. 150-157.
- Kemmerer, D. (2006). Action verbs, argument structure constructions, and the mirror neuron system. In M. Arbib (Ed.), *Action to language via the mirror neuron system*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G.& Johnson, M. (1999). *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought*. Basic Books, New York
- Levin, B. (1993). *English Verb Classes and Alternations: A Preliminary Investigation*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL.
- Santello, M., Flanders, M., & Soechting, J.F. (1998). Postural hand synergies for tool use. *Journal of Neuroscience*, 18.

### **The song remains the same...or not? A pragmatic approach to the lyrics of rock music.**

**Angelina Sophiadi**

*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*  
asophiadi@gmail.com

This paper is concerned with the language of the lyrics of popular rock music. More specifically, it attempts to show that the use of certain pragmatic features, such as deixis, politeness strategies and, to some extent, speech acts, fluctuate in terms of frequency through time, and that this fluctuation can be connected to ordinary language use. The research involves a preliminary questionnaire to support the assumption that lyrics are particularly noticed by listeners, and the use of a concordances program, which is employed for the processing of the lyrics of 225 songs, 125 belonging to the rock music genre and 100 to pop music; The songs form groups corresponding to the five decades from the 1960's to the 2000's. The results show that there is a prominent tendency towards the use of the first person singular pronoun, which dominates the corpora of both rock and pop music in the 2000's corpus; this tendency may indicate a gradual egocentric inclination in the ordinary language as well, which may be supported by recent social and psychological studies, but must be verified with further research. Due to the problems regarding the investigation of speech acts, a more programmatic approach was undertaken, in order to indicate the dominant sentence types in the data. As expected, the most prominent sentence-type in rock lyrics is the declarative, supporting the assumption of a growing assertiveness. Additionally, there's a marked increase in the use of imperatives, coupled by a respective decrease of interrogative sentences. The potentially face threatening act expressed by means of the imperative is performed without the use of *please* and without any identity markers or certain address forms that may mitigate the weight of the act. The redressive use of endearment address forms and of the word *please* becomes gradually extinct in rock music, having only 4 instances of the former and zero of the latter in the 2000's corpus; on the other hand, pop music, probably due to its *romantic* nature, seems to be systematically employing such forms. The results imply that assertiveness is prominent in rock lyrics and that the projected power of the speaker over the hearer is increasing, leaving less room for politeness strategies. However, the need for further research is stressed; although there is a vast amount of literature on popular music in terms of poetry, content, politics, ideology and society, the pragmatic aspect of this type of language in use has been somehow overlooked due to the obvious hindrances discussed. The findings of this paper, though, indicate that there may be a connection between shifts in the use of certain pragmatic features of song lyrics and potential shifts in relevant aspects of ordinary language.

## Implementing CLIL in a tertiary setting: Research on learners' attitudes and perceptions

**Evangelia Soulioti**  
University of Ioannina  
e.soulioti@gmail.com

Content Language and Integrated Learning has become major educational policy promoted by the EU in reference to language learning. CLIL encompasses "any dual-focused educational context in which any additional language is used as a medium in the teaching and learning of non-language context". This paper presents the findings of a research into the attitudes and perceptions of students in a formal tertiary education setting towards CLIL implementation.

For the scope of the paper, based on the data of a pilot study, a revised questionnaire was created and distributed to sixty undergraduate students in the Speech and Language Therapy Department of Epirus Institute of Technology in Greece. The participants attended an ESP course mainly based on CLIL strategies, yet all content courses are taught in the first language and there is no integration of contents and foreign language.

The purpose of this paper is twofold: first to gain insight into students' attitudes and perceptions regarding certain CLIL instructional strategies the teacher has already implemented in the ESP course and second to explore their reactions and perceptions regarding possible full CLIL implementation across the curriculum. In this respect this paper discusses ways to implement CLIL in tertiary settings, taking simultaneously into account several limitations: the teaching situation, students' level of English proficiency, materials and aids, formal syllabus and curriculum. Finally it hopes to provide diagnostic feedback that will aid in the improvement of ESP course design, as well as useful data to underpin further development of the existing foreign language syllabi and curricula in higher education.

### Focus and the Cycle

**Giorgos Spathas**  
g.spathas@gmail.com

This paper discusses the interaction between information structure and prosody. Its main claim is that the domains of evaluation of the relevant information structural notion correspond to syntactic cycles. The economy principle regulating the amount of F-marking should be localized accordingly. *Focus theory*. I assume that stress assignment is read off the distribution of F(ocus)-features on syntactic structures and that the distribution of F-features is determined by information packaging. As in [1] the only relevant notion is Givenness in (1) (where Existential F-Closure is the result of substituting F-marked elements with existentially bound variables of the same type), evaluated according to (4). Competing syntactic representations are subject to the economy principle in (2). The stress assignment rules in (3) (cf. [2]) regulate the mapping from syntactic representations to accent. *Domains of focus*. [1] assumes that Givenness is evaluated for every constituent in a sentence, and that the stress assignment rules in (3) are evaluated at the sentence level. I call the domains of evaluation of Givenness *domains of focus (FDs)*, and domains of evaluation of the stress assignment rules *domains of prosody*. Wagner (2005) maintains (4), but argues for independent reasons that the domains of prosody correspond to syntactic cycles. I present two arguments that FDs are subject to the same locality requirement. *Complex DPs*. Consider (5) in a context in which it is common knowledge between the interlocutors that Oscar and Max are brothers. Since *Max* and *Zelda* are not Given, (4) forces the syntactic structure in (6). According to (3), (6) corresponds to (5B2), the infelicitous pattern. The problem with (6) is that *Max* is an FD. If, instead, the relevant FD is just *Max's mother*, no F-marking is needed since *Max's mother* corefers with *Oscar's mother*. The syntactic structure in (7), correctly predicts the pattern in (5B1). The account also predicts that the pattern will be reversed in a context in which Oscar and Max are not brothers, since, in that case, *Max's mother* is not Given and F-marking is forced. *Verb phrases*.

Consider (8). Since *Zelda* is Given and *praised Zelda* is not, (4) forces the syntactic structure in (9). According to (3), however, (9) corresponds to the infelicitous (8B2). The problem with (9) is that *praised* and *Zelda* are both FDs. If, instead, the VP *praised Zelda* is the relevant FD, the only option is to F-mark the VP-node, as in (10). (3b), then, applies within the VP generating the felicitous (8B1). The obligatoriness of focus on the subjects in examples (5) and (8) indicates that sentences should be FDs too. (4), then, should be replaced with (11). *The cycle*. The FDs in (11) correspond to Wagner's domains of prosody and (11) should be re-written as in (12). I, thus, have provided evidence for a focus theory in which all relevant principles apply recursively and the local domain of their application corresponds to the syntactic cycle.

- (1) An Utterance U counts as Given iff it has a salient antecedent A and i. modulo  $\exists$ -type shifting, A entails the Existential F-closure of U, ii. if U is of type e, A and U corefer.
- (2) If  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are syntactic representations of an Utterance U that are both Given, and the Existential F-closure of  $\alpha$  entails the Existential F-closure of  $\beta$ , pick  $\alpha$ . (based on Heim's (1991) Maximize Presupposition, cf. [3])
- (3) i. F-marked constituents are stronger than non-F-marked constituents.  
ii. Within an F-marked constituent, assign accent to the right-most constituent.
- (4) If a constituent is not F-marked, it must be Given.
- (5) A: Lucie called Oscar's mother. (6) [*Zelda*]<sub>F</sub> called [*Max*]<sub>F</sub>'s mother.  
B1: No, ZELDA called Max's mother. (7) [*Zelda*]<sub>F</sub> called Max's mother.  
B2: No, ZELDA called MAX's mother. #
- (8) A: What did Zelda's father do? (9) He [[*praised*]<sub>F</sub> *Zelda*]<sub>F</sub>  
B1: He praised ZELDA. (10) He [*praised Zelda*]<sub>F</sub>  
B2: He PRAISED Zelda. #
- (11) If complex DPs, VPs and CPs are not F-marked, they must be Given.
- (12) If a cyclic node is not F-marked, it must be Given.

Selected References.

- Schwarzschild, R. 1999. GIVENness, AvoidF and other constraints on the placement of accent. *Natural Language Semantics* 7:141-177.
- Büring, D. 2008. What's new (and what's given) in the theory of focus? to appear in the Proceedings of BLS 2008.

### **What critical discourse analysis can offer to the sociolinguistic study of mass culture: The case of youth language in Greek TV commercials**

**Anastasia Stamou**  
*University of Western Macedonia*  
astamou@uowm.gr

The way sociolinguistic phenomena such as linguistic variation are mediated through mass cultural texts has only recently attracted the interest of sociolinguistics, which has traditionally focused on "naturally occurring" linguistic data as collected from face-to-face interactions. Yet, given the central role of mass culture in the formation of late modern social reality, such texts constitute the major vehicle through which (linguistically indexed) variation is constructed and consumed, and this is "sufficient reason to treat mediation as a core sociolinguistic domain" (Coupland 2009: 297).

Determining the extent to which media representations of linguistic varieties diverge from supposedly "authentic" instances of language use as found in everyday communicative events seems to be one of the key concerns in the relevant literature. According to Androutsopoulos (2010: 48), this contrastive practice is characterized by "reflection fallacy", namely the belief that texts (must) mirror sociolinguistic reality. Yet, the "linguistic turn" in the social sciences (e.g. Fairclough 1999) has led to the recognition of the role of discourse in shaping rather than reflecting the world "out there". Furthermore, a search for accuracy and "realism" in the representation of linguistic variation is not always intended (Bell 1992). Therefore, through practices of selection and transformation, the depiction of linguistic varieties resonates specific ideologies about language and social reality.

Drawing upon empirical data from Greek TV commercials which construct images of youth language, the aim of this presentation is to enrich the relevant discussion by exploring what messages —besides those concerning the advertised product— advertising transmits about society, namely what O’Barr (1994) characterizes as “the secondary discourse of advertising”. In our case, this discourse includes messages about the way young people speak and how they are constructed as a social group.

Therefore, the theoretical resource of “critical discourse analysis” (CDA) is employed (e.g. Fairclough & Wodak 1997; Van Dijk 1993). CDA has underlined the ideological role of language (e.g. the use of passive syntax as a mechanism of agency mystification) in the way the media and other public texts (e.g. political, educational discourse) shape particular representations of the world. Up to now, CDA research has focused on various aspects of social reality (e.g. immigration, nationalism, gender roles). Albeit being a social theory of language, CDA has not much examined the representation of language use (as an aspect of social reality) and the (language) ideologies knitted to this representation. Moreover, the quite few CDA studies exploring the depiction of linguistic behavior and the language ideologies attached to it have focused on informational (e.g. Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou 2003) rather than on entertaining genres of mass culture. According to Androutsopoulos (2010), this concentration of CDA on “serious” texts has led to the study of monoglossia (i.e. the linguistic variety spoken in the public sphere), and not of polyphony (i.e. the range of linguistic varieties spoken in the private sphere). Consequently, the present study aims to contribute to the reconciliation of issues related to a social constructionist theory of language, as CDA is, with questions concerning more traditional social approaches to language (i.e. linguistic variation), as variationist sociolinguistics is.

Specifically, by exploiting tools from the “Systemic Functional Grammar” of Halliday (1994), such as lexicalization, transitivity patterns, personal deixis and evaluation, I investigate the way young people and their patterns of speech are represented in the advertising text. The analysis indicates that Greek TV commercials reproduce the dominant construction of youth as incomplete adulthood and the hegemonic standard language ideology. Consequently, it confirms that contemporary marketing practices such as TV commercials, which are supposed to be about or for young people, are crafted in order to infiltrate and sell back to both young and adult consumers hegemonic representations of youth.

### **The linguistic characteristics of written mediation tasks**

**Maria Stathopoulou**  
*University of Athens*  
mastathop@enl.uoa.gr

Interested in mediation performance of Greek speakers of English, the purpose of this paper is to systematically analyze and describe mediation tasks included in the national exams for language proficiency, known as *Kratiko Pistopiitiko Glossomathias* (KPG). Focusing on *writing* task description and analysis, the questions my paper attempts to answer are what differentiates mediation tasks across levels and what types of tasks are appropriate for which level. Actually, this study constitutes part of a larger research project aiming at the investigation of what counts as successful mediation performance at different levels of language competence.

Within the KPG context, mediation entails providing information from a source text that an interested party has no access to, or explaining a message contained in a text to someone who does not understand it (Dendrinos, 2006). While mediating, candidates are required to select which messages of the source text serve the purposes of a specific communicative encounter so as to relay them appropriately and accurately in the target language. Their linguistic choices are thus determined by the type of tasks at hand, the characteristics of which are discussed in the present paper. Specifically, the tasks have been described and analyzed in terms of their Topic, Text type, Generic Process, Discourse environment, Writer-Audience Roles, Communicative purpose, and Lexicogrammar. These parameters have actually been included in a model for task description and analysis developed by the RCEL<sup>1</sup> team (known as the Task Analysis Model) and used for the

purposes of this study.<sup>2</sup> The results of the written mediation task description contribute to an understanding of what types of tasks are appropriate for each level and lead us to decide through what types of tasks mediation performance can be tested at each level. This study may prove useful for mediation item writers and for teachers and prospective KPG candidates.

Key words: written mediation, mediation task, task description

Reference:

Dendrinos, B. 2006. Mediation in Communication, Language Teaching and Testing. *Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 22: 9-35

<sup>1</sup> Acronym standing for the Research Centre for English Language Teaching, Testing and Assessment, University of Athens.

<sup>2</sup> See Kondyli and Lykou (2009) for a detailed description of the TAM model and its theoretical principles: <http://rcel.enl.uoa.gr/periodical/index.htm>

## Investigating experienced EFL teachers' beliefs

**Evdokia Stergiopoulou**

*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

este@mycosmos.gr

Teachers' beliefs about language learning and teaching are an important concept to research as they affect the teachers' decisions when teaching (Johnson, 1994; Richards, 1998). Research has focused on how teachers' beliefs are formed (e.g. Johnson, 1994) and on whether beliefs that prove to be inconsistent with the reality of the classroom can change (e.g. Weinstein, 1990, Brown and McGannon, 1998). Studies have mainly targeted the beliefs of inexperienced teachers and the effects of pre-service training on their beliefs (e.g. Joram and Gabrielle, 1998). There are also studies which compare the beliefs held by experienced and inexperienced teachers (e.g. Mok, 1994; Peacock, 2001). I think that beliefs, change, and training are concepts that need to be further examined if we want to help teachers to improve.

This presentation is on the study I am conducting for my PhD. The focus of the study is to examine the type of influence

- a) participation in in-service teacher education seminars and
- b) teaching experience

have on experienced Greek state school teachers of ELT (English Language Teaching) about foreign language learning and foreign language teaching. Research in this area has implications for both policy and practice in teacher education, curriculum development, and educational management (Calderhead, 1996; Fullan, 2001) and I am particularly interested in its effects on teacher training and development.

References

Brown J. and McGannon, J., 1998. 'What do I know about Language Learning? The Story of the Beginning Teacher.' <http://www.arts.usyd.edu.au/departs/langcent/alaa/proceed/bro-mcgan.html> (Accessed December 2003)

Calderhead, J. 1996. 'Teachers: Beliefs and Knowledge.' In: Berliner, D.C. and Calfee, R.C. (Eds.) *Handbook of Educational Psychology*. New York: Simon and Schuster Macmillan

Fullan, M. 2001. *The New Meaning of Educational Change*. (3<sup>rd</sup> edition) London: Routledge Falmer

Johnson, K.E. 1994. 'The Emerging Beliefs and Instructional Practices of Pre-Service English Second Language Teachers.' *Teaching and Teacher Education*. 10/4: 439-452

## Self-evaluation of English as a foreign language pronunciation and language anxiety

**Magdalena Szyszka**

*Foreign Language Teacher Training College in Opole, Poland*

mszyszka@nkjo.opole.pl

There is no doubt that a foreign language anxiety influences the way students speak in a foreign language (Aydın, 2009, after Smith and Racine, 2003; Philips, 1992; Young, 1986) at least at intermediate and advanced levels (Saito & Samimy, 1996). What is more, Gardner & MacIntyre (1993) state a correlation between anxiety and self-assessment proficiency on the speaking skill. Another study (Horwitz, 1986) also indicates the relation between how a learner evaluates his/her foreign language skills and the level of anxiety. Referring to the self-efficacy theory Daley et al. (1999) claim that a student's belief system influences several factors, among others task success in a foreign language acquisition. However, little is known about the relationship between language anxiety and the way students self-evaluate one of the integral components of the speaking skill – pronunciation. The purpose of the paper is to present the results of the study investigating the relationship between foreign language anxiety and students' self-evaluation of their pronunciation of English as a foreign language. Teacher training college students studying to become English teachers in Poland are surveyed with the use of a foreign language anxiety scale (FLAS) developed by Horwitz et al. (1986) to measure their level of foreign language anxiety. The levels of students' foreign language anxiety are correlated with the results of another survey focusing on students' self-evaluation of their English pronunciation perception and production.

## Verbs and Events in Discourse: A Synergy

**Alexandros Tantos**

*University of Crete*

atantos@gmail.com

Verbal semantics has been shown a useful resource for reconstructing not only the semantics of whole sentences, but also of inferring relations between larger pieces of text. One of the most well studied cases of verbs which has been useful to textual-discourse inference and interoperation is the case of causative verbs. As Asher and Lascarides (1995), Danlos (2001a,b) and Tantos (2008, 2009) point out, lexical items have the power to simplify discourse inference and explain the ease with which we resolve ambiguities and construct the meaning of discourse. This paper aims to prove that it is not only important but also essential to include such lexically triggered information within the analyses of discourses, since otherwise the coherence of smaller or larger discourses cannot be explained. Consider the example below:

- (1) 1 Yesterday John broke the carafe. 2 Its pieces were lying all over the floor and 3 it was such an elegant carafe. 4 He was deep in his thoughts 5 while he was walking up and down the room and 6 hit it with his knee.<sup>1</sup>

It seems we are able to pick up and talk about parts of the event of breaking.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, these parts are well-defined and they are related to the cause and result of the breaking event, they are not arbitrary spatiotemporal bits of information and they influence discourse coherence. In (1), the Elementary Discourse Unit (EDU) 1 refers to an event of breaking with an agent and a theme. 2 elaborates on the state of the broken carafe and 3 comments on a property of the theme in 1, before the breaking took place. 4 and 5 give background information and 6 elaborates on the cause of the breaking state. Furthermore, 6 is related to 1 elaborates on the cause and not on the result of the breaking. If one does not take for granted the presence of EDUs triggered by lexical items, the verb break in (1), there is no obvious way of explaining:

- a) why we interpret that EDU 2 refers to a state initiated well after the initiation of the state of John being-deep-in-thoughts in 4 and the state of walking-up-and-down-the-room.
- b) why we interpret that 2 elaborates on 1 and at the same time 4 and 5 provide background information on 1 while both (2,4 and 5) being states related to 1.

c) why we can resolve the anaphor it in 6) with the *carafe* in EDU 1, when the Right Frontier Constraint (RFC) is violated.<sup>3</sup>

The solution I suggest is to include lexical labels in the repository of discourse theories and assign them a special status due to their implicit presence. By implicit presence I mean that their presence is not marked by any sort of explicit marker and is explicated only when discourse inference and interpretation is pursued. Following work by Danlos (2001a, b) and mainly by Tantos (2008, 2009) I claim that lexical EDUs are present in discourse inference and carry typed information, but these EDUs should not be constrained in the same way that other EDUs are. In (1) the verb *break* inserts two lexical EDUs, 1a and 1b, which are not subject to the RFC and, thus, they are accessible to EDUs 2, 4 5 and 6. Moreover, EDU 1 is still present and accessible to other EDUs following the standard rules of discourse inference. That is why EDU 3 has access to it and comments on the *carafe* independently of the cause and result of breaking. If EDU 1 were not present and all there were were the lexical EDUs, it would be incoherent to talk about the *carafe* with no mention to the event of breaking (cause and result). In other words, verbs insert lexical EDUs without disturbing the segmentation of the discourse.

By acknowledging the existence of lexically triggered information, we are in the position to explain in a natural way why these discourses are interpreted easily by human interpreters without resorting to heavy inference machinery about possible event connections.

#### References

- Asher, Nicholas and Alex Lascarides. 1995. Lexical disambiguation in a discourse context. *Journal of Semantics* 12(1):69–108.
- Danlos, Laurence. 2001a. Event coreference between two sentences. In H. Bunt and R. Muskens, eds., *Computing Meaning 2*. Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Danlos, Laurence. 2001b. Event coreference in causal discourses. In P. Bouillon and F. Busa, eds., *The Language of Word Meaning*. Cambridge University Press.
- Tantos, A. 2008. *Computing Events in Discourse: A Case Study Involving Light “have”*. PhD Dissertation, Konstanzer Online-Publikations- System (KOPS), Konstanz.
- Tantos A. 2009. Lexically Triggered Discourse Relations. In *Selected Papers from the 18th International Symposium on Theoretical and Applied Linguistics*, Anastasios Tsangalidis (eds.), Dept of English Language and Literature, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki [ISBN 978-960-98711-1-2].

<sup>1</sup>Numbers represent elementary discourse units (EDU henceforth) or else the segments on which the information is processed within a discourse.

<sup>2</sup>We are also able to talk about properties of the participants of an event. However, this has always been considered part of discourse processing of salient entities.

<sup>3</sup>It violates RFC, since EDU 6 cannot be related to 1 due to the fact that it is not in an accessible attachment site. For more on RFC, cf. Asher and Lascarides (2003).

## **Tonal alignment of the Cypriot Greek prenuclear accent**

**Charalambos Themistocleous**

*University of Athens*

themistocleous@gmail.com

This paper examines the factors that influence the alignment of the L\*+H prenuclear accent in Cypriot Greek (CG). It reports a production experiment investigating two hypotheses (a) that the distance between L and H tonal targets is fixed (c.f. Pierrehumbert & Silverman, 1990) and (b) that the L and H tonal targets associate to specific acoustic landmarks of the segmental string (Schepman, Lickley and Ladd 2006). In the experiment it was found that the L tonal target aligns with the second half of the syllable onset, while the H tonal target aligns with the right edge of the poststressed syllable that coincides with the right edge of the phonological word. The results show that the CG L and H tonal targets align with specific phonological domains: the syllable onset and the syllable nucleus respectively. Syllable boundaries are overt to prosodic rules of alignment even when postlexical rules such as resyllabification apply. The results corroborate a “phonological theory of

domains” manifesting that prosodic units associate to the constituents of the phonological structure such as the syllable. Consequently, the results do not confirm “a phonetic theory” that associates pitch accents to acoustic features, such as landmarks of low amplitude in the segmental string. Lastly, the results show that the L\*+H CG prenuclear accent is similar in many respects to the Standard Greek prenuclear pitch accent (cf. Arvaniti, Ladd and Mennen 2000, Arvaniti 2007, Θεμιστοκλέους and Κυριάκου 2010).

#### References

- Arvaniti, A. (2007) Greek Phonetics: The State of the Art. *Journal of Greek Linguistics*, 8, 97-208.
- Arvaniti, A., R. Ladd & I. Mennen. 2000. What is a starred tone? Evidence from Greek. In *Papers in Laboratory Phonology*, eds. M. Broe, Pierrehumbert & Janet, 119-131. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schepman, A., R. Lickley & D. R. Ladd (2006) Effects of vowel length and "right context" on the alignment of Dutch nuclear accents. *Journal of Phonetics*, 34, 1-28.
- Θεμιστοκλέους, Χ. & Σ. Κυριάκου. 2010. Επιδράσεις της κατανομής λεξικού τονισμού στην ευθυγράμμιση του τόνου ορίου στην Κυπριακή Ελληνική. In *5th Athens Postgraduate Conference of the Faculty of Philology National and Kapodistrian University of Athens 29-31 May 2009*, eds. E. Vrynioti, A. Georgakopoulos, C. Themistocleous, C. Kontonikolis, V. Kousoulini, A. Papadopoulou, N. Stamatelopoulos, G. Fragaki & N. Fragouli. Athens: University of Athens.

### **The use of pictures in L2 vocabulary learning: Measuring the processing of forms and meanings**

**<sup>1</sup>Derek Theriault & <sup>2</sup>Pavel Trofimovich**

*<sup>1</sup>College of the North Atlantic & <sup>2</sup>Concordia University*

*<sup>1</sup>derek.theriault@cna-qatar.edu.qa & <sup>2</sup>pavel.trofimovich@concordia.ca*

One issue central to second language (L2) vocabulary learning is a “beginner paradox” (Cody, 1997). How can beginners acquire vocabulary in a meaningful way (e.g., through reading) if they do not know enough words? A common technique for teaching new words to beginners is through pictures. Although there is some research in this area (e.g., Chun & Plass, 1996), it is still unclear. Our objective was to examine pictures in word learning.

We tested 18 English speakers with no knowledge of Spanish (learners) and 18 Spanish speakers (controls). All participants studied 24 new Spanish words presented three times with pictures, and then performed two reaction-time tasks. In the form processing task, they saw the 24 words (with 24 foils) and indicated which words they had seen during study. In translation meaning processing task, they saw the 24 words paired with either correct, semantically similar or incorrect translations, and indicated whether the translation was correct.

The learners learned the 24 words to a high degree of accuracy (86% correct). Moreover, the learners and the controls were equally fast in recognizing recently studied words (795 vs. 790 ms), and were both slower (110 vs. 135 ms) in responding to semantically similar than to correct translations. These results show that the learners could access both the forms and the meanings of novel words, and suggest that the use of pictures is a quick and efficient technique for committing words to memory. We discuss pedagogical implications.

### **Where the glide meets the palatals**

**<sup>1</sup>Nina Topintzi & <sup>2</sup>Mary Baltazani**

*<sup>1</sup>MIT & <sup>2</sup>University of Ioannina*

*<sup>1</sup>topintzi@enl.auth.gr & <sup>2</sup>mbaltaz@cc.uoi.gr*

This paper revisits a famous conundrum in Greek phonology, namely that of “the glide [j]”, which sometimes behaves as an allophone of /i/ (1) and sometimes as a phoneme distinct from it (2) (Deligiorgis 1987, Holton 1997, Householder 1964, Kazazis 1968, Koutsoudas 1962, Malavakis

1984, Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman 1990, Nyman 1981, Rytting 2005, Setatos 1974, Warburton 1976).

(1) *[i]~[j] alternations*

'po.ði	"foot"	'po.ðja	"feet"
ðo.'ka.ri	"girder"	ðo.'kar.ja	"girders"
'ma.ti	"eye"	'ma.tça	"eyes"

(2) *[i]~[j] contrast*

'a.ði.a	"permission"	'a.ðja	"empty-FEM-NOM-SG"
vi.'a.zo.me	"raped"	'vja.zo.me	"be in a hurry"

Common denominator in most previous accounts of the glide's behaviour is the appeal to diachrony (given that the glide historically evolved from [i]) or to diglossia (since in cases of alternation, [i] is considered more part of the purified *katharevusa*, whereas the glide as part of the colloquial *dhimotiki*). While it is true that both factors are influential to an extent, we argue that much of the data can be understood synchronically utilizing grammatical considerations only. We propose that the surface glide (with its various manifestations, e.g. *j*, *ç*, *ɲ*, due to assimilation processes) actually maps to either underlying /i/ or to underlying glide /J/ (capital J is used to draw attention to its variable phonetic realization). The former mapping is supported by [i]~[J] alternations (cf. (1)); the latter by minimal pairs such as the ones in (2). This analysis is schematized in (3). Note that this structure is not unprecedented. It is exploited in Karuk, Pulaar and Sundanese (Levi 2008).

(3) *The phonological representation of [i] and the glide*



We further claim that the interaction of phonology with morphology can partly explain certain patterns relevant to the presence, e.g. [pe'ði] - [pe'ðju] "child" vs. absence of the glide, e.g. [pe'ðio] - [pe'ðiu] "field", within the paradigm. We show that making recourse to different morphological classes and notions such as paradigm uniformity bears the desired results.

An additional extension of our account is the analysis of the palatals, which beyond some phonetic studies (Nicolaidis 2003, Arvaniti 2007), have received insufficient phonological attention. Like earlier descriptions, we agree that palatals are derived sounds, but unlike them, we suggest that palatals are the product of two different palatalization processes. Cases in (4) are simply allophones of velars due to *simple* palatalization, but those in (5) – which seemingly contrast phonemically with the velars – are treated as the output of *extreme* palatalization (Bateman 2007). This process involves underlying sequences of /velars + glide/ and absorption of the latter into the now palatalized preceding consonant. This claim not only reconciles the superficially conflicting nature of palatals as both allophones of velars and distinct phonemes, but also melds neatly with the analysis of the Greek glide.

(4) *Palatals as allophones of velars*

ce'ri	*keri	"candle"	ka'la	"good"
'cipos	*kipos	"garden"	'kupa	"cup"

(5) *Palatals contrast with velars*

[kali] - [cali]	"beauty" - "binocular"
[ya'ti]-[ja'ti]	"cat" - "why"
[xoni]-[çoni]	"shove"- "snow"

## Contact sessions in a distance TESOL programme: students' perspectives

Dina Tsagari

University of Cyprus

dinatsa@ucy.ac.cy

The value of including student perspectives in identifying current issues of independent learning and learner autonomy occupies a central place in distance education (White, 1997). Learners' perspectives is central in this paper as it constitutes the core data of a research study that examined the role of contact sessions (Agboola, 1993; Papaefthymiou-Lytra, 2001; Vasilou-Papageorgiou, 2001) as part of a course delivery system in distance education for adults in a formal education system. More specifically, in this paper I present findings of the research study that investigated how a group of Greek EFL teachers enrolled in a course of a distance TESOL programme acquire and develop attitudes and skills essential for self-direction and self-control of their learning during their contact meetings. The method of data collection used was reflective learning journals that students kept at the end of their contact sessions throughout their academic year to monitor their learning in the course. The qualitative analysis of the results based on a sociocultural frame indicated that contact sessions built in a distance learning course are beneficial in that they help students orientate their study, discover new and interesting ways for improving their learning and encourage them to share their own experience with their peers thus keeping the students' motivation and morale high and helping them successfully complete their programme of study.

## The Greek Perfective Non-Past in Crosslinguistic Perspective

<sup>1</sup>Anastasios Tsangalidis & <sup>2</sup>Eleni Valma

<sup>1</sup>Aristotle University of Thessaloniki & <sup>2</sup>Université Lille 3

<sup>1</sup>atsangal@enl.auth.gr & <sup>2</sup>evalma@vjf.cnrs.fr

The 'incompatibility' of the (semantic) features [present] and [perfective] across languages has been variously noted in the literature on Tense and Aspect, from, e.g., Comrie (1976: 66-68) to Malchukov 2009 and has been proposed as an explanation for a general unavailability of 'perfective presents', or at least as a prediction for the relative absence of the perfective/imperfective opposition in the case of present tenses.

This tendency seems to contrast sharply with the obvious productivity of perfective non-past (or, arguably, present) marking in the case of all non-stative verbs in (Modern) Greek. The contrast is perhaps mollified by the great number of restrictions on the use of the relevant forms: most importantly, a PNP cannot function as the verb of a main clause (unless accompanied by a modal particle, thus participating in the so-called 'future' and 'subjunctive' periphrases); moreover, it can also appear in a number of embedded contexts and, then, it can never be interpreted as a 'true' present: time reference can be generally 'non-past' (including future, anterior, habitual) – however it can never actually coincide with the moment of speech.

The situation is further complicated in view of the history of the relevant forms and the implication of modal categories and concepts such as 'subjunctive' and 'irrealis'. Another interesting feature, often noted in the literature on language acquisition, involves the use of the relevant forms by children (during early stages) as main clause verbs (expressing either future time reference or some modal concept) despite the unavailability of any such use in adult language. In any event, however, what is constant is unavailability of temporal reference to the moment of speech.

In this paper it will be argued that the properties of PNP in Greek follow directly from the content of the relevant cross-linguistic categories, assuming that there exist general grammatical *types* (in the sense of Bybee & Dahl 1989; Bybee et al. 1994), such as 'perfective' and 'non-past', which may be instantiated by particular morphemes in a language; moreover, a number of historical and typological questions also find their answers in the context of the Balkan *Sprachbund*, once the properties of similar forms in other languages within the same group are taken into account.

## **The production of L2 aspirated stops by Greek learners of English: assessing the effect of pronunciation instruction to students of different ages**

**Eleni Tsiartsioni**

*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*  
eltsiart@enl.auth.gr

One of the differences between the Greek and English phonetic systems lies in the production of /p, t, k/ sounds. In English these sounds are produced as voiceless aspirated with long VOT values (Lisker and Abramson 1964), whereas in Greek they are produced as voiceless unaspirated with relatively short VOT (Arvaniti 1987, 2001, Fourakis 1986, Nicolaidis 2002, Panagopoulos 1972). Although a number of studies have previously examined L2 English VOT produced by speakers of various language backgrounds, the vast majority of these studies investigated speakers who acquired the L2 in a second language context (for example, Caramazza et al 1973, Williams 1979, Major 1987, Flege 1991, Flege and Eefting 1987) and also very few of them investigated the effect of teaching on the production of this phonetic feature (for example Reis and Nobre-Oliveira 2008, Aliaga-Garcia and Mora 2008). The present study examines the effect of teaching on L2 English aspirated stops produced by Greek learners who acquire English in a foreign language setting. For the purposes of the present study, speech samples were collected twice, once before and once after a teaching intervention. Two groups of speakers participated in the recordings, an experimental group of 36 students (12 students of 10 years old, 12 students of 13 years old and 12 students of 16 years old) who received the pronunciation teaching intervention and a control group of 36 students who did not receive special pronunciation instruction. L1 Greek and L1 English data were also obtained from speakers of the same ages. The teaching intervention followed the five stages for pronunciation teaching proposed by Celce-Murcia et al (1996), which comprised a series of activities ranging from controlled to communicative ones. The main aims of the present study are to investigate (a) the effect of pronunciation instruction in a foreign language context and (b) the role of speakers' age in L2 pronunciation learning.

In order to assess students' performance and their potential improvement after teaching, apart from group means and statistical analyses, the 'native-likeness' criterion was used. According to this criterion (also adopted in Birdsong 2007 and in Flege et al 1992) we estimated the number of students whose average VOT falls within one standard deviation from the average L1 English VOT values. The application of the native-likeness criterion identified four types of VOT production in L2 English: Greek-like VOT, intermediate VOT between Greek and English, English-like VOT and longer VOT than that of English. The percentage of stop tokens belonging to each of these categories was also estimated. The overall results revealed an improvement for the experimental, but not for the control groups. In particular, interference from L1 Greek was prevalent before instruction, as most students produced Greek-like unaspirated stops. After teaching there was a statistically significant increase in the VOT values of the experimental but not of the control groups. Also a greater number of students and a greater percentage of stop tokens belonged to the English native-like range after teaching than before teaching. The application of the native-likeness criterion further revealed considerable individual variation for the speakers of the experimental group after instruction. As far as speakers' age is concerned, the experimental groups of all ages showed a positive effect of teaching, while a tentative advantage of the 10-year-old group was revealed by the data. Overall, this study reports a positive effect of pronunciation instruction on the production of aspirated stops, however the great individual variability suggests that systematic target-like production of stops for all places of articulation constitutes a challenging goal.

## Linguistic structure and narrative quality in child L1 production

<sup>1</sup>Ianthi Maria Tsimpli, <sup>2</sup>Maria Papakonstantinou & <sup>3</sup>Ageliki Nicolopoulou

<sup>1&2</sup>Aristotle University of Thessaloniki & <sup>3</sup>Lehigh University

<sup>1</sup>imt@enl.auth.gr, <sup>2</sup>mpapakon@enl.auth.gr & <sup>3</sup>agn3@lehigh.edu

The development of narratives is largely associated with and evaluated by the development of character reference and maintenance, since the given/new opposition is a universal principle of discourse organization (Vion & Colas, 1999; Hickmann & Hendriks, 1999). Character reference and maintenance lies at an interface, since not only grammar, but discourse sensitivity and Theory of Mind (awareness of what the listener knows) also need to be in place (Chafe, 1976). Another linguistic property of narratives which is also subject to development is the use of co-ordination and subordination of phrases and clauses, coordination typically preceding subordination in narratives (cf. de Villiers, 1982).

Languages differ in the mechanisms they employ to introduce and maintain reference. In languages which make a definite/indefinite distinction, a referent mentioned for the first time in discourse is introduced with an indefinite nominal. In second mention, a definite nominal or a pronominal can be used to maintain reference. In null subject languages, such as Greek and Italian, second mention of a previously established discourse referent may involve the use of a null pronominal subject. Language-specific properties of subordination and coordination, i.e. connectives and conjunctions which may be more or less transparent in their function, provide us with additional measurements of complexity in the narrative development of children. Previous studies for Greek on the development of subordination focus on the distinction between temporal and non-temporal adverbials (Kantzou, 2010; Kati & Kantzou, 2004) but do not deal with character reference and maintenance.

In the present study, ninety-six typically developing Greek children divided in four age groups (3;6-6;6) were included. The method used was an elicited story-telling task based on four different stories comprising four pictures each. Two methods of picture presentation were employed for narrative elicitation: a) the booklet and b) the card method. Previous studies on the differences in picture presentation methods report that card presentation reinforces referent givenness more than the booklet method (cf. Vion & Colas, 1999). Three memory tasks were also administered for independent measurements of verbal memory abilities in order to examine possible relations between narrative performance and attention resources. Specifically, the digit span task (WISC-III, 1997), the 'animal' span task (adapted to Greek from the Turkish original (Aksu-Koc (2009)) and the sentence repetition task from the DVIQ test (Stavrakaki & Tsimpli 2000) were used which all revealed a developmental trend distinguishing the four age groups.

Preliminary results in relation to method presentation show that the booklet method enhanced performance on 2<sup>nd</sup> mention in the two younger groups while in 1<sup>st</sup> mention (indefinite nominal) only the youngest group showed a booklet advantage. Developmentally no significant interactions were found between method and character reference or maintenance. Regarding coordination and subordination in each method of presentation, a developmental change affecting coordination was found between the 3;6 and the 4;6 age groups favouring the card method while subordinate structures were not affected by method of story presentation in any age group.

Overall results show that within group comparisons reveal target use being significantly higher than non-target use for all age groups examined. Developmentally, indefinite nominals used for first mention show no developmental trend in that even the oldest group of children (6;6) shows 35% of inappropriate first mention uses. With respect to definite nominals in second mention, only the age group of 5;6 is significantly different from younger and older groups in that more inappropriate uses are found in second mention contexts. Null subjects in 2<sup>nd</sup> mention contexts, are almost target-like even in the youngest group. Finally, all groups use coordination significantly more frequently than subordination. The 4;6 age group seems to be showing a clear developmental turning point for both coordination and subordination.

### References

Chafe, W. (1976). Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics and point of view. In C. N. Li (ed.) (25-55), Subject and topic. New York: Academic Press.

- Γεώργας Δ.Δ., I.N. Παρασκευόπουλος, Η.Γ. Μπεζεβέγκης & Ν.Δ. Γιαννίτσας, 1997. Ελληνικό WISC-III. Wechsler Κλίμακες Νοημοσύνης για Παιδιά David Wechsler. Ελληνικά Γράμματα
- De Villiers, J., 1982. The development of sentence coordination. In *Language Development Vol.1: Syntax and semantics*.
- Hickmann M. & H. Hendriks, 1999. Cohesion and Anaphora in Children's Narratives: a comparison of English, French, German and Mandarin Chinese. *Journal of Child Language* 26, 419-452.
- Κατή Δ. & Β.Κάντζου, 2004. «Η συνδετικότητα αφηγημάτων: Αναπτυξιακή και διαγλωσσική προσέγγιση». *Πρακτικά της 24ης Ετήσιας Συνάντησης του Τομέα Γλωσσολογίας της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Α.Π.Θ.* Θεσσαλονίκη: Κυριακίδης, 246-257.
- Κάντζου Β. 2010. Η χρονική οργάνωση του αφηγήματος στην κατάκτηση της Ελληνικής ως πρώτης και ως δεύτερης γλώσσας. Διδακτορική Διατριβή. Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών.
- Stavrakaki, S. & I.M.Tsimpli (2000). "Diagnostic verbal IQ test for school and preschool children: Standardization, statistical analysis, and psychometric properties". *Proceedings of the 8<sup>th</sup> conference of the Panhellenic Association of Speech and Language Therapists*. Athens: Ellinika Grammata: 95-106.
- Vion, M. & A. Colas, 1999. Expressing Coreference in French: Cognitive Constraints and Development of Narrative Skills. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 28 (3).

### **Δείκτες αναγνωσιμότητας: ζητήματα εφαρμογής και αξιοπιστίας**

**<sup>1</sup>Δημήτριος Τζιμώκας & <sup>2</sup>Μαρίνα Ματθαιουδάκη**

<sup>1</sup>Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας & <sup>2</sup>Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης

<sup>1</sup>dtzimok@phil.uoa.gr & <sup>2</sup>marmat@enl.auth.gr

Στόχοι της παρούσας έρευνας είναι αφενός να διαπιστωθούν και να εξεταστούν τα προβλήματα αξιοπιστίας που παρουσιάζουν οι καθιερωμένοι δείκτες αναγνωσιμότητας που χρησιμοποιεί το Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (ΚΕΓ) στη δημιουργία εξεταστικών θεμάτων για τις διεθνείς εξετάσεις πιστοποίησης επάρκειας της ελληνομάθειας και αφετέρου να προταθούν τρόποι για την άμβλυση όσο είναι δυνατόν των προβλημάτων αυτών. Για το σκοπό αυτό έγινε ενδεικτική εφαρμογή των τριών δεικτών αναγνωσιμότητας που έχει προσαρμόσει το ΚΕΓ στα ελληνικά, του Flesch, του SMOG και του FOG, σε κείμενα εξεταστικών δοκιμασιών. Τα δεδομένα που προέκυψαν από τις εφαρμογές υποβλήθηκαν σε ποσοτική και ποιοτική ανάλυση, οι οποίες έδειξαν την ύπαρξη, σε πολλές περιπτώσεις, ασυμφωνιών μεταξύ των διαφόρων δεικτών όσον αφορά την εκτίμηση της δυσκολίας αναγνωσιμότητας του ίδιου κειμένου κάθε φορά. Στη συνέχεια, διερευνήθηκαν οι διάφορες αιτίες των ασυμφωνιών αυτών σε συνάρτηση με μια σειρά από μετρήσιμες κειμενικές παραμέτρους (σύνταξη, κλιτική μορφολογία, μήκος λέξεων, μήκος προτάσεων) και καταβλήθηκε προσπάθεια για τον εντοπισμό επιπλέον μη μετρήσιμων κειμενικών παραμέτρων (π.χ. αμφισημία, συνηχογραφίες) που συμβάλλουν στην εμφάνιση των συγκεκριμένων ασυμφωνιών. Επίσης, από τις παραπάνω αναλύσεις εξάγονται χρήσιμα συμπεράσματα για την αξιολόγηση των συγκεκριμένων τριών δεικτών αναγνωσιμότητας. Τέλος, προτείνονται λύσεις για την πιο ενδεδειγμένη χρήση των δεικτών αυτών, δίνονται κατευθύνσεις για την περαιτέρω βελτίωσή τους και επισημαίνονται οι επιπρόσθετοι παράγοντες, πέραν του κειμένου, που συνδιαμορφώνουν τον τελικό βαθμό δυσκολίας της εκάστοτε εξεταστικής δοκιμασίας ελληνομάθειας.

### **The Greek Bailout: Metaphor and Metonymy in political speech**

**Anastasio Vogiatzis**

*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

stvogs@enl.auth.gr

This study examines the way the Greek Prime Minister (PM) makes use of the two cognitive processes, metaphor and metonymy in order to announce the activation of the joint eurozone-

International Monetary Fund (IMF) rescue plan for the Greek economy. According to Lakoff (1999) “metaphors can kill” and therefore constitute a powerful weapon in the hands of those who know how to use them successfully, such as the Greek PM. In the speech under study the use of metaphor and metonymy outweighs literal language and focuses on three main elements which are “Greece” the “European Union”(EU) and the “markets”. Since the “essence of metaphor is understanding one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:5), Greece is portrayed as being a demolished boat, a building at the verge of collapse, a person or a child under captivity and even an innocent and vulnerable baby making its first steps. By making use of metonymy the PM presents the place where trade takes place, i.e. the market, standing for bankers and financial institutions. The markets are presented as an irrational person, while speculation, or the metonymically de-personified speculators, are depicted as a hungry person or a beast that is ready to devour its prey, Greek economy. Last but not least, the EU is presented as an ally, in a war situation, and a rational adult or even a protector. “If metaphors map structure from a source domain to a target domain, inferences that can be done in the source domain can (potentially) be done in the target domain” (Chilton, 2006:64). This seems to be an important function of metaphor in the PM’s speech since, on the one hand, the aim is to activate emotional reactions and, on the other, to draw inferences and transfer them from the source to target domains. Throughout this speech, among vulnerable human beings, collapsing structures, hungry beasts and rational adults, a fairy tale, or a frame, is built up and consists of a victim, a villain and a hero. Following Lakoff (1999), and in view of the fairy tale -the rape of Kuwait- built for the Gulf War, “[w]hen people are replaced by states in such a fairy tale, what results is the most common scenario for a just war”. Since the austerity measures to be taken are going to be harsh, the prime minister creates the frame of the Just Economic War and the unavoidable consequences this will have on the public, making the measures more acceptable by the Greek society. Through a cost-benefit analysis which comprises of the victim, the villain and the hero, the frame is established and the “facts” of the unjust measures are, partly, ignored, thus, minimizing public reactions (Lakoff, 2004:109-110). The choice of the particular setting -the tranquil Greek island of Kastelorizo- is also examined in terms of non linguistic realizations of the metaphors employed by the Prime Minister .

Chilton,P.2006. Metaphors in Political Discourse. *Encyclopedia of Languages and Linguistics*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, pp.63-65. Oxford: Pergamon

Lakoff, G.1999. Metaphor and War: The Metaphor System Used to Justify War in the Gulf. <[http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/ML\\_docs/Texts/ScholarlyLakoff\\_Gulf\\_Metaphor\\_1.html](http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/ML_docs/Texts/ScholarlyLakoff_Gulf_Metaphor_1.html)> 8/04/2010.

Lakoff, G. & Johnson M. 2003 [1980] *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. 2004. *Don't think of an elephant: Know your values and frame the debate*. Canada: Chelsea Green publishing company.

## **Language learning strategy use by elementary school students of English in Greece**

**Athina Vrettou**

*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

avrettou@sch.gr

The vibrancy gained in language learning research since the mid 1970s has been part of a shift of perspective from teacher-centered to learner-centered instruction for enhancing learners’ achievement through their taking control of their learning and gradually assuming more independent action towards autonomy. Most published studies have investigated adolescents or adults with less research focusing on primary education level. A descriptive research study was held in the city of Thessaloniki for a doctoral thesis adopting both a quantitative and a qualitative approach. In the quantitative part, which will be presented in this article, patterns of strategic behavior of 763 EFL students in the sixth grade of Greek state elementary schools were explored. The influence of the language proficiency level of the participants upon their reported strategy use is uncontested. Motivation to learn English appears to have an overwhelming effect on the students’ strategic

preferences. Gender differences are recorded indicating a rather strong connection with motivation. Pedagogical implications are also delineated so that appropriate recommendations for the teaching of the young learners can be made.

### **The Present Perfect and the Preterit in the mirror of Contemporary English: which is the fittest of them both?**

**Jim Walker**

*Université Lumière Lyon 2*

jim.walker@univ-lyon2.fr

"Something is happening to the "perfect", observed Peter Trudgill back in 1978 (13), commenting *en passant* on what appeared to him, and still does to many, as an ongoing shift in the use of the Present Perfect (PP) in contemporary English. Proponents of the "something happening to the perfect" view contend that in recent years, there has been relaxation in the rule whereby the PP is incompatible with any adverbial adjunct indicating definite past time. The following is typically held to be an ill-formed sentence:

*\* I have kissed my wife yesterday.*

However, it is not unusual to encounter forms such as:

A copy of Saussure's original manuscript of his work was found in his summer house in 1996 and *has been published in French in 2002*, reviewed by Roy Harris in England in 2002 and will be published by Oxford University Press this summer.  
<http://listserv.linguistlist.org/cgi-bin/wa?A2=ind0604B&L=LINGANTH&P=R2&I=-3>

The many linguists that have commented on this phenomenon, in greater or lesser detail, from Kurylowicz onwards (Fryd, Cotte, Trudgill, Souesme and many others) tend to put it down to what has been called "aoristic drift" (Fryd 1998). Briefly put, this theory holds that English is following a path trod by many of the Germanic languages before it, not to mention French, whereby what the historic periphrastic perfect form gradually comes to take over from a simple past form, relegating it to specialist or archaic domains. This is indeed a tempting hypothesis, fitting in as it does with well-worked notions of linguistic drift which go back to Jespersen and beyond, and it provides grist to the mill of many a linguist working on grammaticalisation.

Less has been made of a second phenomenon which, on the face of it, is similar, and which has been termed the narrative PP (Walker 2010, Fryd forthcoming). Here, we find the PP form being used for what is clearly past reference, but WITHOUT any supporting temporal adverbial:

*So he's bought himself one of those dirty great roadcruisers, you know the sort I mean, six wheels on it, radar, roofracks, all that. He(s) stocked up with food, and he's bought himself a lovely little fridge, and he(s?) stocked it up with beer, and off he's gone. One day into the desert, and what's happened?* [extract from the BBC comedy show, the Fast Show]

The speaker is recounting an event in the past, indeed, and crucially, a series of events in the past, and the PP is systematic. Again, initially, this would seem to be prima facie evidence for the same aoristic drift: the PP becomes increasingly used with past reference adverbials, until such time as it can break free even of its moorings completely and come to refer to past time, even in the absence of any supporting adverbial.

This talk will not seek to counter those ideas. Its author's ambitions are considerably less grand. What I will seek to do is to examine another possibility, i.e. that the dividing line between the PP and the preterit has remained fairly stable, and that the situation today is not radically different from other stages in the history of the language. To do so, I shall be drawing partly upon diachronic evidence, to see whether the claim for the recency of the phenomenon can be upheld, but more particularly on evidence from dialects of English other than standard British English, to test the hypothesis that if there is indeed a change, it is not so much "English" that is changing as our acceptance of non-standard forms.

References

Cotte, Pierre, 1987, *Réflexions sur l'emploi des temps du passé en français et en anglais à la lumière de deux évolutions récentes du système verbal de l'anglais. Contrastes, 14-15, 89-161.*

- Fryd, Marc, 1998, Present perfect et datation: une dérive aoristique. *Cahiers Chronos* 2: 29–50.
- Fryd, Marc, forthcoming, 'The Narrative Present in English.' In *Selected Papers from the 4th Colloquium on Modality in English*, held at the University of Madrid (Complutense), September 9-11, 2010. Cambridge Scholars.
- Kuryłowicz, Jerzy, 1964, *The inflectional categories of Indo-European*. C. Winter.
- Souesme, Jean-Claude, 1992, *Grammaire anglaise en contexte*. Gap: Ophrys.
- Trudgill, Peter. 1978. *Sociolinguistic patterns in British English*. E. Arnold.
- Walker, Jim, 2010, "Norm-blindness and its effects on utterer-centred practice", à paraître dans *Anglophonia*, décembre 2010

### Linguistics textbooks in Greek: publication practices in the last two decades

<sup>1</sup>George J. Xydopoulos, <sup>2</sup>Anastasios Tsangalidis & <sup>3</sup>Athina Prountzou

<sup>1&3</sup>University of Patras, <sup>2</sup>Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

<sup>1</sup>gjxydo@upatras.gr, <sup>2</sup>atsangal@enl.auth.gr, <sup>3</sup>aprou@upatras.gr

In this paper we examine the history of linguistics textbook publication in Greek over the last twenty years from a number of perspectives. We offer a quantitative and qualitative analysis of this publication activity with particular emphasis on such issues as:

- the areas of linguistics most commonly covered
- the influence of dominant linguistic paradigms on the selection of titles/topics covered
- the ratio of books written originally in Greek to those translated from other languages
- the profiles of authors and/or translators

We also explore and discuss organisational and methodological issues that arise from the examination of the textbooks in question, including:

- relevance and usefulness of the books to Greek university students and to those interested in the Greek language
- treatment and adaptation of linguistic data
- further localisation of material (tables, illustrations, exercises etc.)
- the treatment of terminology problems
- suitability of texts for pedagogical purposes

Through the discussion of the publications details of both original and translated works we identify a number of positive features which require support and highlight problem areas that need to be addressed and resolved.

Indicative references

Hult, F. (ed.) 2010. *Directions and prospects for educational linguistics*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Issitt, J. 2004. Reflections on the study of textbooks. *History of Education* 33.6, 683-696.

Johnsen, E. 1993/2001. *Textbooks in the Kaleidoscope: A Critical Survey of Literature and Research on Educational Texts* (Translated by L. Sivesind). Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.

Moschonas, S. 2003. Prin apo ti didaskalia tis ellinikis os ksenis glosas [Before teaching Greek as a foreign language]. In D. Theofanopoulou-Kontou, C. Laskaratou, M. Sifianou, M. Georgiamentis and V. Spyropoulos (eds) *Sinxronres taseis stin eliniki glosologia* [Current trends in Greek linguistics]. Athens: Patakis, 87-107.

Spolsky, B. (ed.). 1999. *Concise encyclopedia of educational linguistics*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Spolsky, B. & F. Hult (eds). 2008. *The handbook of educational linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Xydopoulos, G. J. 2002. Metafrazontas ena epistimoniko sygrama: diskolies ke pithanes lisis [Translating a scientific textbook: difficulties and possible solutions]. In *Proceedings of the International Conference "Translating in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Trends & Perspectives"*, Department of French, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 740-751.

## **A corpus-based comparative study of size, frequency and recycling of vocabulary items: The case of old and new course books in Greek State primary schools**

**Thomas Zapounidis**

*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*  
zapakias@yahoo.com

The importance of vocabulary in language learning is well attested (Nation, 1990; 2001a; Read, 2000; Schmitt and McCarthy, 1997). Three aspects of vocabulary learning and teaching that have received considerable attention are: (a) *size of vocabulary* (Goulden, Nation and Read, 1990; Hirsh and Nation, 1992; Laufer and Nation, 1995; Nagy and Anderson, 1984; Nation and Waring, 1997), (b) *frequency of vocabulary* (Coxhead, 1998, 2000; Nation, 1990, 2001b; Nation and Waring, 1997), and (c) *recycling of vocabulary* (Nation, 1990, 2001a). Despite the rich literature of these vocabulary aspects there are only a few studies that explore these issues with regard to the English course books in Greek State schools.

This presentation attempts to enrich the literature in vocabulary issues with regard to English course books in Greek state primary schools and is intended to be a brief report of a corpus-based study developed within the framework of a master thesis exploring the size, frequency and recycling of vocabulary items in the new and old English course books taught in Greek State primary schools. The comparative study of the old and new English course books is furnished with quantitative and qualitative analyses at a variety of levels (unit, course book, series) rendering interesting data as to (a) the total number of vocabulary items (b) the frequency of vocabulary items of the two series compared to a native corpus (BNC) and (c) the actual recycling of vocabulary items in the two sets of books. The findings of this study are expected to be valuable to both practicing teachers and course designers and to corroborate the use of corpora in classrooms and research.

## **Διδασκαλία και πιστοποίηση της Ρωσικής ως ξένης γλώσσας: Προοπτικές ανάπτυξης στην Ελλάδα**

**Τατιάνα Ζουράβλεβα**

*Πανεπιστήμιο Δυτικής Μακεδονίας*  
halkonidis@yandex.ru

Η παρούσα εισήγηση έχει ως στόχο να περιγράψει τις προοπτικές για την ανάπτυξη και καθιέρωση της διδασκαλίας της Ρωσικής ως ξένης γλώσσας στην Ελλάδα. Οι προοπτικές αυτές περιλαμβάνουν την εφαρμογή μιας σειράς δυνατοτήτων μέσα από τη διαδικασία διδασκαλίας της γλώσσας στα πλαίσια του Ρωσικού Κρατικού Συστήματος Πιστοποίησης (TORFL).

Όπως είναι γνωστό, το Ρωσικό Κρατικό Σύστημα Πιστοποίησης είναι ενσωματωμένο στον χώρο της εκπαίδευσης στην Ελλάδα τα τελευταία 5 χρόνια, χάρη στην ετήσια διεξαγωγή εξετάσεων στη χώρα μας, με τη συμμετοχή εξεταστών από το Κρατικό Πανεπιστήμιο της Μόσχας «Λομονόσοφ». Ποιο συγκεκριμένα, θα συζητηθεί με ποιόν τρόπο αυτές οι εξετάσεις πιστοποίησης δίνουν την δυνατότητα: Πρώτον, στους καθηγητές της ρωσικής ως ξένης να αναθεωρήσουν και να βελτιώσουν την επαγγελματική τους κατάρτιση, θέτοντας ως συγκεκριμένο στόχο την εξειδίκευση στον τομέα αυτό, καθώς και την βελτίωση του περιεχομένου του προγράμματος σπουδών. Δεύτερον, επιτρέπει στους ειδικούς να συγκρίνουν και να αντιστοιχίσουν τα γλωσσικά επίπεδα του Ρωσικού Συστήματος Πιστοποίησης με το περιεχόμενο των επιπέδων των πιστοποιητικών γλωσσομάθειας που αναγνωρίζονται στην Ελλάδα.

Αισιοδοξούμε ότι η παρούσα μελέτη θα διευκολύνει την εισαγωγή της ρωσικής γλώσσας στο ελληνικό σύστημα εξετάσεων του Κρατικού Πιστοποιητικού Γλωσσομάθειας.



# **POSTER SESSION**



## **A lexical database for automatic topic identification**

**Ioannis Anagnostopoulos**  
*University of Strasbourg, France*  
anagnosgiannis@gmail.com

The classification of texts, as one of the important technologies in information management is relevant to many tasks, including information retrieval and extraction. Traditionally, the tasks for text classification were based on an extensive manual labeling of documents. The purpose of this paper is to create a database for automatic topic detection and text classification. Classification tools often rely on lexical cohesion in order to identify cohesive boundaries of homogeneous thematic segments. Lexical cohesion is manifested by the repetition of the same lexical unit or by general nouns that belong to the same domain. The aim of this project is to create a lexical resource, in order to improve topic identification methods. Our weighted wordlists can be used as an additional training resource for Support Vector Machines. Our test data is a journalistic text corpus from the French newspaper «*Le Monde*», divided into eight main topics.

Keywords: Automatic text classification, lexical cohesion, lexical database, machine learning, SVM, journalistic corpora.

### References

- Ferret O., (2002), «Using collocations for topic segmentation and link detection», CEA – LIST/LIC2M., pp. 1-7.
- Ferret O., (2009), «Utiliser des sens de mots pour la segmentation thématique?», TALN 2009, Session posters, Senlis.
- Georgescu M., Clark A., and Armstrong S., (2006), «Word Distributions for Thematic Segmentation in a Support Vector Machine Approach».
- Lancaster F. W., (1968), «Information retrieval systems; characteristics, testing, and evaluation», New York, Wiley.
- Mitchell T., (1997), «Machine Learning», McGraw Hill.
- Reynar J. C., (2000), «Topic segmentation: Algorithms and applications», PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, Seattle, WA.
- Stührenberg M., Goecke D and Diewald N., (2007), « Web-based Annotation of Anaphoric Relations and Lexical Chains».

## **“Human behaviour is food”: the food related metaphors in Modern Greek**

**Irma Bochorishvili**  
*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*  
ibotsori@enl.auth.gr

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the use of the food related metaphors linked to the behaviour of Modern Greek speakers. As it is claimed by Kövecses (2002: 18), being an activity that has been with us since the beginning of humanity - food, along with the human body, health, illnesses, buildings, constructions, etc., appears to be one of the most common source domains cross-culturally. In Modern Greek, most of the lexical entities that belong to the domains of food are adjectives, which are used in everyday language in order to express and describe how people ‘taste’ (*glikós* ‘sweet’, *ksinós* ‘sour’, *pikántikos* ‘spicy’); and nouns, the majority of which are ontological metaphors describing people’s behaviour and appearance (*maidanós* ‘parsley’ *supiá* ‘cuttlefish’, *sokolatáki* ‘chocolate’). Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 46) were the first to introduce the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD, based on which I initiate the metaphor HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS FOOD. I have put the most frequently used expressions into categories of vegetables, desserts, fruit, meat, dairy products, seafood, grilling and boiling objects, etc., and excluding the parameter of being randomly applied, I will make some suggestions on what prompted speakers of Modern Greek to start using each of these expressions, some of which appear to be culture-specific. Describing appearance, skills and various types of behavior, the

majority of these phrases refer to everybody. However, in the second part of this paper I will focus on the metaphors that are exclusively reserved for women (*fraulítsa* 'strawberry', *kóta* 'hen', *karamelítsa* 'caramel').

### **A Comparison Between the Phonological and Melodic Systems from the Standpoint of the Source-Filter Theory**

**José Roberto Carmo Jr**  
*University of São Paulo*  
carmojr@usp.br

In this study we compare some characteristics of the human vocal tract and melodic musical instruments. The analysis of properties common to both reveals a deep relationship between the phonological and melodic categories. This comparison sheds light on the evolution - at the same time parallel and opposite - between language and music. Accordingly with the Source-Filter Theory (Fant:1960) the speech sounds are the result of two processes: a *source* produces an initial sound and a *filter* modifies it. At the larynx, the vocal folds produce sounds whose spectrum contains different frequencies. This spectrum of frequencies is filtered by articulators like tongue, teeth, lips, velum, etc. When a human speaks, the vocal folds function as the source of energy, and the mouth and throat as the filter. The combined action of source and filter produces the two phonological macro-categories, *phonemes* (consonants and vowels) and *prosodemes*. Phonemes are "dynamic-filter sounds" because they depend on the mobility of both source and filter, whereas prosodemes are "static-filter sounds" because they exclusively depend on the source's mobility. Consequently source and filter are functionally specific. The asymmetrical distribution of phonemes and prosodemes is a remarkable feature of all natural languages. In all known languages the system of phonemes is richer than the system of prosodemes. The hypothesis of this paper is that we can use the Source-Filter Theory to describe musical instruments as well. Any melodic musical instrument has a source of energy and a filter. For example, in a violin the strings act as the source and the sound-box as the filter. However, there is a crucial difference in relation to the human vocal tract. The filter of musical instruments is static, that is, it doesn't have movable parts that play a role similar to that played by the jaw, tongue or velum. One can pluck or bow the strings of a violin but one can not change the shape of its body in order to produce different timbres. Nevertheless, although musical instruments are source-filter devices, they produce sounds with supra-segmental differences (pitch height, duration and intensity) but not with segmental differences. Consequently, what makes the relationship between music and language so special is that they share the same basic units, that is, dynamic-filter sounds and static-filter sounds. On the other side, phonological system and melodic system are not only different, they are conversely oriented. In language, the prosodic categories are atrophied and play a marginal role, in music they are hypertrophied and constitute the core of the system. In language, the inventory of dynamic-filter sounds are very much richer than the inventory of static-filter sounds, in music we have a opposite scenario. So, from the standpoint of the Source-Filter theory, the melodic system seems to be an inverted mirror of the phonological system. The Source-Filter Theory supports the hypothesis that the system of musical and linguistic sounds aren't different in the "substance" of their basic units but in the divergent ways they took during their evolution and development.

### **The Meaning of Discourse Markers in Classroom interaction**

**Maria Christodoulidou**  
*Frederick University Cyprus*  
pre.mc@frederick.ac.cy

Scarce research on code-switching within the spoken lecture discourse has been carried out to date. One aspect of code-switching is investigated in a lecture to Cypriot Greek students since

Cypriot Greeks (CG) bilingual in the Cypriot dialect and Demotic Greek. The purpose of this paper is to examine the role and function of code-switching within the university lecture in Cyprus in the language of the lecturer who is also Cypriot Greek. The main purpose is to provide classroom teachers with background information about code switching and its role and function within a bilingual community. The many facets of code switching and its varying characteristics are described in some detail, as well as code switching in the classroom and the importance of the teacher's attitude toward this linguistic process. Code switching has been found to be neither random nor meaningless, nor does it necessarily reflect language weakness. Rather, code switching is a device that conveys social information (concerning, for example, role relationships) or that is used as a stylistic process (e.g., to add color or emphasis to an utterance). Code switching also seems to be rule-governed, with mastery of the structure of both languages a prerequisite.

## **Learning collocations in Portuguese as L2**

**Angela Costa**

angelampc@hotmail.com

This research had the purpose of analyzing the way in which collocations are learned by Portuguese as Second Language (L2) students and clarify the role that the mother tongue (L1) plays in this process. To accomplish this goal, it is important to mention some mechanisms involved in the assimilation of a second language – the linguistic transference, influenced by the students mother tongue, and other mechanisms, like over-generalization and simplification, both independent of the mother tongue and, consequently, common to all learners.

To prove the influence of the above mentioned mechanisms, I developed an empiric research with German, Spanish, English and Italian mother tongue students that were attending two levels of Portuguese as Second Language (A2 and C1). These 88 students were asked to translate 20 transparent collocations with a syntactic structure of Verb + Noun and Noun + Adjective in their mother tongue into Portuguese and the reverse task.

In the whole of the test the students of the C1 level presented better results (80%) than the A2 level students (76%). Although the difference is not extremely significant, the superior results of the C1 level students can lead us to think that as the learners get more confidence using the language, the collocational knowledge also improves.

As expected, the decoding (L1 to L2) task had better results (90%) than the inverse one (65%) independently of the students' mother tongue or level. This result points out that collocations are relatively transparent combinations (non-idiomatic) from the decoding point of view, but are simultaneously unpredictable and not semantically motivated from the encoding perspective.

In the encoding task the Spanish students got the best results (83%), supporting the idea that students that speak typologically similar languages to Portuguese could find support in their previous knowledge of the L1. On the other hand the weaker results of the Italian students (72%) seem not to confirm this interpretation, making necessary a deeper analysis of the students' answers. Among those it was possible to observe: transference from the L1 (e.g. strong coffee – café forte, fare un esempio – fazer um exemplo), transference from a different language (e.g. tirar uma foto – sacar uma foto), overgeneralization (tomar uma visita, tomar uma pausa, tomar amigos), transference of instruction (café rigoroso – café forte) and simplification (perder o comboio – não apanhar o comboio; alta temperatura – muito calor).

From these strategies the most commonly used by the students were the linguistic transference (more than 60%) and the use of this mechanism seems to related to the success of the task. Spanish students had the best results and mostly used transference (76%), while Italian students had the worst results and preferred other mechanisms (40%). Italian students may be considering collocations as language specific; meanwhile Spanish students admit more similarities between languages and use literal translations from their mother tongue.

We can conclude from this study that the most recurrent strategy used among these foreign language students to overcome the lack of collocational knowledge is the linguistic transference. Also Granger (2001:158) seems to share this opinion that “foreign language students are not

“phraseologically virgin territory”: they have a whole stock of prefabs in their mother tongue which will inevitably play a role – both positive and negative – in the acquisition of prefabs in the L2”. Seeming inevitable the mother tongues role, several authors, like Howarth (1998b: 14), suggest that as much as possible, collocations should be taught through a contrastive methodology between mother language and L2 to minimize the potentially negative influence that the students mother tongue could play.

Although the comparison between languages is one of the most important strategies to teach collocations in the classroom, it is also necessary to in light the foreign student towards the phraseological nature of collocations as these structures can easily be considered free combinations by foreign students. Foreign language teachers focus their attention in the two spectrum ends, i.e. free lexical combinations and idioms and dedicate little attention to the transition phenomena, like the collocations. This can lead the students to believe that there are only two types of combinations: the application of morphosyntactic rules in free combinations and the complete “crystallization”, in the case of idioms. To a considerable improvement of the learning it is necessary a categorization of the phraseological phenomenon and importantly make students aware that the unacceptability of a sentence can be the result not of the break of a general grammatical or semantic rule, but of flouting phraseological norms (Howarth, 1998b: 3).

### **The Conceptual Structure of Pride**

**Aikaterini Delikonstantinidou**

*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

Katerinad.e.katia@hotmail.com

In the domain of cognitive linguistics it is well accepted that *cognitive models* are made up of conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies and literal concepts, which in turn may consist of several prototypical cognitive models. Concepts are grounded in human experience and their “embodied” nature is illustrated via the *emotion concepts*. Within this framework, cognitive models are the conceptual representations of particular emotions. Pride is perceived as an emotion and treated by linguists as an emotion concept. In studying Pride we deal both with the issue of its *network of meaning* and with the issue of the *causes* of Pride. The conceptual domain of Pride contains not only the concept that serves as a cognitive reference point (prototype); *balanced Pride as an immediate response*, but also a variety of concepts, related to it; *self-esteem, dignity, conceit, vanity*, which are positively or negatively connotated as they are conceptualized according to the balance we perceive to exist, or not, between the value scale of the causes of Pride and of the Pride scale. *Conceptual metaphors* originate from the emotion concept Pride, related either to its prototypical meaning or to its related meanings and frequently motivated by the physiological effects and behavioral reactions associated with the particular emotion. The most familiar conceptual metaphors of Pride in the English language are: *Pride is a fluid in a container, Pride is a person, Pride is an object, Pride is an opponent/superior, Pride is a dangerous animal, Pride is a sensual person and Pride is an inflated object*. However, beyond the linguistic realizations of conceptual metaphors, there is an important number of *non-linguistic realizations of conceptual metaphors* concerning Pride entrenched in our culture. The physiological effects and behavioral reactions attributed to Pride; *head held high, chest thrust out, forms of walking, boasting* etc., not only motivate some conceptual metaphors but provide the metonymic basis for all the *conceptual metonymies* related to both the “prototypical” Pride and to its related concepts. Research within the conceptual domain of Pride reveals that Pride is a culturally non-specific concept, whose conceptualizations, diachronically and interculturally, vary greatly.

## Language attitudes in a court setting: how judges “judge” the dialect

**Giorgos Georgiou**  
*University of Cyprus*  
giorgosv@otenettel.com

The paper deals with the sociolinguistic investigation of language attitudes and code-switching behavior in a court setting in Cyprus.

In the 1960s and 1970s, studies of the judicial behavior of trial court judges focused on recorded outcomes of legal procedures, specifically on sentencing behavior. Social scientists were interested in how much judges varied in their sentencing practices and in factors that might explain the variation, particularly the possible factor of bias against ethnic minorities (Philips, 1998: xi).

The consequences of how the judge understands the open issues in the language that he hears and reads, and what he says about them are frequently more awesome than the consequences of how the rest of us construe sentences and express our understanding (Philips, 1998). The judge tries to convince the parties and the community at large that the court did what it was supposed to do. But the linguistic rules that we apply unconsciously do not limit to one the possible interpretations of every aspect of every utterance.

Using excerpts of examination and cross examination sequences from the court transcript of a single criminal trial and questionnaires filled by judges this study aims to examine the role of socio-psychological (i.e. language attitudes) factors in the way judges evaluate defendants and witnesses according to the variety they use; in our case a typical situation of diglossia emerges, involving code-switching between Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Dialect. The paper tries to answer the question if the use of the Dialect in the current setting is identified as a “powerless language” or a covered prestige asset for the lay people defending their integrity; finally, how this has an impact in the judge’s verdict. It has been widely accepted that listeners evaluate powerless speech negatively (e.g. Lind & O’Barr, 1979; Holtgraves & Lasky, 1999). The aspect considered here is whether the features associated elsewhere with this style operate to express power differentials in Cyprus.

### References

- Auer, P. (1995). The pragmatics of code-switching: A sequential approach. In L. Milroy and P. Muysken (eds) *One Speaker, Two Languages. Cross-disciplinary Perspectives on Code-switching* (pp. 115–135). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Erwin, P. (2001). *Attitudes and Persuasion*. Hove: Psychology Press.
- Holtgraves, T and Lasky, B. (1999). Linguistic power and persuasion. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 18 (2), 196-205
- Lind, E. A. & W. M. O’Barr. (1979). The social significance of speech in the courtroom. In H. Giles and R. St. Oair, eds., *Language and Social Psychology*. College Park, Md., University Press.
- Philips, S. U. (1998). *Ideology in the Language of Judges: How Judges Practice Law, Politics, and Courtroom Control* (New York: Oxford University Press).

## How gender and high education of parents affect accuracy and confidence of Muslim pupils

**Polyxeni Intze**  
*Democritus University of Thrace*  
pintze@helit.duth.gr

In this paper we are investigating whether and to what extent Muslim pupils with Turkish mother tongue (MT) and Greek as a Second Language (L2), use the strategy of guessing during the process of reading. Moreover, we want to know how *confident* they are that they have guessed right using only information in the text. We believe that this type of processing or reading strategies are included in the common frame of communication strategies and constitute a major instructive process and they need to be taught. We believe that the utilisation of the communication strategies

using cues from different sources in the process of guessing while reading might reinforce learning, provided the users know how to use such strategies. What we are investigating in this piece of research concerns the parameter of confidence and its relation to accuracy, first posed by Kambakis-Vougiouklis (1991). Confidence is a variable not normally investigated by researchers in this type of research, although it might prove to have a really great impact in the process of language learning. Confidence in accuracy of guesses as judged by the subjects only and without anybody else's intervention, who might provide him/her with more or different type of information, might be a very important issue as it finally might lead initially to self-study and, in the long run, learning. We also consider both accuracy and confidence as *fuzzy areas* (Zadeh, 1965) as the criteria used to define them cannot be strictly defined and that is the reason why in many instances we consider more than one answers as correct. The data analysis yielded some interesting results. Gender seems to play an important role as girls seem to be more accurate than boys. Confidence and accuracy of our subjects seems also to be affected by the level of education of their parents. Subjects who have parents with high education seem to be more confident and accurate.

## **Interference of Greek language as L1 in Serbian as L2**

**Natasha Jovanov**

*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

modestyj@yahoo.com

The current study aims to investigate the most frequent grammatical errors that are produced at different stages of the learning process by Greek native speakers, who learn Serbian as L2.

It is commonly believed that the linguistic behavior of the L1 and the L2 speakers differs as to the levels of grammar, the accuracy of pronunciation, as well as to the social and pragmatic features of language use (Tsimpli, 2006).

Students who learn one language as L2 have the ability to accumulate the structural units of target-language. Nevertheless, they also present problems organizing this knowledge into coherent structures (Rutherford, 1987).

Empirical research on L2 grammatical development has shown that, in the process of writing and speaking, second language learners have the tendency to rely on the grammatical structures of their mother tongue. Therefore, if L1 differs from L2 drastically, a high frequency of errors can be expected, a fact that indicates the interference of L1 on L2 (Ellis, 1997).

In order to answer the research question regarding the extent to which the interference of L1 in L2 is present, 10 students who learn Serbian as L2 (A1-B2 levels) participated in this experiment. The comprehension of L2 syntactic knowledge was assessed through writing samples and simple interview.

Results revealed higher percentages of L1 interference on the part of the students at lower levels of acquisition (A1-A2); however, students of higher levels, in their attempt to produce more complicated grammatical structures, were in some cases affected by their L1 as well.

Finally, this presentation also aims to illustrate the differences and similarities between the Serbian and the Greek grammar (intonation, basic word order, personal pronouns and clitics, verb aspect, articles, cases), in order to explain the mistakes, errors and instances of interference of the Greek language which were noticed during this experiment.

### References

Ellis, R. 1997. *Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Rutherford, W. E. 1987. *Second Language Grammar: Learning and Teaching*. Longman, London.

Tsimpli, I. M. 2006. "Variation in Second Language Acquisition". In *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Elsevier. 387-394.

## How online and electronic dictionaries empower the people in South Africa – the case of the Bukantswe

Juliane Klein

University of Leipzig

julianeklein.trier@googlemail.com

South Africa is a multilingual country that has eleven official languages. Although nine African languages are among the official languages, the African languages still lack the status and some features English and Afrikaans have. As most speakers of the African languages still live in a pre-dictionary-culture environment, i.e. they are not familiar with dictionaries and their use for people, online and electronic dictionaries are ideal tools to empower those people.

In this presentation, the benefits of online dictionaries for the speech communities will be illustrated using the example of the Bukantswe, an online Sesotho - English dictionary that is also available as an electronic dictionary.

Online and electronic dictionaries empower people because they are means to enable communication on a broad range of topics, i.e. they give people the necessary words to talk and write and allow them to decode and encode any text on any topic.

Online and electronic dictionaries are ideal for inexperienced users as they can be made more user-friendly than paper dictionaries. They do not have space restrictions, this implies that more lemmas and derivational word forms can be included, allowing users to use the dictionary successfully without having to master different lemmatization principles which are necessary for paper dictionaries. Other advantages are that they are easy to access via cell phones and computers and are affordable because of their low production costs and are often available free of charge.

## The vocalisation of \*r \*l \*m \*n in Ancient Greek dialects

Giorgos Kostopoulos

University of Patras

giorgoskostopoulos@hotmail.com

The treatment of liquid and nasal sonants in Greek is well known. \*r and \*l are represented by *αρ/ρα* and *αλ/λα* in Attic-Ionic, but by *ορ/ρο* and *ολ/λο* in Aeolic, Arcadocyprian and Mycenaean -the latter dialects also show a considerable number of *a*-colour forms- (O' Neil, 1970; Sihler, 1995). The nasals \*m and \*n are continued by *α/αμ* and *α/αν*, respectively, in Attic-Ionic and by *ο* and *α* in Aeolic, Arcadocyprian and Mycenaean (with fall of the nasal).

However, on a closer examination the following problems arise:

- a) The precise conditions under which, for example, \*r becomes *αρ* or *ρα* have not been fully clarified. It is now generally accepted (O' Neil, 1970) that initially, finally, before \*i and in prevocalic position, liquids give always *αρ/αλ*. But, there are many other phonological environments where the development of liquid sonants is not determined. The same applies to nasals which in contrast with liquids they have not been studied in details.
- b) The main reflex of the sonants in Arcadocyprian, Mycenaean and Lesbian -in which *a*-colour forms are attested almost in the same extent as *o*-colours- is under controversy. Morpurgo Davies (1968) considers the *a*-reflex as the only regular of \*r \*l \*m \*n in Arcadocyprian and Mycenaean, while O' Neil (1970) has a different point of view.
- c) The reason why double reflexes of the PIE sonants occur mainly in the vocalisations of the frontier regions (e.g. Lesbos, Crete, Pylos), while are almost non-existent in the dialects of central Greece (Attic, Thessalian, Boeotian), is not altogether clear (Kostopoulos, 2010; O' Neil, 1970).

Taking into account the above problems, in this talk I intend to examine and discuss an indicative number of forms collected from LIV, NIL and existing surveys (see Kostopoulos (2010) for an exhaustive discussion of all the forms collected), in order to determine the precise conditions under which  $*_r$   $*_l$   $*_m$   $*_n$  give  $ap/pa$   $av/\alpha$  etc. in Attic (the smaller number of forms attested in the remaining dialects does not allow such a generalisation). Concerning the rest of the dialects, I will make an indicative examination and short discussion of the forms collected from the above sources, in order to decide whether an  $\alpha$  or an  $o$  is the main resulting vowel in the vocalisations of each dialect. In the last part of the talk, after taking into consideration the results for the main reflex of the sonants in each dialect, a relative chronology of the vocalisation of  $*_r$   $*_l$   $*_m$   $*_n$  in Greek will be attempted, as well as an interpretation of the absence of the  $o$ -reflex in central Greece.

#### Selected Bibliography

- Kostopoulos, G. (2010). *The Development of the IE Vocalic Liquids and Nasals in Greek Dialects* (in Greek) (Unpublished B.A. thesis). University of Patras.
- LIV=Rix et al. (2001). *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben (LIV)*, Wiesbaden.
- Morpurgo Davies, A. (1968). The treatment of  $*r$  and  $*l$  in Mycenaean and Arcadocyprian. *Atti e memorie del primo Congresso internazionale di micenologia*. Roma : Edizioni del' Ateneo, vol. II, 791-814.
- NIL=Wodtko D. S., Irslinger B. & Schneider C. (2008). *Nomina im Indogermanischen Lexikon (NIL)*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- O'Neil, J. L. (1970). The treatment of Vocalic R and L in Greek. *Glotta* 47 : 8-46.
- Sihler, A. (1995). *A New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*. Oxford: OUP.

### Modified precedential phenomena potential in mass media texts

**Elena Kulikova**

*Lobachevsky State University of Nizhni Novgorod*  
e.kulikova@bk.ru

Contemporary research in the sphere of linguistics is characterized by special emphasis on subjects concerning the language phenomena study in combination with social factors determining communicative process peculiarities. Such analyses include the studying of mass media discourse. The paper objective is to analyze modified language means from the viewpoint of pragmatics. Modified language units taken by means of the successive selection from the popular Russian and English language newspapers and magazines (2000–2010) were interpreted with the help of descriptive method, contextual and pragmatic analysis, the usage of comparison, generalization, and classification means. While selecting and analyzing the material, the data of idiom, proverb, quotation and popular expression dictionaries were used.

Mass media text conception (text as a discrete unit of mass media flow) comprises a harmonious unit combination of verbal and mass media systems which can go with each other on the basis of different principles: addition, intensification, emphasis, opposition and so on. There are several distinctive features of the mass media discourse. Firstly, it shows the modern language and culture state of the society. Language state allows us to create the “big picture” of modern language functioning at the very moment of its development and to trace the formation of new language units. Cultural specific character can be observed in the choice of language means (namely precedential phenomena). Secondly, the mass media discourse is the sort of institutional discourse. It is a social product that cannot help reflecting the tendency to globalization that characterizes present-day society. Along with this strong tendency mass media texts are sure to demonstrate society values and its culture. The usage of precedential phenomena is an effective means of appealing to cultural audience identity. Thirdly, the mass media discourse is remarkable for its manipulating, that is the orientation toward purposeful controlling over recipient perception. It is reached due to structural peculiarities and a different means system.

A proactive copywriter attitude is reflected in deliberate language creation process, purposeful choice and organization of a good number of means for forming and memorizing a positive image of

goods and services [1]. One of such means is precedential phenomena which are the primary constituents of national cognitive base – the body of knowledge and concepts which belong to representatives of one or another lingual cultural community.

Material analysis showed that Literature, History and Cinema are the most productive spheres of precedential phenomena in the discourse of the Russian and English language press. In advertising discourse there is precedential phenomena changing rather than their stability which results in different pragmatic-linguistic transformations in meaning and form. Under modified precedential phenomena usage the process of destabilization and distortion of inner semantic and structural ties of stable word-complexes takes place. We offered two types of transformations – semantic and structural-semantic [2]. The arrangement of the main types of transformations according to the increasing degree of occasionalism is considered.

As a result of the fact that the addressee of the advertising discourse is mass, modern print advertisements appeal to a wide range of precedential phenomena. They are precedential names and situations, precedential utterances including poetry and prose quotations, writing and film titles, different set expressions (idioms, proverbs, sayings and clichés), titles and lines from well-known songs, phrases from films and cartoons, different popular mottoes. The statistical data processing of the questionnaire including semantic and structural-semantic transformation types according to their pragmatic and cognitive aspect comparison was carried out.

#### *References*

- Kulikova E.V. Publicity text: linguistic means of expressiveness // Vestnik of Lobachevsky State University of Nizhni Novgorod, 2009, № 6, part 2. P. 276-282 (in Russian).  
<[http://www.unn.ru/pages/e-library/vestnik/99999999\\_West\\_2009\\_6\(2\)/49.pdf](http://www.unn.ru/pages/e-library/vestnik/99999999_West_2009_6(2)/49.pdf)>
- Kulikova E.V. Advertising text in the light of precedential phenomena // Vestnik of Lobachevsky State University of Nizhni Novgorod, 2010, № 6 (in press).

### **Communicative language competences (within CEF and beyond): understanding current trends and predicting future requirements**

**Svetlana Kurteš**

*University of Portsmouth*  
Svetlana.Kurtes@port.ac.uk

The paper revisits some key issues in the development of the concept of competences in foreign language learning and teaching, primarily in EFL. More specifically, the concept will be examined in both historical and theoretical terms and their relevance to modern language learning, teaching and assessment highlighted.

A basic distinction is to be made between general and communicative language competences, following the guidelines suggested in the *Common European Framework of Reference (CEF)*, describing in the comprehensive way “what language learners have to learn to do in order to use a language for communication and what knowledge and skills they have to develop so as to be able to act effectively” (CEF 2001: 1). General competences, not specific to any language, include, *inter alia*, declarative and sociocultural knowledge, intercultural awareness and skills, existential competence and the general ability to learn, while communicative language competences, empowering the individual to act using specific linguistic means, encompass linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences.

After a brief elaboration on the concept of both general and communicative language competences and the impact they had on language education in both theory and practice, the paper discusses the current state of affairs within the EU policies and activities, primarily those initiated and/or inspired by the Council of Europe and its mission to improve plurilingual competences of the citizens of the Wider Europe.

In the concluding part it will be argued that language education is instrumental in creating a competent communicator able to function effectively in intercultural settings. Being an integral part of the wider postmodern education paradigm, it is imperative that it stays as alert as ever in order to understand current trends and predict future requirements.

Key words: competences, general competences, communicative language competences, language education, *Common European Framework*, Council of Europe.

### **Levels and Effects of Anonymity: Discourse analysis in Electronic Brainstorming**

**Emanuela Mileva**

*Simon Fraser University*

emileva@sfu.ca

Group brainstorming (Osborn, 1954) has become the most widely-recognized method for generating ideas in organizations. The computer-mediated version of brainstorming, Electronic Brainstorming (EBS), is often deployed in synchronous, collocated meetings. Prior research on the effects of anonymity in EBS has been mixed. Hence the motivation of this study to shed more light on these effects from a discourse analysis perspective. The study's theoretical framework was the intentional and attentional discourse structure theory of Grosz and Sidner's (1986).

Four student teams with no previously established social history used two EBS interfaces, specifically created for the purpose of the study. One treatment identified the virtual identity of the source for all submissions, while the other kept these anonymous. The coding scheme of Connolly et al. (1990) was applied in the conversation parsing. I also examined how the elaboration of ideas and participation related to each other, and how discourse patterns emerged with respect to cooperation levels between group members. Results showed that members from the anonymous condition (ANM) generated more cooperative comments overall than members in the identified condition (IDT), although the proportion of cooperative comments to all comments was higher for the IDT members. Further ANM members made twice as many elaborations than did IDT members.

The second step of present research included additional four student teams with established social history that used both EBS interfaces. Preliminary results showed significant difference in the levels of participation, as well as in the levels of cooperative interactions. Between-groups findings were analyzed as well.

The findings also have theoretical implications in terms of the role of purpose and processing in discourse in a task-oriented dialogue such as brainstorming.

#### References

- Grosz, B. J. & Sidner, C. (1986). Attention, intentions, and the structure of discourse. *Computational Linguistics*, 12(3),175–204.
- Osborn, A. (1953). *Applied Imagination: Principles and Procedures of Creative Thinking*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Connolly, T., Jessup, L., & Valacich, J.(1990). Effects of anonymity and evaluative tone on idea generation in computer-mediated groups. *Management Science*, 36, 689-703.

### **Analyzing the trajectories of texts and the negotiation of identities: An ethnographic study of the literacy practices in a local newspaper**

**Demetris Ntanopoulos**

*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

dimntan@gmail.com

The present study studied the practices employed in a local newspaper during the production and processing of various types of newspaper articles through the study of the dialogue a reporter developed with various texts deriving from the local community, certain local stakeholders (as well as with the ideology expressed by them), the wider body of the society and the media community. The research data consists of texts the reporter produced, which are not presented decontextualised but as elements of a trajectory followed by the reporter during the texts' materialization. Eighteen routes were detected in the data. These routes arose through a variety of interactions both with the members of the local media community and the local stakeholders. The

interaction relationships among people and groups of people within a shared community were recorded in the form of a dynamic system (Activity System). As supported in the present study, these relationships shaped the trajectories of texts- that is, the way the reporter interacted with the various types of texts he came across and the way in which he incorporated the viewpoint expressed in these texts in the final text he produced. The data analysis demonstrated that these trajectories and the final texts published in the newspaper echoed the ideology of the local media community and were materialized by means of specific writing strategies which the journalist, being himself a member of the community, had attained and applied throughout an interactive process between his own identity and the community identity which he was influenced by and co-constructed at the same time.

### On scalar predicative PPs in Spanish

<sup>1</sup>Isabel Oltra-Massuet & <sup>2</sup>Isabel Pérez-Jiménez

<sup>1,2</sup>CCHS-CSIC

<sup>1</sup>isabel.oltra@cchs.csic.es & <sup>2</sup>isabel.perez@cchs.csic.es

1. Goal. In this talk we assert the cross-categorial significance of the notion of *scalarity*, focusing on a hardly studied empirical domain: non-spatial predicative PPs that function as attributive modifiers. Although the cross-categorial nature of this notion has been acknowledged in the literature (Sapir 1944, Bolinger 1972), and its syntactico-semantic relevance has been examined for adjectives, verbs, nouns, and directional PPs (Krifka 1989, Kennedy 1999, Zwarts 2005, Morzicky 2009, a.o.), there is no systematic study on the scalar structure of predicative PPs, even though this empirical domain poses challenging theoretical questions with respect to the compositional construction of scalar meanings.

2. The paradigm. Focusing on Spanish, we identify the paradigm described in (A)-(D), which results from the interaction of two main criteria: (i) the scalar properties of the PP; and (ii) the scalar properties of the N-complement of P. Four different classes emerge (we take degree modification and comparative formation as tests for gradability, e.g. Kennedy & McNally 2005) (all attested examples):

**[A.]** PP is gradable (1), and also the complement of P (2).

- |   |                                      |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>un texto más sin sentido que ...</i> | 'a text more without sense than ...' |
| (2) <i>un texto sin más sentido</i>         | 'a text without more sense'          |

**[B.]** PP is non-gradable (3), but the complement of P is (4).

- |                                      |                          |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (3) <i>*un texto más con sentido</i> | 'a text more with sense' |
| (4) <i>un texto con más sentido</i>  | 'a text with more sense' |

**[C.]** PP is gradable (5), but the complement of P is not (6).

- |                                       |                            |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (5) a. <i>un vestido muy de novia</i> | 'a dress very of bride'    |
| b. <i>un disco muy sin bandera</i>    | 'a disc very without flag' |
| (6) a. <i>*de muy novia</i>           | 'of very bride'            |
| b. <i>*sin mucha bandera</i>          | 'without much flag'        |

**[D.]** PP is non-gradable (7), neither is the complement of P (8).

- |  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| (7) a. <i>*un chico bastante con gafas</i>                                       | 'a boy quite with glasses'           |
| b. <i>*un hombre muy sin corbata</i>   | 'a man very without tie'             |
| c. <i>*un coche tan de ocasión</i>   | 'a car so of occasion'               |
| (8) a. <i>un chico con bastantes gafas (plural only; *in the relevant sense)</i> | 'a boy with rather a lot of glasses' |
| b. <i>*un hombre sin mucha corbata</i>   | 'a man without much tie'             |
| c. <i>*un coche de tanta ocasión</i>   | 'a car of so-much occasion'          |

3. Analysis. This paradigm raises a number of questions: (i) what is the locus of scalar semantics in PPs?; (ii) are there scalar Ps and non-scalar Ps?; (iii) how is scalar meaning compositionally determined in PPs, i.e. how is the syntax-semantics mapping carried out? We claim that non-directional Ps are non-gradable. However, some prepositions are *transparent* to the scalar

semantics of their nominal complements, like *sin*. When the complement of *sin* is a scalar noun (2), gradability of the PP is possible, (1). Conversely, when the complement of *sin* is a non-scalar noun (8b), we cannot have degree quantification on the PP, (7b). Supporting evidence for this proposal comes from (9), where simultaneous degree modification of the PP and the complement of P is not possible.

(9) \*un texto muy sin tanto sentido 'a text very without so-much sense'

On the other side, *con* is non-transparent to the scalar properties of its complement, hence *con* creates a non-scalar context, which prevents the PP from allowing degree quantification, irrespective of the scalarity of the P-complement, (3)-(4), (7a)-(8a). Further, predicative PPs of the type in (A)-(B) denote properties similar to those denoted by qualifying adjectives. In contrast, the properties denoted by PPs of the type in (6) are similar to those denoted by relational classificatory adjectives. The combination of degree morphology with the latter type coerces a scalar interpretation of the predicate where the degree quantifier has an intensifying function. This process results in a prototype reading (Matushansky 2002), the same found with relational adjectives (Demonte 1999).

To conclude, the generalization that arises from these data is that scalarity in the PP domain is a function of the transparency of P, the semantic properties of the P complement and the semantic denotation of the PP (qualifying/relational).

#### References

- Bolinger, D. 1972. Degree Words. The Hague: Mouton.
- Demonte, V. 1999. El adjetivo: clases y usos. La posición del adjetivo en el sintagma nominal. Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española, ed. by I. Bosque & V. Demonte, 129-216. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- Kennedy, C. 1999. Projecting the Adjective. The Syntax and Semantics of Gradability and Comparison. New York & London: Garland.
- Kennedy, C. & L. McNally. 2005. Scale Structure, Degree Modification, and the Semantics of Gradable Predicates. Language 81.345-381.
- Krifka, M. 1989. Nominal Reference, Temporal Constitution and Quantification in Event Semantics. Semantics and Contextual Expression, ed. by R. Bartsch, J. van Benthem, P. von Emde Boas, 75-115. Dordrecht: Foris Publication.
- Matushansky, O. 2002. Movement of Degree/Degree of Movement. Ph.D. Dissertation, MIT.
- Morzicky, M. 2009. Degree Modification of Gradable Nouns: Size Adjectives and Adnominal Degree Morphemes. Natural Language Semantics 17:2.175-203.
- Sapir, E. 1944. Grading: A Study in Semantics. Philosophy of Science 11.93-116.
- Zwarts, J. 2005. Prepositional aspect and the algebra of paths. Linguistics and Philosophy 28:6.739-779.

### A harmonized orthographic system for the Greek-Cypriot dialect

<sup>1</sup>Aspasia Papadima, <sup>2</sup>Ioli Ayiomamitou & <sup>3</sup>Stelios Kyriacou

<sup>1,2,3</sup>Cyprus University of Technology

<sup>1</sup>aspasia.papadima@cut.ac.cy, <sup>2</sup>ioli.ayiomamitou@cut.ac.cy & <sup>3</sup>stelios.kyriacou@cut.ac.cy

This paper presents the work performed in the "Research Laboratory for the Typography and the Cypriot dialect". The programme aims *first* to provide an overview of the plurality of orthographic conventions currently used to represent in writing the non-standard Greek-Cypriot (henceforth GC) dialect and *further* to devise an agreed, unified orthographic system meeting the criteria of phonological adequacy, readability, simplicity and familiarity (Coulmas, 2002; Rogers, 2005; Sebba, 2007).

Within the diglossic GC speech community, the GC dialect is identified as the Low, spoken language variety coexisting with the Standard Modern Greek (henceforth SMG) language, the official language of the country (Ferguson, 1959). The SMG language is the only code with a set orthographic system and therefore formal writing is entirely done in the standard variety. The absence of an official orthography for the dialect has not prevented GCs from writing the dialect;

hence a relatively significant amount of writing exists in a restricted set of genres. Different orthographic models have gradually emerged over the years on this basis and they have further been applied for the creation of Cypriot grammars, lexicons as well as for the transcription of Cypriot poems and literary texts (Christodoulou, 2006).

This paper focuses on presenting *firstly* a critical review of the orthographic models of the GC dialect. Emphasis is paid on the problematic cases that emerge in the attempt to graphically represent the six distinct GC sounds ([ʃ], [tʃ], [dʒ], [kʃ], [pʃ], [ʒ]) which are not shared by the SMG language and cannot be adequately represented using the Greek alphabet (Newton, 1972; Arvaniti, 2010). *Secondly*, we present the main findings of a study undertaken on the basis of a questionnaire aiming at exploring a) GCs' language attitudes regarding the highly complex, linguistically and politically issue of devising a spelling system for a non-standard dialect b) GC's preferences regarding the various non-systematic orthographic models already in use and c) GC's stances in adopting a spelling system as divergent as possible from the orthographic system of the standard Greek language.

References:

- Arvaniti, A. (2010). A (brief) overview of the phonetics and phonology of Cypriot Greek. In *The Greek language in Cyprus from antiquity to today*, pp. 107-124. Athens: University of Athens.
- Christodoulou, N. (2006). Written transcription of Cypriot Greek [in Greek]. E' Diethnes Athinon, 18-20 May, Athens.
- Coulmas, F. (2003). *Writing systems: an introduction to their linguistic analysis*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Dialectologico Synedrio, Kentro Ereunis ton Neollikon Dialecton & Idiomaton Akadimias.
- Ferguson, C. (1959). Diglossia. *Word*, 15, 325-340.
- Newton, B. (1972). *Cypriot Greek: Its phonology and inflections*. Hague: Mouton.
- Rogers, H. (2005). *Writing systems: a linguistic approach*. Oxford, UK, & Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Sebba, M. (2007). *Spelling and Society: The Culture and Politics of Orthography around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## Specificities of Syntactic Movement in Early Speech

<sup>1</sup>Elena Papadopoulou & <sup>2</sup>Natalia Pavlou

<sup>1</sup>University of Essex, <sup>1</sup>University of Cyprus, <sup>2</sup>University of York

<sup>1</sup>epapadb@gmail.com & <sup>2</sup>nataliapavlou@gmail.com

Study of ill-formed and/or syntactically non-targeted complex structures constitutes the core for outlining children's linguistic development. This study focuses on the strategies developed for ill-formed and/or non-targeted production of *wh*-questions and cleft sentences, inherent syntactically complex structures that require movement. Research conducted for the production of *wh*-questions and comprehension of clefts in Standard Modern Greek (SMG) (Stavrakaki 2004, 2006) has provided the basic knowledge for children's errors and difficulties.

Results from 170 monolingual TD Greek Cypriot children (aged 2;7–6;5) will be presented; only 67 were tested both in *wh*-question production and subject and object clefts. Ill-formed questions produced refer to (1) lack of NP movement, hence noncompliance of pied piping condition, and/or use of different to the primed *wh*-phrase.

- (1) \*Ti / Pco pliniski o Yannis aftokinito?  
 what / which wash-3SG the John-NOM car-ACC

Spell-out of both NP-object in the VP-internal position and the *wh*-object is also observed, resulting to the ungrammaticality of the sentence:

- (2) \*I Maria ti anii kuti?  
 the Maria-NOM what open-3SG box-ACC

Third, omission of NP in D-linked *wh*-phrases creating *wh*-object or adjunct questions was also observed:

- (3) \*Inda/Ti Ø pini o Yannis?  
 Why/what drink-3SG the Yannis-NOM

Non-targeted cleft production included reduced clefts (4) mainly for subject clefts, elliptical clefts (5) and focus in-situ (6) or fronting of the DP (7).

- (4) En O andras  
Is-3SG the man-NOM
- (5) O andras pu kofki ti pitta.  
the man-NOM that cut-3SG the pie-ACC
- (6) Kovi milo KOKKINO o andras.  
Cut-3SG apple-ACC red-FOC the man-NOM
- (7) O ANDRAS katharizi to kokkino milo.  
the man-NOM-FOC clean-3SG the red apple-ACC

Cypriot Greek follows strictly a pattern of not allowing Split-DPs in *wh*-questions, except in the case that a *wh*-possessor element is involved. However, the pattern observed in the sample illustrates that this restriction is not clear to toddlers. Errors indicate that Pied-Piping condition is violated while there is also change of the meaning in adjunct or object questions in *inda*-phrases. Further to this, the complexity involved in cleft sentences gives another view of the restrictions found in early speech.

This paper will concentrate on the patterns identified describing the stages of movement difficulties as these are met in *wh*-questions and cleft sentences. The understanding of movement specificities in children's speech offers an inside to language acquisition precisely for Cypriot Greek, since this constitutes the first attempt to identify firstly the errors in these structures and secondly assist the identification of the specificities of the variety itself.

#### References

- Stavrakaki, S. (2004) Wh-questions in Greek children with Williams syndrome: A comparison with SLI and normal development. In S. Bartke & J. Siegmüller (Eds.), *Williams syndrome across languages* (pp. 295 – 318). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Stavrakaki S. (2006) Developmental perspectives on Specific Language Impairment: Evidence from the production of wh-questions by Greek SLI children over time, *Advances in Speech-Language Pathology*, 8:4, 384 – 396

### **A comparative study of discourse connectors used in argumentative compositions of Thai EFL learners**

**<sup>1</sup>Pansa Prommas & <sup>2</sup>Kemtong Sinwongsuwat**

<sup>1,2</sup>Prince of Songkla University

<sup>1</sup>pansaprommas@hotmail.com & <sup>2</sup>ksinwong@gmail.com

This study examines the use of discourse connectors (DCs) in argumentative compositions of Thai- and English-native college students. 24 compositions were collected from third-year English major students in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Thaksin University, Songkhla Campus whereas 20 compositions of English-native students at University of Michigan were retrieved from the Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays (LOCNESS). Following the taxonomy adapted from Halliday & Hasan (1976), Biber et al. (1999), and Cowan (2008), 140 DCs found were classified into 8 functional categories: addition, enumeration and ordering, exemplification and restatement, concession and contrast, cause and result, summation, stance, and topic shift. Findings revealed that both groups of students shared similar characteristics with regard to the types of DCs employed in their essays, but with different degree of occurrence. Despite a wide range of DCs, the Thai learners, similar to the native speakers, employed a rather small cluster of DCs in their argumentative writing. *And, but, because, for example and also* were mostly found in the compositions of the two groups. In terms of syntactic distribution, the Thai learners had a tendency to employ the top five DCs inter-clausally as coordinators followed respectively by conjunctive adverbials and subordinators while the native speakers used them mostly as conjunctive adverbials in sentence-initial, medial and final positions, followed by coordinators and subordinators. Although both groups used these DCs in similar functions, preliminary findings suggest that the learners are more familiar with the inter-clausal rather than the intra-clausal use of

DCs, associating them with clause-linking rather than intra-clausal devices, and the learners apparently had difficulties with such DCs as *but*, part of which can be attributed to the influence of the native language.

Keywords: Discourse Connectors (DCs), argumentative compositions, Thai EFL and English-native college students

### On the stress rule, tone and accent shift in Neoštokavian

Stanimir Rakic

University of Belgrade

starakic@gmail.com

According to the traditional view in Neoštokavian dialects – those on which both standard Serbian and standard Croatian are based - rising accents may take any position in the word except the last one, while falling accents redundantly fall on the first syllable. In view of accents, one can distinguish five main kinds of suffixes in NŠ: cyclic, receptive, extracyclic, extrametrical and dominant (Rakić 1991) which all influence the position of accents in a particular way. Morphological analysis reveals that in monomorphemic word accents normally fall on one of the last three syllables (Rakić 2008). Capitalizing on this observation we can formulate the lexical rule for the accent of monomorphemic nouns.

- (1) a. If the last syllable is heavy, the stress falls on the penult.
- b. If the penult is heavy, the stress falls on it.
- c. If neither a) nor b) are fulfilled, the stress falls on the antepenult.

For the notion of extrametricality we have to stipulate that the final heavy syllable in NŠ is counted as light, and that the final light syllable as extrametrical. We also admit that in NŠ extrametricality is partly lexically determined, especially in foreign borrowings. The extrametricality rule accounts for the difference between 1a) and 1b). The trochaic system based on (1) accounts for a number of shortening rules in NŠ (Rakic 2010), most of which are morphologically conditioned. That the rule (1) does not have many exceptions was revealed already in the seventies by Magner and Matejka's (1971) inability to find a suitable example of lexical contrast in the place of the rising accents for their perception tests.

In Neoštokavian, stressed syllables are assigned high tone (H). (H) assigned to word internal syllables usually spreads to the right, while the spreading of those assigned to initial syllable is lexically determined. This means that on initial syllables both falling and rising accents can appear, while monosyllabic words would have only falling accents (e.g. *ròb* 'slave', *pâd* 'fall'). Unspread (H) from the first syllable can spread to the left if some prefix or proclitics is added (e.g. short-falling *bràt* 'brother', but short-rising *òd brata* 'from the brother', or *pâd* 'fall' > *ìspad* 'assault').

The spreading of H tone to the right is a lexical rule, and its spreading to the left may be lexical, if some prefix is added, or postlexical to proclitics. In Belgrade dialect, in many disyllabic words, the spreading of (H) melody to the right is optional, especially on short syllables so that often no strict distinction between short-rising and short-falling accents is drawn. In that dialect, and generally in most ekavian NŠ dialects, the spreading to the left is restricted to prefixes, i.e. has lexical character. On the other hand, in many ijekavian dialects of the southwest, the spreading to the left usually applies both to prefixes and to proclitics, although, it seems, nowhere without some exceptions.

In this paper, I argue that in most ekavian dialects the spreading of (H) from the initial syllable to the right or to the left is determined by lexical rules. The situation in ijekavian dialects is different. The examples *òd brata* may be explained by applying (1) and extrametricality to the domain of phonological words, but the examples of the type *ù planinu* are problematic. Yet such examples reflect an older state of the language, since only the shifts from monosyllabic and disyllabic words are usual (Stevanović 1991). This means that the assumption of Inkelas and Zec (1988) that some toneless words get tones postlexically is unnecessary. The lexical solution similar

to that one proposed by Steriade (1988) for Ancient Greek is more constrained, and therefore preferred, although it is not free of some theoretical difficulties.

References:

- Inkelas S. and D. Zec (1988) Serbo-Croatian pitch Accent, *Language* 64/2.  
Magner T. and L. Matejka (1971) *Word Accent in Modern Serbo-Croatian*, Pennsylvania University Press.  
Rakić, S. (1991) O receptivnim sufiksima i pravilu akcenta srpskohrvatskog jezika, *Zbornik* 34/2.  
Rakić, S. (1996) Suffixes, lexikalische Schichten und Akzent im Serbokroatischen, *Linguistische Berichte* 163.  
Rakić, S. 1996b. Pravilo kraćenja u srpskohrvatskom jeziku, *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku* 39/1.  
Rakić, S. (2008) O distribuciji dugih akcenata u srpskom jeziku, *NSSVD* 37/1.  
Rakić, S (2010) On the Trochaic Feet, Extrametricality and Shortening Rules in Standard Serbian, *Proceedings of FASSBL 7*, Dubrovnik.  
Stevanović, M. (1991) *Knjiga o akcentu književnog jezika*, Zavod za udžbenike, Beograd.

### **Is conversion a real word-formation pattern?**

**Imre Szigeti**

Catholic University of Hungary

szigeti.imre@btk.ppke.hu

Conversion seems to be a very controversial term of the linguistic literature although the phenomenon that one stem may function as a member of different lexical classes is well-known in several Indo-European (German, English, Dutch, Modern Greek) as well as Non- Indo-European languages (Hungarian, Mandarin Chinese). Terminologically I will distinguish between the wide definition (containing both syntactically and morphologically motivated conversions) and the narrow definition (dealing only with morphologically relevant phenomena) of conversion. The main question of this talk will be, then, if a concise analysis of both classes of phenomena is possible. I shall argue as follows that a convincing analysis can be given in the frame of conceptual semantics.

First, I discuss two recent and very influential approaches to conversion, the zero-morpheme-analysis (cf. Bergenholtz & Mugdan 2000) and the category-indeterminacy-analysis (cf. Don et al. 2000). I will point out, that the zero-morpheme-analysis cannot be maintained for both theoretical and empirical reasons. Category indeterminacy, on the other hand, is – mutatis mutandis – a good candidate to account for both classes of the data.

Presenting my own approach, I shall discuss in a second step the compatibility of category indeterminacy with the conceptual base hypothesis, which connects conceptual structures (e.g. concepts) to grammatical units (e.g. words) (cf. Jackendoff 1991 and Wierzbicka 1996 pro and Lieber 2004 con):

*Conceptual Base Hypothesis (CBH)*

Concepts are assigned to words (simple and composite). Affixes have no concepts to assign but they modify the conceptual structure of their base.

Third, starting with morphological conversion, I will evaluate the relevant data in the light of the presented approach. I shall conclude that conversion is due to two simultaneously existing concepts within the same conceptual network.

Finally, I will also discuss some consequences of the presented approach concerning especially the role of conversion in deriving bounded stems in Modern Greek (proposed by Ralli 2006) and complex specifiers of word-formation products in Hungarian.

References

- Bergenholtz, Henning & Mugdan, Joachim (2000): Nullelemente in der Morphologie [Zero elements in Morphology]. In: Booij, Gert et al. (eds.): *Morphology*, 435-451. Berlin: de Gruyter.  
Don, Jan et al. (2000): Conversion and category indeterminacy. In: Booij, G. et al. (2000) (eds.): *Morphology*, 943-952. Berlin: de Gruyter.  
Jackendoff, Ray (1991): *Semantic Structures*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.  
Lieber, Rochelle (2004): *Morphology and Lexical Semantics*. Cambridge: University Press.

Meibauer, Jörg & Szigeti, Imre (2007): Lieber, Rochelle: Morphology and Lexical Semantics. Review. In: Linguistische Berichte 211: 363-367.  
Ralli, Angeliki (2006): Morfologia. Athina: Patakis.  
Wierzbicka, Anna (1996): Semantics: Primes and Universals. Oxford: University Press.

### **Dativus ethicus in Balkan languages**

**Ekaterina Tarpomanova**  
*Bulgarian Academy of Science*  
katja@dcl.bas.bg

*Dativus ethicus* is a function of the personal dative pronouns that has an ancient origin in Indo-European languages. Some forms of *dativus ethicus* are attested in Ancient Greek and Latin. *Dativus ethicus* is alive in many of the contemporary Indo-European languages: French – *Prends-moi le bon parti; Regarde-moi ça!*; English – *They've gone and bought that bike on us/ on you/ on me/ on him/ on them.*; Dutch – *Wat doe je me daar nou?*; German – *Komm du mir bloss nachhause*. It is wide spread in the Slavic languages, but also in the languages of the Balkan Linguistic League (Bulgarian, Romanian, Greek, Albanian). In the Balkan languages *dativus ethicus* may be seen as a result of the syncretism of genitive and dative and the potentialities of the pronominal clitics to express both possessivity and direction (Civjan 1999:91-103). Proofs for this statement are found in the folklore texts. In the modern Balkan languages *dativus ethicus* has an emotional value and is one of the means to express positive or negative evaluation of an object or a situation. In Bulgarian, Romanian and Albanian with the highest frequency in *dativus ethicus* are the clitics in 1<sup>st</sup> person, singular and plural, and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular. In Modern Greek the restricted use of *dativus ethicus* is compensated by the wide currency of the possessive clitics, especially in forms of address (*korī mu, agapī mu*). In Bulgarian the reflexive pronoun is also often used in *dativus ethicus*. In addition, in Bulgarian, Romanian and Albanian the combination of forms of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person is possible. In the paper each of those forms is an object of analysis, illustrated with convenient examples.

Reference

Civjan 1999: Цивьян, Т. В. Движение и путь в балканский модели мира. Москва

### **Do we always speak of what we mean? Evidence from Reference**

**Efthymia Tsaroucha**  
efiaeris@yahoo.gr

Do we always speak of what we mean? Do we always use reference in order to denote meaning and how can we really define its counterparts? Language can be 'misleading' in certain cases since not all referring expressions necessarily convey reference. Definite descriptions, deictics, generics, indexicals, proper names etc., should not be regarded as simple cases of referring expressions as their meaning goes beyond the utterance they occur. Their reference is shaped both by the intention of the speaker and the way the audience makes the identification with what is being referred. Non-referring is not restricted only to the attributive, or equative use of referring expressions. This paper will follow a more critical approach concerning (non)reference and examples will be drawn from newspaper articles, political speeches and advertisements; (non)reference will be considered as the interrelation of the situation derived from a particular context, on the basis of who, to whom, why, when, where and how norms of interaction, interpretation and genres are used.

References:

Bach, K. (1987): *Thought and Reference*. Oxford: Clarendon P.

Bloomaert, J. (2005): *Discourse*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Cruse, A. (2004): *Meaning in Language*, "Oxford Textbooks in Linguistics". Series eds. Keith Brown,

- Eve V. Clark, April Mc Mahon, Jim Miller & Lesley Milroy. Oxford: Oxford UP.
- Donnellan, K. (1966): "Reference and Definite Descriptions". *Philosophical Review*. 75: 281-304.
- Eikmeyer, H. & Rieser, H. Ed. (1981): *Meanings, Intentions and Stereotypes*, "Words, Worlds and Contexts." Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter. 133-150.
- Kitis, E. (2009-10): "Semantics". Thessaloniki: Aristotle UP.
- Kitis, E. (MS): *Deixis*. Thessaloniki: Aristotle UP.
- Kripke, S. (1972): "Naming and Necessity". In *Semantics for natural language*, eds. Donald Davidson and Gilbert Harman. Dordrecht: Reidel. 253-355 and 763-9.
- Lyons, C. (1999): *Definiteness*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

## **Phrasal alignment in Functional Discourse Grammar. A typological study**

**Marlou van Rijn**

*University of Amsterdam*  
marlou\_vanrijn@hotmail.com

So far, alignment is mostly studied as the morphosyntactic marking of arguments of a clause. In this study, we start from the observation that alignment is also relevant to units of a phrase, since, apart from being licensed by verbs, arguments can be licensed by nouns (Mackenzie 1983). On the basis of Mackenzie's analysis, a careful distinction is made in Functional Discourse Grammar (henceforth FDG, Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008)) between two kinds of dependency relations. These are nucleus-dependent relations, also called predicate-argument relations, on the one hand, and head-modifier relations on the other. Both kinds of relations obtain within phrases, as well as within clauses. The distinction is unique in the typological literature to date: units within phrases are traditionally analyzed as involving general head-dependent relations (Nichols 1986, 1992).

The current paper focuses on the inter-linguistic variation in the alignment of head-modifier versus nucleus-dependent relations. It deals with the alignment of three kinds of constituent classes, i.e. modifiers within phrases (e.g. 'the woman' aligned with clitic =s in 'the woman's dog'), arguments within phrases (e.g. 'the woman' juxtaposed to the preposition in 'near the woman'), and arguments within clauses (e.g. 'the woman' triggering person marker –s on the verbal predicate in 'The woman walks.'). The aim of this paper is to provide a comprehensive overview of the variety of different alignment systems and their distribution. It is hypothesized that one logically possible alignment type will not occur, i.e. one in which modifiers within phrases are aligned in the same way as arguments within clauses, while arguments within phrases are aligned differently.

For this study, a 26-language sample was drawn by means of the method developed by Rijkhoff et al. (1993, Rijkhoff & Bakker 2008). Ten types of constituents were investigated in each language. Three involve typical phrasal head-modifier relations, i.e. alienable possessed noun-nominal possessor, noun-attributive adjective, and verb-manner adverb. Two concern typical phrasal nucleus-dependent relations, e.g. inalienable possessed noun-nominal possessor and adposition-noun. Five concern typical clausal nucleus-dependent relations, i.e. the core arguments of one-, two- and three-place predicates (Actor, Undergoer and Recipient).

Five main alignment types can be observed in the data. The first type is characterized by the identical treatment of constituents from all three constituent classes, i.e. phrasal modifiers, phrasal arguments and clausal arguments. In languages of the second type modifiers are aligned differently from arguments (whether phrasal or clausal), i.e. they neutralize the phrase-clause distinction. Languages of the third type align units within clauses differently from units within phrases (whether modifiers or arguments), i.e. they neutralize the modifier-argument distinction. The fourth alignment type shows both kinds of neutralizations, and the fifth type involves a different treatment for each of the three constituent classes.

The data also confirms the main hypothesis: if modifiers within phrases are aligned similarly to arguments within clauses, arguments within phrases must receive the same treatment. This outcome provides strong support for the twofold distinction in dependency relations made by FDG, and the relevance of this distinction in phrasal alignment across the world's languages.

References

- Hengeveld, Kees & Lachlan Mackenzie (2008). *Functional Discourse Grammar. A Typologically-based Theory of Language Structure*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Mackenzie, L. Lachlan (1983). 'Nominal predicates in a Functional Grammar of English', in Simon C. Dik (ed.), *Advances in Functional Grammar* (Publications in Linguistics Science 11). Dordrecht: Foris, 31-51.
- Nichols, Johanna (1986). 'Head-marking and dependent-marking grammar.' *Language* 62.1: 56-119.
- Nichols, Johanna (1992). *Linguistic diversity in space and time*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Rijkhoff, Jan, Dik Bakker, Kees Hengeveld & Peter Kahrel (1993). A method of language sampling. *Studies in Language*, 17(1), 169-203.
- Rijkhoff, Jan & Dik Bakker (1998). Language sampling. *Language Typology* 2(3), 263-314.

### **Εναλλακτικές μορφές διόρθωσης και βελτίωσης της παραγωγής γραπτού λόγου των μαθητών στα πλαίσια του μαθήματος της Γλώσσας**

**Πηνελόπη Φωτίου**  
pfotiou@sch.gr

Η παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου είναι μια από τις δυσκολότερες πνευματικές διαδικασίες, η εκμάθηση της οποίας απαιτεί πολλές ικανότητες και δεξιότητες, που αφορούν στη μορφή, στο περιεχόμενο, στη δομή και στη γενική θεώρηση του κειμένου. Γι αυτό οι μαθητές χρειάζονται τη συνεχή βοήθεια, την ενίσχυση και την ανατροφοδότηση των εκπαιδευτικών, ώστε να αποκτήσουν θετική στάση και βαθμιαία να βελτιώνουν τα γραπτά τους κείμενα.

Στην παραδοσιακή τάξη, μετά το τέλος της παραγωγής του γραπτού λόγου των μαθητών, ο εκπαιδευτικός συγκεντρώνει τα κείμενά τους, τα διορθώνει, τα σχολιάζει, τα αξιολογεί και τα επιστρέφει στην τάξη κατά τη συγκεκριμένη ώρα που ορίζεται από το αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα. Στο σημείο αυτό, συνήθως, σταματά ο κύκλος. Σε αντίθεση με τον παραδοσιακό τρόπο αξιολόγησης, οι σύγχρονες διδακτικές προσεγγίσεις θεωρούν ότι το γράψιμο πρέπει να αντιμετωπίζεται ως δυναμική διαδικασία και όχι ως στατική. Το κείμενο που γράφεται για πρώτη φορά δε θεωρείται τελειωμένο προϊόν, αποτελεί την πρώτη μορφή, η οποία μπορεί να εξελίσσεται να διορθώνεται και να βελτιώνεται από τους μαθητές με την καθοδήγηση των συμμαθητών του και του εκπαιδευτικού, μέχρι να πάρει την τελική του μορφή.

Στην παρούσα εργασία προτείνονται εναλλακτικές μορφές διόρθωσης της παραγωγής γραπτού λόγου των μαθητών, τις οποίες μπορεί να υιοθετεί ο εκπαιδευτικός, να τις συνδυάζει και να τις αναπροσαρμόζει κάθε φορά, ανάλογα πάντα με το επίπεδο της τάξης του, με το χρόνο που διαθέτει, με τους στόχους που θέτει και με άλλους παράγοντες που προκύπτουν, με απώτερο στόχο τη βελτίωση των παραγόμενων κειμένων των μαθητών.



# **WORKSHOP**

## **Proto-Indo-European Syntax and its Development**

**organized by**

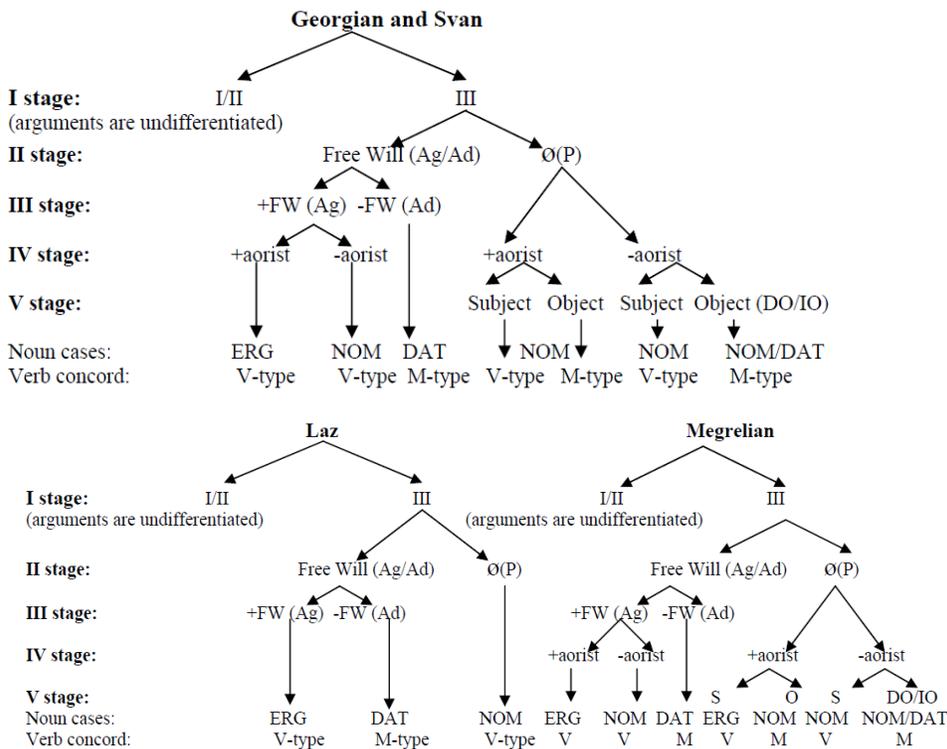
**Nikolaos Lavidas (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
and Leonid Kulikov (Leiden University, Institute of  
Linguistics, Moscow)**



## Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Kartvelian Common Typological Feature: An Active Alignment (?)

**Rusudan Asatiani**  
Tbilisi State University  
rus\_asatiani@hotmail.com

Reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European alignment type as an active one (Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1984) gives an argument to speak about the typological closeness to the Proto-Kartvelian Language as far as all Kartvelian languages show split-ergativity broadened through the category of activity: The Kartvelian split-ergativity is defined by the verb transitivity (broadened through activity) and tense-aspect restrictions. Two restrictions [(i) a verb must be transitive (and/or active); and (ii) a verb must be in Aorist] are variously functioning in the Kartvelian languages: Megrelian keeps only (ii), while Laz only (i), and Georgian and Svan case patterns are defined by the both, (i) and (ii), restrictions. Nevertheless, in all Kartvelian languages ergative case is used provided that: *verb argumentis qualified as (i) an Agent; (ii) III person; and (iii) a verb is in Aorist*. The alignment systems of the Kartvelian languages defined by the restrictions show hierarchically organized subsystems:



Various levels of hierarchies could be interpreted as the stages of mini-syntactic constructions development based on the appearance of certain grammatical categories (S/O, tense-aspect). Comparison of the hierarchies gives an argument to conclude that the Proto-Kartvelian semantically oriented active constructions (see Laz) as well as it is supposed for the Proto-Indo-European language are transferred into the functionally oriented constructions presented in the contemporary Kartvelian languages.

## Reconstructing Constructional Semantics: the dative subject construction in Old Norse-Icelandic, Latin, Ancient Greek, Old Russian and Lithuanian

<sup>1</sup>Jóhanna Barðdal, <sup>2</sup>Valgerdur Bjarnadóttir, <sup>3</sup>Eystein Dahl, <sup>4</sup>Thórhallur Eythórsson,  
<sup>5</sup>Gard B. Jensen & <sup>6</sup>Thomas Smitherman

<sup>1,3,6</sup>University of Bergen, <sup>2</sup>Stockholm University, <sup>4</sup>University of Iceland, <sup>5</sup>Bergen University College

<sup>1</sup>johanna.barddal@uib.no, <sup>2</sup>valgerdur.bjarnadottir@balt.su.se, <sup>3</sup>eystein.Dahl@lle.uib.no,

<sup>4</sup>tolli@hi.is, <sup>5</sup>Gard.Jensen@if.uib.no, <sup>6</sup>thomas.Smitherman@uib.no

Constructional meaning is considerably more abstract than lexical meaning, and hence more difficult to study. Using introspection to study constructional meaning may be an adequate procedure within synchronic linguistics, where the aim is to study one's own variety of language. Another way of approaching constructional meaning is through experimental psycholinguistics. This may be an adequate procedure when the aim is to study conventional meaning in society, agreed on by a subset of speakers. However, both introspection and psycholinguistic experiments are impossible as analytical tools when studying abstract constructional meaning in dead languages or earlier language stages. One way of approaching constructional meaning in dead languages is to investigate the lexical items instantiating the relevant constructions.

The goal of the present paper is to compare the semantic fields occupied by argument structure constructions, in particular the oblique subject construction in Old Germanic, Ancient Greek, Latin, Old Russian, and Baltic. It has been categorically assumed in the literature that non-canonical subject marking goes hand in hand with experiencer predicates. The goal of the present study is to investigate this and document the semantic fields found with predicates selecting for non-canonical subjects (cf. Barðdal 2004), instead of taking them for granted. Therefore, a systematic investigation of the semantic scope of the oblique subject construction in each of these Indo-European languages or language branches will be carried out, as a part of a larger Indo-European comparison, aiming at throwing light on the relation between verbal semantics and non-canonical case marking. A secondary goal is to study the development of the oblique subject construction in Indo-European and whether a crosslinguistic comparison of its constructional semantics may be revealing in this respect.

This paper lays out how constructional meaning may be studied historically, within the framework of diachronic construction grammar (cf. Barðdal 2011). The investigation is based on the lexical semantics of the predicates instantiating an argument structure construction, in combination with the semantic map model (Croft 2001, Haspelmath 2003). Hence, we will extend the usage of the semantic map model from grammatical items to lexical items, as such contributing to the renewal of the representational framework of lexical typology (Barðdal, Kristoffersen & Sveen 2011).  
References:

Barðdal, Jóhanna. 2004. The Semantics of the Impersonal Construction in Icelandic, German and Faroese: Beyond Thematic Roles. In *Focus on Germanic Typology*, 105–37. Ed. W. Abraham. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Barðdal, Jóhanna. 2011. The Rise of Dative Substitution in the History of Icelandic: A Diachronic Construction Grammar Approach. *Lingua* 121(1): 60–79.

Barðdal, Jóhanna, Kristian E. Kristoffersen and Andreas Sveen. 2011. West Scandinavian Ditransitives as a Family of Constructions: With a Special Attention to the Norwegian VREFL- NP Construction. *Linguistics* 49(1): 53–104.

Croft, William. 2001. *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic Theory in a Typological Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2003. The Geometry of Grammatical Meaning: Semantic Maps and Cross-Linguistic Comparison. In *The new Psychology of Language*, vol. 2., 211–242. Ed. M.

Tomasello. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

## Is the Oblique Subject Construction inherited in Indo-European? The issue of cognateness

<sup>1</sup>Jóhanna Barðdal & <sup>2</sup>Thomas Smitherman

<sup>1,2</sup>University of Bergen

<sup>1</sup>johanna.barddal@uib.no & <sup>2</sup>thomas.smitherman@uib.no

Constructions with noncanonical subject marking have been regarded as marginal within the ancient languages considered more central to the reconstruction of the proto-language, such as Greek, Sanskrit, or Hittite, and the non-nominative argument is generally regarded as having developed from objects (Cole et al 1980, Haspelmath 2001). In contrast, this paper will argue that there is a sound foundation for the reconstruction of oblique subjects as early as in Proto-Indo-European (following Barðdal & Eythórsson 2009), on the basis of form–function correspondences, i.e. on the basis of both semantic and morphological or etymological evidence.

We employ the Construction Grammar concept of *constructions*, i.e. form–function pairings, as an input for the correspondence set needed for the Comparative Method. That is, we will compare both form and meaning in our attempt to reconstruct syntax, exactly as phonemes and word forms have formerly been compared. In order to do this we work with lists of predicates instantiating the oblique subject construction in various ancient and archaic Indo-European languages. At the current tally, there are more than 150 PIE roots forming the nuclei of predicates selecting for the oblique subject construction in at least a subset of two different Indo-European branches (where Balto-Slavic is considered as single unit). This is in contrast with previous claims that there are only two cognates found across the IE language branches (Bauer 2001). There are, so far, more than 70 roots that are found in more than three subbranches.

Of course, the reconstruction of a grammatical construction is not as simple as finding a shared etymological root and case frame. Most of the aforementioned cognate sets do not contain the same exact etymological word formation for the predicates in question, though more than a few do, as shown in examples (1–2). While sorting through the diachronic history and reconstructability of the aforementioned PIE roots is a work in progress, it is clear that there are far more such form–function correspondences that may be reconstructed as selecting for the oblique subject construction in the proto-language than the two that Bauer (2001) discusses. A preliminary comparison of the semantic field occupied by the construction across the early and archaic Indo-European languages also reveals a major semantic overlap between the different branches.

The reconstruction of an oblique subject construction common for PIE not only influences our understanding of the alignment typology of the proto-language, suggesting a subsystem of semantic alignment (cf. Donahue 2008), but it also implies that oblique subjects were subjects all along and need not have developed from objects. The use of constructions as form–function pairings, in this case the predicate with its case frame, as an input to the correspondence set fed into the Comparative Method to reconstruct syntax presents a methodological improvement upon previous attempts to post non-nominative typology for Indo-European (e.g., Gamq'relidze & Ivanov 1983, Lehmann 2002, inter alia), which were partly attempts to reconstruct typological systems based on the presence or absence of certain features considered characteristic of active languages by Klimov (1977).

(1) EXP<sub>DAT</sub>+\*g'neh<sub>3</sub>-to/no- (+STIM<sub>NOM</sub>) (+ COP<sub>3SG</sub>)

Greek	<i>μοι<sub>DAT</sub> γνωστον εστι(v)</i>
Latin	<i>mih<sub>DAT</sub> notus est</i>
Old Slav.	<i>m(i)nE<sub>DAT</sub> znanU</i>
Gothic	<i>mis<sub>DAT</sub> is kunþs</i>
	‘I am aware of, I know of’

(2) EXP<sub>DAT</sub>+\*wai (+ COP<sub>3SG</sub>)

Avestan	<i>aebii<sub>DAT</sub> auuoi</i>
Latin	<i>mih<sub>DAT</sub> vae est</i>
Old Slav.	<i>m(i)nE<sub>DAT</sub> ouvy</i>
Gothic	<i>mis<sub>DAT</sub> is wai</i>
	‘I/they are woe’

## Reconstructing Early Proto-Indo-European categories: The case of the Reflexive in Hittite

**<sup>1</sup>Paola Cotticelli & <sup>2</sup>Alfredo Rizza**

<sup>1</sup>University of Verona & <sup>2</sup>University of Pavia

<sup>1</sup>paola.cotticelli@univr.it & <sup>2</sup>alfredo.rizza@gmail.com

Hittite is one of the few ancient IE languages that did not develop a full nominal or pronominal reflexive strategy. Like Celtic and some Germanic languages (ancient/middle English) an anaphoric pronoun (clitic in the case of Hittite) can be used to mark the reflexive participant in non-subject function.

Nominal periphrasis are also attested but it is the particle  $\text{=z(a)}$  that is commonly associated with a reflexive event, and resorting to a mediopassive diathesis is not necessary.

Thus Hittite bears probably the most original solution to the lack of a reflexive marker in the proto language. That PIE lacked a reflexive marker is one of hypothetical conclusion of Puddu 2005: the lack of reflexiv markers in the peripheral Celtic/Ancient English and in the oldest attested language (Hittite) may point to preference for a reconstruction of PIE as a language without a proper reflexive marker. This would explain why the different groups developed different solutions generally starting from within a set potentially adequate morphs.

The many functions of  $\text{=z(a)}$  that can be described in a scalar typological/functional scheme might be ultimately reduced to one function within a generative approach. We will present some problematic data trying to evaluate positive and negative aspects of the typological/functional approach vs. the generative one.

### References

- Benedetti, Marina 2005: "Dispersioni formali del medio indoeuropeo", in *Acquisizione e mutamento di categorie linguistiche, Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia* (Perugia, 23 - 25 ottobre 2003), Roma, Il Calamo: 95-119.
- Cennamo, Michela 1999: "Late Latin pleonastic reflexives and the unaccusative hypothesis", *Transactions of the Philological Society* 97: 103-150.
- Cotticelli-Rizza (in print), "Die hethitische Partikel -z(a) im Licht neuer theoretischer Ansätze", in: XIII Akten der Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Salzburg 21.-28 September 2008, Hrsg. T. Krisch & T. Lindner, Reichert Verlag.
- Josephson Folke 2003: "The Hittite reflexive construction in a typological perspective", in *Language in time and space. A Festschrift for Werner Winter on the occasion of his 80th birthday*, Hrsg. B. L. M. Bauer, G. J. Pinault, Berlin - New York: 211-232.
- Lazzeroni, Romano 1990: "La diatesi come categoria linguistica: studio sul medio indoeuropeo", *Studi e saggi linguistici* 30: 1-22.
- Puddu Nicoletta 2005: *Riflessivi e intensificatori: greco, latino e le altre lingue indoeuropee*, Pisa.
- Safir Ken 2004a: *The syntax of (in)dependence* (Linguistic Inquiry Monographs 44), Cambridge (Mass.) - London.
- Safir Ken 2004b: *The syntax of Anaphora* (Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax), Oxford.

**Which entities qualify as *comparanda* for syntactic reconstruction?  
The case of external possession in Indo-European**

**Rossana di Gennaro**  
*University of Pisa*  
rossgenn@gmail.com

Any comparative method aiming at the genealogical grouping of languages and at the reconstruction of unattested ancestors is faced with the difficulty of telling apart shared inheritance from interference (borrowing, areal diffusion) and random typological correspondence. The task of distinguishing between these developmental factors is particularly arduous with syntactic data, as recently pointed out by many contributions in Ferraresi & Goldbach (2008). Another tightly connected problem that affects syntactic comparison and reconstruction is represented by the fact that the level of analysis at which comparison should apply in syntax, i.e. the nature of the *comparanda*, is far from obvious: it depends on the researchers' theoretical models to a much greater extent than in lexical, phonological, and morphological work. Advocates of a method based on the recognition of abstract entities, such as syntactic parameters in the generative tradition(s), have critically confronted, in the last decades, the attempts of scholars who draw their genealogical conclusions from the study of patterns or constructions, whose definition is argued to be less theory-dependent (cf. the debate between Lightfoot and Campbell & Harris in 2002). In this paper, I discuss these issues in the light of a case study on the status of external possession constructions (EPCs) in Indo-European, and especially in the history of Greek. EPCs code the possessor 'as a core grammatical relation of the verb and in a constituent separate from that which contains the possessum' (Payne & Barshi 1999: 3). They are a widespread cross-linguistic phenomenon, almost ubiquitous according to certain definitions (cf. Payne & Barshi 1999), but displaying wide formal variation. In Indo-European languages, they are most commonly marked with the dative case, as in the following examples from German and Italian: *Der Arzt hat mir den Arm verbunden* / *Il dottore mi ha fasciato il braccio* 'the doctor has bandaged my arm'. In principle, EPCs represent a classic instance of grammatical pattern, i.e. 'a repeated form that is paired with a consistent function or distribution' (Harris 2008: 86). As such, they should qualify as suitable entities for syntactic comparison and reconstruction. If we follow König & Haspelmath (1998) in analyzing the ancient Indo-European *dativus sympatheticus* as an EPC, then the existence of EPCs can be argued to represent a common reconstructed Indo-European syntactic feature, following Havers' (1911) in-depth study of this dative use. However, the extent to which EPCs convey a 'genealogical signal' is highly debatable: as König & Haspelmath (1998) discuss, EPCs that share a number of core structural features are not only a feature of Indo-European languages of Europe, but are, more in general, widespread in the European linguistic area, so that they have been argued to represent a significant 'Europeme' (König & Haspelmath 1998: 587 f.). Moreover, König & Haspelmath also notice that EPCs are absent from Indo-European languages outside of Europe, such as Armenian and Indo-Iranian (in the latter group, uses of the *dativus sympatheticus* categorized as EPCs are only found at a very early age). Another remarkable fact concerning these constructions is their relative diachronic instability: for the Indo-European languages, many instances of regression are attested, as well as cases where an older form for the EPC disappears and another one is newly grammaticalized. An interesting case in point is offered by the history of Greek. The functional domain of predeterminer pronominal genitives in New Testament Greek largely overlaps with the distribution of the *dativus sympatheticus* in Classical Greek, as originally suggested by Havers (1911), who in fact claims that these extraposed genitives take the place of the receding *dativus sympatheticus* of Indo-European ancestry. In such cases, although the functional domain covered by the constructions largely overlaps (with a strong preference for contexts of inalienable possession), the forms are not connected genealogically: what counts, then, as *comparandum* here, when we reconstruct syntax? Privileging the functional continuity is a risky option: in situations, different from Greek, where the historical record does not allow us to follow the formal developments, we might end up wrongly considering a later construction as a sign of genealogical relatedness.

References:

- Campbell, L. & A. C. Harris (2002), Syntactic reconstruction and demythologizing 'Myths and the prehistory of grammars', *Journal of Linguistics* 38.3, 599-618.
- Ferraresi, G. & M. Goldbach (2008), *Principles of Syntactic Reconstruction*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Harris, A. C. (2008), Reconstruction in syntax: reconstruction of patterns, in: Ferraresi & Goldbach (2008), 73-95.
- Havers, W. (1911), *Untersuchungen zur Kasussyntax der indoeuropäischen Sprachen*, Strassburg: Trübner.
- König, E. & M. Haspelmath (1998), Les constructions à possesseur externe dans les langues d'Europe, in: J. Feuillet (ed.), *Actance et Valence dans les Langues de l'Europe*, Berlin: Mouton, 525-606.
- Lightfoot, D. (2002), 'Myths and the prehistory of grammars'. *Journal of Linguistics* 38.1, 113-136.
- Payne, D. & I. Barshi (1999), External Possession. What, Where, How, and Why, in: Payne & Barshi (eds), *External Possession*, Amsterdam: Benjamins.

### Word Order Change in Insular Celtic

**Dorothy Disterheft**

*University of South Carolina*  
ddisterheft@sc.rr.com

The VSO syntax of Insular Celtic languages has innovated dramatically from that of Continental Celtic, which generally followed the SOV/SVO patterns found in the rest of IE. How Celtic came to have this atypical syntax has provoked discussion since the middle of the last century (Pokorny 1949, Wagner 1959, Watkins 1963, Ahlqvist 1980), and continues to do so more recently (Hickey 2002).

Here I will focus on Old Irish (OIr) because it is the earliest attested and most conservative of the Insular Celtic languages. I argue that a loss of transitivity is the mechanism responsible for the typological shift. A number of constructions removed arguments from the verb and placed them in non-argument positions, i.e. prepositional phrases (PPs). Thus an SOV structure with arguments removed became a sentence-initial impersonal with agent and/or patient in postposed prepositional phrases. This is the situation still preserved in OIr. Added to this is the fact that as a pro-drop language with no independent personal pronouns (except for emphatics), OIr could not use pronominal NPs as subjects.

Psych verbs were always impersonal (1); intransitive verbs were often impersonal or passive (2); possessives were always impersonal (3); object pronouns are only infixed clitics (4):

- |                                |           |                            |              |
|--------------------------------|-----------|----------------------------|--------------|
| (1) is                         | ferr lium | (2) do-eth                 | o Ailill     |
| be.3.sg.pres better with.me    |           | come.3.sg.pres from Ailill |              |
| 'I prefer'                     |           | 'they came from Ailill'    |              |
| (3) attá                       | cú less   | (4) do-n-áráill            | Fer Loga     |
| be.3.sg.pres dog(nom) with.him |           | over-him-run.3.sg.pret     | Fer Loga.nom |
| 'He has a dog'                 |           | 'Fer Loga ran over him'    |              |

I argue that the sentence types of (1)-(4) served as the locus of indeterminacy in the reanalysis of Celtic as VSO. Once this new order was established, other verbs could easily follow this pattern so that both arguments were structured in PPs with an impersonal verb:

- (3) intan rommemaíd re nabracham forsna coic riga  
when defeat.pret.3.sg before Abraham upon.the five kings  
'when Abraham defeated the five kings'

I use other constructions (like the passive), too numerous to include here, to support my claim that Insular Celtic underwent this word order shift by a loss of transitivity and that because of this loss, OIr continued to have a much lower rate of transitivity than other languages.

#### References

- Ahlqvist, Anders. 1980. On word order in Irish. Papers from the 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Historical Linguistics, ed. by Traugott et al., 107-13. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Hickey, Raymond. 2002. Internal and external forces again: Changes in word order in Old English and Old Irish. *Language sciences* 24.261-83.
- Pokorny, Julius. 1949. Zum nicht-indogermanischen Substrat im Inselkeltischen. *Die Sprache* 1.235–45.
- Wagner, Heinrich. 1959. *Das Verbum in den Sprachen der britischen Inseln*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Watkins, Calvert. 1963. Preliminaries to a historical and comparative reconstruction of the Old Irish verb. *Celtica* 6.1-49.

## The «Inactive» Syntax of Latin and Greek Nominal Infinitives

**Claudia Fabrizio**

*Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane*  
cla.fabrizio@gmail.com

This paper investigates the syntax of Latin and Greek nominal infinitives occurring as subjects, in relation to the semantic parameter of agentivity.

It is commonly stated (Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr 1965: 341-353, Draeger 1878: 1878: 292-361, Enout-Thomas 1964: 257- 259, Bennett: 406-417 *int. al.*) that Latin nominal infinitives can appear as subject only with certain kinds of predicates, listed in (1):

(1)

- a. passive verbs: *nunc autem mihi est visum de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere* (Cic.)
- b. stative verbs: *meminisse iacet* (Lucr.)
- c. nominal predicates: *quam enim turpis est adsentatio, cum vivere ipsum turpe sit nobis!* (Cic.)
- d. impersonal predicates: *minime irasci decet* (Sall.)
- e. unaccusative verbs: *qui in mentem venit tibi istaec dicta dicere?* (Pl.)
- f. verbs denoting mental experience/feelings: *me hoc ipsum nihil agere et plane cessare delectat* (Cic.)

Interestingly, Greek nominal infinitives show the same syntactical behaviour, being confined to the same syntactical environments (Chantraine 1953: 301-318, Humbert 1945: 52-53, Burguière 1960, *int. al.*):

(2)

- a. passive verbs: ἄμφω πέπρωται ὁμοίην γαῖαν ἐρεῦσαι (Il. 18, 329)
- b. stative verbs: ὄφρα οἱ εἶη ἰοῦς χρίεσθαι χαλκήρεας (Od. 1, 261-262)
- c. nominal predicates: ἀγαθὸν (sc. ἐστὶ) καὶ νυκτὶ πιθέσθαι (Il., 7, 282)
- d. impersonal predicates: ἀπαγγεῖλαι δὲ τάχιστα χρῆ μῦθον (Il. 9, 626-627)
- e. unaccusative verbs: αὐτῷ Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελέσθαι τεθρίππῳ συνέβη (Er. 6, 103)

Now, as many contemporary researchers show, predicates in (1) and (2) regularly profile an inactive, i.e. non-agentive, subject (*Undergoer*, in Van Valin & La Polla 1997's terms). Even with a transitive verb (such as *delectare* in 1f), the subject plays the role of inactive argument, corresponding to the Stimulus/ Source of Experience (Harris 1982: 303).

For this reason, one can argue that, when used as subjects, nominal infinitives are devoted to realize the inagentive participant. Further evidences are offered by the distribution of cognate *nomina actionis*: a suffixed deverbal noun (e.g. *visio*) can be used in all predicative contexts, whereas the corresponding nominal infinitive (e.g. *videre*) is relegated to inactive roles (Fabrizio 2010).

From a theoretical point of view, the syntax of nominal infinitives does not conform to the widespread Indo-European argument marking, i.e. the nominative-accusative system, in which every nominal item in subject position, regardless of its agentivity, is realized by the same case, the nominative; rather, the use of nominal infinitives only as inactive subjects seems to be a (local) manifestation of a semantically-oriented alignment, that is, of an argument coding system which depends on a sum of semantic parameters, such as agentivity, animacy, wilfulness, etc. (Donohue-Wichmann 2008), and in which, therefore, the inactive subjects (in our case: the infinitive) are formally distinguished from the active ones (in our case: the deverbal suffixed *nomina actionis*).

Moreover, infinitives are neuter: as recently shown, the neuter gender can express the typical inactive participants, both in Latin (Rovai 2007) and Late Latin (Cennamo 2009), as well as, probably, in Indo-European (Lazzeroni 2002).

The last decades have seen the spread of a significant number of studies devoted to the description of inactive patterns in Indo-European syntax, both synchronically (Lehmann 1985, Rovai 2007) and diachronically (Kurzová 1993, Bauer 2000, Rovai 2005, Cennamo 2009). The syntax of nominal infinitives, however, has not been investigated in this perspective yet. This paper aims to offer an in-depth analysis of Latin and Greek nominal infinitives, showing their relevance as a plausible manifestation of an inactive coding pattern.

#### References

- Bauer, B. (2000), *Archaic Syntax in Indo-European*, Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bennett, Ch. (1914), *Syntax of Early Latin*, Hildesheim, Olms.
- Burquiere, P. (1960), *Histoire de l'infinitif en grec*, Paris, Klincksieck.
- Cennamo, M. (2009), *Argument structure and alignment variations and changes in Late Latin*, in Barðdal, J. & S. L. Chelliah (edd.), *The Role of Semantic, Pragmatic, and Discourse Factors in the Development of Case*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins, pp. 307-346.
- Chantraine, P. (1953), *Grammaire homérique*, II: Syntaxe, Paris, Klincksieck.
- Donohue, M. & Wichmann, S. (ed.) (2008), *The typology of semantic alignment*, New York, Oxford University Press.
- Draeger, A. (1878), *Historische Syntaxe der Lateinischen Sprache*, Leipzig, Teubner.
- Ernout, A. & Thomas, F. (1964), *Syntaxe latine*, Paris, Klincksieck.
- Fabrizio, C. (2010), *Il continuum verbo-nome tra latino e italo-romanzo. Forme, funzioni, mutamenti*, PhD Thesis, Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane, Firenze-Napoli.
- Humbert, J. (1945), *Syntaxe grecque*, Paris, Klincksieck.
- Kurzová, H. (1993), *From Indo-European to Latin. The Evolution of a Morphosyntactic Type*, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, Benjamins.
- Lazzeroni, R. (2002), *Il nome greco del sogno e il neutro indoeuropeo*, «Archivio Glottologico Italiano», 87, pp. 145-162.
- Lehmann, Ch. (1985), *Ergative and active traits in Latin*, in Plank, F. (ed.), *Relational typology*, Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 243-255.
- Leumann, M., Hoffmann, J.B. & Szantyr, A. (1965), *Lateinische Grammatik*, München, Beck.
- Rovai, F. (2005), *L'estensione dell'accusativo in tardo latino e medievale*, «Archivio Glottologico Italiano», 90, pp. 54-89.
- Rovai, F. (2007), *Manifestazioni di sub-sistemi tipologici attivi in latino*, «Archivio Glottologico Italiano», 92, 1, pp. 51-65.
- Stolz, F. & Schmalz, J.H. (1977), *Lateinische Grammatik*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, München, Beck.
- Van Valin, R.D. & La Polla, R.J. (1997), *Syntax. Structure, meaning and function*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

### **The rise of 'subordination features' in the history of Greek and their decline. The 'Indirect Speech Traits Cycle'**

**<sup>1</sup>Ioannis Fykias, <sup>2</sup>Christina Katsikadeli & <sup>3</sup>Konstantinos Sampanis**

<sup>1,2,3</sup>University of Salzburg

<sup>1</sup>Ioannis.Fykias@sbg.ac.at, <sup>2</sup>Christina.Katsikadeli@sbg.ac.at & <sup>3</sup>Konstantinos.Sampanis@sbg.ac.at

In a well known paper, Kiparsky (1995) claimed that, “on the evidence of Vedic, Greek, and Hittite, the Indo-European proto-language... lacked the category of complementizer and had no syntactically embedded sentences. Finite subordinate clauses, including relative clauses and sentential complements, were syntactically *adjoined* to the main clause, exhibiting “main-clause properties”, such as topicalization of constituents to clause-initial position. ..In most daughter languages, subordinate clauses became syntactically embedded, taking up argument or modifier positions within the main clause, losing their main-clause properties and becoming headed by C°,

which in Germanic was filled by one of a set of new indeclinable complementizers. The introduction of complementizers is a consequence of the shift from adjoined to embedded subordination.” Kiparsky then showed that “this restructuring ... led to several major syntactic characteristics of Germanic, including the rise of V-to-C° movement”.

The aim of our paper is to focus on some characteristic grammatical constructions and devices that emerged partly as a consequence of the transition from parataxis to hypotaxis (both in connection with infinite and finite complementation) in preclassical Greek. More specifically, the rise of subordination patterns in Greek led to—or at least it was closely connected with the development of a complex system of syntactic features signaling indirect speech. This included the development of a system of complementizers (*hoti, hos*) and some characteristic use of moods (e.g. the so-called optative of the indirect speech).

In postclassical nonliterary Greek texts, the system of complementizers and moods that had been employed to code indirect speech collapsed. This is evidenced by the use of more paratactic constructions, the disappearance of *hos*, and the optative of the indirect speech and the high frequency of pleonastic or quotative *hoti*. (De Witt Burton, E. (1900), Fykias, I. and K. Sampanis. (2010) Philippaki-Warburton, I. & V. Spyropoulos. (2004)).

Later in the history of Greek we can observe a dramatic reduction in the number of paratactic structures and in the frequency of pleonastic *hoti* as well as the avoidance of typical direct speech traits in complement clauses, so that we can say that a new subordination system arises.

We try to interpret these developments in the history of Greek as some kind of grammaticalization cycle (reminiscent of Jespersen’s Negation cycle), which we call the ‘Indirect Speech Traits Cycle’. Finally, we try to find further domains of application of this cycle in the history of other Indo-European languages.

References:

- De Witt Burton, Ernest 1900 (4<sup>th</sup> ed.), *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek*. Chicago: University Press.
- Fykias, I. and K. Sampanis. 2010. Some remarks on the diachronic syntax of ἵνα, ὅτι and the finite complement clauses of Greek, Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Philosophy Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, May 2-3, 2009, 208-218.
- Kiparsky, P. 1995. Indo-European origins of Germanic syntax. In: Battye A. and I. Roberts (ed.) *Clause Structure and Language Change*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Philippaki-Warburton, I. & V. Spyropoulos. 2004. A change of mood: the development of the Greek Mood system. *Linguistics* 42-4 (2004), 791-817.

### **Which entities qualify as *comparanda* for syntactic reconstruction? The case of external possession in Indo-European**

**Chiara Gianollo**

*University of Konstanz*

chiara.gianollo@uni-konstanz.de

Any comparative method aiming at the genealogical grouping of languages and at the reconstruction of unattested ancestors is faced with the difficulty of telling apart shared inheritance from interference (borrowing, areal diffusion) and random typological correspondence. The task of distinguishing between these developmental factors is particularly arduous with syntactic data, as recently pointed out by many contributions in Ferraresi & Goldbach (2008). Another tightly connected problem that affects syntactic comparison and reconstruction is represented by the fact that the level of analysis at which comparison should apply in syntax, i.e. the nature of the *comparanda*, is far from obvious: it depends on the researchers’ theoretical models to a much greater extent than in lexical, phonological, and morphological work. Advocates of a method based on the recognition of abstract entities, such as syntactic parameters in the generative tradition(s), have critically confronted, in the last decades, the attempts of scholars who draw their genealogical conclusions from the study of patterns or constructions, whose definition is argued to be less theory-dependent (cf. the debate between Lightfoot and Campbell & Harris in 2002). In this paper, I

discuss these issues in the light of a case study on the status of external possession constructions (EPCs) in Indo-European, and especially in the history of Greek. EPCs code the possessor 'as a core grammatical relation of the verb and in a constituent separate from that which contains the possessum' (Payne & Barshi 1999: 3). They are a widespread cross-linguistic phenomenon, almost ubiquitous according to certain definitions (cf. Payne & Barshi 1999), but displaying wide formal variation. In Indo-European languages, they are most commonly marked with the dative case, as in the following examples from German and Italian: *Der Arzt hat mir den Arm verbunden / Il dottore mi ha fasciato il braccio* 'the doctor has bandaged my arm'. In principle, EPCs represent a classic instance of grammatical pattern, i.e. 'a repeated form that is paired with a consistent function or distribution' (Harris 2008: 86). As such, they should qualify as suitable entities for syntactic comparison and reconstruction. If we follow König & Haspelmath (1998) in analyzing the ancient Indo-European *dativus sympatheticus* as an EPC, then the existence of EPCs can be argued to represent a common reconstructed Indo-European syntactic feature, following Havers' (1911) in-depth study of this dative use. However, the extent to which EPCs convey a 'genealogical signal' is highly debatable: as König & Haspelmath (1998) discuss, EPCs that share a number of core structural features are not only a feature of Indo-European languages of Europe, but are, more in general, widespread in the European linguistic area, so that they have been argued to represent a significant 'Europeme' (König & Haspelmath 1998: 587 f.). Moreover, König & Haspelmath also notice that EPCs are absent from Indo-European languages outside of Europe, such as Armenian and Indo-Iranian (in the latter group, uses of the *dativus sympatheticus* categorized as EPCs are only found at a very early age). Another remarkable fact concerning these constructions is their relative diachronic instability: for the Indo-European languages, many instances of regression are attested, as well as cases where an older form for the EPC disappears and another one is newly grammaticalized. An interesting case in point is offered by the history of Greek. The functional domain of predeterminer pronominal genitives in New Testament Greek largely overlaps with the distribution of the *dativus sympatheticus* in Classical Greek, as originally suggested by Havers (1911), who in fact claims that these extraposed genitives take the place of the receding *dativus sympatheticus* of Indo-European ancestry. In such cases, although the functional domain covered by the constructions largely overlaps (with a strong preference for contexts of inalienable possession), the forms are not connected genealogically: what counts, then, as *comparandum* here, when we reconstruct syntax? Privileging the functional continuity is a risky option: in situations, different from Greek, where the historical record does not allow us to follow the formal developments, we might end up wrongly considering a later construction as a sign of genealogical relatedness.

References:

- Campbell, L. & A. C. Harris (2002), Syntactic reconstruction and demythologizing 'Myths and the prehistory of grammars', *Journal of Linguistics* 38.3, 599-618.
- Ferraresi, G. & M. Goldbach (2008), *Principles of Syntactic Reconstruction*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- A. C. Harris (2008), Reconstruction in syntax: reconstruction of patterns, in: Ferraresi & Goldbach (2008), 73-95.
- Havers, W. (1911), *Untersuchungen zur Kasussyntax der indoeuropäischen Sprachen*, Strassburg: Trübner.
- König, E. & M. Haspelmath (1998), Les constructions à possesseur externe dans les langues d'Europe, in: J. Feuillet (ed.), *Actance et Valence dans les Langues de l'Europe*, Berlin: Mouton, 525-606.
- Lightfoot, D. (2002), 'Myths and the prehistory of grammars'. *Journal of Linguistics* 38.1, 113-136.
- Payne, D. & I. Barshi (1999), External Possession. What, Where, How, and Why, in: Payne & Barshi (eds), *External Possession*, Amsterdam: Benjamins.

## Some consequences of Proto-Indo-European verb-finality

Hans Henrich Hock

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

hhhock@illinois.edu

Although the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European as verb-final is widely accepted (e.g. Lehmann 1974, Watkins 1976, Mallory & Adams 1997), there continue to be dissenting opinions (e.g. Friedrich 1975). See also the recent publication by Pires and Thomason 2008, who question the fruitfulness of Indo-European syntactic reconstruction.

In this paper I address two issues: First, the reconstructable subordination strategies are compatible with verb-final typology. Second, verb-final reconstruction makes it possible to account for a number of prosodic and segmental changes that single out finite verbs in various Indo-European languages. Regarding the first issue, I point to the coexistence of non-finite subordination strategies (participles, verbal nouns, etc.) and relative-correlative constructions, both of which are common features in SOV languages (e.g. Dravidian and Turkic). I also note that the use of these two different subordination strategies is not evenly distributed in early Indo-European. Hittite and Germanic make very sparing use of participial constructions and rely heavily on relative-correlatives. By contrast, Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin employ both strategies, the choice (at least in Sanskrit) being sensitive to text type and discourse considerations.

Regarding the second issue, I report on recent work on Vedic finite-verb non-accentuation in main clauses and its interaction with prefix-verb univerbation. As Klein (1992) argued, this development is explainable in terms of utterance-final prosodic weakness in an SOV language. (For further refinement see Hock In Press.) A near-parallel can be found in Modern Persian, also an SOV language. I further show that utterance-finality of finite verbs helps explain that finite verbs are special targets for *i*-apocope in Italic, Celtic, and Baltic-Slavic. All of these developments find a natural, prosodically motivated explanation if we accept PIE as SOV, but not if we do not accept that reconstruction. These facts show that, pace Pires and Thomason, the reconstruction of PIE as verb-final is a fruitful hypothesis.

### References

- Friedrich, Paul. 1975. *Proto-Indo-European syntax*. Butte, Montana: Journal of Indo-European Studies.
- Hock, Hans Henrich. In Press. Vedic verb accent revisited. In: *Vedic and Sanskrit Historical Linguistics: Papers from the 13th World Sanskrit Conference*, ed. by Jared Klein and Elizabeth Tucker. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Klein, Jared S. 1992. *On verbal accentuation in the Rigveda*. (American Oriental Society Essay Number 11.) New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society.
- Lehmann, Winfred P. 1974. *Proto-Indo-European syntax*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Mallory, J. P., and D. Q. Adams. 1997. *Encyclopedia of Indo-European culture*. London/Chicago: Fitzroy-Dearborn.
- Pires, Acrisio, and Sarah G. Thomason. 2008. How much syntactic reconstruction is possible? In: *Principles of syntactic reconstruction*, ed. by Gisella Ferraresi and Maria Goldbach, 27-72. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Watkins, Calvert (1976), 'Towards Proto-Indo-European syntax: Problems and pseudo-problems,' in Sanford Steever et al. (eds.), *Papers from the Parasession on Diachronic Syntax*. Chicago: Linguistic Society, pp. 305-26.

## The Syntax of Questions and Relative clauses in Hittite

Mattyas Huggard

UCLA

mhuggard@humnet.ucla.edu

The present paper aims at reviewing previous claims proposed about Hittite syntactic properties as well as the structure of complex structures. By looking extensively and carefully at the corpus, and with knowledge in current theoretical linguistics, this present thesis proposes that Hittite is in fact *Wh-in situ* language whereby processes such as Topicalization and Focus movements are to account for word order variation in questions, not *Wh-movement* as was previously believed.

Previously, Hittite has been described as a *wh-move* language (Garrett 1994, following Hale, 1987; Hoffner and Melchert, 2008). However, questions with the *wh*-phrase initial in the clause are generally short and contain only the *wh*-phrase and the verb. Superficially they seem to support *wh-movement*, but since Hittite is an SOV language and given the short length of the question clauses, these type of sentences may not be used as evidence for either option. However, in longer sentences, the Hittite *wh*-phrase is in fact most often non-initial.

Comparing Focus structure in Hittite declaratives and interrogatives, Goedegebuure (2009) provides strong evidence that Hittite *wh*-phrases occur in pattern position parallel to focused constituents in declarative sentences: the *wh*-word may remain *in situ*, or be focalized either in initial position or preverbal position, depending on the type of focus, thus confirming that Hittite is a *Wh-in situ* language.

In a similar spirit of investigation, this research attempts to account for the variation observed in the the ordering of constituents in preposed relative clauses. Predating generative syntax, Held's (1957) survey of Hittite relative clauses divides Hittite relatives in preposed and postposed relatives. With respect to preposed relatives, Held (1957) notices two distinct patterns: *wh*-phrase initial relatives which he terms indeterminate, and relative clauses with at least one accented constituent preceding the *wh*-element, which he terms determinate relative clauses. Building on Hale (1987) and Held (1957), Garrett (1994) provides a semantic and structural account for Hittite preposed relatives: determinate relative clauses denote objects or individuals whose existence is presupposed in the discourse context and the relative NP is definite, whereas for indeterminate relative clauses, the relative NP is indefinite and non-specific, denoting an indefinite entity whose existence may be in doubt. In both instances, Garrett proposes that the *wh*-phrase undergoes *wh-movement* in the relative clause, followed by a further "fronting" process of the relative pronoun in the case of indeterminate relatives, and of any accented constituent in the case of determinate relatives.

Garrett (1994)'s proposal has the advantage of formalizing the semantics of Hittite correlatives based on typological evidence following Srivastav (1991) who postulates that preposed relative clauses have the semantic property of being quantificational, whereas postposed relatives are non-quantificational. However, there are some problems concerning the proposed structural account:

- it fails to motivate the structures by syntactic features;
- it fails to account for the variety in the ordering of elements observed for the determinate type relative clauses:

- (1) Preposed RC with ordering [NP +REL...] traditionally termed determinate:

*nu=za=kan zashimus kuies uskizzi n=as memiskizzi*  
 conj=refl=ptc dream.acc.pl REL.acc.pl see.3sg conj=3.acc.pl tell.3sg  
 'The dreams which he sees, he tells them' (KUB 7.5 iv 5-7)

- (2) Preposed RC with ordering [XP [REL + NP]...] traditionally termed determinate:

*nu=za UTU-SI kuin NAM.RA I-NA E.LUGAL uwatenun n=as 1*  
 conj=refl. I My Majesty rel.acc deportee.coll.acc into Palace bring.1sg.pret conj=3sg.nom  
*SIG7 5 LIM 5 ME NAM.RA esta*  
 15 500 deportee be.3sg.pret  
 "The deportees whom (I) My Majesty brought into the palace, they were 15 500." (KBo 3.4 ii 41-42)

- (3) Preposed RC with ordering [XP [NP +REL...] traditionally termed determinate:

*Hattusas=ma=za ERIN.MES ANSE.KUR.RA.MES ERIN.MES sarikuwass=a NAM.RA kuin*  
 of-Hattusa=ptc=ptc infantry cavalry sarikuwas troops=conj deportee.coll.acc rel.acc  
*uwatet nu=san kappuwar NU.GAL esta*  
 bring.3pl.Pst conj=of them counting none be.3sg.pret  
 "The deportees whom the infantry and cavalry and s-troops of Hattusa brought, there was no counting of them." (KUB 14.16 iii 21-22)

- (4) Preposed RC with the ordering [NP XP REL...] traditionally termed determinate:

*NAM.RA URU Duggama 3 LI-IM NAM.RA I-NA E=YA kuin uwatenun*  
 deportee.coll.acc of D. three thousand deportee.coll.acc into my house rel.acc bring.1sg.Pst  
*n=an=za=an ERIN.MES ANSE.KUR.RA.HIA iyanun*  
 conj=them=ptc=ptc infantry cavalry make.3pl.pret  
 "The deportees of D., three thousand deportees, whom I brought into my house, I made them infantry and cavalry." (KBo 4.4 iv 25-27)

- it assumes that Hittite is a Wh-movement language.

Since the process of relativization is dependant on whether a language is a wh-move or wh-in situ language, first it will be argued that the Hittite corpus lacks positive evidence for wh-movement, which was assumed to be true in the previous analyses. Questions with the Wh-phrase initial in the clause are generally short and contain only the wh-phrase and the verb. Superficially they seem to support wh-movement, but since Hittite is an SOV language and given the short length of the question clauses, these sentences are not probative. I will propose a unified analysis which is typologically grounded and syntactically driven in order to account for the diversity of ordering of constituents encountered in both of the preposed type of relatives. I will incorporate a head movement approach much in line of Kayne (1994) and Bianchi (2000) to the analysis of Hittite correlatives, as well as a unified base approach thus, providing a syntactic account to the variety of internal structures observed in the Hittite corpus while maintaining the semantic asymmetries observed by Held (1957) and formalized by Garrett (1994).

### Hittite 'come' and 'go' as Restructuring Verbs

Bernhard Koller  
 UCLA  
 kollerb@gmail.com

This paper examines the exact syntactic relationship between the two verbs in the so-called phraseological construction in Hittite:

EGIR-pa	=ma	<u>uit</u>	<sup>m</sup> Ammunas	DUMU.LUGAL	<u>BA.UuS</u>
later	conj	come.3.sg.pret	(name)	prince	die.3.sg.pret

and later Ammuna, the prince, came-died. (example from van den Hout (2003))

The main properties of this construction are a) a fully inflected form of the verb `come' or `go' in an auxiliary-like function, usually at the beginning of the sentence (sometimes following an adverb), followed by a fully inflected main verb in initial position, b) no overt complementizer intervening between the two verbs, c) only one clitic cluster following the first position of the sentence and d) only one overt subject usually following the first verb. These properties lead Hittitologists (e.g. van den Hout (2003), Hoffner and Melchert (2008) and others) to the conclusion that the two verbs are part of a single clause and `come' and `go' function as serial verbs. However, as Baker (1989) has shown, a common feature of true serial verb constructions, where two main verbs share a single clause, is selection of a single common object. Since the Hittite construction lacks this property, the serial verb analysis is not tenable (on the same grounds Jaeggli and Hyams (1993) rejected a serial-verb analysis for English aspectual `come' and `go').

Instead I will adopt an analysis that treats `come' and `go' as Restructuring verbs (in the sense of Rizzi (1982)) that allow for clitic climbing out of their complement clause. In her work on Salentino, Terzi has already shown that clitic climbing is not restricted to infinitival clauses. An analysis in terms of Terzi (1996), which treats restructuring as a process of T-raising, can not only account for the placement of clitics in the Hittite construction, but also for its ban on overt complementizers in the embedded clause, as well as the fact that the two verbs usually agree in tense and phi-features. I will further argue that the (optional) overt subject surfaces in the embedded clause, while the subject position of the matrix clause is filled by a phonetically null expletive. This further allows us to explain seemingly exceptional cases where the matrix verb occurs in the 3rd person singular instead of agreeing with the embedded verb. While previous approaches had to deal with these cases in terms of inconsistencies/errors on part of the scribes, the present approach provides a straightforward analysis by treating Restructuring as an optional process, i.e. if T-raising does not apply, the matrix verb will surface with default morphology.

References

- Baker, Mark. 1989. Object Sharing in Serial Verb Constructions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20:513-553.
- Hoffner, Harry A., and H. Craig Melchert. 2008. *A Grammar of the Hittite Language*. Eisenbrauns.
- Jaeggli, Osvaldo A., and Nina M. Hyams. 1993. On the Independence and Interdependence of Syntactic and Morphological Properties: English Aspectual come and go. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 11:313-346.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1982. *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Foris. Dordrecht.
- Terzi, Arhonto. 1996. Clitic Climbing from Finite Clauses and Tense Raising. *Probus* 8:273-295.
- van den Hout, Theo. 2003. Studies in the Hittite Phraseological Construction. I. Its Syntactic and Semantic Properties. In *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Honer, Jr. on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. G. Beckman, 177-204.

### **How can one deal with the word order part for a new handbook of PIE syntax?**

**Thomas Krisch**  
*Salzburg University*  
Thomas.Krisch@sbg.ac.at

The author of this paper has been invited to write the section on Word Order in Proto Indo-European for the Syntax part of the Indogermanische Grammatik (Winter- Verlag, Heidelberg).

This presentation describes how I intend to treat this difficult issue. Here are some of the more severe problems which a student of PIE word order encounters when trying to write for a handbook:

- 1) There are no primary data for PIE sentences available
- 2) The account of the subject should meet the requirements of a handbook but (contrary to the situation in PIE phonology, morphophonology and partly also in PIE morphology) there is no communis opinio how to deal with this topic and there is no communis opinio about how PIE syntax looked like (e.g. does one have to assume "free" word order, was there a fixed base order with variations, does one have to assume subordination for PIE ...)

- 3) The most important thing is that research on this topic is carried out in a consistent way for at least some of the better attested IE daughter languages before reconstruction can be approached. If this postulate is taken seriously in its “totality”, it would take a very long time to achieve the goal.

The paths along which these problems will be addressed are

1) Word order structures (and not full sentences) can be reconstructed. The comparative reconstruction must be based on structurally analyzed primary data from IE daughter languages thereby always using the same methods.

2) The method applied will be some kind of “basic” generative grammar. That means, a basic syntactic pattern (not one of the respective most recent branches of the theory), based on Government and Binding theory, will be assumed along the lines of Krisch (in press, partly based on Haider 2010, but consistent to earlier work by Krisch (e.g.. 2009, 2004)), which allows for movement processes.<sup>1</sup> This structural method will be supplemented by a basic information-structure approach (see below).

3) The parameters developed in a number of the author’s publications using the pattern mentioned above and an information structure annotation [which will be partly inspired by the methods used in the current Jena project “Die Informationsstruktur in älteren indogermanischen Sprachen” (R. Lühr (supervisor), Susanne Schnaus, Carlotta Viti and Matthias Passer, cf. <http://www.indogermanistik.org/indogermanistik/projekte.html>)] will be applied to a (relatively small) corpus of Vedic, Homeric, Old Latin and Hittite.

Since I am just starting to work on the word order part of the handbook, suggestions of the colleagues at the Thessaloniki workshop on PIE syntax will be very welcome.

Bibliography:

Haider, Hubert 2010 *The Syntax of German*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Krisch, Thomas (in print): Some Remarks on the Position of Adverbials in Greek and Vedic Sentences. In: Krisch Thomas and Thomas Lindner (ed, unter redaktioneller Mitarbeit von Michael Crombach und Stefan Niederreiter): *Indogermanistik und Linguistik im Dialog. Akten der XIII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 21. bis 27. September 2008 in Salzburg Wiesbaden*: Reichert: 300-309.

Krisch, Thomas 2004: Some aspects of word order and sentence type From Indo-European to New High German. In: *ANALECTA HOMINI UNIVERSALI DICATA. Arbeiten zur Indogermanistik, Linguistik, Philologie, Politik, Musik und Dichtung. Festschrift für Oswald Panagl zum 65. Geburtstag*. Herausgegeben von Thomas Krisch, Thomas Lindner und Ulrich Müller unter redaktioneller Mitwirkung von Michael Crombach, Stefan Niederreiter, Helga Panagl und Ursula Pavicic. Band I. Stuttgart Akademischer Verlag Hand-Dieter Heinz. (= S.A.G. 421), 106–129.

Krisch, Thomas 2009: On the “syntax of silence” in Proto-Indo-European, in: Roland Hinterhölzl / Svetlana Petrova (eds.), *Information Structure and Language Change. New Approaches to Word Order Variation in Germanic*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter (=Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 203): 191 –220.

Schallert, Oliver 2009: *Hybride OV/VO-Systeme und syntaktischer Wandel zu OV und VO in den germanischen Sprachen*. Diplomarbeit zur Erlangung des Magistergrades Universität Salzburg, Fachbereich Linguistik, unpublished.

<sup>1</sup>One problem which has to be discussed in the handbook is whether PIE basically represented an OV type language (as assumed in all previous work by Krisch as well as by many other scholars) or whether it was a hybrid OV / VO language (as Schallert 2006 assumes for the older Germanic languages).

### Reconstructing the Voice in PIE

<sup>1</sup>Leonid Kulikov & <sup>2</sup>Nikolaos Lavidas

<sup>1</sup>Leiden University, <sup>1</sup>Institute of Linguistics, Moscow, <sup>2</sup>Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

<sup>1</sup>L.Kulikov@hum.LeidenUniv.nl & <sup>2</sup>nlavidas@enl.auth.gr

The aim of this paper is to examine some aspects and problems of the reconstruction of passive constructions in Proto-Indo-European (PIE), foremost on the basis of evidence from Early Vedic and

Greek. In PIE, the fundamental distinction is between active and middle, while specialized markers of passive are lacking, passive being encoded with middle inflection (see e.g. Beekes 1995: 225). Another verbal category most intimately associated with passive constructions, especially in early PIE, was the stative (see, in particular, Watkins 1969: 88ff. et passim; Oettinger 1976). The role of middle and stative in the expression of passive raises important theoretical questions, being a testing ground for the methods of syntactic reconstruction.

One of the old problems of Indo-European scholarship is the relation between PIE voice and passives in the archaic Indo-European languages. Most Indo-European languages abandon the use of middle forms in passive constructions; Greek is quite conservative, regularly using middle forms as passives; the same holds for Latin, although middle inflection was heavily restructured. But even Greek partly abandoned the original strategy, since forms with active inflection may take passive interpretation as well. These include aorist passives, dating from Homer, which take active, not middle, endings. Active endings appear in aorist since the verbal system of Homeric Ancient Greek must have been linked to the category of Aktionsart (stative vs. dynamic; Moser 2008). Furthermore, in Homeric Greek, the presence of the agent in PP or dative case and the theme argument in the subject position was quite common with verbs with active endings, licensing passive uses of forms with active morphology (cf. Lavidas 2006/2009).

In Vedic Sanskrit, there are three specialized formations for passives: *ya*-present, passive aorist and stative, supplying the perfect paradigm in the perfect system. The exceptional character of the bare (non-specialized) middle forms used as passives (Kulikov 2006) shows that Indo-Aryan has essentially chosen a different, non-syncretic strategy of encoding intransitivizing derivation (see Kulikov 2009), though with the middle inflection consistently preserved in passive *ya*-presents; while Iranian (Avestan), where we often find passive *iia*-presents with active endings, has made one step further.

The abandoning of the middle morphology and the variegated development of the new passive morphology, including the extensive use of nominal formations (participles) attested in virtually all branches, shows that the beginning of this process must be dated back to the proto-language. Details of this 'morphologization' of the passive (shared by several Indo-European branches, though with a number of important differences) require further study.

#### Bibliography

- Beekes, R.S.P. 1995. *Comparative Indo-European linguistics. An introduction*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Kulikov, L. 2006. Passive and middle in Indo-European: Reconstructing the early Vedic passive paradigm. In: W. Abraham & L. Leisiö (eds), *Passivization and typology: form and function*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 62-81.
- Kulikov, L. 2009. Valency-changing categories in Indo-Aryan and Indo-European: A diachronic typological portrait of Vedic Sanskrit. In: A. Saxena & Å. Viberg (eds), *Multilingualism. Proceedings of the 23rd Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 75-92.
- Lavidas, Nikolaos. 2006/2009. *Transitivity Alternations in Diachrony. Changes in Argument Structure and Voice Morphology*. Ph.D. dissertation, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Moser, A. 2008. The changing relationship of Tense and Aspect in Greek. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung (STUF)* 61, 5-18.
- Oettinger, N. 1976: Der indogermanische Stativ. *MSS* 34: 109-149.
- Watkins, C. 1969. *Indogermanische Grammatik*. Bd. III: *Formenlehre*. 1. Teil. Heidelberg: Winter.

## Transitivity, configurationality, alignment type and lability: evidence from coordination

Silvia Luraghi  
University of Pavia  
silvia.luraghi@unipv.it

As well known, the ancient Indo-European languages allow direct object drop, or null direct objects, to a much higher extent than the modern ones (van der Wurff 1997, Luraghi 2004). Increasing constraints on the occurrence of null objects are usually taken as an indication of increasing configurationality (Rögnvaldsson 1995, Luraghi 2010); especially with regard to Latin, this change has also been described as an increase in transitivity (Johnson 1991). In this connection, one must mention Meillet and Vendryes's (1924) remark that the PIE verb did not govern its arguments, a fact that they viewed as the explanation for possible case variation: absence of government and case variation constitute further evidence for non-configurationality (Hewson and Bubenik 2006). Clearly, increase in transitivity is connected with the rise of configurationality. Indeed, such an increase has been said to lie behind other changes, such as alleged change in alignment (Bauer 2000). It is not clear whether increased transitivity really qualifies as evidence for the reconstruction of the alignment system, since non-configurational languages are known belonging to various alignment types (Baker 2001). However, ongoing reduction of case variation and other features of non-configurationality constitutes evidence for the emergence of transitivity as a syntactic feature of verbs, and hence of government, a feature which is said not to belong to the active type (Bauer 2000). Relevance vs. non-relevance of configurationality for constituency can be demonstrated by comparing conditions on coordination reduction from modern and ancient IE languages. Across the latter, a rule of coordination reduction deletes unstressed direct objects (Luraghi 2004):

(1) *gesæt            þæt    lond        ond gedælde.*

occupied.3SG the.ACC land.ACC and divided.3SG

“(The army) occupied the land and divided it” (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A [Plummer] 880)

In (1) the VP appears to contain a gap: [<sub>VP</sub> *gesæt* [<sub>NP</sub> *þæt lond*]] *ond* [<sub>VP</sub> *gedælde* [<sub>NP</sub> Ø]]. However, the gap is only apparent, because no filler is required for the syntactic position. In general, non-configurationality can be conceived as the absence of syntactic positions which mandatorily require to be filled (Baker 2001 and p.c.). I discuss the consequence of this feature of PIE on various issues connected with verbal semantics, such as e.g. possible lability, in addition to alignment.

### References

- Baker, Mark 2001. Configurationality and polysynthesis. In M. Haspelmath, E. König, W. Oesterreicher, W. Raible, eds., *Language Typology and Language Universals. An International Handbook*. Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter, vol. 2, 1433-41.
- Bauer, Brigitte 2000. *Archaic Syntax in Indo-European. The spread of transitivity in Latin and French*. Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hewson, John, Vit Bubenik 2006. *From case to adposition: the development of configurational syntax in Indo-European languages*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, Benjamins.
- Johnson, Ruth, 1991. *The Direct Object Pronoun as a Marker of Transitivity in Latin*. UCLA, Ph.D. diss
- Luraghi, Silvia 2004. Null Objects in Latin and Greek and the Relevance of Linguistic Typology for Language Reconstruction. In *Proceedings of the 15th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, JIES Monograph 49*, 234-256.
- Luraghi, Silvia 2010. The rise (and possible downfall) of configurationality. In S. Luraghi and V. Bubenik, eds., *Continuum Companion to Historical Linguistics*. London/New York, Continuum, 212-229.
- Meillet, Antoine, Joseph Vendryes 1924. *Traite de grammaire comparee des langues classiques*. Paris: Champion.
- Rögnvaldsson, Eiríkur 1995. Old Icelandic: A Non-Configurational Language? *North-Western European Language Evolution* 26, 3-29.
- van der Wurff, Wim 1997. Syntactic reconstruction and reconstructability: Proto-Indo-European and the typology of null objects. In J. Fisiak, ed., *Linguistic Reconstruction and Typology*, Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter, 337-356.

## Proto-Indo-European word order: Issue of Generative Grammar and Information Structure

**<sup>1</sup>Matthias Passer & <sup>2</sup>Konstantinos Sampanis**

<sup>1&2</sup>*University of Salzburg*

<sup>1</sup>matthias.passer@sbg.ac.at & <sup>2</sup>konstantinos.sampanis@sbg.ac.at

Despite the fact that syntactic reconstruction is considered to be highly difficult (if not completely unfeasible), there are numerous indications which suggest that the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) sentence might have a basic SOV word order. Recent research in particular shows growing interest in PIE basic word order, though most studies of this kind concentrate on one theoretical frame, namely Generative Grammar, while others focus on the theory of Information Structure (IS). We believe that there is no reason to exclude any of the two within the study of word order and sentence structure, as the syntactical framework easily complements IS just as IS does it with syntax. A long-term change of such a basic and complex system as sentence structure cannot be explained out of one single approach.

Many prolifically attested languages such as Ancient Greek or Sanskrit do not necessarily exhibit the SOV word order, which seems to contradict the hypothesis of its existence in the PIE stage. In our paper, we investigate the SOV hypothesis and we present a number of arguments in favour of this analysis. Subsequently, we will try to account for the wide variety of word order structures in the daughter languages.

Given that the bulk of the texts we are delivered are poetical or at least non colloquial ones, we expect that their style may cause deviations from the "normal" word order. Our aim is to show that the variation in the word order occurs according to certain syntactic and pragmatic-semantic rules and mechanisms, which can also be the cause for syntactic change.

### References

- DIK, Helma (1995): Word order in Ancient Greek. A pragmatic account of Word Order Variation in Herodotus. In *Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology* 5.
- KIPARSKY, Paul (1995): Indo-European origins of Germanic syntax. In Battye A. & Roberts I. (eds), *Clause Structure and Language Change*. 140–169. Oxford: University Press.
- KRISCH, Thomas (2002): Indogermanische Wortstellung. In Hettrich, H. (ed.): *Indogermanische Syntax - Fragen und Perspektiven*. Wiesbaden, Reichert, pp. 249-261.
- LEHMANN, W.P. (1976): From Topic to subject in Indo-European. In Li, Charles N. (ed.): *Subject and Topic*. New York, Academic Press, pp. 445-456.
- MATIĆ, Dejan (2003): Topics, Focus and discourse structure. *Ancient Greek Word Order*. In: *Studies in Language* 27(3), pp. 573-633.
- RIZZI, Luigi, (1997): The fine structure of the left periphery. In: Haegeman, L. (Ed.), *Elements of Grammar*. Kluwer, Dordrecht, pp. 281–337.
- ROBERT Ian. (2007): *Diachronic Syntax*. Oxford: University Press.

### **Can discourse analysis features of Indo-European verbal aspect be posited for the reconstructed proto-parent?**

**Judith Prais**

*University College London*

judithprais@hotmail.com

Scholars of early Indo-European (and in particular of Ancient Greek) verbal aspect argue increasingly persuasively that one of its a principal functions, as attested in ancient literature, is to structure narrative.

Linking aspect to management of the narrative can in part be seen as a reformulation, in terms traceable to discourse analysis, of the most enduring description of the distinction between the Greek aorist and imperfect: the "pure and simple" nature of the aorist versus the "durative" nature of

the imperfect. But that earlier concept typically entailed a *subjective* input from the speaker or author: the aspectual choice would, in theory, be determined by the speaker or author's perception of the event. Thus, put simplistically, verbal aspect was kept within the control of the speaker.

By bringing aspect choice into the arena of the narrative structure, the range of influences that could dictate aspect choice has been immediately widened to include circumstances external to the speaker or composer, including those of context and literary convention.

Thus far, studies on aspect and narrative such as that of C.M.J. Sicking in 1997 on Herodotus' use of aspect have limited themselves largely to an enquiry as to one author and a comparison across authors has not been undertaken. By reference to the Homeric poems I will provide further evidence that verbal aspect does indeed contribute to management of the narrative. I will however argue that narrative structuring through verbal aspect is not managed consistently even within the poems themselves. An array of different systems can be identified within the Iliad and Odyssey. Through close study and deconstruction of the narrative pattern in the Homeric texts, it will however be shown that the instances within each of the differing systems can be aligned with different narrative patterns, including narrative patterns which are highly formally - and even formulaically - structured.

In sum, I will show that both across the Greek canon of literature and within individual authors, although aspect choice does structure narrative, it does not do so in a consistent manner when one text or sub-text is compared with another. Furthermore, I will illustrate that Indo-European verbal aspect was highly malleable in denoting a wide variety of different narrational nuances.

I will also consider some examples in the Vedic texts of phrases that are syntactically congruent to those considered in the Homeric examples and will compare how the choice of verbal aspect interacts with narrative structure.

Having identified a variety of discourse functions for the aspectual stems within the attested languages, I will argue that there is no hard evidence that any particular form of narrative structuring can be assumed to have occurred in Proto-Indo-European and that furthermore the narrational structuring attested in the daughter languages is so highly tied up with literary conventions which themselves may have divergent (including non-European) origins that it would be false to assume their presence in the parent language. On the other hand, the identification of the discourse functions in aspect choice, has conversely ramifications for the scope of the more subjective characteristics and it will be argued that both for the attested daughter languages and for the parent, a pared down version of the pure and simple / durative theory should be maintained.

## **The Syntax of the Genitive Case. From PIE to Italic**

**Karin Tikkanen**

*Uppsala University, Sweden*

Karin.Tikkanen@lingfil.uu.se

In discussing the genetic relationship between Latin and the Sabellian languages (a group of pre-Roman languages on the Italian peninsula, attested in inscriptions appr. 650 - 50 BCE), historical and comparative linguistics regularly draw their evidence from the two areas of phonology and morphology, with some side glances at the vocabulary. When it comes to the question of syntax, almost all most scholars state that Latin and Sabellian are "more or less identical" in respect of syntax, irrespective of which point of view they represent regarding their supposed genetic relationship. Thus Buck, favouring the Proto-Italic idea, in the beginning of his section on case syntax: "Moreover, in the view of the general similarity to Latin syntax, it is needless to heap up examples of the common constructions..."<sup>1</sup> The opponents of the Proto-Italic theory echo the same idea, as for example Domenico Silvestri: "As regards the case syntax ... it may be said that the Italic languages are almost completely identical to Latin."<sup>2</sup>

In my doctoral thesis, *A Comparative Grammar of Latin and the Sabellian Languages - The System of Case Syntax* (2009), I prove that there are several differences between these two language groups when it comes to case syntax. Sabellian is, on the whole, more conservative, in preserving more archaic case constructions, for example in the retention of archaic genitive

constructions, such as the partitive object genitive, as in example (1), where the genitive marking on the direct object indicates that only parts therefore are affected (attested in Greek, Vedic and modern Balto-Slavic languages). Latin, on the other hand, has rebuilt the system somewhat, and archaic case patterns such as the partitive object genitive, which appears in the earliest Latin, is later replaced by other case constructions or adpositional phrases. Thus Latin distinguishes completed acts through preverbs or prepositions, as in (2), as opposed to the unmarkedness of (3).<sup>3</sup>

Both language groups altered the PIE system of endings, among other things the genitive case morphology. Latin introduced the new *o*-stem singular long *\*-i* ending (which is found in Venetic, and perhaps also Celtic; this is of obscure origins, but perhaps something to do with an old adjectival constructions). This, in turn, affected the *a*-stem singular pattern also, causing a new ending *-ae*. Sabellian preserved the inherited *a*-stem ending, and shows a different form of analogical change in the singular of the other stems, using *-eis* from the *i*-stems also in the *o*-stem and consonant stems. The plural forms are mostly preserved, though the Latin *o*-stems show the *-orum* form, influenced by *a*-stem *-arum*.

All these changes are historical in Latin, with both early and mid-stages attested. In Sabellian there is only the resulting system.

In this paper I will present a brief explanation of these differences. Is it possible to define the ultimate origin of the differences between these languages in this respect, tied to a particular (combination of) feature(s) within the phonological system, later realized in the shape of changes in the morphology? I believe that the onset for the subsequent developments in Latin as opposed to Sabellian is to be found in the preservation of the locative case as a distinct case in Sabellian. This was lost early on in Latin, due to formal ambiguity with the new genitive case (*o*-stem sg. ending *-i*, *a*-stem sg. ending *-ae*), and the case function is instead expressed through the ablative case, with or without adpositions. When adopting a wider look at the two language groups, one will notice that perhaps *all* syntactic differences between the syntactic systems can be explained in the same way.

Examples:

(1) Umbr. Ila.41 *struhçlas*<sup>GEN.sg</sup> *fiklas*<sup>GEN.sg</sup> *sufafia*<sup>GEN.sg</sup> *kumaltu*<sup>IMP.sg</sup>

“grind (a portion) of the *struhçla* cake, of the *fikla* cake, and of the *sufafia*”

(2) Cels. 5,27,4 *qui acetum*<sup>ACC.sg</sup>, *quod forte secum habebat, ebibit et liberatus est*

“who drank up the vinegar he happened to have with him, and was saved”

(3) Cato *orat.* frg. 221 (*mulier*) *multitatur, se uinum*<sup>ACC.sg</sup> *bibit*

“a woman is regularly sentenced to pay a fine, if she drinks wine”

<sup>1</sup> C. D. Buck (1904), *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, p. 195, n.1

<sup>2</sup> D. Silvestri (1998), ‘The Italic Languages’. In (eds.) Ramat, A. G. & Ramat, P., *The Indo- European Languages*, p. 340

<sup>3</sup> See G. Haverling (2009), ‘Actionality, Tense and Viewpoint’. In (eds.) Baldi, P. & Cuzzolin, P., *New Perspectives on Latin Historical Syntax*. Vol. II, *Constituent Syntax*.

# **WORKSHOP**

## **Challenges in Early Foreign Language Learning and Teaching**

**organized by**

**Areti-Maria Sougari and Thomai Alexiou (Aristotle  
University of Thessaloniki)**



## **Fun EFL activities in the Young Learners' classroom**

**Paul Bouniol**

*University of Athens*

This workshop will focus on fun EFL activities in the Young Learners' classroom. It will start off by highlighting why Young Learners are so different from other learners and how they typically behave in the EFL classroom.

After presenting the main characteristics of young learners, there will be reference to why fun activities should be incorporated in the EFL curriculum: as probably expected, such language activities develop the learners' character and personality, keep a balance between their left and right hemisphere, motivate them, help them achieve conscious language learning and subconscious language acquisition, involve them actively as they are often asked to communicate, cooperate and care for each other, etc.

The workshop will then focus on the main criteria for choosing or designing one's own fun activities, such as taking into consideration the learners' age, level or class size; the duration of the selected activity, its objective(s), the necessary preparation and adaptation, the various limitations, etc. Details will also be given on the different steps that need to be followed in order to carry out a successful session.

There will be reference to the most successful types of fun activities. Among others, the speaker will recommend activities involving responding physically to written cues, reordering visuals, finding links, caption finding, problem solving, etc. The many different roles of the teacher during such fun activities will also be highlighted and justified.

Finally, a number of fun activities will illustrate the more theoretical points of the presentation, and practical tips will also be shared for the novice or busy EFL teacher...

## **CLIL: Challenge and Opportunity for European Teachers**

**María Jesús Frigols**

*Valencian International University*

mariajesus.frigols@campusviu.es

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) refers to any educational situation in which an additional language and therefore not the most widely used language of the environment is used for the teaching and learning of subjects other than the language itself.

In CLIL, content and language are learnt in integration, and both subjects are dealt with as a whole. Language teaching and learning is integrated into content classes and content teaching and learning is integrated into language classes.

The dual focus on having simultaneous content and language learning outcomes is quite different to conventional language teaching practice. CLIL constitutes a major change, and as such it also requires knowledge of how to best manage change.

The overall major challenge in teacher education in CLIL is its integrative nature. With the exception of primary teachers, other educators are often trained to teach just one subject be that a content subject or a language, as opposed to both. Even where teachers are trained in both a content subject and a language, training in the integration of language and content is not widespread. Teachers undertaking CLIL will need to be prepared to develop multiple types of expertise: among others, in the content subject; in a language; in best practice in teaching and learning; in the integration of the previous three; and, in the integration of CLIL within an educational institution.

CLIL has been defined as a catalyst for change because it provides teachers with considerable opportunities for re-thinking educational practice and reaching out for an upgrading of performance.

## To CLIL or not to CLIL? The case of the 3rd Experimental primary school in Evosmos

**<sup>1</sup>Marina Mattheoudakis, <sup>2</sup>Thomaï Alexiou & <sup>3</sup>Chrysa Laskaridou**

*<sup>1,2</sup>Aristotle University of Thessaloniki & <sup>3</sup>EFL Teacher*

*<sup>1</sup>marmat@enl.auth.gr, <sup>2</sup>thalexiou@enl.auth.gr & <sup>3</sup>laskarid@hol.gr*

While there is no agreement with respect to the onset age in foreign language learning, nonetheless, as interest in the significance of early language learning continues to grow, so too does interest in primary-level CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning). Researchers who believe that 'earlier is better' and that the introduction of an additional language should be as 'naturalistic as possible' following the framework of 'incidental learning', support the introduction of CLIL at an early age (see Garcia Mayo and Garcia Lecumberri, 2003; Johnston, 2002). CLIL is a "dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language" (Coyle, Hood and Marsh, 2010). CLIL does not refer to a new type of language or subject education. It is actually an innovative integration of both, even if the emphasis is greater on one or the other at a given time.

This presentation aims to report on the implementation of CLIL at the 6<sup>th</sup> grade of the Experimental primary school of the School of English in Evosmos, Thessaloniki. This is an innovative project as, to our knowledge at least, it is adopted for the first time in a Greek primary school. In our context, CLIL has been chosen for the teaching of one subject, Geography; this is taught exclusively by an English language teacher for two hours a week, according to the school curriculum. The syllabus of the subject has been slightly modified by the English language instructor in order to be adjusted to the linguistic level of the learners but it mainly follows the Geography textbook and the syllabus set by the Pedagogic Institute. The methodology is mainly task-based and project-oriented and to this end, the English language teacher cooperates regularly and closely with two regular class teachers.

As this is a first-ever implementation of CLIL at the primary level education in Greece, our aim is to explore its linguistic, cognitive, and affective effects on learners' progress. To this end, we have carried out a research that compares two 6<sup>th</sup> grade classes in the same school. One of them (experimental class) follows the CLIL method, while the other (control class) attends the Geography class as this is taught by the regular class teacher. For the purpose of this study, we have carried out a triangulated research that includes (a) Likert-type questionnaires which allowed us to identify learners' views and feelings about CLIL at the beginning of the school year and trace possible changes during its implementation, (b) class observations through videotaped lessons to evaluate cognitive aspects during learning (c) language and geography tests which allowed us to assess learners' progress in both the foreign language and the particular subject. Students' progress in both classes (experimental and control) is being recorded throughout the school year and their test results will be analysed and compared.

The data of our research are expected to shed light on the effectiveness of using CLIL in the classroom and the multifaceted benefits that language learners seem to acquire. The comparison of the two language tests provides evidence for the variety and richness of linguistic input provided in CLIL classroom. Cognitive advantages are likewise noted along with the enhanced motivation and the impressive increase in learners' self esteem in the CLIL classroom.

### **Developing Intercultural Identities in the Greek Primary EFL Classroom: Some Considerations**

**<sup>1</sup>Areti-Maria Sougari & <sup>2</sup>Nicos Sifakis**

*<sup>1</sup>Aristotle University of Thessaloniki & <sup>2</sup>Hellenic Open University*

*<sup>1</sup>asougari@enl.auth.gr & <sup>2</sup>sifakis@eap.gr*

Language is the main tool through which children engage with the world around them. The family environment is responsible for initiating socialisation, which later on is reinforced in the school setting. This socialisation engenders the development of children's multiple identities. The fact that

children at an early age have yet to develop inhibitions and stereotypical images can facilitate the development of an intercultural identity, which, in its simplest form, involves the associating of an individual's own socio-cultural identity with that of another. Intercultural identity development is pertinent to foreign language learning environments as the latter can offer opportunities that can prompt learners to both become critically aware of different cultural backgrounds and negotiate their own intercultural identity.

In this paper, we raise a number of considerations for the development of children's intercultural identities as seen in the light of the current curriculum for English as a Foreign Language in Greek primary education. Based on the tenets of the cross-curriculum approach, the curriculum addresses the development of literacy, multilingualism and multiculturalism. We problematise these three axes and seek ways whereby learners can enhance their intercultural identities and perform as autonomous communicators in an interculturally and multiculturally rich context.

### **Shaping Teaching and Learning through Assessment in the Young Learners' classroom**

**Keti Zouganeli**

*EFL Teacher-Teacher Trainer*

*zouga@ontelecoms.gr*

The presentation discusses classroom assessment as a process which can provide feedback to the teacher and to the learner about both the process and the outcomes of learning, thus helping to readjust practices and develop awareness of strengths and weaknesses.

Focusing on the area of Young Learners, the implications of children's characteristics and their nature are discussed and compared with some common practices in classroom assessment which fail to capture important aspects of children's cognitive and linguistic development, as well as their mental growth and need for socialisation.

Under this perspective, Alternative Assessment is suggested as a learner-centered means of collecting feedback about teaching and learning as well as about children's personal and mental capacities and, also, as one which involves children in investigating the way they learn.

The nature of Alternative Assessment is discussed and its implications for the TEYL classroom are presented through concrete examples of ways for designing and managing alternative assessment and its feedback. Examples from classroom practice are also presented in order to highlight the teachers' role as designer of the teaching practice and facilitator of the learning process.

The underlying aim of the presentation is to stress the need for a shift in assessment practices, so that the emerging changes in Greek Primary EFL education and in our society will be catered for.



# **WORKSHOP**

## **Translation Process Research and Translator Training: Trends and Perspectives**

**organized by Kyriaki Kourouni (Aristotle University  
of Thessaloniki)**



## **Evidence about translational creativity: Some implications for translation pedagogy**

**Gerrit Bayer-Hohenwarter**

*Karl-Franzens-Universität, Graz, Austria*

*gerrit.bayer-hohenwarter@uni-graz.at*

The nature and the development of translational creativity have been the focus of my research within the longitudinal study TransComp (see <http://gams.uni-graz.at/fedora/get/container:tc/bdef:Container/get> as of November 30, 2010). TransComp collects data produced by 10 professionals and 12 students from their first to their sixth semesters within their BA programme by means of keystroke logging, screen recording, thinking aloud, retrospective interviews and questionnaires. In my PhD project, translational creativity is seen as an expression of beneficial translational processes and novel and flexible translation products that show that the path of least resistance in cognitive terms has been left and that “creative strength” has been at work. A creativity assessment procedure was thus developed in which bonus points are awarded for desirable behaviour related to flexible problem-solving and fluent routine translation.

The results of my analyses are to provide answers to a number of assumptions. It is, for instance, claimed that the more proficient translators show higher overall creativity and that translational creativity develops in line with Jääskeläinen’s developmental hypothesis (1996, etc.). The relevant findings and other observations made about the nature of translational creativity and the strengths and weaknesses of individual students of translation bear important implications for translation pedagogy. These implications cover areas such as 1) nature vs. nurture, 2) individual particularities, and 3) emotional factors affecting the creative performance and the development of translational creativity. It is argued that translation teachers should be well aware of what expressions of translational creativity are in the first place, what techniques potentially foster certain aspects of translational creativity, and what emotional factors come into play. A plea is made for student-centred learning in a constructivist translation classroom that makes heavy use of the methods and findings made in translation process research. Moreover, it is underlined that empirical research needs to be carried out in order to find out about the actual value of the creativity-enhancing techniques for translators that are suggested in this paper.

Reference

Jääskeläinen, Riitta. 1996. „Hard Work will Bear Beautiful Fruit. A Comparison of Two Think-Aloud Protocol Studies.” *Meta* 41/1. 60-74

## **Go with the flow? Translation students’ performance from a process-oriented perspective**

**Kyriaki Kourouni**

*Aristotle University, Greece/Universitat Rovira I Virgili, Spain*

*electra@enl.auth.gr*

The present study forms part of a doctoral thesis examining possible effects of learning styles on translation quality under time constraints. Translating under time constraints is a familiar concept for professional translators. The ability to cope with it becomes of utmost importance within a training environment, when taking into account that translation graduates will have to face increasingly shorter deadlines in the current era of globalisation. In studying how students can learn and/or be taught to translate efficiently under time constraints, it may be relevant to look specifically at students’ learning styles, defined as innate patterns of “thinking, perceiving, problem solving and remembering when approaching a learning task” (Cassidy 2004: 408), as this can be hypothesised to strongly influence their ability to cope with the time constraints. The hope is to demonstrate that by diagnosing the learning styles of otherwise comparable students, we can predict who will most likely be able to cope with time constraints and how and take “therapeutic” measures, if necessary, thereby creating a learning environment conducive for all parties, students and trainers, involved.

Within this larger framework, the present paper presents results from experimental work with 54 translation students of the School of English, Aristotle University. It is based on data collected

through keystroke logging, screen recording and retrospective questionnaires. It focuses on the analysis of translation production flow. Attention is paid to time distribution per translation phase as well as on manifestations of linearity and omission. Emerging performance patterns are then checked for possible correspondence to dominant learning styles. Based on findings arising from the critical presentation of student experiences in relation to the translation process, implications for a more learner-centred and student-friendly approach to translator training are discussed.

Reference

Cassidy, Simon. 2004. "Learning styles: An overview of theories, models and measures". In *Educational Psychology* 24 (4): 407-419.

### **Problem-solving in translation: Empirical findings of the efficiency of consultation processes and possible improvements**

**Friederike Prassl**

*Karl-Franzens-Universität, Graz, Austria*

friederike.prassl@uni-graz.at

Consultation processes in translation are a multifold phenomenon and rather expensive: That means, they are time consuming, require sources and are cognitively demanding. Comparative studies with groups of participants working without dictionaries and participants using dictionaries showed, that up to a third of the translation time is invested in looking up words or searching information. The quality of the target texts, however, is not always significantly better. Studies focusing on the type of source used (monolingual and bilingual dictionaries as well as parallel texts) did not yield convincing data as to which source provides better help to the translator. Thus, it seems advisable to look at research processes in the wider context of problem-solving.

The present study, which is part of my PhD thesis, presents results from the research project TransComp, a longitudinal study which investigates the development of translation competence in 12 students of translation over a period of three years and compares it with the translation competence of professional translators. Ten popular science texts and two instructional texts had to be translated by the students at different points of measurement, using key-logging, think aloud and screen recordings. The professional translators translated five texts each, at one point of measurement, the same methods being applied. Each text is thereby translated by three groups: six students in their first or second semester, six students in one later semester and five professionals. The target texts are evaluated on the basis of a primarily linguistic error classification scheme, the evaluations carried out by three academically trained translators. The resulting data are converted into translation process protocols which contain all utterances, all reading and writing processes, pauses, paraverbal phenomena and all consultation processes and data regarding the subjective problems that occurred. Drawing together the individual results in one comparative matrix, utterly different problem distributions and problem solving behaviors showed. The resulting tables show, that many, merely lexical, problems could be solved by a majority of participants and that other problems, that required thorough understanding, could not be solved by any of them. A lack of problem awareness proved to be the main source of errors. Some problems remained totally undetected, while others were only partially grasped. Best-practise and worst-practise examples will be discussed and suggestions made on how to prepare students for successful consultation processes.