

# AICED 23

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THEORETICAL AND APPLIED  
LINGUISTICS

## INVITED SPEAKERS

**Valentina Bianchi** – University of Siena

From speaker to addressee and return: On some discourse particles in two Sicilian dialects

**Henriëtte de Swart** - Utrecht University

Towards an indexical theory of tense in fiction

**Antonio Fábregas** – University of Tromsø-Norges Arktiske Universitet

Morphemes as exponent competition within a single syntactic space

**Valentina Bianchi, University of Siena**

(based on joint work with S. Cruschina and S. Menza)

1. In recent years, discourse particles have attracted much attention in view of an ever more refined analysis of the syntax-pragmatics interface. These particles express specific non-at-issue meanings, such as presuppositions and conventional implicatures.

A comprehensive characterization of such particles must take into account (a) their interpretive import, (b) their distribution across sentence types, and (c) their syntactic position in the clausal structure. Ideally, these three aspects of analysis would shed light on one another and lead to a transparent mapping between syntax, semantics, and the speech act level.

In this talk I discuss two discourse particles that appear optionally in the Sicilian variety of Mussomeli, and a particle introducing apparently declarative clauses in the variety of Catania. I will show that their import relates, respectively, to the epistemic state of the participants, and to their preferences.

I adopt as a starting point the default assumptions for canonical speech acts proposed by Farkas 2020:

– for a main declarative clause: given an open issue with at least two undecided alternatives,

(i) **SPEAKER COMPETENCE**: the Speaker presents herself as believing that the proposition *p* she is conveying is true in the actual world;

(ii) **ADDRESSEE IGNORANCE**: the Speaker presents herself as assuming that the Addressee does not already believe that *p* is true in the actual world.

– For information-seeking questions conveying an issue with at least two undecided alternatives:

(iii) **SPEAKER IGNORANCE**: the speaker presents herself as being ignorant about the true answer;

(iv) **ADDRESSEE COMPETENCE**: the speaker presents herself as assuming that the addressee is informed about the true answer.

2. Starting from the Mussomeli variety, Cruschina & Bianchi (2022a,b) show that the 'dubitative' particle *cusà* (presumably derived from 'who knows') optionally appears in declarative clauses and main information-seeking polar questions. In both cases, the sentence radical expresses a unique proposition, and the particle conveys the same semantic import:

(1) *Cusà* applies to a sentence highlighting a unique proposition *p*, and it conveys the conventional implicature that *p* cannot be decided (positively or negatively) in the speaker's current epistemic state.

At the discourse level, the effect is different, and this explains the particle's distribution across sentence types. In main declarative clauses, the particle's conventional implicature blocks the default assumption of speaker competence (i), so that the speech act is not interpreted as an assertion (i.e. as a public commitment on the part of the speaker to the truth of *p*), as shown in (2) below.

In polar questions, instead, the particle strengthens the default assumption of speaker ignorance (iii) to a non-cancellable conventional implicature, cf. (3). This explains why *cusà* is not acceptable in quiz questions, where the speaker is competent about the true answer and is testing the addressee's competence about it; nor is it acceptable in surprise/disapproval questions, where the speaker is observing the situation described by the question's sentence radical, cf. (4) (I return below to the particle *chi*):

(2) *Trasi a machina nt'u magazzinu, cusà chiovi.*  
 put.IMP.2SG the car in-the garage PTC rain.PRS.3SG  
 'Put the car in the garage, in case it rains'

(3) *Cusà (chi) jà deci euro di mi mpristari?*  
 PTC have.PRS.2SG ten euros to me.CL lend.INF  
 'Can I borrow ten euros off you?'

(4) (#*Cusà*) *chi dormi?*  
 ptcptc sleep.3s  
 'Is he really sleeping?!'

3. In the same variety, the particle *chi* (homophonous to 'what') optionally appears in polar questions (as originally observed in Cruschina 2012):

(5) *Chi* applies to a sentence highlighting a unique proposition *p*, and it conveys the conventional implicature that *p* is decided (positively or negatively) in the addressee's current epistemic state.

(5) effectively strengthens the default assumption of addressee competence (iv) to a conventional implicature; this, explains why it is unacceptable in quiz questions, whereas it is acceptable in canonical questions like (3) and in surprise/disapproval questions like (4). Notice that *cusà* is anchored to the speaker's epistemic state, while *chi* is anchored to the addressee's. Interestingly, when the two particles cooccur the former must precede the latter. This syntactic distribution can be explained in terms of the left-peripheral Speech Act Projections proposed by Speas & Tenny (2003) (see Bianchi 2003, 2006 for a similar proposal): the higher Speech Act Phrase-1 hosts the Speaker (the agent of the speech act), while the lower Speech Act Phrase-2 hosts the addressee (the goal of the speech act) and the Sentence Phrase (the theme). Based on their anchoring, we can assume that *cusà* is in SAP-1 while *chi* is related to SAP-2. This explains the obligatory order of the two particles, and the fact that they can only appear in main clauses.

4. In the Sicilian dialect of Catania (Bianchi & Menza 2019), the particle *quantu* (lit. 'how much') occurs in sentences that share some properties of imperatives: they only allow for present tense with a proximate future interpretation; they require a volitional predicate; they cannot be embedded; they have a null subject with a restriction of the person feature. Contrary to imperatives, however, the subject is not restricted to second person, but rather to first person singular:

(6) *Quantu (\*iù) mi=ttrasu i rrobbi.*

quantu I 1SG=take\_in.1SG the washing  
'I'm going to take in the washing.'

Following Condoravdi & Lauer (2012), imperatives express that the speaker has a maximal preference for the addressee to perform the described action. I propose that *quantu* introduces the reverse import: the addressee has a maximal preference for the speaker to perform the relevant action. By conveying this import the speaker signals that the action they are about to perform is intended to be fully cooperative w.r.t. the addressee's preferences (in fact, *quantu* is excluded in non-cooperative contexts like quarrels).

I hypothesize that the preferential import is anchored to sentient PRO, to the effect that the PRO-participant has a maximal preference for the other participant(s) to perform the described action. Following again Speas & Tenny's analysis, I argue that in imperative clauses the Sentience Phrase is immediately c-commanded by the agent (the speaker): consequently, the preferential component is anchored to the speaker via the controlled PRO (whence the restriction to first person singular).

As for *quantu*, I speculate that it is the head of SAP-2 and triggers the promotion of the goal (the addressee) to a position that immediately c-commands the Sentience Phrase. In this way, PRO is controlled by the addressee(s) and the preferential implicature is anchored to them.

In sum, each discourse particle conveys a unique conventional implicature whose anchoring to the discourse participants is determined by the particle's relation to the Speech Act projections.

Cruschina & Bianchi 2022a: Isogloss 8(2)/11. Cruschina & Bianchi 2022b: *Probus aop*  
Bianchi & Menza 2019: Talk at 29th Colloquium on Generative Grammar, Ciudad Real, May 22-24 2019.

Condoravdi & Lauer 2012: *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics* 9, 37–58.  
<http://www.cssp.cnrs.fr/eiss9/>

Cruschina 2012: *Discourse-Related Features and Functional Projections*. Oxford University Press.

Farkas 2020: Canonical and non-canonical questions. Ms., UCSC.  
<http://semanticsarchive.net>

Speas & Tenny 2003: In A.M. Di Sciullo (ed.), *Asymmetry in Grammar*, 315–344. John Benjamins.

Henriëtte de Swart, Utrecht University

### **The need for an indexical theory of tense use in fiction**

Stories are generally told in the past tense (Fleischmann 1990). The past tense is anaphoric (Partee 1973, 1984), and discourse oriented studies focus on the intricate patterns of temporal anaphoricity, combinations with lexical, compositional and grammatical aspect, and relations between rhetorical and temporal structure in novels, see Smith (1990), Kamp & Reyle (1993, DRT), Lascarides & Asher (1993, SDRT) and studies building on these. Next to narrative discourse, novels sometimes contain dialogue parts in which the characters talk to each other about ongoing events, plan actions for the future and reflect on what happened in the past. A parallel corpus study of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (by J.K. Rowling) reveals a much wider range of past, present and future tense forms in fictional dialogue than in narrative discourse. This holds for the English original as well as their French, Italian, Spanish, German and Dutch translations. Tense use in the narrative discourse parts is cross-linguistically stable, and displays the patterns predicted by the current DRT/SDRT literature. The cross-linguistic variation in the dialogue parts replicates the competition between the *HAVE*-PERFECT and the (PERFECTIVE) PAST we found earlier in the French novel *L'Étranger* (by A. Camus), see Van der Klis et al. (2022a), Le Bruyn et al. (2022b). The findings confirm the robustness of the *Translation Mining* methodology for cross-linguistic semantic research.

This paper focuses on the implications of tense distribution in discourse and dialogue for the cross-linguistic semantics of tense and aspect. Narrative discourse is past oriented, but the centering of fictional dialogue around the conversation between the characters creates room for all tenses past, present and future. A proper account of the alternation between the two registers requires an indexical theory of tense use in fiction with layers of embedded utterance situations. Building on Hunter's (2013, 2014) indexical DRT analysis, we will show how semantic and pragmatic information are integrated in the temporal structure of fictional texts.

### **An temporal version of Hunter's indexical DRT analysis**

Hunter (2013, 2014) aims to overcome the difficulties of two-dimensional theories of meaning based on Kaplan (1989), and proposes an integrated representation of extra-linguistic and linguistic content for the interpretation of indexical 1<sup>st</sup> person and deictic/anaphoric 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns. In Hunter's indexical DRT model, semantic and pragmatic information do not live in separate dimensions, but depend on levels of embedding in a single DRS.

Figure 1 spells out a temporal version of Hunter’s model in which the utterance time is added as a parameter of the extra-linguistic content, represented in the top level DRS  $K_0$ .  $K_0$  functions as the input context for the sentence processed in  $K_1$ . Deictic expressions get a special anaphoric treatment. Indexicals are interpreted as part of the presuppositional content embedded under the up arrow operator  $\uparrow$ . All discourse referents under the scope of  $\uparrow$  must find their antecedent in  $K_0$ . In Figure 1, the sentence *I am hungry* is not only anchored to the speaker, but also the time of the utterance.

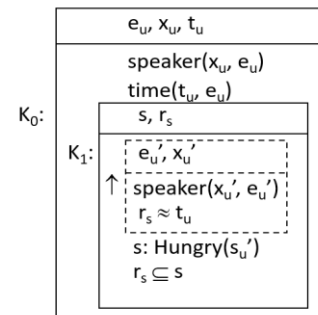


Figure 1

### An indexical theory of tense use in narrative discourse

Figure 1 models real life conversation. Narrative discourse reports a series of events that are not tied to the real world, but transpose the audience into the world of the story. In order to model tense use in fiction, we need to incorporate insights from narratology into the indexical DRT analysis. If the story-teller is visible in the 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun *I*, tense alternations reflect the narratological distinction between the reporting self (present tense) and the reported self (past tense), as in: *I am old now, but I was young then*. The present tense necessarily relates to the story telling, so other characters in the story are referred to with 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns and past tense. The opening paragraph of *Harry Potter* illustrates the combination of narrator and fictional characters with reporting and reported time: *When Mr and Mrs Dursley woke up on the dull, grey Thursday our story starts,(...)*. In a variant on Figure 1, we can model the fictional extra-linguistic context through a DRS  $K_0$  that represents the narration process (with parameters narrator, audience, narration time), and embed the sentences in the story under it.

### An indexical theory of tense use in dialogue

Indexicals in the dialogue parts of the novel do not anchor to the narration process, but pick up on an utterance event of the characters talking to each other.

‘Well?’ said Quirrell impatiently. ‘What do you see?’

Harry screwed up his courage.

‘I see myself shaking hands with Dumbledore,’ he invented. ‘I - I’ve won the House Cup for Gryffindor.’

The recursive structure in Figure 2 models fictional dialogue in DRT in terms of an embedded utterance event that spells out the parameters, to which the indexicals are anchored. The argument structure of the speech verb provides the anchoring for speaker/addressee, the *Simple Past* fixes the utterance time in the story world, and the part between quotation marks provides the content of the utterance through direct speech. The layered model requires a local resolution strategy in which the indexicals anchor to the closest utterance event in the DRS.

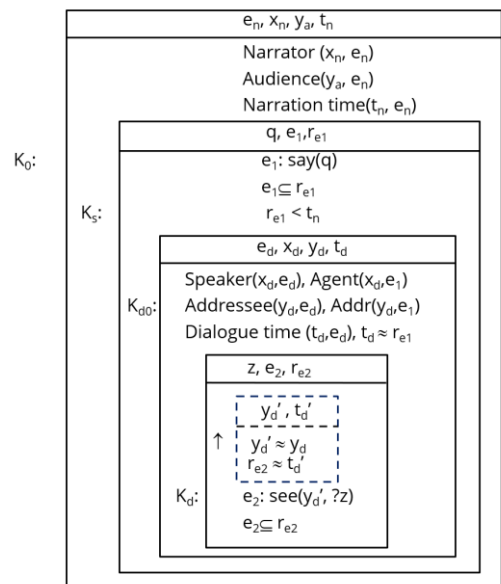


Figure 2

### Conclusion

In a parallel corpus of literary fiction, we observe differences in tense use in narrative discourse and fictional dialogue in all Western European languages under investigation. An indexical DRT analysis that merges Hunter (2013, 2014) with insights from narratology

accounts for the restrictions on tense distribution in discourse and dialogue. We can exploit this analysis to advance the cross-linguistic semantics of tense and aspect. We know that the full gamma of past, present and future tenses is available in spoken language, but for obvious reasons, we cannot build a parallel corpus of spoken language. The possibility to use written dialogue as a proxy for spoken language - at least as far as the grammar of indexicals is concerned - means that we can use parallel corpora of literary fiction as a new source of semantic evidence to investigate the range and limits of cross-linguistic variation. So far, the PRESENT, FUTURE and the PRESENT tense form of the *HAVE*-PERFECT emerge as cross-linguistically stable indexical categories, and the PAST as a deictic/anaphoric category.

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## MORPHOMES AS EXPONENT COMPETITION WITHIN A SINGLE SYNTACTIC SPACE

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An interesting property of morphological irregularity is that it follows a number of systematic patterns within what is traditionally considered a 'paradigm'. In Spanish, a high number of such systematic patterns of irregularity has been noticed (Martín Vegas 2014), and in this talk we want to concentrate on the set represented in (1).

- (1) salir 'to go out'
- a. sal  
go.out.imp2sg  
Go out!
  - b. salg-o / sal-e-s  
go.out-1sg.ind go.out-ThV-2sg
  - c. salg-a / salg-a-s  
go.out-sbj.1sg go.out-sbj-2sg

There are a number of verbs that are irregular in the imperative (2sg form) in removing their theme vowel; (1a) contrasts in this respect with (2). These verbs always have an irregular verbal stem form that is used in two contexts that are apparently unrelated to each other in semantic or syntactic terms: the first person singular in the present indicative (1b) –but not any other person in that temporal form– and the present subjunctive, irrespective of the grammatical person (1c).

- (2) comer 'to eat'
- com-e
  - eat-ThV.imp
  - Eat!

It is well known that the distribution of irregularities such as the one in (1) reflects what Maiden (1992, 2018) calls an L-pattern: what seems to be semantically and syntactically unrelated cells within a paradigm exhibit the same type of irregularity across a robust set of verbs. The standard analysis of such irregularity patterns is through 'morphemes' (Aronoff 1994), that is, purely morphological features that are used to express relations between cells in a paradigm. Note that the L-pattern, in principle, does not account for the relation between this irregularity and the imperative irregularity.

In this talk I will present an analysis of the irregularity in (1) where the notion of paradigm disappears and is substituted with a notion of exponent competition within a restrictive syntactic space. My proposal starts from the observation in (3):

- (3) 1sg present indicative and present subjunctive are the two only Spanish verbal forms where there is no visible marking for the Theme Vowel.



I assume with Fábregas (in press) that the Spanish Theme Vowel is the spell out of an Event head (Ramchand 2018) which closes the lexical verb space and adds time and world parameters to the event descriptive heads carrying argument structure and lexical aspect. With this assumption, I propose the following:

a) As imperative forms in Spanish (perhaps cross-linguistically) are structurally impoverished (Biezma 2010), the verbal functional structure associated to them stops at EventP. Regular verbs spell out Event as the theme vowel (3a), but verbs such as those in (1a) have verbal exponents that synthetically spell out the lexical part + Event, resulting in (3b).

b) The 1sg indicative form -o (1b) and the subjunctive exponents (1c) are instances of exponents that spell out synthetically the syntactic space anchored to EventP; that explains that with these forms we do not see a theme vowel (4a, 4b in contrast to 4c).

c) Consequently, what happens in (1b) and (1c) is that the verbal stem is unable to spell out EventP. These verbs are irregular because next to the exponent (eg., sal-) that emerges when EventP is spelled out together with the verb, they have a second exponent (eg. salg-) that emerges in cases where EventP is spelled out by another exponent.

(3)	[CP	[Evt	[VP	]]]]	Imperative structure
a.		[-e	[ com-	]]	'Eat!'
b.		[	sal	]	'Go out!'
(4)	[T	[Mood [Asp	[Evt	[V ]]]]]	Clausal structure
a.	[	-o	[verb]]		-o, 1sg present indicative
b.	[	-a	[verb]]		subjunctive form
c.	[-s	[	∅ [-e	[verb]]]]	2sg present indicative form

(5) Two exponents for salir 'go out'

	[EventP	[VP	]]
a.	[ sal	]	
b.		[salg-	]

This analysis keeps the main (correct) empirical observations about irregularity patterns and morphemes more generally while making it unnecessary to refer directly to paradigms or to postulate that they are the effect of specifically morphological features invisible to syntax (Trommer 2016): they emerge when the syntactic space is divided by exponents in the same cutting points, such as –in our case– the one involving EventP. The proposal allows for several extensions that I will at least comment during the talk: why some verbs take -oy as the 1sg exponent for the present indicative and why irregular verbs with irregular imperatives typically also have irregular future forms.

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# THEORETICAL LINGUISTICS

## SYNTAX AND TYPOLOGY UP AND DOWN THE CHOMSKY HIERARCHY

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According to Newmeyer (1998:301), linguistic typology aims at going beyond “descriptive generalizations governing the distribution of linguistic elements in the languages of the world” by finding actual explanations for such frequencies and distributions. This attempt of going beyond descriptions agrees with Chomsky’s (1964:25-30) goals for the investigation of language acquisition, and these rather similar goals can illustrate the reason why Graffi (1980) and Cinque (2013) claim among others that it is possible to bridge the gap between the fields of syntax and linguistic typology.

On the part of typologist, however, this should imply a departure from Croft’s (2003:85) adoption of “a direct mapping between linguistic form and external function or phonetic substance”, by holding instead to Dryer’s (2018:801) “intermediate level of [...] DESCRIPTIVE PRINCIPLES, [...] formulated in terms of grammatical notions and [...] in themselves explanatory only in a superficial sense”. At the same time, syntacticians should apply a narrower focus on what Chomsky (1964:26) explores to a lesser extent, namely the “perceptual model A [...] that assigns a full structural description D to a presented utterance U, utilizing in the process its internalized generative grammar G”. In fact, Gazdar *et al.* (1985:22) claim that “[t]he most interesting contribution a generative grammar can make to the search for universals of language is specify formal systems that have putative universals *as consequences*”.

Moreover, the interaction between syntax and typology based on these grounds presupposes Croft’s (2003:233) notion of *uniformitarianism*, according to which “languages of the past [...] are not different in nature from languages of the present”, so that there should be some grammar whose structural descriptions adequately captures the properties of any human language. Because of these reasons, the two different *generative capacities* of a grammar delineated by Chomsky (1965:60) come in handy: the *weak* one determines the set of strings described by the grammar, while the *strong* one defines the way it proceeds so to produce such strings. Therefore, a grammar is adequate under the present terms if its weak generative capacity overlaps with the typological data and if it features a set of *formal universals* (see Steedman 2020§2) that can explain the frequencies and distributions of those data.

Such a grammar should be probably constrained by some formal universal that can account for the insights addressed by the Final-Over-Final-Condition (FOFC). According to Holmberg’s (2017, 1) definition, FOFC states that “[a] head-final phrase  $\alpha P$  cannot immediately dominate a head-initial phrase  $\beta P$ , if  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are members of the same extended projection”. Thus, given three syntactic elements  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ , this principle assumes that there are four possible configurations: [ $_{\alpha P}$   $\alpha$  [ $_{\beta P}$   $\gamma P$   $\beta$ ]] (lowercase xP indicates the phrase labels assumed by Holmberg) should be less frequent than the other two possible syntactic configurations [ $_{\alpha P}$  [ $_{\beta P}$   $\gamma P$   $\beta$ ]  $\alpha$ ] and [ $_{\alpha P}$   $\alpha$  [ $_{\beta P}$   $\beta$   $\gamma P$ ]], which are deemed to

comply with Greenberg's (1966) notion of *harmony*, while  $*[\alpha_P [\beta_P \beta \gamma_P] \alpha]$  is ruled out, so that it should remain unattested. However, when Roberts (2017) tries to apply FOFC to a noun (which replaces  $\gamma$  in these structures) dominated by two modifiers, namely a demonstrative and a numeral (which substitute  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , respectively), this syntactic principle appears to be both *too strong* and *too weak*, if one follows Hawkins's (2013) terminology. In fact, if one looks for the crosslinguistic co-occurrence of these three elements together with an adjective, as it happens among typologists who deal with Greenberg's (1966) Universal 20, it turns out that on the one hand FOFC appears to rule out permutations that are found in Dryer (2018:804), such as [Num N Dem A], and on the other hand it does not capture the fact that some other linearizations are never attested, because they cannot be straightforwardly described through this formalism (e.g. [Num A Dem N]). These main limitations of FOFC can be ascribed to the fact that any three elements  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  can be permuted in six possible ways, but FOFC cannot map two of these permutations (i.e.  $[\gamma \alpha \beta]$  and  $[\beta \alpha \gamma]$ ) because of the binary branching it assumes. However, linearizations containing  $[\gamma \alpha \beta]$  are consistently attested (although they are not highly frequent), while instances of  $[\beta \alpha \gamma]$ , as already mentioned, are way rarer than  $[\beta \gamma \alpha]$ . Therefore, FOFC might turn out to be problematic because in certain cases it requires what Krivochen (2021:222) calls "unnecessary additional structure". By following Krivochen's (2021) argumentation, a possible way out is then the abandonment of "binary branching as a model of structural uniformity". This move does not imply the rejection of the fact that most of the data concerning a single phenomenon, like Greenberg's Universal 20, can be adequately described through the application of binary branching structures. On the contrary, it also allows for divergent, simpler structures by means of which one could find adequate descriptions for exceptions and marginal effects attested by the typological data. If a formal universal proves itself to be a good *statistical correlation* (see Greenberg *et al.* 1966§4), but not an exceptionless *absolute universal* (see Biberauer *et al.* 2014:170), it means that it requires further refinement, rather than a strong rejection, and this seems exactly what should happen with FOFC in the future inquiries.

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WHAT ARE THE COUNTERPARTS IN ROMANIAN OF THE ENGLISH QUANTIFIER “SOME”?  
CAN SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS HELP US DECIDE?

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The paper examines semantic and pragmatic differences between *unii* “some<sub>1</sub>”, *câțiva* “some<sub>2</sub>” and *niște* “some<sub>3</sub>” and their correspondence to the English *some* by testing a number of 30 English-speaking Romanian natives with respect to factors such as subject/object function, generic/ non-generic sentence, quantity denoted, familiarity, anaphoricity (see Tables 1, 2, 3). Our exploratory questionnaire consisted of 32 sentences organized in three tasks. Task 1 (a translation task) consisted of 8 sentences where participants had to choose among three different Romanian translations (with *unii* “some<sub>1</sub>”, *câțiva* “some<sub>2</sub>” și *niște* “some<sub>3</sub>”) of the English *some* (multiple choice). Task 1 employed a 2x2 design, varying genericity and the syntactic function of the existential quantifier. The test employed 8 sentences: (i) 2 generic sentences where the quantifier is a subject, (ii) 2 generic sentences where the quantifier is an object, (iii) 2 non-generic sentences with a subject quantifier, (iv) 2 non-generic sentences with an object quantifier. In Task 2, participants had to evaluate the suitability of referring to certain *unii* “some<sub>1</sub>”-, *câțiva* “some<sub>2</sub>”- and *niște* “some<sub>3</sub>”-modified entities by means of quantity items such as *puțini/ puține* “few” and cardinals (how many out of 20). Task 3 consisted of 8 mini tasks where participants had to choose the most appropriate sentence with a plural existential quantifier, or where they had to rate sentences with plural existential quantifiers in a context where they were (un)familiar with the referent.

The results reveal interesting differences among the Romanian plural existential quantifiers, showing that they are not synonymous or interchangeable, although experiments with scalar implicatures with quantifiers have not revealed any difference between *unii* “some<sub>1</sub>” and *câțiva* “some<sub>2</sub>” for either adults or children: adults generated implicatures at an equal rate with both quantifiers, while children generated fewer implicatures than adults with either (Stoicescu, Sevcenco & Avram 2015, Bleotu 2021). The current test, however, shows the presence of some semantic and pragmatic particularities. More exactly, *câțiva* “some<sub>2</sub>” and *niște* “some<sub>3</sub>” seem to occur in non-generic sentences rather than generic ones (Am văzut *câțiva/ niște* actori la bar ‘I saw some<sub>2/3</sub> actors at the bar’), where *unii* “some<sub>1</sub>” is preferred (*Unii* actori sunt faimoși ‘Some<sub>1</sub> actors are famous.’). All plural existential quantifiers can occur in subject/ object position, but when *unii* “some<sub>1</sub>” appears as an object, it has a specific interpretation. From the point of view of the quantity denoted, *câțiva* “some<sub>2</sub>” seems to indicate a lower number/ proportion (3/5/7 out of 20), while *unii* “some<sub>1</sub>” or *niște* “some<sub>3</sub>” seem to allow larger numbers as their reference. *Câțiva* thus seems to be associated with cardinality or quantity (Giurgea 2013, Stoicescu, Sevcenco & Avram 2015). In terms of familiarity, *niște* “some<sub>3</sub>” seems to be compatible with non-familiar referents, while there is considerable variation in judgments as far as *unii* ‘some<sub>1</sub>’ and *câțiva* ‘some<sub>2</sub>’ are concerned.

In conclusion, our preliminary study seems to indicate that the English *some* does not have a unique corresponding lexical item in Romanian. Instead, there is competition among three different plural quantifiers (*unii* “some<sub>1</sub>”, *câțiva* “some<sub>2</sub>” și *niște* “some<sub>3</sub>”), with the winner being chosen depending upon the context at hand. We leave for future studies a more thorough experimental investigation of the semantic and pragmatic differences between these quantifiers.

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Table 1. Sample items from Task 1

Experimental conditions		Instruction
Genericity	Syntactic function	Choose among the following translations the ones you think are better.
Generic	Subject	Some actors are famous. a. Unii actori sunt faimoși. 'Some <sub>1</sub> actors are famous.' b. Câțiva actori sunt faimoși. 'Some <sub>2</sub> actors are famous.' c. Niște actori sunt faimoși. 'Some <sub>3</sub> actors are famous.'

2.1. Rate the following sentences from 1 (zero acceptability) to 3 (high acceptability):  A1: Unii /câțiva/niște copii s-au dus în parc. 'A1: Some <sub>1</sub> /some <sub>2</sub> /some <sub>3</sub> kids went to the park' A2: Așa puțini? 'A2: So few?'		2.2. Ana este educatoare. Are în grija ei un grup de 20 de copilași. Unii/câțiva/niște copilași se joacă în nisip.  'Ana is a kindergarten teacher. She takes care of a group of 20 kids. Some <sub>1</sub> /some <sub>2</sub> /some <sub>3</sub> kids are playing in the sand.'  Care numere se potrivesc descrierii? (i) 3, (ii) 5, (iii) 7, (iv) 10, (v) 13 (vi) 15 (vii) 17  Which numbers fit the description? (i) 3, (ii) 5, (iii) 7, (iv) 10, (v) 13 (vi) 15 (vii) 17
Generic	Object	I love some painters. a. Ador unii pictori. 'I love some <sub>1</sub> painters.' b. Ador câțiva pictori. 'I love some <sub>2</sub> painters.' c. Ador niște pictori. 'I love some <sub>3</sub> painters.'
Specific	Subject	Some painters went to the park yesterday. a. Unii pictori s-au dus în parc ieri. 'Some <sub>1</sub> painters went to the park yesterday.' b. Câțiva pictori s-au dus în parc ieri. 'Some <sub>2</sub> painters went to the park yesterday.' c. Niște pictori s-au dus în parc ieri. 'Some <sub>3</sub> painters went to the park yesterday.'
Specific	Object	I saw some actors at the pub yesterday. a. Am vazut unii actori la bar ieri. 'I saw some <sub>1</sub> actors at the pub yesterday.' b. Am vazut câțiva actori la bar ieri. 'I saw some <sub>2</sub> actors at the pub yesterday.' c. Am vazut niște actori la bar ieri. 'I saw some <sub>3</sub> actors at the pub yesterday.'

3.1 Choose the more adequate variant from the following:

Ana vede un grup de copii în depărtare pe care nu îi cunoaște.  
'From afar, Ana sees a group of children she does not know'.

- a. Unii copii se joacă în nisip. 'Some1 kids are playing in the sand'.
- b. Câțiva copii se joacă în nisip. 'Some2 kids are playing in the sand'.
- c. Niște copii se joacă în nisip. 'Some3 kids are playing in the sand'.

3.2. Rate the following sentences from 1 (zero acceptability) to 3 (high acceptability):

- a. a. Copiii sunt cuminți. Unii copii s-au culcat deja.  
'The children are good. Some1 children have already gone to bed.'
- b. b. Copiii sunt cuminți. Câțiva copii s-au culcat deja.  
'The children are good. Some2 children have already gone to bed.'
- c. c. Copiii sunt cuminți. Niște copii s-au culcat deja.  
'The children are good. Some3 children have already gone to bed.'



## WORD ORDER IN ISTRO-ROMANIAN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES<sup>1</sup>

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Our presentation deals with the description and analysis of certain aspects regarding the word order in Istro-Romanian (hereinafter IR), a severely endangered Romance variety. More specifically, we will scrutinise the lexicalisation of subjects in embedded clauses. In doing so, in today’s presentation we will focus on answering three questions:

- 1) What is the extent of IR *pro*-drop?;
- 2) How do interpolation and scrambling work in IR embedded clauses and what are their consequences on subject spell out?; and
- 3) How similar/dissimilar and or conservative/innovative is IR in comparison with standard and old Romanian, on the one hand, and the Moldovan Daco-Romanian, on the other?

Our analysis is carried out on a corpus made of: Traian Cantemir’s *Texte istroromâne* (data collected during 1932-1933), Sextil Pușcariu’s *Studii istroromâne. Texte I* (1906-1926), Sârbu, R., V. Frățilă’s *Dialectul istroromân* (1982-1996) and a collection of IR videos and texts available at <https://www.vlaski-zejanski.com/>. We will make a distinction related to the type of embedded clause: argument or adjunct clauses. Also, we will see how topicalisation works in IR: fronting a constituent, left dislocation and the use of a sentential relation adjunct (*hanging topic*).

The position of the subject in an embedded clause depends on the type of complementiser, conjunction or *wh*- element which heads the clause, as some complementisers, for instance, come with some restrictions on word order, including the subject (*să, ca...să* as subjunctive markers), while others allow for a freer order. The same conjunction with an etymological conditional value *să/se* ‘if’ (< lat. *si*) is common to old Romanian, especially in translated texts, and Istro-Romanian (1), allowing for a freer order:

- (1) *le se póte oslobodi se čela bāt zalivújre* (apud Kovačec 1971: 194)  
‘he can set himself free if he can wet that stick’

In an adjunct clause, the word order is freer, except for the cases when such clauses are headed by *neca* ‘that.SUBJ’, which requires the subject to be realised obligatorily in postposition, as in (2):

- (2) *Asă ie vrut-a neca fiře si lui căse* (SI, 23)  
‘this is how he wanted his house to be as well’

Scrambling occurs in OR similar to old Romanian. Such discontinuous structures support the idea that IR is a relaxed V2 language similar to other Romance, especially similar to old Romanian and old Italian (they allow for more constituents to be placed before the VP).

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(3)a. *De va neştine fi avându vro fată cu altă muiare mai de ainte şi apoi va veni de va lua pre o sor a mea a-i fi muiare, deacii nu se poate în vru[n] chip eu a o luoa Prav. 1581, 229<sup>r</sup>*

‘Should anyone already have a girl<sub>i</sub> with another woman and then should this man take my sister as his wife, hence under no circumstances could I take her<sub>i</sub> [to marry me]’

(4) *Nu ştivu, âm pituruit ocnele şi sporetele neca nu âpa meje ân căsa. SF: 79*  
‘I don’t know, I fixed the windows and chimneys lest water should get inside the house’

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### 1. Background

The goal of the paper is a discussion of the syntax of the Romanian Dat-Nom structure focusing on the “a plăcea, (like)” unaccusative verbs (e.g. a displăcea ‘(dis), a lipsi ‘lack’, a prisosi ‘to have smth in excess’, a trebui ‘need’, a conveni ‘suit), with reference to other unaccusatives only for comparison.

These verbs have always been described as unaccusatives (eg. Belletti & Rizzi, 1986), and for many languages (e.g. Icelandic, ) it has been argued that, despite its Dative morphology, the Dative DP is the Quirky Subject of the sentence. Even if not adopted in standard reference grammars of Romanian, the quirky subject analysis of these datives has often been discussed even if not always adopted (Illoaia (), Cornilescu (2009), Iosifescu (2017), Giurgea (2022).

**2. Claims and analysis** There are two empirical properties exhibited by “a plăcea verbs”, relevant in a discussion of subjecthood: the first is word order, the second is clitic-doubling of the Dative. Regarding word order, both the Dative-Nominative and the Nominative-Dative order are available ((1, 2) vs. ((3, 4), secondly the dative can be cliticized in either order (sentences (1-3) vs. (2-4)).

(1) Ciocolata place copiilor.  
Chocolate likes children.DAT  
‘Children like chocolate.’

(2) Ciocolata le place copiilor.  
Chocolate them.CL likes children.DAT  
‘Children like chocolate.’

(3) Nimănu nu plac extremele  
Nobody.DAT not like.3sg.pl. extremes  
extremes  
‘Nobody likes extremes.’

(4) Nimănu nu-i place extremele.  
Nobody.DAT not-3.sg.CL like.3sg.pl.  
extremes  
‘Nobody likes extremes.’

Our main claim in this paper is that **in Dat-Nom, Nom-Dat structures only clitic-doubled Datives can be a quirky subjects, exhibiting all subject properties except for agreement.**

The explanation has to do with the necessary configurational proeminence of the subject, which must be represented in the higher functional domain of the verb. The Nom and the Dat differ sharply from this point of view. The Nom argument, whether it remains in Spec vP or moves to SpecT, necessarily interacts with T, in that it must agree with Tense to value Case. The result is that  $\phi$ -features of the Nom are always on T (pronominal inflection). It was shown in Cornilescu, Dinu, Tigău (2017 a,b), adopting the localist analysis proposed in Landau (2010), that the Dat argument is a **second argument in a Theme-Goal small-clause in ditransitive constructions**. Extending this analysis to Dat>Nom, Nom>Dat structures one gets the functional sequence in (5) which underlies sentences (1)-(4). As apparent in (5), we claim that in the basic verbal configuration, it is the Nom which is in Spec, vP above the Dat. Undoubled Dat check Case in Spec of the ApplP and remain in vP.

(5) [TP T [VP [PersP Person [VP DP<sub>nom</sub> v [ApplP KP<sub>dat</sub> Appl [VP DP<sub>nom</sub> V KP<sub>dat</sub>]]]]]

Only clitic doubled datives *must* exit the vP to reach a position above the Nom argument (PersonP, Belletti, 2005), from which they cliticize in the T domain. Thus only clitic doubled datives get to be sufficiently prominent to compete with Nom subjects.

**3. Testing clitic doubled Datives, undoubled Datives and Nominatives for subject properties.** In this section, we examine a wealth of data that clearly show that only clitic doubled Dative align with Nom regarding subject properties, in sharp contrast with undoubled Dat. The following subjecthood tests, proposed in Zaenen, Maling & Thráinsson, 1985, Pool, 2014, Wood & Sigurdsson 2014 a.o. have been run through. Reflexivization/Binding of Subject Anaphors; Conjunction reduction; Ability to be a controlee (in non-finite clauses), i.e. PRO; Ability to undergo Raising to Subject with appropriate unaccusative verbs; Ability to undergo Raising to Object with ECM verbs; the test of Reduced relatives. The evidence confirms the predications of structure (5). In the discussion of the tests we have used authentic Google and COROLA examples. At the same, when we had difficulties in grammaticality judgments we resorted to experimental data.

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## SUBCATEGORIZATION OF CREEK INTRANSITIVE REDUPLICATION

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Creek (Muskogee) exhibits interesting patterns of “nonlocal” reduplication (Riggle, 2004; Nelson, 2005; Brown, 2017), in which the reduplicated (red) morpheme appears at the right edge of the root, rather than appearing adjacent to its base. This paper presents a subcategorization account in favour of morphology preceding phonology, in which the red morpheme is first suffixed to the verbal root during morphology and is then realised in its infixal/suffixal position during phonology (see Kalin 2020).

Reduplication is understood as a process in which segmental material is repeated (Marantz, 1982; Broselow & McCarthy, 1983), and this is the definition followed in this analysis. As demonstrated below in (1), not only does this the red morpheme appear in a nonlocal position, but it is also infixated into the root itself before the final consonant.

(1) *hátk-i:*                    ‘white’                    *hathak-í:*                    (two or more)  
(Martin 2011)

Despite infixation being the most common pattern in intransitive verbs, there is a second pattern which shows that the reduplicated morpheme remains in its underlying suffixal position when the root ends in a geminate consonant. However, in these instances, the red morpheme is followed by a glide, as shown below.

(2) *hónn-i:*                    ‘heavy’                    *honhoy-í:*                    (two or more)  
(Martin 2011)

The reduplicative affix in (2) remains at the edge of the root, as it does not insert before the final consonant, and a glide is inserted between the copied material and the final long vowel /i:/.

This paper provides an insight into two aspects of this reduplicative pattern: Why does the reduplicated morpheme infix into the root, and why do we see two surface allomorphs, namely -red- and -redy-? It is demonstrated that the placement of the red morpheme is dependent on syllable onset requirements, and the choice of red allomorph is determined by the segmental make-up of the verbal root.

This analysis follows Yu’s (2007) definition of infixation and adhering to this, it is obvious that the Creek red affix, as seen in (1), is infixing due to the fact that *hat-* and *-k-* independently have no meaning and only constitute a meaningful string when combined into *hatk*, translating as ‘white’. We see the opposite of this for the allomorph -redy- in (2). Here, the reduplicative morpheme does not intervene between two strings that combine to make a meaningful unit.

Infixation and suffixation (with glide epenthesis) of the red morpheme can be analysed as mechanisms which prevent illicit syllable structure. Creek exhibits strict syllable formation constraints which result in most syllables appearing with onsets. Martin (2011) generalizes that only word-initial syllables may be onsetless and all other syllables surface with an onset position. Considering the reduplicative morpheme is always a cv shape, and the *-i:* suffix is onsetless, if the red morpheme does not infix, or undergo glide epenthesis, an illicit onsetless final syllable is generated. This is illustrated below.

### (3) Infixation

- a. *hat.ha.k-í:*                      *red morpheme inserts before final consonant*  
b. *\*hatk.ha.í:*                      *red morpheme remains at the edge of the root*

### (4) Glide epenthesis

- a. *hon.hoy-í:*                      *realisation of glide*  
b. *\*hon.ho.-í:*                      *no glide and red morpheme stays at edge of the root*

However, a question now arises when we consider why the reduplicative morpheme in (4) does not simply infix before the final root consonant, as this would also ensure that the final syllable is not realised without an onset, as it would result in *ho.ho.ní:*. I posit that at the time the reduplicative morpheme is attached, i.e. in the morphology, the final consonant is still a geminate which the morpheme cannot break up. It is only simplified to a singleton in the phonology after the reduplicative morpheme has already attached.

This can be represented by using **lexical subcategorization** (Kiparsky 1982; Inkelas 1990; Booij 2002; Paster 2009). Within this approach, there are two surface red allomorphs and the segmental make-up of the root determines which allomorph is realised. More specifically, -redy- will attach if the root ends in a geminate consonant, and -red- will appear elsewhere.

### (5) Creek SC frames:

- a. [ [-c:] -redy ]                      *final geminate*  
b. [ [-c] -red ]                      *elsewhere*

To summarise, Creek intransitive reduplication thus involves two surface allomorphs which are selected in the morphology depending on the segmental specifications of the root. The position of the reduplicated affix is then decided by the phonology. Overall, this approach provides evidence that the reduplicative infix is underlyingly suffixal and in order to account for it, morphology must precede phonology.

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## THE ENDING ['UMA] IN TWO VARIETIES OF PIEMONTESE: GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL VARIATION OF A TRAIT

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The present study examines the distribution of the desinences of the first plural person [ən] and ['uma] within finite verbs in Canavesano and Piedmontese koine, two varieties of Piedmontese. To this end, 180 speakers from fifteen different (non) urban towns located within Turin, Ivrea and Lanzo, in north-west of Italy, were interviewed through a questionnaire. The analyses found out that the majority of Canavesano speakers makes use of ['uma] in exhortative, while [ən] is preferred in other finite verbs. On the other hand, koine speakers almost unexceptionally imply ['uma] in their responses, independently of the mood of the verb. The results hold that Canavesano, which it has continued to be a linguistically isolated territory, has been able to preserve the morphological opposition between ['uma] in imperative, and [ən], for other finite moods, protecting itself from the homologation of the trait of the koine model.



## EXPRESSIONS OF PRONOMINAL SUBJECTS IN ISTRO-ROMANIAN<sup>2</sup>

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Our presentation will scrutinise personal pronominal subjects in Istro-Romanian (hereinafter IR), using a corpus of representative Istro-Romanian texts. This corpus includes texts collected after 1900 (*Texte istroromâne*, Traian Cantemir, collected between 1932-1933, *Dialectul istroromân*, Sârbu, R., V. Frățilă, collected between 1982 and 1996), and texts available at <https://www.vlaski-zejanski.com/>.

Our purpose is to answer three questions:

- 1) What is the behaviour of a pronominal subject in main and/*vs* embedded clauses?
- 2) Does the type of VP (simple *vs* compound tense) in which it occurs have any effect on the word order of a pronominal subject?
- 3) Is there a typological distinction between Istro-Romanian, old Romanian, standard and/or regional Daco-Romanian, and Moldovan Daco-Romanian? If so, to what extent/effect?

In identifying and analysing the occurrence of IR pronominal subjects, particular emphasis will be given to word order, in such contexts as:

– subject-verb in independent main clauses (1) and in a main clause following its embedded clause (2):

(1) *Io me baves acâsa cu mehanica*

“I do mechanics at home” (SF: 193)

(2) *Se te reț vrur ceva ăntreba, tu nu ganęi niș nego șă*

“If he should ask you something, you should only say this” (TC, 43)

– aux-subject-verb in an embedded clause (3):

(3) *cum mi-ai tu zis*

“as you told me” (Kovačec, 324)

– subject-aux-verb (4) and (5), with a different treatment of NegP:

(4) *io n-am bîre-nțeleș*

“I did not understand well” (SF, 168)

(5) *De ieri nu t-ăai fost case*

“You haven’t been home since yesterday” (TC, 44)

– indirect (6) and direct (7) interrogatives:

(6) *Ce v-ăam io zis?*

“What did I tell you?” (TC, 46)

(7) *Aț voi cuvintăt cu ie?*

“Did you talk to him?” (SF, 298)

– clauses headed by *wh*- phrases (8), (9):

(8) *Nu știu (...) ce io știu, c-ăm utăt* (SF, 48)

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- “I don’t know what I know, because I forgot”  
(9) *Cum  m io cuvint t, ie iusto-aș  ca și io* (SF, 48)  
“He spoke exactly the same way as I did”

– in VP-ellipsis clauses

- (10) *Cum  m io cuvint t, ie iusto-aș  ca și io* (SF, 48)  
“He spoke exactly the same way as I did”

### Corpus

SF S rbu, Richard, Vasile Fr til , 1998, *Dialectul istrorom n*, Timișoara, Armacord.

TC Cantemir, Traian, *Texte istrorom ne*, 1959, București, Editura Academiei Populare Rom ne.

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The aspectual analysis of the various forms of the Romanian verbal paradigm raises two major problems: (i) the co-existence of a past perfective and present perfect reading for the so-called ‘compound perfect’ form; (ii) the lack of a morphological imperfective vs. perfective contrast for non-past tenses as well as for non-indicative moods. I intend to address (i) and, time permitting, to mention the main results I arrived at concerning (ii). Regarding (i), I will argue that ambiguity (polysemy) extends to the pluperfect.

It is well-known that the Romanian compound perfect is ambiguous between a present perfect and a past perfective (Crăiniceanu 2005, Vişan 2006, Stoicescu 2013, a.o.). Indicative for a perfect reading are: (i) extent *de*-modifiers (which are incompatible with the perfective); (ii) localizing *de*-modifiers which take the speech time (ST) as RT; (iii) modifiers indicating closeness between ET and RT (*tocmai, abia* ‘just’); (iv) contexts where the existence of the event must be checked against the whole time that precedes ST. The test of *de*-modifiers shows that the Romanian perfect aspect (in all its tenses – present, past (“the pluperfect”), future) has at least two readings, a resultative one and an existential ‘extended-now’ (XN) reading (for which a more appropriate label is ‘perfect time span’ (PTS), proposed by Iatridou et al. 2001, since this reading is not confined to the present perfect, but is found in all tenses of the perfect). The fact that these readings must be distinguished is shown in (1) – in both examples, *de 10 zile* measures an interval that ends at RT=ST; in (1a), the left boundary of the *de*-interval coincides with the completion of the event and the entire interval is covered by the result state; in (1b), the time of the event is confined within this 10 day interval.

- (1) a. A plecat de 10 zile. (resultative)  
has left from 10 days ‘He’s gone since 10 days ago.’  
b. De 10 zile a plouat doar o dată. (existential XN/PTS)  
from 10 days has rained only one time ‘In the last 10 days it rained only once.’

As argued in Pancheva (2003), these readings may be obtained by combining a PTS-introducing operator (called “Perfect”) with two lower aspectual operators: (i) for (1a), a Resultative Aspect (which introduces a time interval characterized as an initial subinterval of the result state of the event; Pancheva characterizes it as non-final rather than initial, which I consider problematic); (ii) for (1b), the perfective aspect (called by her ‘Bounded’), which introduces a time interval that includes the event time. However, once we consider temporal modifiers, the picture becomes more complex. Testing with the pluperfect, which supposedly is an unambiguous past perfect, we may see that a localizing temporal adverbial may modify either the ET (this is the most natural reading of (2a) when used with unmarked intonation) or the RT (see (2b)), but, surprisingly, an RT and an ET modifier cannot co-occur in the same sentence, see (2c).

- (2) a. Maria plecase la 3.  
Maria had-left at 3 ‘Maria had left at 3 o’clock.’  
b. Când am venit, Maria plecase.  
when have.1 come Maria had-left ‘When we came, Maria had left.’

- c. \* Când am venit, Maria plecase la 3.  
 when have.1 come Maria had-left at 3  
 ‘\*When we came, Maria had left at 3 o’clock.’

The impossibility of (2c) can be explained by assuming a distinction between a resultative and an *anterior* reading of the pluperfect. It has been indeed observed, for English, that the pluperfect differs from the present perfect in allowing not only unrestricted ET localizers, but also sequences of events with narrative progression. Bohnemeyer (2014), building on Kamp & Reyle (1993), argues that in the anterior reading, there are two ‘reference times’: Klein’s (1994) topic time, in which the event time is included (via the Perfective aspect) and a further ‘perspective time’ (PT) with respect to which the topic time is anterior (via the contribution of a higher Anterior operator). Tense orders PT wrt. speech time (in the pluperfect PT is past). Within this analysis, the data in (2) can be explained as follows: (i) ET localization is allowed in the anterior but not in the resultative (the reason may be that the resultative operator takes a <v,t> complement (property of events) but temporal localization requires an <i,t> denotation (property of times)); (ii) the RT can be overtly specified only in the resultative (presumably, the PT is always supplied by the context). By (ii), (2b) must be resultative; by (i), (2a) must be anterior. (2c) is impossible because the RT modifier requires it to be resultative and the ET modifier requires it to be anterior.

One may wonder whether the anterior can be included under the existential XN/PTS reading (1b), as having an unspecified PTS, reducing thus the structural ambiguity of the perfect. ET-modification is indeed possible in the existential PTS reading (with overt specification of the PTS), but is not unrestricted: it appears that the PTS reading is available in contexts in which the number of occurrences of a certain event during the PTS is at issue. Therefore, (3a), where a single event is localized, is odd, but if we change the example as to highlight the number of occurrences, e.g. by using ‘only’ or a coordination, the sentence becomes fine, see (3b).

- (3) a. ?? {De la începutul iernii/ De trei luni}, ninsese/ a nins  
 from at beginning-the winter-the.gen from three months had-snowed has  
 snowed  
 pe 20 ianuarie.  
 on 20 January  
 ‘{Since the beginning of the winter/For 3 months} it had/has rained on January  
 20.’
- b. {De la începutul iernii/ De trei luni}, ninsese/ a nins  
 from at beginning-the winter-the.gen from three months had-snowed has  
 snowed  
 {doar pe 20 ianuarie / pe 13 și pe 20 ianuarie..  
 only on 20 January on 13 and on 20 January  
 ‘{Since the beginning of the winter/For 3 months} it had/has rained {only  
 on January 20 / on January 13 and January 20.’

As such restrictions are not found with the anterior, unifying it with the existential PTS is problematic. A further evidence for ambiguity comes from the future perfect. For some speakers, the use of ET localizers with this tense is infelicitous (see (4)). However, there is no problem for the PTS reading.

- (4) [Context: Cred că la reuniunea de sâmbătă, vor lipsi mulți: ‘I think many people will be missing at the Saturday’s meeting’]  
% Ion va fi plecat vineri din țară, ...  
Ion will prf left Friday from country ‘Ion will have left the country on Friday, ...’

Furthermore, placing the special restriction illustrated in (3) in the *de*-modifiers is problematic because no restrictions exist when these modifiers are used with the resultative perfect or with the imperfective. Therefore, I propose to encode the restriction in a variety of perfect Asp head that obligatorily selects a *de*-phrase as a specifier.

Admitting an Anterior aspect with two RTs allows an analysis of the past perfective use of the compound perfect as Present+Anterior+Perfective rather than Past+Perfective. Although this analysis would make morphology simpler, it is hard to adopt in the absence of a principled reason for excluding the Past+Perfective combination from the system of Romanian. Looking at the aspectual system of Romanian in general, I will argue for a type of analysis as proposed by Stechow (2002), who distinguishes heads as manifested in morpho-syntax from aspectual operators (“semantic aspects”), which are typically null elements placed in Spec position, and allows a given aspectual form to combine with various different semantic aspects.

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Recent comparative work has shown that the amount and types of variation exhibited by differential object marking (henceforth DOM) across Romance is truly astounding (Ledgeway 2018, 2021, Kabatek et al. 2021, contributions to Irimia and Mardale to appear). Here, we focus on available data from the Sicilian dialect of Ragusa (Guardiano 1999, 2000, 2010, 2022), as well as novel data. On the one hand, the interest is empirical – what are the DOM contexts, given that, in this domain, the dialects of Sicily exhibit various apparent differences in its manifestations, for which an exhaustive taxonomy is still needed? On the other hand, these data can be used to raise theoretical questions already tackled in other Romance domains: is Ragusa DOM a syntactic or purely morphological mechanism, and more generally, what type of analysis is best suited?

**The data.** We proceed first with a comparison involving better studied Romance languages, where DOM is an equally robust mechanism, such as standard Spanish (Torrego 1998, Ormazabal and Romero 2007, 2013a, b, López 2012, a.o.) or Romanian (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Cornilescu 2000, Tigău 2011, Mardale 2015, Irimia 2019, Hill and Mardale 2021, a.o.). As such, in Table 1 (where + indicates obligatory DOM), important similarities, but also some differences emerge: (i) in Ragusa, DOM is strictly obligatory with human DPs and has accusative syntax; (ii) Ragusa is similar to standard Spanish in that DOM uses *a* (homophonous with a ‘dative’ preposition) which is obligatory not only on personal pronouns and human proper names, but also on all referential definite human DPs; (iii) on the other hand, Ragusa is similar to Romanian in that: (a) accusative clitic doubling of human referential DPs is possible; (b) a higher position of DOM, as opposed to unmarked nominals, cannot be confirmed.

**DOM, D, licensing, and Case.** For Romance languages with robust DOM, numerous accounts have pointed to the syntactic nature of this phenomenon, which manipulates objects with a complex internal structure (e.g., KP for López 2012 or Ormazabal and Romero 2013, a [PERSON] specification in Cornilescu 2000, or a special feature in the extended nominal projection for Romanian – Hill and Mardale 2021, a.o.). In turn, Guardiano (2022) has conclusively demonstrated that, in the dialect of Ragusa, marked objects must project at least a D head (DOM is excluded on bare nouns). We also show that Ragusa DOM is indeed a syntactic mechanism because it triggers co-occurrence restrictions which cannot be easily derived in the morphology. In (1), we see that DOM cannot co-occur with a clitic doubled dative (unless DOM is clitic doubled, too). Similar data have been discussed for Spanish (see especially Ormazabal and Romero 2013, et subseq.) and Romanian (Cornilescu 2020, Irimia 2021, Tigău 2021, a.o.), with the clash being attributed to both DOM and clitic doubled datives needing to undergo licensing in a domain in which there is only one licenser available. These results might, in turn, be taken to confirm recent analyses (López 2012, Ledgeway et al. 2019, a.o.), under which DOM can be unified as signaling a type of accusative which needs obligatory licensing (in terms of Case), by functional heads in the clausal spine (*v*, T, C, etc.). Generally, such licensing is assumed to impose raising of DOM to a higher position than unmarked nominals (see especially López 2012, Baker 2015, a.o.). However, contrary to what most of these licensing accounts permit, the data discussed here indicate that, in Ragusa, DOM does not (necessarily) signal a difference in raising between DOM and unmarked objects. For example, unmarked and marked nominals can equally bind

into indirect objects (IOs), as in (2), indicating that both classes can be found higher than the IO. Generally, Ragusa unmarked nominals can be seen in high positions in the clause, just like DOM and do not pass tests supporting pseudo-incorporation (no V-Obj adjacency, etc.), suggesting that they are equally subject to licensing (in terms of Case). Thus, Ragusa DOM does not signal the split between objects that require sentential licensing (DOM) and objects that do not [or between Case-checked (=DOM) and Caseless nominals (Ormazabal and Romero 2013, López 2012, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, etc.)]. All these facts motivate an analysis according to which, in Ragusa, DOM signals a *supplementary licensing operation* on objects containing more than one *feature* that requires licensing. Such an account has been shown to provide better results for Romanian, where DOM is similarly not signaled by a higher position; as Irimia (2020, 2021) or Hill and Mardale (2021) have shown, Romanian DOM objects contain an additional ([person]) feature needing licensing beyond Case per se. Ragusa DOM confirms this latter analysis in another respect – as we see in (3), DOM appears to be sensitive to information structure, in that it tolerates topics better than focus. A narrow focus context as in (3)i can marginally accept drop of DOM. This indicates that humanness, acting as an index on D needs additional structure (as provided by Topic) in order to be active syntactically. This might also explain why DOM is subject to conjunctive sets of features (humanness not being a sufficient condition, e.g., no DOM on bare human nouns), and its tight interaction with accusative clitic doubling, the latter more common with topics.

- (1) (\*cci) mannamu a stu malatu o dditturi. [cc'u.....  
 cl.dat3 send.1pl dom this sick person dat.def.m.sg doctor [cl.dat3.acc.3...  
 Intended: 'We are sending this sick person to the doctor.'
- (2) Puttamu tutti i kani e so i patruni/(a) tutti i picciridi  
 e so i maistri.  
 bring.1pl all def dogs dat.def their owners/dom all def kids dat. def their  
 teachers  
 'We bring all the dog to their owners/all the kids to their teachers.'
- (3) i. *Who do you know?* ii. *Do you know this man?*  
 (a) şť' uòmminu canùsciu se, \*(a) şť'  
 uòmminu u canùsciu  
 dom this man know.1sg yes dom this man  
 3sg.m.cl.acc know.1sg  
 'I know this man.' 'Yes, I know this man.'

DOM contexts and defining traits	St. Span	Rom	Sic
Personal pronoun	+	+	+(human)
Proper name	+	+	+(human)
Referential definite animate	+		+(human)
Animate strong quantifiers	+		+(human)

Neg/Exist quantifiers with animacy restriction	+	+	+(human)
Animate indefinites in telic contexts	+		+(human)
Animate shared objects in clause union	+		+(human)
Inanimates with certain classes of verbs	+		
Equatives irrespective of animacy	+	+	+(human)
Animate indefinites with specific readings only	+		
Insensitivity to specificity (Animate Neg Q)	+	+	+
Accusative clitic doubling for pronoun DOM	+	+	+
Accusative clitic doubling for non-pronoun DOM		+	+
Wh-object animate	+	+	+(human)
Adjectival demonstrative with animate antecedent	+	+	+(human)
Nominal ellipsis demonstrative with animate antecedent	+	+	+(human)
Nominal ellipsis demonstrative irrespective of animacy		+	
Elliptical adjectival definite irrespective of animacy		+	
Elliptical genitive irrespective of animacy		+	
Strong partitive irrespective of animacy		+	
D-linking irrespective of animacy		+	
Relative pronoun irrespective of animacy		+	
Specific readings of animates with stage-level <i>have</i>	+	+	+(human)
Animate bare plurals		(possible)	
Accusative syntax	+	+	+
Interpreted lower than the external argument	+	+	+
Higher position of DOM – only DOM binds into IO (López 2012)	+		
DOM marker homophonous with dative preposition	+		+
DOM as a syntactic mechanism	+	+	+
DOM irrespective of information structure			topics

(Table 1. DOM in three Romance languages; based on Irimia 2020, Table 5)



**IF YOU CAN SEE IT YOU CAN'T HELP SEEING IT: THE INHERENT MODALITY OF VERBS OF INVOLUNTARY PERCEPTION, (RE)COGNITION AND PHYSICAL DISPOSITION IN HUNGARIAN**

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This talk is concerned with verbs of involuntary perception (such as lát ‘see’, hall ‘hear’ or érez ‘feel’), involuntary (re)cognition (such as {meg|fel}-ismer ‘recognize’, ismer ‘be acquainted with’, emlékezik ‘remember’ talál ‘find’ or ért ‘understand’) and physical disposition (such as el-ér ‘reach’, (ki-)bír ‘endure’, el-bír ‘carry’, tűr ‘endure, tolerate’, áll ‘withstand’, {be|át|ki|el}-fér ‘fit into/through/through on the way out/inside’) in Hungarian. These verbs pattern together across four, seemingly unrelated, phenomena: 1) they cannot felicitously combine with the ability modal auxiliary tud ‘be\_able\_to’, 2) they (and only they) appear in dispositional middles, 3) they (and only they) appear in so-called root infinitivals of circumstantial modality and 4) a large subset of them can function as modal auxiliaries. I argue that all these pieces of novel empirical evidence point into the same direction: in Hungarian, verbs falling into these classes have an enriched semantics: they are lexically specified as modal, with ability modality hard-wired into their semantics:

$$(1) \quad [[\text{lát}]]_{w,g} = \lambda x. \lambda y. \exists w' \in W [\text{Rability}(w)(w') = 1 \ \& \ [[\text{see}(y,x)]]_{w',g=1}]$$

For simplicity, I will gloss verbs such as lát as BE\_ABLE\_TO.see.

INFELICITOUSNESS WITH AN ABILITY MODAL AUXILIARY Unlike their counterparts in English, these verbs cannot felicitously combine with an ability modal auxiliary (this has been observed by Kiefer (1984) wrt verbs of involuntary perception):

- (2) a. #János tud-ja lát-ni  
 az óceánt a teraszáról.  
 John be\_able\_to-3SG BE\_ABLE\_TO.see-INF the  
 ocean.ACC the balc.his.from  
 intended: John can see the ocean from his balcony.
- b. János lát-ja az  
 óceánt a teraszáról  
 John BE\_ABLE\_TO.see-3SG the ocean.ACC the  
 balcony.his.from  
 ‘John can see the ocean from his balcony.’
- (3) a. #Nem tud-t-am fel-ismer-ni  
 Marit.  
 not be\_able\_to-PST-1SG PRT-BE\_ABLE\_TO.recognize-INF  
 Mary.ACC  
 intended: ‘I could not recognize Mary.’
- b. Nem ismer-t-em fel  
 Marit.  
 not BE\_ABLE\_TO.recognize-PST-1SG PRT Mary.ACC  
 ‘I could not recognize Mary.’

The infelicitous versions are practically unattested and judged as very unnatural by native speakers. I argue that this is due to redundancy: since ability modality is lexically specified, it is redundant to reintroduce in the form of an ability modal auxiliary. My proposal is that sentences with these verbs are always modal ability sentences in terms of their asserted meaning, and in the case of episodic (non-generic) readings, the non-modal interpretation is an actuality entailment:

- (4) Tegnap este lát-t-am a királynőt.  
 yesterday evening BE\_ABLE\_TO.see-PST-1SG the queen.ACC  
 i. Yesterday evening I was able to see the queen. ASSERTION  
 ii. Yesterday evening I saw the queen.  
 ENTAILMENT

With verbs of involuntary perception and (re)cognition, these entailments obtain independently of whether the verb is perfective (3) or imperfective (2). I argue that this is because perception or (re)cognition is involuntary with these verbs: if you are able to see something, it follows that you see it, unless you consciously restrict your ability by shielding your eyes etc. As expected, verbs of voluntary perception (such as *néz* 'look') or (re)cognition (*fel-idéz* 'recall') are indeed compatible with the modal *tud* 'be\_able\_to'. With verbs of physical disposition, possibility does not logically entail actuality: just because I could reach something does not mean that I actually reached it. With such verbs, actuality entailments only obtain with perfectives (cf. Bhatt (1999), Hacquard (2009) a.o. on actuality entailments associated with perfective ability modals):

- (5) a. El-ér-t-em a polcot, (imperfective, no actuality ent.)  
 PRT-BE\_ABLE\_TO.reach-PST-1SG the shelf.ACC  
 'I was able to reach the shelf,' ASSERTION  
 le tud-t-am volna  
 ven-ni bármit.  
 PRT be\_able\_to-PST-1SG be.COND take-INF  
 anything.ACC  
 'I could have taken anything.'
- b. El-ér-t-em a polcot (perfective with actuality ent.)  
 PRT-BE\_ABLE\_TO.reach-PST-1SG the shelf.ACC  
 i. 'I was able to reach the shelf,' ASSERTION  
 ii. 'I managed to reach the shelf,' ENTAILMENT  
 és le-vet-t-em a lekvárt.  
 and PRT-take-PST-1SG the marmelade.ACC  
 'and I took the marmalade.'

The particle *el* can be associated both with perfective and imperfective readings (Dékány 2008).

In DISPOSITIONAL MIDDLES, the external argument of a transitive verb is syntactically suppressed and the sentence is interpreted as generic ability modality statement.

- (6) a. Innen lát-sz-ik a  
 hegycsúcs.  
 from.here BE\_ABLE\_TO.see-MID-3SG the summit  
 'One can see the summit from here.' (= 'The summit is visible to all from here.')

Following Alexiadou & Doron (2002), Halm (2020) assumed that the source of ability modality in dispositional middles is a silent modal operator high in the syntax. Under my proposal, there is no need for such stipulation as the modality is lexically hard-wired. This also explains why dispositional middles are limited to exactly this semantically well-defined and closed class of verbs in Hungarian. Assuming that GEN stands for  $\forall$ -quantification over relevant entities:

- (7)  $\emptyset$ GEN Lát-sz-ik a  
 hegycsúcs.  
 GEN BE\_ABLE\_TO.see-MID-3SG the summit  
 $\forall x. \exists w' \in W [R_{ability}(w)(w') = 1 \ \& \ [[see(summit,x)]]w',g=1]$   
 'One can see the summit from here.' = 'The summit is visible (to all).'

(In languages such as Eng. or Hebrew, where a larger and more diverse set of verbs are admissible in disp. middles, it is of course plausible to assume a silent MOD operator high in the syntax.)

ROOT INFINITIVES OF CIRCUMSTANTIAL MODALITY involve root clauses containing a single infinitival verb form with a modal meaning. Strikingly, the verbs that participate in this construction are the exact same ones that cannot combine with the ability modal tud 'be\_able\_to':

- (8) a. Innen lát-ni a  
 hegycsúcsot.  
 from.here BE\_ABLE\_TO.see-INF the summit.ACC  
 'One can see the summit from here.'

Bartos (2002) argues convincingly against a biclausal analysis of this construction (i.e. a silent matrix clause containing a modal operator). However, since he does not ascribe any inherent modality to the verbs concerned, he needs to stipulate a silent MOD operator right above CP, ending up with what he half-jokingly terms a one-and-a-half-clausal analysis. Also, in Bartos's (2002) account, there is no satisfactory characterization of the verbs that are involved in the construction. Both problems disappear under my proposal: since the verbs involved are all inherently modal, there is no need for an extra-clausal silent modal operator and we can give a clear lexical semantic characterization of the verbs involved.

Some verbs of involuntary perception, (re)cognition and physical disposition (lát 'see', ért 'understand', bír 'endure') can function as ABILITY MODAL AUXILIARIES themselves:

- (9) a. Félig-meddig meg-vakul-t-am,                      nem lát-ok  
           olvas-ni.  
           sort.of                                      PRT-blindV-PST-1SG not                      be\_able\_tovisual-  
 1SG read-INF  
           'I am half blind, I can't read (because of a degradation of my ability to see).'

I argue that the grammaticalization of such main verbs as auxiliaries is a type-lift phenomenon, where the type of ability (visual, cognitive etc.) is re-encoded in the restrictor of the modal:

- (10) a. [[látmain verb]]<sub>w,g</sub> =  $\lambda x. \lambda y. \exists w' \in W [R_{\text{ability}}(w)(w') = 1 \ \& \ [\text{see}(y,x)]_{w',g=1}]$   
 b. [[látmodal auxiliary]]<sub>w,g</sub> =  $\lambda q. \exists w' \in W [R_{\text{visual ability}}(w)(w') = 1 \ \& \ q(w')=1]$

**ASPECTUAL MARKING, SIMILITUDE EXPRESSION, AND DEGREE MODIFICATION:  
ON THE DEVELOPMENT AND POLYFUNCTIONALITY OF THE ENGLISH *A/ONE STEP AWAY FROM*  
X-CONSTRUCTION**

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Cross-linguistically, spatial expressions display a conspicuous propensity to undergo metaphorical meaning extensions, thus frequently giving rise to grammatical markers (cf., among others, Petré et al. 2012; Budts & Petré 2016; Brinton & Inoue 2020). Drawing on exhaustive diachronic material derived from the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA), complemented with a synchronic sample of attestations extracted from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), this paper provides an account of a hitherto unexplored, incipient grammaticalization change of the aforementioned kind, namely that affecting the multiword string *a/one step away from*, whose lexical semantics implies a small distance in physical space. The specific research objectives include determining the order of functional developments undergone by the scrutinized expression as well as delineating its distributional characteristics.

It will be argued that with the conventionalization of the closeness inference invited by its stative space-based uses around the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, *a/one step away from* first acquired the function of a prospective aspect exponent (cf. (1)–(2)), pointing to the subject's temporal proximity to the initial boundary of an ensuing situation (cf. Comrie 1976: 64; Heine 1994: 36), then that of a similitude marker (cf. (3)–(4)), conveying a qualitative resemblance between the subject and the complement (cf. Fortescue 2010: 127), and finally that of a degree modifier, more specifically, an approximator (cf. (5)), communicating that the subject just barely fails to attain some gradable (bounded) property invoked by the associated predicate (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 599). Notably, this chronology likewise finds reflection in the synchronic gradience of *a/one step away from*, in that among its grammaticalized tokens, which amount to slightly more than half of the random COCA sample, aspectual uses make up the largest proportion, followed by similitive occurrences and degree modifier attestations.

(1) When she patters to the center of a stage, smooths down her dress, poises her small hands like a tiny coffee-colored ballerina, and starts out on a husky, whispery ballad, she seems only **a step away from being a Maxine Sullivan or an Ella Fitzgerald**. (COHA, 1948)

(2) "Take two people," he had said. "Two people genetically identical. Damage one of them so badly that he is helpless and useless -- to himself and to others. Damage him so badly that he is always only **a step away from death**." (COHA, 1963)

(3) The Japanese say the Chinese tested missiles with ranges of 450 to 650 miles three years ago. They believe the Chinese are working on satellite launchers with a 1,200-mile capability, only **a step away from the intercontinental missile**. (COHA, 1966)

(4) I use Notepad. It's **one step away from writing it on yellow sticky-notes**, but it meets my needs. (COCA, 2012)

(5) He is all smiles and charm. He keeps talking. Olivia's silent, her face **one step away from broken**. (COCA, 2012)

Formally, the ongoing character of the discussed change translates into a pronounced tendency for the closeness implications inherent in *a/one step away from* to be foregrounded by means of reinforcing items, such as *only*. At the distributional level, the analyzed instance of grammaticalization further manifests itself in the highly confined determination and modification patterns of the form *step*, which is only compatible with the numeral *one*, functioning here as an emphazier, and the indefinite article, at the same time rejecting definite determiners and purely qualitative adjectives. These restrictions are nevertheless compensated for by the entire expression's extension to abstract subjects as well as host-class expansion to abstract NPs, verbal gerunds, and adjectives.

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## TRUNCATORY VARIATION IN *y*-SUFFIX AND *o*-SUFFIX IN ENGLISH

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This paper suggests that when slightly modified the truncatory template of Benua (1995; 1997) becomes equipped with an OT decision-making mechanism that accounts for truncatory variation with the *y*-suffix and *o*-suffix – for instance, *commo* ~ *commie* < *communist*, *combo* ~ *combie* < *combination*, *loco* ~ *loci* < *locomotive* and *aftie* ~ *afto* < *afternoon* (Macquarie Dictionary 1984). In the truncatory template, the markedness constraints are flanked by undominated input-output faithfulness constraint and the crucially dominated output-output constraint (Benua 1995; 1997).

Since MAX-BT (Kager 1999) favors an output with fewer segments truncated from the underlying representation, this constraint should be replaced with MAX(affix) (Lappe 2007) as the output-output faithfulness constraint. The constraint stipulates that the affix in the input must be preserved in the output (Lappe 2007). The fact that MAX(affix) is crucially dominated in the constraint hierarchy indicates that the non-preservation of one of the affixes, i.e., /i/ or /ʊ/ is allowable as long as the other affix is appended to the truncated output. The input-output faithfulness constraint IDENT(high, σ] (cf. Kager 1999) requires that the word-final high vowel in the input correspond to the word-final vowel in the output. This constraint is highly active in a simultaneous derivation of English truncatory variation with *y*-suffix and *o*-suffix. The markedness constraints S-->W (Benua 1995) and NONFIN (Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004) in combination, when crucially dominated by IDENT(high, σ]), ensure that disyllabics whose rhythmic structure are ('H)<L> or ('H)<H> will be the only winners; the presence of a foot is noted by the parentheses; the extrametricality is indicated by the bracket (< >). No mono-syllabic truncated output could become a winner together with the disyllabic variants under a single constraint hierarchy. A slight modification added to the truncatory template of Benua (1995; 1997) comes from the partially dominated PARSE-SYLL (McCarthy and Prince 1994; Hammond 1999), which stipulates that every syllable must be parsed into a metrical foot. Accordingly, the constraint hierarchy is four-tiered in this study rather than typically three-tiered in Benua (1995; 1997). Posited is the constraint hierarchy IDENT(high, σ]) » S-->W, NONFIN » PARSE-SYLL » MAX(affix).

Let us now consider constraint interactions with regard to truncatory variation in Tableau 1. Candidates in (a) and (b) have what it takes to be optimal variants though they violate PARSE-SYLL due to one extrametrical ultimate syllable. One of the affixes is appended to each winner, thus resulting in one violation mark in MAX(affix). The winners have an extrametrical final syllable, resulting in a non-fatal violation of PARSE-SYLL. Candidates in (c) and (e) fatally violate IDENT(high, σ]) due to a lack of the affix. Candidates in (d) and (f) contradict S-->W since primary stress is assigned to the light syllable. Candidates in (e) and (f) violate NONFIN due to assignment of primary stress to the ultima.



Tableau 1

Input /kəmˌjənɪst/ i, ʊ	IDENT(high, σ])	S-->W	NONFIN	PARSE-SYLL	MAX(affix)
a. $\text{[kəm]} \langle \text{i} \rangle$				*	*
b. $\text{[kəm]} \langle \text{əʊ} \rangle$				*	*
c. $\text{[kəm]} \langle \text{jə} \rangle$	*!			*	**

d.	('kɒ)(,mjəʊ)		*!			*
e.	('kɒm)	*!		*		**
f.	(,kɒm)('jʊ)		*!	*		*

By contrast, let us investigate, for the sake of argument, whether the constraint hierarchy suggested by Lappe (2007) accounts for the same truncatory variation in English. Posited is the constraint hierarchy in which \*SUBSRT and MAX(affix) dominate COINCIDE- $\sigma_{\text{stress}}$  and MAX- $\sigma_1$  over MAX- $\sigma_{\text{stress}}$  (Lappe 2007: 188). This OT grammar is intended to account for ['vedʒ.i] < *vegetable* and ['der.əʊ] < *derelict* respectively (Lappe 2007). \*SUBSRT stipulates that a subsyllabic root is not allowed (Lappe 2007). COINCIDE- $\sigma_{\text{stress}}$  requires every syllable in the output bear primary stress (Lappe 2007). MAX- $\sigma_1$  stipulates that every segment in the initial syllable in the base be preserved in the initial syllable of the truncated output (Lappe 2007). MAX- $\sigma_{\text{stress}}$  requires every segment in the primary-stressed syllable of the base form be preserved in the primary-stressed syllable of the truncated output. Tableau 2 shows that the activity of MAX(affix) prevents the common winners in (a) and (b) from becoming optimal due to the non-appendage of one of the affixes to their root. The symbol of a thumb's down indicates the failure of being selected a winning output in the tableau. Instead, candidate (c) satisfies MAX(affix), becoming a wrong winner.

Tableau 2

Base ['kɒmjənɪst] i, ʊ	*SUBSR T	MAX(aff ix)	COINCIDE- $\sigma_{\text{stress}}$	MAX- $\sigma_1$	MAX- $\sigma_{\text{stress}}$
a.  'kɒm.i		*!	*		
b.  'kɒm.əʊ		*!	*		
c. 'kɒm.jiʊ			*		
d. 'kɒ, mjəʊ		*!	*		
e. 'kɒm		**!			
f. km.'jiʊ	*!		*	*	*

A stark comparison of the constraint interactions in the tableaux should show that first and foremost the truncatory template of Benua (1995; 1997) is superior to Lappe (2007)'s approach to accounting for varied truncated outputs with *y*-suffix and *o*-suffix. What blocks Lappe (2007) from accounting for the variation partly comes from the highest-ranked MAX(affix) that requires the affixes be appended to the truncated output, as in candidate in (c) in Tableau 2. Meanwhile, the truncatory template allows the affixes to be part of the input; furthermore, only one of the affixes is appended to each truncated variant, as in candidate in (a) and (b) in Tableau 1. This being assumed, English phonology contains the active IDENT(high,  $\sigma$ ) in the derivation of *y*-and-*o*-suffixed truncatory variation while MAX(affix) is crucially dominated. The highest ranked \*SUBSTR in Tableau 2 may not be necessary in accounting for English truncated forms after all since it is obvious that a truncated output consisting of subsyllabics, as in candidate in (f), never becomes a successful candidate in English.

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## GROUNDING AND THE CATEGORIES OF TENSE, MODALITY AND EVIDENTIALITY

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The paper examines the concept of *ground(ing)* as defined by Langacker (1991; 1997; 2002; 2003; 2006; 2017 inter alia). In Langacker's understanding, *ground* corresponds to the communication situation in which the speaker and the addressee(s) find themselves. Consequently, *grounding* can be defined as a tool to anchor utterances with respect to the ground, i.e. the current communication situation.

The paper focuses on verbal grounding. In Langacker's understanding, elements such as tense, modals or verbal mood function as so-called *grounding elements*, which allow the ground to be implicitly included in the utterance without the need to explicitly refer to it. Verbal grounding in Langacker's conception was originally primarily associated with the categories of tense and modality; more recently, the author also included morphological evidentials among the grounding elements (Langacker, 2017).

My analysis addresses the question of whether ground can be defined more precisely. I define three basic elements of the ground: the speaker and his/her thinking, the temporal boundary of the communication situation and the information available to the speaker within the communication situation. Consequently, I identify these elements with the basis for the linguistic categories of modality, tense and evidentiality, respectively. This understanding of the ground allows me to focus in the analysis of linguistic material on how modality, tense and evidentiality are combined in a verb form. It also allows me to define which of these elements of the ground is more prominent in a particular use of a particular verb form.

The practical application focuses on Spanish and its two polyfunctional verb paradigms. The *canto* form is traditionally referred to as present indicative, although in many of its functions it refers to the past or the future. The *cantaré* form is traditionally referred to as future indicative, although in many of its functions it refers to the present or is atemporal. The paper concentrates on the different contexts for their uses and on the elements of the ground that are implicitly present in these uses. In this way, it is possible to define not only the temporal and modal but also the evidential component of their meaning, which is not taken into account in traditional grammars. Following Escandell-Vidal (2010; 2014; 2018), I understand *cantaré* as a morphological evidential with an important inferential component, which manifests itself both in uses referring to the future and in uses oriented towards the present (for instance, the so-called epistemic future). *Canto* is understood as a rather atemporal verb form, whose essential element is the speaker's actual or virtual perceptual control over the process.

I argue that evidentiality is an essential component of the Spanish verb system. Despite the absence of a morphological marker that can be clearly identified with this category, evidential meanings are an intrinsic component of Spanish verb forms. Evidentials are naturally combined with the expressions of tense and mood although a cognitive analysis of the ground with the emphasis on its individual components allows these categories to be separated from each other and analysed in isolation.

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## COMPOUND-INTERNAL ANAPHORA: EVIDENCE FROM ACCEPTABILITY JUDGEMENTS ON ITALIAN ARGUMENTAL COMPOUNDS

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The properties of argumental compounds in Italian pose interesting theoretical challenges. Investigations of possible syntactic operations within this type of complex words have resulted in conflicting conclusions: these constructions, where an argumental relation ties the two elements of the compound, show features that make them more accessible to syntax than other types of compounds, challenging the notion of argumental compounds as morphological objects (Bisetto & Scalise 1999; Lieber & Scalise 2006; Delfitto & Paradisi 2009a; Gaeta & Ricca 2009; Baroni et al. 2009b; Bisetto 2015). However, while their permeability to syntax is highly documented, the acceptability of pronominal reference is debated. Often based on their theoretical assumptions, some researchers exclude the possibility that pronouns can refer to the argument element of the compound (cf. Scalise 1992; Bisetto & Scalise 1999; Lieber & Scalise 2006, among others), while others do not (cf. Bisetto 2004; Grandi 2006; Gaeta & Ricca 2009; Radimsky 2015, among others).

The present study aims to experimentally determine the degree of acceptability of compound-internal pronominal reference. Three different types of Italian argumental compounds have been investigated: those with Verb<sub>PREDICATE</sub> + Noun<sub>ARGUMENT</sub> structure (1.a); those with Noun<sub>PREDICATE</sub> + Noun<sub>ARGUMENT</sub> structure (1.b); and those with Noun<sub>ARGUMENT</sub> + Noun<sub>PREDICATE</sub> structure:

- 1 a. apri.scatole  
open.v.sm.cans.f.pl  
'can opener'
- b. trasporto latte  
transportation.m.nmz milk.m  
'milk transportation'
- c. autonoleggio  
car.f.sing.pl.rental.m.nmz  
'car rental'

The referential expressions are represented by null subject and direct object pronouns. One hundred and forty Italian native speakers had to rate on a Likert scale from 1 to 5 the acceptability of 30 sentences containing compound-internal anaphora to VN compounds (5 null pronouns; 5 overt pronouns), NN<sub>ARGUMENT</sub> compounds (5 null; 5 overt), N<sub>ARGUMENT</sub>N compounds (5 null; 5 overt), plus 20 distractors (10 grammatical and 10 ungrammatical). Drawing on the results of the acceptability judgement task, we show that Italian argumental compounds allow pronominal reference to the argument element depending on the compound structure and referential expression. The position of the head plays a decisive role, and while compound-internal anaphora is accepted with left-headed compounds (i.e. Noun<sub>PREDICATE</sub> + Noun<sub>ARGUMENT</sub>) and, to a minor extent, with V+N compounds, the same is not

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true with right-headed compounds (i.e. Noun<sub>ARGUMENT</sub> + Noun<sub>PREDICATE</sub>). Moreover, it has been found that left-headed compounds allow null-subject anaphora to a greater extent. An experimental approach made it possible to single out detailed variables that would not have otherwise been possible to observe. These results provide new evidence on compound-internal pronominal reference and give important insights into the processing of constructions such as argumental compounds.

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**ON THE MORPHOLOGICAL INTEGRATION OF TURKISH LOANWORDS  
IN THE RHODIAN GREEK VARIETY OF ARCHANGELOS: THE CASE OF LOAN NOUNS**

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In this data-based study, we investigate the *morphological integration* of Turkish *loanwords* in the linguistic variety of Modern Greek (henceforth *MG*) spoken in Archangelos, Rhodes (henceforth *ArchGr*). More precisely, we explore the *loanwords* that are assigned to the grammatical category of *nouns*. *Loanwords* are lexical items transferred from a donor language to a recipient language (Campbell 2004) or, in this case, to a recipient geographical linguistic variety. This is the result of *language contact*, that is, the simultaneous presence of at least two systems at the same place (Thomason 2001). *ArchGr* was in contact with Turkish during the Ottoman Occupation of Rhodes, from 1522 to 1912 (cf., Sifopoulos 2000), leading to vast numbers of lexical borrowings. Our data come from both written sources (Psaras 2018) and fieldwork recordings in the village of Archangelos.

Building on Poplack & Sankoff (1984), we argue that the *morphological integration* of Turkish *loan nouns* in *ArchGr* was not a hasty process, but rather a gradual one (cf., Filipović 1981; Poplack & Dion 2012; i.a.). More precisely, building on Fragkopoulou (2015) for *MG* geographical varieties, we distinguish three levels of *morphological integration*:

I. ***minimum integration***: The *loan noun* is utterly accommodated to the *ArchGr* phonological system, but with regard to morphology it is: a. uninflected, and b. only assigned to a grammatical gender (masculine, feminine or neuter), since the grammatical category of *nouns* permits a grammatical gender assignment, e.g., (1).

(1) [aksi'lit<sup>ɕ</sup>-i]<sub>ArchGr</sub> < [aksi'lik]<sub>TR</sub> 'mishap'

The example given in (1) illustrates: a. the *phonological integration* of the Turkish word [aksi'lik] in the phonological system of *ArchGr*, as the segment [k] of the Turkish word, triggered by the front vowel /i/ of the recipient variety, is realized as the alveo-palatal affricate [t<sup>ɕ</sup>] (cf., Nikolou, Lengeris & Frantzi 2021), and, b. the *morphological integration*, as this /i/ is a suffix {-i} marking the nominative of neuter nouns in *MG*, even though in *ArchGr* the *loan nouns* falling within the *minimum integration* level are uninflected.

II. ***partial integration***: What differentiates *minimum* and *partial integration* is that in the latter the *loan noun* is assigned to inflectional classes, realizing all numbers and cases, in line with the inflectional system of *MG*, e.g., (2). It should be noted that, in the case of the *loan nouns* in question, the *partial integration* is the level which statistically features the highest productivity in *ArchGr*.

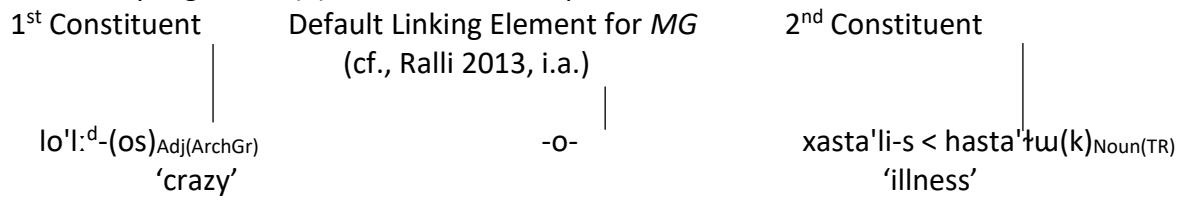
(2) [a'krani-s]<sub>ArchGr</sub> < [a'kran]<sub>TR</sub> 'peer'

In (2), the *loan noun* is integrated in the inflectional system of the recipient variety, realizing both singular and plural numbers and all four cases of *MG*, i.e., nominative, genitive, accusative and vocative. Due to the inflectional suffix {-s}, this noun is assigned to the second inflectional class of *MG* (cf., Ralli 2018, i.a.), which only includes masculine nouns that, when in plural, feature stem allomorphs displaying a {ð-} at the right edge (e.g., [a'krani-s]<sub>SingNom</sub> – [a'kranið-es]<sub>PlNom</sub>).

III. ***full integration***: *Loan nouns* in this level possess all the characteristics of the two above-mentioned levels, participating also in the other two morphological processes, namely derivation and compounding, e.g., (3).

(3) [lo:l<sup>d</sup>-o-xasta'li-s]<sub>ArchGr</sub> < [lo:l<sup>d</sup>(os)]<sub>ArchGr</sub> + [hasta'ɫu(k)]<sub>TR</sub> 'crazy and stupid person'

The example given in (3) constitutes a compound structure which is formed as follows:



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## DIPHTHONGIZATION IN ISTRO-ROMANIAN

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This work is still in progress and it is a part of a bigger project, called *Istro-Romanian and Istro-Romanians. Legacy and Heritage*, supported by a grant of the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research, CNCS - UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P1-1.1-TE-2019-0832, within PNCDI III, whose leader is Ionuț Geană.

This paper is trying to answer to three research questions: (i). How many diphthongs are there in Istro-Romanian (IR)?, (ii). Are there any similarities between the diphthongs in IR and the diphthongs in Daco-Romanian (DR)?, (iii). How do they behave acoustically?

This work aims to make an inventory of the diphthongs in IR, based on personal recordings which were taken in 2021, when we did some research in the villages where Istro-Romanians live, also on recordings from *vlaski-zejanski.com* website or texts from *Harta sonoră a graiurilor și a dialectelor limbii române* and *Texte istroromâne*. Another objective of this paper is to see if there are any differences or similarities regarding the process of diphthongization in Istro-Romanian and Daco-Romanian.

The second part of this paper will be represented by an acoustic analysis of the diphthongs that will be found with examples from the two areas, north, represented by Žejane, and south, represented by Šušnjevića. For this analysis, we will use our own recordings and those on the *vlaski-zejanski.com* website as sources.

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Personal recordings which were taken in Žejane and Šušnjevića in 2021.

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## STUDYING PHONETIC VARIATION IN A RECENTLY DEVELOPED ROMANIAN SPEECH CORPUS

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The purpose of this talk is twofold, first, to showcase the steps taken for designing, recording, transcribing and exploring a speech corpus for contemporary standard Romanian, second, to explore the corpus in terms of phonetic variation related to connected speech processes. By expanding upon the existing national oral corpora (such as CoRoLa, ROMBAC CORV, IVLRA, ROVA), we aim to develop an open access high quality speech corpus, designed to follow the EU recommendations, and provide modern resources for the study of Romanian, allowing for linguistic comparisons with other Romance languages.

**Data collection and processing.** Taking into account the strict time (2 years) and personnel (1 researcher) restrictions, we limit our data collection to 12 adult speakers (6 females, 6 males) representative of the Southern dialect on which the standard language is based on. As a result, we will not be documenting different accents across the country. The recordings are conducted in a sound-attenuated room using a stand mount AKG microphone connected to a computer via an external audio interface. The sampling rate used was 44.1KHz (Mono Channel). All participants signed a GDPR consent form by which they willingly agree to the use of the recordings for academic and scientific purposes. The corpus is organised in two sections, corresponding to the elicitation of both controlled speech (word list) and spontaneous speech (monologue). The first section of the corpus is designed for providing relevant phonetic data pertaining to voice onset time measurement of the six stops in the language /p,t,k,b,d,g/, F1 and F2 extraction for the seven cardinal vowels /i,ɪ,u,e,ə,o,a/, as well as contribute to new insights on the acoustic characteristics of Romanian voiced /s,ʃ,f,h/ and voiceless /z,ʒ,v/ fricatives in comparison with the friction noise pertaining to the three affricates found in standard speech /tʃ, dʒ, ts/. The second part of the corpus is dedicated to eliciting casual speech. The monologues share the same topic (related to past, present and future activities), making the data comparable and facilitating generalization across speakers. The corpus is undergoing manual transcriptions in Praat, the first tier of the TextGrid contains the orthographical transcription paired with a board phonological transcription present on the second tier. We adapted the annotation system to include silent pauses (#), pause fillers (@), hesitations (%), repetitions (+), elision (()), truncation (-), lengthening of segments (:), mispronunciations (\*), code switching ({}), laughter (| |), unintelligible speech ([]) and respiration noises (^). The corpus is set to launch in the second part of 2022 under a Creative Commons license. Users will have access to both the audio files and the corresponding transcriptions. In order to make this a user-friendly experience, additional material will be uploaded on the project's relevant to corpus download and use.

**Corpus utility and exploration.** The corpus is designed to foster research initiatives across a spectrum of subjects, allowing scholars to test various hypothesis at different levels of the linguistic system, especially at the interface between phonetics and phonology. Furthermore, the material recorded can become a relevant tool for natural language processing. For illustration purposes in terms of extracting relevant acoustic data from the TextGrids pertaining to casual speech, we will be looking at inter- and intra- speaker variability with respect to various reduction processes found in connected speech. In this regard, our objective is twofold. On the one hand, we aim to showcase the advantages of working on this recently developed speech corpus, how the users can download the corpus

and extract the relevant data for their analyses from the available TextGrids. On the other hand, as a means of exploring the recordings, we will be looking at coarticulation and connected speech processes.

#### Acknowledgements

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## THE ACQUISITION OF MEDIAL CODAS IN CHILD GREEK: A CONSTRAINT-BASED ACCOUNT

Eirini Ploumidi, University of Crete

This study investigates the acquisition of word-medial codas in child Greek. Studies show that the unmarked CV syllables are acquired before the marked CVC ones (e.g., English: Demuth and Fee 1995; Dutch: Demuth and Fee 1995, Hebrew: Ben-David 2001, for child Greek see Kappa 2002; 2009) since the unmarked structures are acquired before the marked ones (e.g., Jakobson 1968). In child Greek, codas emerge during the intermediate phase of the phonological acquisition and the final codas are acquired before the medial ones (Kappa 2002, 2009).

*Here*, we focus on longitudinal data, obtained from spontaneous speech and a picture-naming task, from a monolingual typically developing Greek-acquiring child (ages: 2;06.04-3;06.06). We show that the acquisition of medial codas proceeds in three **Stages** and that the theoretical explanation of the attested patterns requires a consideration of several grammatical phonological principles and constraints, including the coda condition, the sonority sequencing principle, syllable contact, the ocp. The analysis is couched in the framework of Optimality Theory (Prince & Smolensky 1993). In the initial developmental state, the constraint ranking is markedness >> faithfulness. In the intermediate state, due to the constraint reranking, *some* M constraints are demoted and are dominated by *some* F ones. Our data reveal an *intermediate* grammar since some marked structures/segments, e.g., clusters, final codas, fricatives, are realized, and the medial codas are banned *early* in the intermediate phase, whereas they are realized *later*.

**Stage 1:** Medial codas and segment deletions are banned. The demand for the preservation of the coda segment triggers metathesis of the liquid coda in onset position and forces the emergence of a rising sonority [obstruent+liquid] cluster (obstruent: fricative or stop), i.e., the cluster consists of the onset segment as C<sub>1</sub> and the metathesized coda as C<sub>2</sub> (1a-c). The cluster occurs in a salient position, i.e., in initial/stressed syllable, and is heterorganic, namely its members differ in PoA (/ksa.ðer.fos/→[ksa.ðe.f<sub>[Lab]</sub>l<sub>[Cor]</sub>OS], \*[ð<sub>[Cor]</sub>l<sub>[Cor]</sub>]‘cousin’). Since the output cluster displays a gradual sonority rise from the C<sub>1</sub> towards the vowel, is well-formed on the basis of the Sonority Sequencing Principle (e.g., Sievers 1901; Steriade 1982; Selkirk 1984) from which the Sonority Scale is derived (e.g., Selkirk 1984), and is unmarked on the basis of the Sonority Distance compared to, for example, a falling sonority cluster. That is why, in child Greek, the rising sonority clusters emerge first (e.g., Tzakosta 2007, see also Barlow 1999) and such a cluster emerges due to the metathesis. Also, the *output* cluster is [labial/dorsal+liquid]. We argue that [coronal+liquid] clusters are banned due to OCP (against the adjacency of identical PoA features; e.g., Goldsmith 1976; Itô and Mester 1986, for child Greek: Kappa 2002; Kappa and Papoutsi 2020). Given the above, we claim that NoMedCoda (against medial codas), ocp and max (against segment deletions) are highly ranked whereas NoOnsCluster (against onset clusters) and linearity (against metathesis) are lowly ranked since the avoidance of medial coda deletions triggers metathesis and the realization of a cluster.

**Stage 2:** Medial codas are realized (1d-e) under certain conditions, i.e., (i) the following onset is Coronal forming an heterosyllabic [coronal+coronal] sequence, (ii) the medial coda occurs in a perceptually prominent position, i.e., in an initial/stressed syllable. The (i) condition reveals that the M constraint CodaCondition is *induced* in the child’s grammar

during learning, since its effects show up *later* in the development, i.e., this constraint, which, dominates the hierarchy in Stage 2, seems to be novel in the grammar (for constraint induction see e.g., Becker and Tessier 2007). The realization of the medial coda is due to a highly ranked Positional Faithfulness constraint (Beckman 1998) which demands the preservation of the input material in the output, *iff* it occurs in a salient position. If conditions (i–ii) are not met, coda deletion occurs (1f–g).

**Stage 3:** Medial codas surface regardless of the PoA of the following onset (1h–j), i.e., [coronal+labial/dorsal/coronal] heterosyllabic (non-)homorganic sequences surface in (un)stressed/(non-)initial syllables. Thus, NoMedCoda and CodaCondition are ranked low.

In Stages 2–3, the syllable contact (Vennemann 1972) is required to have a falling sonority slope, i.e., the coda is required to be more sonorous than the following onset. In Stage 2, this demand is more pronounced since the sonority drop between the coda and the onset should be great enough in order that the relationship between these constituents be more optimal. That is why [liquid+stop/fricative] *heterosyllabic* sequences are allowed whereas [liquid+nasal] ones are not (e.g., /'for.ma/ → ['fo.ma] 'jumpsuit'). This requirement is not evident in Stage 3, i.e., medial codas are realized *across-the-board* (/ 'for.ma/ → ['for.ma]).

### Data

(1)	Adult form	Child form	Gloss	Age
α	var.'ku.la	vla.'ku.la	small boat	2;06.11
β <b>Stage 1</b>	ksa.ðer.'fa.ca	tsa.ðe.'fla.ca	cousins	2;09.00
γ	'kal.tses	'kla.ce	socks	2;09.27
δ	'tur.ta	'tur.ta	birthday cake	3;04.23
ε <b>Stage 2</b>	kor.'ðo.ɲa	kor.'ðo.ɲa	lacing	3;04.23
φ	kar.'pu.zi	ka.'pu.ji	watermelon	3;04.23
ξ	tin ar.'çi	tin a.'çi	at the start	3;04.23
θ	me ku.'ver.ta	me ku.'ver.ta	with blanket	3;05.13
ι <b>Stage 3</b>	'bar.bi	'bar.bi	proper name	3;05.13
ζ	spur.ji.'ta.ci	pur.ji.'ta.tsi	sparrow	3;05.30

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## ON THE ACQUISITION OF STRICT VS. VARIABLE TELICITY IN CHILD ROMANIAN

**Ioana Stoicescu, University of Bucharest & Wolfgang U. Dressler, University of Vienna,  
Austrian Academy of Sciences**

The study investigates the interpretations assigned by Romanian-speaking children to three categories of telic predicates, namely strictly telic, variably telic and change of state predicates. Verb phrases for which the idea of culmination is entailed and which do not admit atelic readings are strictly telic. Variably telic predicates allow both telic and atelic interpretations, while the culmination of the relevant event is pragmatically implied (Anderson 2017, Wright 2014). The two categories are subclasses of the incremental theme class. Change of state predicates correspond to the achievement class (Vendler 1957), for which culmination is entailed. Previous work has revealed that the culmination inference develops early for change of state predicates, and is delayed for incremental theme predicates (García del Real Marco 2015). In addition, work on the acquisition of English has shown that children do not differentiate between the strict and variable telic classes, for which they accept incompleteness at higher rates than adults (Anderson 2017). In Romanian, a Romance language, the past tense form is not aspectually under-determined like the English past, and we hypothesized that it supports an earlier development of the culmination inference and a clearer differentiation between the telic subclasses. This hypothesis was confirmed with data from two experiments and two longitudinal corpora of child Romanian. The results indicated that the Romanian children treated the three subclasses in a distinctive manner: they stopped allowing non-culminating readings for change of state verb phrases from an early age, they assigned both telic and atelic interpretations to strict and variable telic predicates, but the rates of atelic readings decreased with the strictly telic class, and remained constant with variably telic predicates. Moreover, prototypical members of the strictly telic class elicited telic readings systematically, at age three. The analysis of two corpora of longitudinal child data indicated that variably telic verbs were mainly used in atelic predications both in CDS and CS before age three, which may contribute to the high rates of atelic interpretations in comprehension later on. Overall, the results suggested that the verb phrases that the adults normally regard as non-ambiguous with respect to telicity are those whose semantics develops earliest in child language.

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## **VIOLATIONS OF SYMMETRY IN COORDINATED STRUCTURES**

**Tănase Andreea Codrina, University of Bucharest**

The present paper investigates violations of symmetry in Romanian coordinated structures. Although the conjoins in a coordinate complex are generally assumed to be symmetrical from both a semantic and a syntactic point of view (see, for instance, Mayr 2017), there are many instances of asymmetrical coordination, such as (1), which need to be addressed.

(1) Big Louie sees you with the loot and he puts a contract on you.  
(Culicover and Jackendoff :1997)

Irregularities concerning symmetry in coordinated structures such as Agreement mismatches, selectional requirements or constituent extraction are observed and exemplified in both English and Romanian, allowing for an overall understanding of the vastness of this phenomenon.

Although it is the phenomenon of parataxis that is perceived as always being symmetrical while subordination is generally seen as semantically asymmetrical, coordination seems to take the middle ground in its complex, versatile behaviour.



Mihaela Tănase-Dogaru, University of Bucharest

### 1. Aim

The paper looks at bare partitives in Romanian (1) and postulates a silent classifier acting as N1 in this type of binominal constructions:

- (1) Au mai venit dintre băieți.  
Have.PL more come PART (of-the) boys  
'Some of the boys have come'

Bare partitives have mainly been discussed for Italian (2), leading to various proposals (Chierchia 1997, Zamparelli 2002, Le Bruyn 2007, Falco & Zamparelli 2019 a.o.) that are mainly semantic in nature.

- (2) Dei ragazzi sono qui.  
of-the boys are here  
'Some of the boys are here'

The paper takes a syntactic stance to Romanian bare partitives and argues that what accounts for plural agreement with the verb, in the absence of N1, is the presence in the structure of a silent noun TOKENS (apud van Riemsdijk 2003, Kayne 2020).

### 2. Background

Proper partitives in Romanian fall into two categories (Tănase-Dogaru 2009, 2011, 2012, 2017, Tănase-Dogaru & Ușurelu 2015): *dintre* partitives (3) and *din* partitives (4):

- (3) unii dintre studenții lui  
some from-among students-the his  
'some of his students'
- (4) o parte din vin  
a part from wine  
'a part of the wine'

The main difference between the two types of partitives proper in Romanian relates to the fact that *dintre* partitives always select a definite plural DP, while *din* partitives select both definite plural DPs (o parte din studenți / a part of students) and mass nouns (o parte din apă / a part of water).

The first nominal in (standard and pseudo) partitives is a classifier, i.e. a semi-lexical element, which heads a double-headed extended projection (Tănase-Dogaru 2011, 2012, 2017). This classifier is silent in the case of what-of exclamatives in Romanian (Tănase-Dogaru 2007) (5):

- (5) Ce NUMBER de case au unii !  
What NUMBER of houses have some

'Some people have so many houses!'

The paper argues that a second context where the classifier is silent is the context of bare partitives in (1).

### 3. Analysis

Building on the analyses in Jackendoff (1977), Cardinaletti and Giusti (1991), and Sauerland & Yatsushiro (2004), the paper argues that standard partitives always contain two nominals, one of which is elided:

- (6)     mulți copii dintre copii / doi studenți dintre studenți  
          many children of-the children / two students of-the students  
          'many of the children' / 'two of the students'

Cardinaletti & Giusti (1991) show that quantifiers always select an NP; the structure containing only a quantifier is ungrammatical, while partitive clitic NE is mandatory.

- (7)     a.     Ho letto molti [e] dei tuoi libri.  
              (I) have read many [e] of your books.  
          b.     \*Ho letto molti.  
              (I) have read many.  
          c.     Ne ho letto molti.  
              PART have read many.

Bare partitives represent a special case, where not only the nominal layer is elided, but also the functional layer. Building on van Riemsdijk (2002, 2003) and Kayne (2020), the paper argues that the N1 position in bare partitives is occupied by a silent classifier TOKEN.

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## SUBJECTS IN NARRATIVES IN 2L1 HUNGARIAN

**Veronica Tomescu & Réka Pupp, University of Bucharest**

The study consists of a qualitative analysis of subject use in Hungarian, in 16 narratives produced by a group of Hungarian-Romanian bilingual children, age range 2;6-6;7, on the basis of the the *Frog Where Are You?* picture book.

The study focuses on the following: (1) the correct use of overt personal pronoun subjects, which has been found to be a vulnerable issue in bilingual language acquisition (Sorace & Filiaci 2006, etc.); (2) the appropriate use of null subjects in contexts where the referent can felicitously be recovered from the previous clause(s) (3) the appropriate use of definite and indefinite nouns to introduce old and new information respectively, possible word order issues - pre- vs postverbal subjects are governed by strict discourse rules in Hungarian (E.Kiss 2004); (4) the syntactic complexity of the narratives, the types of syntactic structures used. Whereas the children seemed to have mastered the correct use of null and pronominal subjects, instances of overuse of pronouns have occasionally been observed, but also null subjects in contexts where the referent could not be recovered from previous utterances (it could only be identified from the picture the child was currently looking at). The children correctly used indefinite articles to signal referents new to the discourse and definite articles for old information, but many of them tended to produce repetitive utterances: alternating the same two-three noun subjects in a succession of brief sentences, with no subordinates – or indeed even sometimes repeating the same noun subject in each sentence. The fluency of the narrative and the syntactic complexity (number of subordinates), as well as the correct use of subjects depend on proficiency (which language the bilingual child is more proficient in) as well as age.

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## MORPHOLOGICAL PRODUCTIVITY AND LOCAL DERIVATIONAL PATTERNS

Piotr Twardzisz, University of Warsaw

Morphological productivity, with which this presentation is concerned, is considered to be a vague and commonly disputed concept (Bauer 2006). It can be understood in two, if not more, different ways. In one way, which is more general and commonsensical, morphological productivity means that a given process, considered to be productive, results in numerous instances. So, if the outcomes of two morphological processes are compared, the one with a longer list of output forms is considered to be more productive (Aronoff 1976: 36). In a different (narrower) sense, a given morphological process is productive if it can be shown to have numerous *hapax legomena*, that is once-only formations.

Attempts have been made to formulate ways of assigning concrete and reliable numerical values to morphological processes in order to better demonstrate their productivity. For instance, Baayen (and his collaborators) is the author of a number of statistical approaches to productivity (e.g., Baayen 1989; Baayen & Renouf 1996). These are based on corpus data and involve measuring the number of *hapaxes*. Baayen (1989) proposes the following formula for quantifying the productivity of morphological processes:  $P = n_1 / N$ . In it,  $P$  is the productivity index,  $n_1$  is the number of hapaxes with a given suffix and pattern found in the corpus, and  $N$  is the total number of all tokens created by this morphological pattern found in the corpus. The higher the number of hapaxes, the higher the value of  $P$ , indicating a productive morphological process. Conversely, the higher the number of high-frequency tokens, the higher the value of  $N$ , leading to the decrease of  $P$ , indicating low productivity.

With the above formula, we have conducted a specific search and analysis of abstract deverbal nominalizations in *-(iz)ation* with names of political states as derivational bases (e.g., *Ukrainization*). Our primary source of the language data is the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). Only written text genres have been considered in this study. In brief, we have focused on three, somewhat modified, genres: "fiction", "journalistic" (= "newspapers" + "magazines") and "academic" texts. Our goal was to establish and compare the morphological productivity of the key nominalizing pattern across the three written genres.

Our initial observations show that specialist (academic) discourse is more prone to generate diverse novel formations in *-(iz)ation* than non-specialist discourses. So, our intuitive assumption would be that *-(iz)ation* nominalizations are the most productive in academic texts, less productive in journalistic texts and the least productive in fiction texts. It is reasonable to assume this as authors of specialist texts are better equipped to coin novel formations in texts from their field of expertise. Academic texts, as more specialist than other texts, must be filled with more specialist vocabulary. Some journalistic texts, especially more technical ones, can also be filled with specialist formations. Fiction is presumably the least geared to host specialist nominalizations, unless specialist contexts have been provided as settings for stories.

However, the above intuitive assumptions are not confirmed once Baayen's productivity indices are calculated for the three written genres involved in the study. The hapaxes have been calculated separately for each genre (i.e., 14 for academic, 9 for journalistic and 4 for fiction). The total number of tokens created by means of *-(iz)ation* will also be different for each genre, namely, 587, 154 and 6, respectively. The application of Baayen's formula to the three genres produces the following results:  $P$  (academic) = 0.024,  $P$  (journalistic) = 0.058

and  $P(\text{fiction}) = 0.666$ . According to the above calculations, the productivity index for fiction is the highest, the one for the journalistic genre is second and the one for academic texts is the lowest. This evidently runs counter to our intuitive assumptions put forth above about productivity in the three genres. The unexpected high productivity of fiction results from the proximity of the two parameters  $n_1$  and  $N$ . The low productivity of academic texts is the result of a marked discrepancy between  $n_1$  and  $N$ .

In order to better understand the formation and distribution of our *-(iz)ation* formations, we will postulate the recognition of a **local derivational pattern**, or a hierarchy of those. The superiority of a more specific, fine-grained pattern over a general template will be argued for based on concrete examples of key derivations. Further data obtained from tailor-made corpora seem to support the need for lower-level derivational patterns, which sanction numerous, low-frequency specific derivations. The productivity (power) of such local patterns is evidently higher in specialist genres, as intuition might suggest.

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# APPLIED LINGUISTICS

## CONSTRUCTION OF MEANING THROUGH CONCEPTUAL INTEGRATION IN THE FINANCIAL-BANKING LANGUAGE

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The aim of this paper is twofold. First, we intend to present briefly the general theory behind the notion of conceptual integration, or conceptual blending, as a “basic mental operation, highly imaginative but crucial” (G. Fauconnier & M. Turner 2000, 18) for thinking and understanding in all domains of human activity. Second, we will exemplify the workings of this backstage type of cognition in the financial-banking field, by exploring through the lens of complex conceptual blending the meanings carried by such integrated concepts as *account balance*, *alligator spread*, *arm’s length transaction*, *heavy market*, *firewall*, or *phantom income*. The meanings encapsulated in these terms can be compellingly and elegantly explained through compression in blending networks operating on a “surprisingly small set of relations rooted in fundamental human neurobiology and shared social experience.” (*ibid.*, xiii).

At the same time, given that many of the discussed terms are metaphor- and/or metonymy-laden, we will also touch upon R. Benczes’ theory of creative compounding, and also on G. Lakoff’s approach on idealized cognitive models as mind tools in understanding the world in general and various scientific fields, in particular.

**Keywords:** conceptual integration, creative compounding, mental space, idealized cognitive model, financial-banking language

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LANGUAGE ACCREDITATION FOR MIGRATION PURPOSES. TEACHER CANDIDATES' ATTITUDES AND AWARENESS FROM AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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Global mobility has considerably increased across the world for different reasons: labor mobility, economic poverty, political unrest and conflicts. As a result, language testing for migration and citizenship has become a major challenge for most European countries in an increasingly globalized world, so several governments have recently introduced different language policies, standards and procedures over the last two decades (Rocca et al., 2020, Bozorov 2022). Despite the international reports published by professional organizations such as the Association of Languages Testers in Europe (ALTE) and the European Association for Language Testing and Assessment (EALTE), there is no single European policy to date regarding language accreditation for migration purposes. Although there is a rich body of literature about this issue (Canagarajah 2017, Curdt-Christiansen 2018, Juric 2022) most of these works focused on language standards from a local sociopolitical perspective. This research was aimed at examining teacher candidates' awareness and attitudes about language assessment and migration trends and their impact on education from an international perspective. For this purpose, two cohorts of pre-service teachers studying Applied Linguistics from Spain (n=138) and Poland (n=53) participated in this longitudinal research (2020-2022) based on a QUAN-QUAL mixed method. The participants were first required to read and discuss different articles and reports about current trends in migration and language testing around the world, and were subsequently exposed to different audiovisual materials and first-person testimonies of real immigrants facing language barriers in Europe who had distinct cultural background and language competence. Then, the participants discussed in class their knowledge and attitudes toward language accreditation for migration and citizenship from a multifaceted perspective. Quantitative and qualitative data were gathered through a pre-post-test, including questions about migration and language policies, and semi-structured debates. Statistical data analysis (IBM SPSS 20) revealed significant inter- and intra-group differences between the pre-post-test results for both cohorts, Polish and Spanish, before and after the treatment as regards awareness and attitudes toward language accreditation for migration purposes. The findings revealed common misconceptions about current migration trends and language policies in Europe among participants, and demonstrated a statistical correlation between cultural and personal background, on the one hand, and attitudes towards language requirements, on the other. Current political conflicts in Europe had a strong impact on the participants' attitudes depending on their setting and family background. The teacher candidates agreed on the need to provide proper language education and support to help migrants and refugees better adapt to the new context but disagreed on different specific measures related with it, for example language and cultural standards depending on the migrants' origin (linguistic affinity), language training courses and financing, and law exemptions (age, people with special needs, etc.). The teacher candidates advocated for better practices and preparation regarding language assessment and migration in the curriculum since they wanted to be professionally ready for a multilingual and multicultural classroom as future educators.

**Keywords:** language accreditation, migration, teacher candidates, attitudes, awareness

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TRANSLATING CULTURAL ELEMENTS IN PETER ACKROYD'S "THE HOUSE OF DOCTOR DEE". A ROMANIAN CASE  
STUDY

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For the Romanian language, Peter Ackroyd's *The House of Doctor Dee* can be a source text filled with cultural translation challenges. A culturally accurate translation is vital to the understanding of the target text. Peter Newmark's communicative and semantic translation are two methods that can be combined to obtain a balanced text, where little to none compromise has to be made: we do not have to move the author, nor the reader, as Schleiermacher says, but we can move the text between the two, like a pendulum of translation. We can preserve both the beauty of the written text and a clear global message without overusing foreignization or believing that domestication is the best and only option. This paper will present a case study on a few fragments from the English novel, comparing both the official Romanian translation done by Dan-Horațiu Popescu and my version, accounting for any changes when it is the case. Also, I will also present a few critical opinions about Peter Ackroyd and his novels, connecting them to the reason as to why I chose this text. I will also comment on the novel itself and on the general meaning conveyed by the text, and I will make a brief presentation of the translation apparatus that I am going to use to account for my choices.

**Key words:** Semantic translation, communicative translation, cultural translation, Peter Ackroyd.

## CAN MANNER TRUMP PATH? - TRANSLATING V-V-ING-OBL CONSTRUCTIONS INTO ROMANIAN

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The study of the crosslinguistic expression of motion events has generally focused on the derivation of the Goal of Motion construction in Germanic languages, particularly in English, and its absence from Romance languages (see Talmy 1985, 2000, Zubizarreta & Oh 2007, Beavers, Levin & Tham 2010, Slobin 2004, 2005, 2014, Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2015 et al.). Talmy (1985, 2000) accounts for this contrast by proposing a typological classification which distinguishes between Satellite-framed and Verb-framed languages. The former, like English, conflate the Path of motion in a satellite (a preposition, a particle or a prefix), leaving the verb position open to the expression of Manner (*He [ran]<sub>Manner verb</sub> [into the room]<sub>GoalPP</sub>*). In contrast, the latter, like Romanian, conflate the Path of motion in the verb and, as a result, the Manner of motion can only be expressed as an adjunct (a gerund, a PP, or an AdvP), though it is usually omitted (*[A intrat]<sub>PathV</sub> [în cameră]<sub>LocPP</sub> [în fugă/goană]<sub>Manner adjunct - PP</sub>*). Many studies (Slobin 2004, 2005, 2006, Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2003, 2015, Capelle 2012, R. A. Alonso 2018 et al.) have demonstrated that, in addition to the lexical resources and syntactic structures available in different languages, Talmy's lexicalization patterns play a major role in the translators' selection of particular strategies to render motion events from a Satellite-framed language into a Verb-framed language and vice versa. These translation strategies have been shown to generate syntactic structures that generally mirror the typical lexicalization patterns for the expression of motion events in said languages, as proposed by Talmy (1985, 2000).

The present research focuses on the translation of the V-V-ING-OBL construction from English into Romanian (*He came/went running into the room*). This is a special, though marginal construction of particular interest because, unlike the Goal of Motion construction, it combines two verbs, the main verb (*come/go*) expressing the Path of motion and the V-ING participle, the Manner of motion. These are typically followed by a directional prepositional phrase denoting Source, Path or Goal. There is also a causative variant of this construction built on *send* (*With a swift blow, he sent his enemy tumbling down the stairs*). The aim of this research is threefold: (1) to identify the translation strategies employed to render this Path-Manner structure into Romanian, in order to see in what ways their selection is influenced by Talmy's typological classification of languages; (2) to identify the range of Manner-denoting expressions used in the translated versions; (3) to determine to what extent the syntactic structures generated in Romanian mirror Talmy's typical lexicalization pattern for Romance. In Drăgan (2016), it was proposed that the lower VP is a directed motion with a Manner component construction or a Goal of Motion construction, since many of the Manner-denoting verbs are unaccusatives subcategorizing for a directional PP. Given that Romanian cannot generally derive Goal of Motion and favors instead the [Path verb + optional directional/locative PP] pattern to express directed motion, as claimed by Talmy (1985, 2000), the expectation would be for the translated V-V-ING-OBL constructions to reflect this lexicalization pattern and for Manner to be omitted (at least in most cases). However, the investigation will reveal a different picture, with Manner being expressed in most cases and in a variety of forms (gerunds, PPs, verbal and adverbial idiomatic collocations, reduplicatives, etc.), a possible reason being the translators' need to preserve the dynamicity and vividness of the motion event descriptions.

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**THE IMPACT OF DST (DIGITAL STORYTELLING) ON VOCABULARY KNOWLEDGE  
AMONG PRIMARY EDUCATION STUDENTS**

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Exposing EFL learners to different cultural contexts at an early stage is essential to enhance their communicative competence (Richards & Rodgers, 1999). It is through the use of stories that teachers can present vocabulary in a meaningful way so that students can develop their speaking and listening skills and increase their intercultural awareness. In fact, one of the main advantages of using stories is to help students make connections between different types of vocabulary, thus increasing their knowledge and enhancing their usage (Bafile, 2003). However, there is today little research on using Digital Storytelling (DST) for vocabulary building at the productive level among English learners in Primary Education.

Following Bloom's Taxonomy and using a Task-Based learning (TBLT) method, this research aims to examine the effectiveness of adopting DST for vocabulary production in the EFL classroom from an inclusive perspective. Oral proficiency is fundamental for later developing reading and writing skills among Primary Education students. Storytelling can help children succeed as readers and speakers in different social contexts and build their confidence regarding language production and competence. Task-based language teaching (TBLT) has become an effective method in Second Language acquisition as it promotes the use of communicative tasks to enhance productive vocabulary in a communicative way since the early 1980s (Jeon and Hahn, 2006). Based on the Constructivist theory of learning, TBLT emerged in response to some constraints of the traditional PPP (Presentation-Practice-Production) approach (Ellis, 2003). Hence, language learning is meant to be the product of a communicative and social interaction process where learners master the target language when being exposed to meaningful task-based activities in a natural way. However, it was during the nineties when it developed into a series of task-based activities classified into pre-task preparation, task performance and post-task feedback.

In this research, based on a mixed method, 128 participants from Primary Education were selected. These students were originally from 24 different cultural and different language backgrounds (Spain, Russia, Romania, Iran, Ukraine, Italy, France, etc.) and they attended a Spanish public school. They were exposed to different types of printed (paper-based books) and audiovisual (Digital Storytelling) materials to assess their vocabulary learning. The learning progress was measured using different instruments over a three-month period. The activities were used to primarily promote and enhance students' learning through warm-ups (pre-task), language structure activities in a meaningful context (task) and activation tasks (post-task). For this purpose, students were randomly divided in a control group (CG) and experimental group (EG). The CG used the printed version of folktales while the EG was exposed to the digital versions (DST) of the same stories. Quantitative and qualitative data were gathered through a pre-post-test and observation of different tasks, and the data was analyzed using IBM SPSS 20 statistics software. The pre/post-test comprised thirty-five questions organized in three different sections (socio-demographic data, language skills and intercultural competence). Both the language and intercultural sections were replicated in the post- and delayed tests in order to measure the differences before and after the treatment. The two class activities (role play and miming) aimed to evaluate the learners' vocabulary development, as well as their oral skills. The results revealed that DST can be

adopted as an effective tool to improve vocabulary at the productive level, but some statistical differences were observed depending on certain variables such as language affinity, cultural background and gender.

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## THE ROLE OF FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE IN HUMAN TRANSLATION

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The present paper is focused on the impact that figurative language in the form of idioms may have on translation, especially when the SL text is stylistically marked by a high frequency of idiomatic phrases. Literary texts such as those created by M. Twain, Ch. Dickens or, more recently, by Roald Dahl comprise many such idiomatic phrases which, by definition, are to be interpreted figuratively. Obviously, with the translational process the conceptual equivalence is not always perfectly transferable and the result may be either a sort of translation by omission of certain semantic and/or cultural features existing in the SL phrase or a totally different rewording phrase, maybe still figurative, but with a different root, i.e. based on a different metaphorical schema.

In the first part, I discuss the direct vs. indirect dichotomy in language representation from a cognitive-pragmatic perspective, while insisting on the cross-language schemata in translation studies. In the second part I discuss the minimal cross-textual analyses from the viewpoint of idiomaticity in the SL and TL texts in a set of literary classical texts (Ch. Dickens' *Oliver Twist* and M. Twain's *Tom Sawyer*) on the one hand and in R. Dahl's *The Big Friendly Giant*, on the other.

One tentative conclusion would be that figurative (conventional) indirect language tends to dominate over the use of direct speech in many literary writings, especially in those addressed to teenagers or very young readers.

Lastly, I propose a translational analysis regarding the figurativeness of idioms that seem to be anchored chronologically, a reason why the most recent literary text, R. Dahl's and the ultimate Romanian version of this book seems to be opening new perspectives on the figurative representation and interpretation of idiomatic language: the more recent a literary text is, the more powerful the significance of metaphorical language encrypted into idioms can be. Therefore, the TL metaphorical equivalence (Romanian, in our case) may become more graphic or stylistically, more colourful.

However, the translator must, and as a rule, does - comply with the initial metaphor representation, the figurative sense of the source language. In case this equivalence, in Nida's terms, is not observed, fidelity – the primordial norm of translation theory, is violated and the metaphor itself could be compromised, both cognitively and figuratively.

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## THE ANALYSIS OF EXPERIENTIAL FUNCTION IN ONLINE INTERVIEWS: A SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

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This paper primarily attempts to provide a means of analyzing text by using Systemic Functional Approach. SFL's "...aim has been to construct a grammar for purposes of text analysis: one that would make it possible to say sensible and useful things about any text, spoken or written, in modern English." Halliday (2000: 41). In the present study the object under analysis is 'Discourse on Education'. Experiential metafunction sees clause as representation, Halliday (1994:106) states that "Our most powerful impression of experience is that it consists of 'goings-on' happening, doing, sensing, meaning, and being and becoming. All these goings-on are sorted out in the grammar of the clause..." and the grammatical structure through which it is achieved is Transitivity Analysis which explicates these experiences into six set of processes. Transitivity can be and has been used as a potent tool to analyse different kinds of 'texts' and can help a researcher unearth different layers of meaning a speaker/writer may be trying to convey in her speech.

This paper employs the experiential metafunction through transitivity analysis as specified in Halliday's SFL to analyse online interviews of education ministers Mrs. Smriti Irani (26 May 2014- 5 July 2016) and Mr Prakash Javadekar (5 July 2016- 30 May 2019). The data is taken from two different online interviews i.e. @ *Think Edu Conclave* , The New Indian Express and *Lets' talk*, MOJO in association with The Week.

The aim of the paper is to analyse:

- a. how the experiential meaning in the discourse on education can be realized through the process types and their associated participants roles as central components in the structure of Transitivity in the clause.
- b. the linguistic features which emerge from the data to investigate the constituting elements of Discourse on education within the framework of SFL.

Since the present study, which is to be seen within the applied linguistics domain, is concerned with transitivity analysis of the discourse/ text, certain patterns, across the text, are to be identified, based on the choices made by the speaker. For the data analysis, transitivity analysis is to be applied to the data at the clausal level by initially identifying the clausal boundaries and then on the basis of transitivity roles, identifying the six process types i.e. material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioural and existential. The results of the analysis are shared since they also have a bearing on the semantics underlying the text.

**Keywords:** Experiential Function, Systemic Functional Linguistics, Discourse, Education, Transitivity.



**SYNTACTIC REANALYSIS AND ANALOGICAL GENERALIZATION IN THE LATE MODERN ENGLISH PERIOD:  
VERB-ADJECTIVE COMBINATIONS IN FOCUS**

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Verb-adjective combinations are multi-word verbs composed of a base verb (e.g. *to get, to cut*) and an adjective (e.g. *clear, short*) which exhibit internal cohesion and behave as single lexemes (Biber et al. 1999). They are characterized by limited syntactic flexibility and by semantic compositionality (Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999) which grant them the status of members of the English multi-word verb system. The multi-layered constituency and the complex semantic substance of verb-adjective combinations are the results of interacting factors working as catalysts behind the processes of grammaticalization and lexicalization which prompted the syntactic restructuring of adjacent items and their univerbation since early times (Jespersen 1961; Visser 1963; Claridge 2000). These processes were operative especially during the Early Modern English (EModE) period as demonstrated by Claridge (2000) who examines verb-adjective combinations and their transformation during the years 1640-1740. However, despite wide knowledge that has been reached to date, there are no studies that examine the history of verb-adjective combinations during the more recent Late Modern English (LModE) period.

The present study aims to fill this gap and to describe the development of verb-adjective combinations during the years 1750-1850. The objective is to investigate the role performed by direct formation, syntactic reanalysis, and analogical generalization in the renewal of verb-adjective combinations.

The present study is a corpus-based investigation undertaken on the Late Modern English-Old Bailey corpus (LModE-OBC), which is a corpus covering the years 1750-1850 and compiled by drawing texts from the Proceedings of the Old Bailey, London's Central Criminal Court. The corpus has been queried with the concordance WordSmith Tools 6.0 and specifically with the tool 'Concord' that allows the visualization of verb-adjective combinations and their immediate context.

The analysis reveals that both stability and change characterize verb-adjective combinations during the LModE time. Specifically, the major aspects are: (1) There is relative stability in the frequency of use of verb-adjective combinations; (2) Syntactic reanalysis had a limited role in linguistic innovation during the years 1750-1850; (3) Some verbs established as the result of analogy prompting the direct formation of new combinations, whereas others disappeared in consequence of analogical processes taking already established verbs as the model to follow; (4) There were phenomena of layering between alternative forms (e.g. *to get open/opened*) and processes of replacement resulting in the obsolescence of one of them.

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## WAVERING BETWEEN GRAMMATICALIZATION AND LEXICALIZATION

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This paper aims to revisit the distinction between grammaticalization and lexicalization in English by addressing the case of English composite predicates, which are structures consisting of a verb and a deverbal noun (*give a cry, take a bite, have a chat*, etc.). Particular attention is paid to viewing English composite predicates in the light of the recent theory of constructionalization, as expounded by Trousdale (2014) and Traugott & Trousdale (2013). There have been divided opinions in the linguistic literature as to whether composite predicates should be considered examples of lexicalization or grammaticalization. Many linguists who discuss this issue recognize that there cannot be a uniform position regarding the status of all composite predicates in relation to these two processes. As the examples will demonstrate, it is more reasonable to talk about tendencies in the development of composite predicates, whereby they receive some features from one or the other process, than to decisively claim that composite predicates constitute a uniform class exemplifying only one of these two processes, while completely disregarding the other.

Traugott (1999: 259) considers composite predicates to be an example of lexicalization followed by idiomatization. In contrast, Brinton & Akimoto (Brinton & Akimoto, 1999: 17) believe that some of these constructions show signs characteristic of grammaticalization. However, Brinton (2011: 566) considers that there are two groups of composite predicates with different development directions: one group that is moving in the direction of lexicalization, and the other group in the direction of grammaticalization. This view served as a basis for multiple other authors who built on it and developed their own perspective on this issue. One such notable example was the model of constructionalization proposed by Trousdale (2014) and Traugott & Trousdale (2013). According to this model “signs which are created as the result of constructionalization will be located on a continuum from procedural to contentful meaning” (Trousdale, 2014: 562). Thus, with the application of this model to composite predicates, they are to be viewed on a spectrum ranging from ‘procedural’ to ‘contentful’, corresponding to composite predicates undergoing grammaticalization and lexicalization respectively.

Along these lines, this paper provides a rationale for such arrangement of composite predicates on a spectrum, including those that show features characteristic of lexicalization, such as: lack of compositionality, low productivity and/or fossilization and those that are productive and relatively transparent in their meaning, but they have acquired grammatical functions, or more precisely, they convey the idea of telic Aktionart owing to the presence of the indefinite article before the noun. This meaning is not present in the corresponding full verb.

Composite predicates in English are a heterogeneous class, and should be treated as such. Specific instances of English composite predicates are singled out to demonstrate that features of grammaticalization and/or lexicalization are pronounced to a greater or a lesser degree in them, thus indicating that there truly is a continuum of varying degrees of lexicalization / grammaticalization in composite predicates.

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## TAKING NOTE OF FORMULAIC LANGUAGE

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I wish to focus on the role of attention in learning new language forms and consolidating previously encountered forms. Noticing in the Noticing Hypothesis (Schmidt 1990, 1994) sense is likely conducive to better memory retention. However, the main claim of my contribution is that conscious "focal awareness" of new language forms is not an absolute pre-requisite. Although we can posit the correlation "The more attention can be mobilized, the greater the chances of successful learning," ample evidence suggests that people can and often do retain elements of input without apparently attending to their spelling or pronunciation.

What makes conscious noticing particularly implausible is the importance of formulaic language. The learner must master great numbers of fixed expressions, most of which (such as *black or white*, *better late than never*, *sooner or later*, etc.) are not inherently salient. All these phrases are acquired through exposure to input. The problem is that the learner has no way of knowing *a priori* which expressions to memorize and which ones are merely one-off lexical sequences. The challenge for the Noticing Hypothesis is that only after a number of encounters can a fixed expression be recognized for what it is. That means that people retain most encountered phrases, whether they pay attention to their form or not. Retaining long successions of phrases is something unlikely to be accomplished through conscious focus – most lexical sequences are recorded subliminally. There is mounting evidence (e.g. Szcześniak forthcoming) that this is in fact what happens both in L1 and L2: exposure to input affects lexical representations outside conscious awareness (e.g. Bordag et al. 2021, Gurevich et al. 2010).

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## STUDY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AS L2 IN STUDENTS WITH DYSLEXIA

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Dyslexia is one of the most common language disorders around the globe and one of the most diagnosed specifically in primary school and during the first cycle of secondary school. In general terms, it is a fairly treated topic among researchers and scholars in mostly any language. For this reason, it is important to draw this distinction of Mallorca in this case as well as referring to the fact that the participants mainly are bilingual Catalan-Spanish, since there is not so much literature review or literature framework of the acquisition of English by a Catalan speaker. Hence, this work infers the correlation between two different languages: Catalan and English. They are very different in order to see how this factor of being distinct affects the process of learning English as a Foreign Language (EFL).

What would be interesting to see is what difficulties in particular Catalan speakers in Mallorca have with learning English as a Foreign Language or even as a second language so that the acquisition process could be studied. In this case of study, the focus is on writing. It is well-known that the Catalan language has simpler syllabic structures and has more transparency in terms of spelling than this specific foreign language. Thus, this is one of the prior difficulties that English learners will face during this process (Seymour et al., 2003).

The main goal would be to analyse the problems they have with the parts of writing. The chosen participants are all around the same age range and they are diagnosed with dyslexia. It is significant to refer to the fact of a diagnostic as the results need to be as veridic and accurate as possible. These participants are presented with some activities in which they have to match an English word with an image in addition to writing some words as in a dictation of vocabulary. The vocabulary selected, which are mainly nouns and adjectives on purpose, has some particularities in terms of word construction regarding vowels and consonants.

The general hypothesis is that dyslexic people have more problems than non-dyslexic students with English words that have more consonants. Having more consonants refers to the fact of constructions such as CCV or CCVCC which are not that usual in their first language, contrary to the English language in which this structure is very common (Helland, 2005). Apart from this difficulty, some dyslexic features “seem to be particularly influenced by the very complex phoneme–grapheme correspondence of the English language” (Miles, 2000). Moreover, a possible drawback dyslexic pupils may face is the factor of having some words which actually resemble another word within the same foreign language. It is carried out by only changing some morphemes due to the derivational processes that are frequent in English such as the case of thought, though, tough, thorough as well as bloc, clock, shock, cloak, etc. Identifying the key problems dyslexic students from Mallorca encounter while learning English is not only a significant point regarding linguistics, but also in the field of education as the better teachers know their disadvantages, the most effective the teaching methodology can be (Crombie, 1997).

Keywords: dyslexia, English, L2, education

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**“I’VE STILL GOT THE PIECES, THOUGH, HAGRID ADDED *BRIGHTLY*” – A/A AND A ADVERBS IN LITERARY  
TRANSLATION**

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The aim of the present paper is to investigate frequency of literal/non-literal uses of a subtype of manner adverbs (Killie, 2007) and their equivalent forms in translation. We take a unified view of A/A adverbs as being derived from a common root (a base adjective with a stative meaning) whose meaning (literal or non-literal) depends on the predicates they modify. This approach allows us to better investigate possible mismatches in translation between literal/non-literal readings. Another point we are interested in is identifying the main strategies of translating these adverbs (to this effect we will make use of a corpus consisting of examples culled from J.K. Rowling’s *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone*). We predict that, when literally used, this subtype of adverbs will pose problems to a translator exactly because the meaning derived from the base adjective is less easily retrievable and because dictionaries are of little help in this endeavour. There might also be cases where the non-literal use might be translated literally and vice versa, which, given the fact that some of the A/A adverbs are indeed prone to ambiguity, is worth investigating.



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The paper focuses on an official response provided by the spokesperson for the Romanian Orthodox Church (ROC), addressing previous criticism by a high-profile Romanian journalist of several statements by Patriarch Daniel, the head of the ROC, regarding the ban on the religious worship of relics during COVID. Initially posted on Facebook (October 2020) and subsequently publicized by the Romanian media, the ROC's response had the professed aim of defending the Church's policy against unfounded criticism by certain members of the press. After a brief outline of the cultural context of this response, the paper argues that the ROC text emerges in fact as an instance of "covert hate speech" (Baider 2019) targeted to that group perceived as holding different religious views than those of the Romanian Orthodox Church. Taking its cue from previous research by Teun van Dijk, who emphasized upon the use of differential, polarized lexicalization in discourse and upon the way in which words can be employed to "emphasize the positive implications of ingroup opinions and values and the negative ones of those of the Others" (van Dijk 1995a: 25), the paper first focuses on the lexical choices in the ROC text, which include the abundant use of derived words based on a rich range of negative prefixes, most of which are semantically transparent to Romanian speakers (separable prefixation, with prefixes having full meaning). The paper emphasizes the role of these lexical choices which rely on "derivation", in maintaining an ideological pattern based on the "negative other-presentation of the outgroup" (van Dijk 1995a: 26), and underlines that the negative prefixes in this text serve to create "epithets" (see Milner 1978, Corver) and to trope the Romanian Orthodox Church as an undisputed instance of truth and of homogeneity, operating an othering (in terms of impurity and corruption) of those who oppose the Church's policy. Taking into account the use of sarcasm as an impoliteness meta-strategy (Culpeper 1996, 2005, 2011), as well as Dynel's discussion of "sarcastic irony" (2016), the paper goes on to argue that, while the ROC discourse, which is based on indirectness and irony, and is offered as an official response for a wide Romanian public, avoids the use of direct slurs in the representation of otherness, the role of irony in the text is in fact not one of mitigation, but rather one which increases the force of negative evaluation, leading to pejoration. In an attempt to explore the boundaries between covert and overt hate speech, and drawing on previous research on slurs and pejoration (Meibauer 2016), the paper discusses the complex interplay in this text between irony and the rich range of "epithets" based on negative prefixation, making the claim that the context in which these "epithets" are placed ultimately serves to transform them into slurs targeted to those who do not share the same religious views as those embraced by the Romanian Orthodox Church.

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