

IVth international conference of the
French Cognitive Linguistics Association

AFLiCo IV

Lyon, 24-27 May 2011

*Cognitive Linguistics
and Typology*

*language diversity
variation
change*

*Abstracts booklet
Livret de résumés*



AFLiCo IV

**Fourth International Conference of the
French Cognitive Linguistics Association**

**Quatrième colloque international de
l'Association Française de Linguistique Cognitive**

Lyon, France

24th - 27th May 2011 / 24 – 27 mai 2011

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Invited speakers / Conférenciers invités

- **Ruth BERMAN (University of Tel Aviv, Israël)**
- **Nick EVANS (ANU College of Asia-Pacific, Australie)**
- **Harriet JISA (Université Lyon 2, France)**
- **Maarten LEMMENS (Université Lille 3, France)**
- **Laura MICHAELIS (University of Colorado, Boulder, États-Unis)**
- **Ulrike ZESHAN (University of Central Lancashire, Royaume-Uni)**

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PLENARY TALKS

CONFÉRENCES PLÉNIÈRES

Modality effects on language variation in narrative text construction

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Variation between spoken and written language use has been examined from different perspectives in corpus-based, cognitive, and functional linguistics (Biber, 1988; Chafe, 1994; Halliday, 1989; Tannen, 1984). The present study aims to pinpoint domains of linguistic expression that manifest strong effects of modality as against those that are relatively “modality neutral”, that is, less strongly affected by whether a text is produced in writing or orally. Findings are reported for the Hebrew data-base of a cross-linguistic project (Berman, 2008), based on analysis of 160 written and spoken narratives on the topic of interpersonal conflict elicited from the same participants at four age-schooling levels -- middle childhood, pre-adolescence, adolescence, adulthood. Results reveal two main types of modality-driven contrasts: procedural differences in processing of spoken versus written language output (e.g., text length, reliance on discourse markers) and use of linguistic features that are more marked in written than oral texts (e.g., word-length, lexical density, register). In contrast, “modality-neutral” features that emerge as relatively impervious to changes in modality include thematic content and global text structure, on the one hand, and genre-dependent factors (e.g., temporality, reference), on the other. Compatible findings for other areas of linguistic expression are reported for corresponding corpora in English and French (Jisa, 2004; Nir-Sagiv et al, 2009; Ravid & Berman, 2006). In terms of age-schooling level of development, even grade-school children manifest some sensitivity to speech/writing differentiation, but it takes until late adolescence for students to gain command of written language as a special style of discourse (Ravid & Tolchinsky, 2002).

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The grammar of other minds: what linguistic diversity can tell us about social cognition

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Our ability to interact with others by building a shared and complex mental world is what distinguishes humans from other animals. This capacity for *social cognition* – sometimes also known as *social intelligence* – enables us to construct functioning societies sharing knowledge, values and goals, to empathise and communicate with others, and to undertake collaborative action.

At the same time, psychosocial concepts like ‘uncle’, ‘clan’, ‘owner’, ‘benefit’, or ‘mutual’, being largely constructed by culture and language, are less evidently preexisting categories of the natural world than, say, colours, spatial relations or causality. On the assumption that the more evolutionarily recent a category of the world is, the more cross-cultural and cross-linguistic variety there is in how people construct and delineate it, we would expect psychosocial categories to be the most open to cross-linguistic variation, and therefore among the most fertile areas for studying the interaction of language, culture and thought. Yet most investigations on these neo-Whorfian questions have focussed on categories of the natural world rather than social cognition.

In this talk I will discuss the potential contribution that the cognitive variety afforded by the world’s 6,000 languages can make to our understanding of human social cognition, when studied through a typological approach: the grammar of one language may be a sensitive index of accidental vs. deliberate action, another may index the monitoring of joint vs. individual attention, another may index differences between the subjectively- and the objectively- knowable, and another may index complex kinship categories.

Manipulating perspectives in narrative texts: a crosslinguistic developmental study

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Underlying narrative competence is the capacity to view events as dynamic actions composed of a collection of components such as agent, patient, cause, affectedness, etc. Moreover, the same event can be expressed by a variety of structural configurations. There is no single way to verbalise the contents of a given situation – languages provide speakers with a range of structural options and rhetorical preferences for describing the same scene. This paper will examine how speakers of different languages present their perspective on events in constructing a narrative text. Using *The Frog Story* (Mayer, 1969) picture-book, narratives were elicited from children (5-, 7-, 10-year-olds) and adults in Amharic, English, French, and Hungarian.. Our analyses focus on how speakers structurally and rhetorically manipulate the various dimensions of topic selection and maintenance, agency gradation, and point-of-view alteration in the process of construing events, from a crosslinguistic developmental perspective.

Inter- and intralanguage variation in the domain of static location verbs

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In the Germanic languages, the posture verbs LIE, SIT, and STAND, generally cover a large semantic field and in contrast to, for example, Romance languages, the use of these verbs is often obligatory when one wants to locate an entity in space, or in metaphorical extensions thereof. These verbs have also grammaticalised to semi-auxiliaries in constructions that have a progressive value (e.g., *Jag sitter och läser. / Ik zit te lezen. / I sit and read.*). In addition to the striking difference between Germanic and Romance languages, there is, however, considerable variation between the different Germanic languages (cf. also Ameka & Levinson 2007), and even within one language. The presentation will focus on these different aspects of inter- and intralanguage variation in the domain of posture and placement verbs.

The first part of the presentation will be devoted to intralanguage variation, which will be illustrated with the use of posture and placement verbs in Dutch, the language within the Germanic family for which the grammaticalisation seems to have gone farthest. We will present several examples of coding variability within the language where each variant imposes a different perspective on the same event. While some of these have been mentioned before (cf. Lemmens 2002, 2005a, 2006), recent work has revealed other differences, particularly in the metaphorical domain. In fact, some of these variations between *zitten* ('sit') and *staan* ('stand') suggest a higher degree of existentiality associated with the latter verb, which lines up with what one finds in other languages. Another dimension of intralanguage variability that will be taken up concerns some striking differences between the two regional varieties of Dutch (Netherlandic and Belgian), as apparent from corpus studies based on both written and spoken data.

In the second part of the presentation, we will concentrate on some interlanguage comparative analyses, considering both the inter-Germanic differences (between English and Dutch notably) and the differences with Romance languages (cf. Lemmens 2005b, Lemmens & Slobin 2008). This research starts from Talmy's (2000) typological distinction between satellite- and verb-framed languages, but applies it to *static* locative relationships in French, Dutch and English. The initial results of our contrastive psycholinguistic research on location verbs, suggests some important nuances to Talmy's framework and we show that the domains of location and motion are not structured in the same way and cut across languages differently. In particular, English turns out to be quite un-Germanic. We will offer some plausible hypotheses as to why English is so different from the other Germanic languages. Finally, we will present some results from the use of posture (and location) verbs in the interlanguage produced by L2 speakers, particularly going from a verb-framed language (French) to a satellite-framed language (English, Dutch; see Lemmens & Perrez 2010).

We conclude by considering some of the larger implications of the observed variation and some perspectives for further research that extend the typological comparison as well as push the question of the cognitive impact of these differences (the linguistic relativity hypothesis).

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Syntactic Innovation and Grammar Evolution: The Role of Constructions

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In this talk, I will discuss two main lines of evidence for the claim that grammar evolved incrementally. The first line of evidence involves proto-constructions: design features of modern language that appear to be fossils of earlier evolutionary stages. Among the proto-constructions I will discuss are interjections, exclamations and vocatives. The second line of evidence involves syntactic innovations: nonstandard linguistic combinations that are used in the service of wit or grammatical problem-solving. I will discuss two types of syntactic innovations: amalgams and coercion effects. Amalgams are nonstandard grammatical patterns that contain two contiguous or overlapping syntactic sequences that cannot otherwise be combined. Amalgams are used to solve problems that involve mapping semantic representations to grammatical structures. One such problem is that of adhering to Lambrecht's (1994:185) Principle of Separation of Reference and Role ('Do not introduce a referent and talk about it in the same clause'). Speakers' attempts to obey this mapping principle while avoiding undue prolixity give rise to nonstandard presentational constructions like those exemplified in (1-3):

1. There was a ball of fire shot up through the seats in front of me. (Lambrecht 1988: 319)
2. I have a friend of mine he hasn't seen one of his cats for, you know, going on six weeks now. (Fisher corpus)
3. Then I'm gonna talk to John Waters is gonna come out. (Bill Maher, 'Real Time' 9/25/09)

Coercion effects occur when speakers create semantic conflict between a word and a construction:

4. "A **Jersey milk** has more of everything," said Jones. (Gigaword corpus)
5. **They're liking** what they're seeing in some of the economic data. (cmn.com)

In (4), a mass noun is combined with a determiner that seeks a count noun and in (5) a state verb (*like*) is combined with a construction (the progressive) that seeks a dynamic verb. Rather than yielding gibberish, however, coercion effects yield enriched interpretations that exploit the semantic affordances and encyclopedic meanings of words, as described by Evans (2009).

Syntactic innovations reveal that speakers are very good at leveraging existing linguistic resources, and provide three lessons for scholars of grammar evolution. First, adults rather than children may be the main drivers of grammar change, as suggested by Slobin 1994, 2004. Second, structural preferences (e.g., the prevalence of certain patterns) may reflect construction-based licensing rather than constraint-based suppression effects (Duffield and Michaelis forthcoming). Third, we may have been looking in the wrong places for traces of adaptive design. Rather than asking whether general grammar features, e.g., agreement and case, are adaptive (as per, e.g., Pinker and Bloom 1990), we should ask instead whether the linguistic routines that collectively constitute the grammar are adaptations.

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Sign Language Typology - New evidence from sign languages in village communities

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This presentation highlights the particular importance of data from so-called “village sign languages” from the point of view of Sign Language Typology.

The linguistic description of sign languages in rural communities with a high incidence of (often hereditary) deafness is one of the most important recent developments in sign language linguistics. In these “deaf villages”, the presence of deaf people over several generations gives rise to indigenous sign languages used by both deaf and hearing people in the community. Results from case studies (e.g. Nonaka 2009, Marsaja 2008) have shown that the sociolinguistic situation in these sign languages differs radically from what we know about urban sign languages.

Apart from occurring in sociolinguistic situations that are very different from well-known urban sign languages such as American Sign Language or Langue des Signes Française, research on village sign languages has uncovered evidence for intriguing linguistic structures that challenge many of the received notions in sign language linguistics. This includes domains as diverse as phonological inventory, number systems, and the grammatical use of the signing space (e.g. Nyst 2007, Panda 2010, Zeshan, de Vos & Marsaja, to appear).

Obviously, these findings are of great importance for Sign Language Typology, with its central aim of systematic comparative study of sign languages (cf. Zeshan 2004, 2006). Data from village sign languages add considerably to the range of linguistic diversity among sign languages. This presentation aims at synthesising linguistic evidence from a number of village sign languages in order to reflect on their significance for Sign Language Typology. Drawing on a data from the first substantial cross-linguistic study of village sign languages (5 partner universities and 10 field sites), I consider various linguistic structures from Adamorobe Sign Language (Ghana), Kata Kolok (Bali), Alipur Village Sign Language (India), Mardin Sign Language (Turkey) and Chican Sign Language (Mexico).

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- Zeshan, U., de Vos, C., & Marsaja, I G. (to appear): Absolute space and the dominance of topography: How a village sign language in Bali talks about space. (Submitted.)

WORKSHOPS

ATELIERS THÉMATIQUES

Workshop 1 : Tuesday 24th May, 15.00 – 18.30

Cognitive and typological constraints in language use and language acquisition: the expression and construal of motion events.

Organizers:

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- 15.00 Presentation of the Workshop (Hickmann & Soroli)
Typological constraints in the expression of motion across child languages: a comparison of English, French, German, and Chinese (Hickmann, Hendriks & Ochsenbauer)
- 15.30 The expression of motion events in bilingual English-French first language acquisition: evidence for typological determinants (Engemann)
- Coffee break
- 16.30 L'expression spatio-temporelle du mouvement provoqué chez les apprenants anglophones du français (Demagny)
- 17.00 The expression of voluntary motion in contemporary Russian: typological issues and implications for second language acquisition (Iakovleva)
- 17.30 Encoding and allocating attention to motion events in English, French, and Greek: typological perspectives (Soroli)
- 18.00 General discussion. Cognitive and typological constraints in language use and language acquisition: open questions and future perspectives (Discussants: Hickmann & Berman)

Workshop presentation

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Representing space is a fundamental part of human cognition which is assumed by most theories to be governed by universal determinants. Paradoxically, however, languages show wide variations in their spatial systems as well as regular patterns in how linguistic ‘families’ express spatial information. After some early typological studies (Bally 1932; Bergh 1948; Tesnière 1966; see a review in Fortis 2010), Talmy (2000; 2009) has proposed a distinction between *verb-framed* vs. *satellite-framed* languages depending on which information is lexicalized in the main verb root, e.g. Manner in English (*run across*) vs. Path in French (*traverser en courant* ‘to cross by running’). Psycholinguistic studies have shown that such typological factors influence how adults and children select and organize spatial information when talking about motion (Allen et al. 2007; Bowerman & Choi 2003; Choi & Bowerman 1991; Hickmann et al. 2009; Hickmann & Hendriks 2010; Hendriks, Hickmann & Demagny 2008; Ji 2009; Ochsensbauer 2010; Slobin 2006; Slobin et al. 2009). Others have begun to investigate the implications of such language-specific factors, examining whether they may have a deeper impact on non-verbal cognition beyond speech production (Flecken in press; Gleitman & Papafragou 2005; Soroli & Hickmann 2010).

The proposed thematic session focuses on the representation of motion events across languages in order to address three main questions in current debates. Its first aim is to uncover general patterns observed across languages and presumably reflecting universal aspects of human spatial cognition vs. language-specific patterns that follow from typological constraints and/or raise some questions about the status of some languages in available typologies. A second aim is to determine the relative role of age-related cognitive determinants vs. typological constraints on language acquisition across languages and types of learners. Third, the session examines the implications of language effects on verbal as well as on non-verbal behaviours in order to address general questions concerning the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic cognition.

The session comprises six slots (five papers and a general discussion) addressing the three questions above from a broad interdisciplinary perspective and on the basis of varied data that combine the following dimensions. First, the papers bring together two approaches, stemming from complementary traditions in cognitive linguistics and in psycholinguistics. In this respect, the papers include a wide range of languages (English, German, French, Greek, Russian, Chinese), that present typologically different systems, including some that raise questions about existing classifications (Chinese in Paper 1, Russian in Paper 4, Greek in Paper 5). Second, findings concerning language acquisition include monolingual children acquiring their first language (Paper 1), bilingual children acquiring two first languages (Paper 2), and adults acquiring a foreign language (Papers 3 and 4). Third, although all papers focus on motion events, some also examine the relation between the two semantic domains of space and time (Papers 3 and 4). Finally, complementary databases and methodologies include cross-sectional production data elicited in comparable experimental situations (all papers), longitudinal corpora of early spontaneous productions (Paper 1), co-verbal gestures (Paper 1), and attention allocation as measured by an eye-tracking paradigm (Paper 5).

Paper 1 compares elicited productions of monolingual children (three to ten years) in

four languages (English, German, French, Chinese), as well as early spontaneous productions in two of these languages (French and English, ages two to three). The results show less frequent Manner expressions in French (V) than in other (S) languages from early on. The semantic density of children's utterances also increases in all languages, showing the additional impact of cognitive factors. However, Chinese responses show quasi-maximal density from early on, as well as different patterns as a function of event types, raising some questions about its typological status. Finally, co-verbal gestures in French and in English show frequent Path gestures in both languages, but also a high level of gesture-speech co-expressivity.

Paper 2 focuses on how bilingual children acquiring simultaneously English and French describe caused motion events in both of their first languages in experimental situations also used with same-aged monolingual control groups (ages four to ten years). The bilinguals' descriptions in French differed in several respects from those of native French learners, whereas their English descriptions were comparable to those of native English learners. The analyses show that bilingual children transfer the lexicalization patterns from English to French in this situation because English provides more transparent and compact structures than French for the expression of all information components involved in the task.

Paper 3 focuses on how three groups of English native adults acquiring French as a second language (beginner, intermediate, advanced) express caused motion events in a controlled situation in comparison to control monolingual groups. Particular attention is placed on the acquisition of temporal-aspectual markers and their contribution to the expression of motion. Beginners show great difficulties in using verbal morphology, combining properties of source and target languages to express motion. With increasing proficiency, verbal morphology is less influenced by predicate semantics and productions show more complex and more target-like forms of organization that allows speakers to express simultaneously temporal and spatial information.

Paper 4 compares descriptions of motion events that were elicited among native speakers of Russian, English, and French in the same experimental situation. The results concerning Russian show some patterns that are clearly typical of S-languages, as expected from the S-status of Russian in previous typologies, but also some structures that are more typical of V-languages such as French. The discussion focuses particularly on the nature of verbal prefixes in contemporary Russian, which provide temporal-aspectual features that contribute to the expression of motion-relevant information in discourse. Implications are discussed for adult second language acquisition on the basis of preliminary findings concerning Russian learners of French and English.

Paper 5 compares three groups of native adults (English, French, Greek) combining verbal productions elicited in experimental situations on the basis of visual stimuli and measurements of eye movements recorded on-line during the task. The results show that speakers express Manner most frequently in English (S-language) and least frequently in French (V-language), while Greek shows a mixed intermediary pattern (parallel system of conflation). The unfolding of eye movements also varies during the task as a function of language and stimuli. Thus, speakers pay more attention to Path information in French than in English, particularly when exploring upward motion in animated cartoons. Overall the findings point to typological differences in all measures, although these differences are more striking in verbal responses than in non-verbal behaviours.

The **general discussion** will highlight the implications of these findings for the three questions above, emphasizing the need to take into account both cognitive and typological constraints in our understanding of the nature of language, its variations across languages,

and its acquisition by children or adults. It will also show the need to rely on complementary methodologies, each of which presents some advantages and some limits, but none of which alone suffices to address currently debated questions. More generally, it will discuss how linguistic diversity can inform available linguistic and psycholinguistic theories, and begin to address central questions concerning the relationship between language and cognition.

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Typological constraints in the expression of motion across child languages: a comparison of English, French, German, and Chinese

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Much research in the last two decades has focused on the acquisition of spatial language across child languages. The expression of motion has raised particular interest because of the striking differences observed between *satellite-framed* vs. *verb-framed* (S vs. V) languages (Talmy, 2000). Thus, S-language learners are typically confronted with structures such as (1) and (2), where motion is conflated with the Cause and/or with the Manner of motion in the verb while Path is expressed in satellites. In contrast, V-language learners typically acquire structures such as (3) and (4) in which Path is lexicalized in the verb and/or encoded in causative constructions, while Manner is expressed peripherally, if at all. Cross-linguistic studies have shown early uses of these prototypical structures (since Choi & Bowerman, 1991), raising intriguing questions, such as the relative role of typological constraints in acquisition (Bowerman 2006; Bowerman & Choi 2003; Hickmann et al. 2009; Slobin 2006, the importance of usage-based learning processes (Tomasello, 2003), and the deeper impact of such processes on children's event construal (since Berman & Slobin 1994; Slobin, 1996).

- (1) He ran into the room.
- (2) He kicked the ball into the basket.
- (3) *Il est entré dans la pièce (en courant).*
'He entered the room (by running).'
- (4) *Il a fait rentrer la balle dans le panier à coups de pied.*
'He made-enter the ball in[to] the basket by kicks.'

This paper examines how children (four, six, eight, and ten years, 12 per age) and control groups of adults express motion events in four languages (French, English, German, Chinese) in the same experimental setting where they described animated cartoons showing voluntary and caused motion events. Additional data in two languages (English and French) also concern co-verbal gestures produced during the task by a sub-sample of participants, as well as longitudinal corpora of early spontaneous productions (ages two to three years).

The results show an increase in the semantic density of children's responses, but also striking differences in how they express motion across languages. Irrespective of age, the experimental data show less frequent Manner expressions in French, and more generally responses of lesser density, as compared to same-aged children in other language groups. French children use Path verbs for voluntary motion or combine Cause with either Path or Manner, but not both, for caused motion. Chinese children produce particularly dense responses but show different patterns depending on whether they express voluntary (S-pattern) or caused motion (V-pattern), raising some questions about the typological status of this language. Analyses of early spontaneous productions confirm the experimental findings in French and English. However, co-verbal gestures in these two languages only partially confirm these findings, showing more co-expressive Manner in speech and gesture in English, but also an unexpected predominance of Path gestures in both languages.

The discussion highlights the relative role of universal vs. language-specific factors

in determining the developmental course followed by children during first language acquisition. It also raises questions concerning the processes whereby developmental courses may deviate across child languages and implications for event representations beyond language use.

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The expression of motion events in English-French bilingual first language acquisition: evidence for typological determinants

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The present study examines the implications of Talmy's (2000) proposed motion event typology for the simultaneous acquisition of English (*satellite-framed*) and French (*verb-framed*) in the light of current models of bilingual language use and acquisition (e.g. Toribio 2004). The paper focuses on the impact of language-specific lexicalisation patterns on the directionality and nature of crosslinguistic interactions in bilingual development.

The study compares (1) simultaneous English-French bilingual children in four age groups (four, six, eight, and ten years) and (2) age-matched monolingual English vs. French children acting as controls (12 children per age/learner group). All children described animated cartoons showing both caused and voluntary motion events. Half of the bilingual children provided descriptions in English, the other half did so in French.

Results indicated a unidirectional and task-dependent pattern of crosslinguistic influence. In the caused motion task, which involved multiple information components, bilinguals' English descriptions closely paralleled monolingual English usage, whereas responses in French showed both quantitative and qualitative differences from those of monolingual French children. Accordingly, French productions manifested a preference for satellite-framing lexicalisation patterns that were not agrammatical in French but more typical of English and/or rather idiosyncratic, (e.g. (1) and (2)).

- (1) *Il roule la botte de paille à travers le chemin.* (10 years)
'He rolls the hay bale *across the path.'
- (2) *Il pousse une valise pour descendre la colline.* (10 years)
'He pushes a suitcase in order to descend the hill.'

It is argued that transferring the very compact and transparent English pattern provides children with a systematic and structurally low-cost means of producing information-dense descriptions in situations that require them to express multiple semantic components. Accordingly, the voluntary motion task, which involved fewer information components, did not give rise to such crosslinguistic interactions. In line with the prediction of task-dependency, analyses show that in this context, descriptions produced by bilinguals in either language did not diverge from response patterns of English and French monolinguals.

The discussion highlights the implications of typological constraints for future hypotheses concerning the relation between language and cognition in models of bilingual and monolingual language use and acquisition.

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L'expression spatio-temporelle du mouvement provoqué chez les apprenants anglophones du français

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De nombreuses recherches ont étudié les facteurs déterminant l'acquisition d'une langue seconde dans le domaine de l'espace, ainsi que dans celui de la temporalité. En ce qui concerne l'expression du mouvement, la typologie de Talmy (2000) distingue deux familles, dites à *cadrage verbal* (LCV) et à *satellites* (LAS). La première (par ex. le français) lexicalise la trajectoire du mouvement dans le verbe et relègue la manière à la périphérie, alors que la deuxième (par ex. l'anglais) exprime la manière dans le verbe et la trajectoire dans le réseau verbal. Certains travaux ont montré l'impact de cette variabilité sur l'acquisition AL2 (Carroll 1993; Carroll & von Stutterheim C. 1997; Hendriks et al. 2008). Dans le domaine de la temporalité, les études se sont focalisées sur la relation entre l'aspect lexical et la morphologie temporo-aspectuelle. L'hypothèse dite *de l'aspect* (Andersen & Shirai 1996 ; Bardovi-Harlig 2000) propose que la morphologie verbale des apprenants L2 soit associée aux propriétés des prédicats (définies par Vendler 1967), le perfectif étant associé aux prédicats bornés, l'imperfectif aux non bornés. Sugaya & Shirai (2007) démontrent que le type de tâche et le niveau de compétence dans la L2 sont également déterminant pour examiner cette hypothèse. Bartning & Schlyter (2004) proposent par ailleurs des séquences dans l'acquisition de la morphologie verbale en français L2.

Cette étude met en relation l'acquisition des marques dans les deux domaines de l'espace et de la temporalité en acquisition AL2. Elle examine des productions recueillies au moyen de clips comportant des mouvements provoqués ainsi que des relations temporelles de succession vs. simultanéité entre événements, en comparant cinq groupes de locuteurs : des adultes anglophones apprenant le français L2 à différents niveaux de compétence (débutant, intermédiaire-avancé ; 12 par groupe), et deux groupes contrôles d'adultes natifs (français, anglais ; 24 par groupe). Le système morphologique verbal du français étant plus opaque que celui de l'anglais, il devrait être difficile à acquérir pour les apprenants anglophones. De plus, ces marques devraient contraindre les structures argumentales choisies par les locuteurs. Les deux langues présentent par ailleurs des prototypes structurels différents qui devraient influencer les productions des apprenants, provoquant l'utilisation de verbes comportant différents contenus sémantiques ainsi que différentes marques de bornage temporel, où certains arguments à valeur spatiale ont valeur des bornes temporelles.

En ce qui concerne l'expression de l'information spatiale, les résultats indiquent que la densité des énoncés (nombre de composantes sémantiques exprimées) augmente avec le niveau de compétence chez les apprenants (de 12% à 53% d'énoncés comprenant trois composantes ou plus). Malgré cette évolution, ils ne parviennent pas au niveau des francophones natifs dont la densité est pourtant moins élevée (75%) que chez les anglophones (92%). En particulier, c'est surtout l'expression de la TRAJECTOIRE qui augmente fortement au cours de l'acquisition (de 21% à 63%). Dans le domaine de la temporalité, les apprenants débutants éprouvent des difficultés à marquer la morphologie verbale, produisent des idiosyncrasies et construisent une interlangue présentant des propriétés de leur L1 et de la L2. Au cours des étapes ultérieures, la morphologie verbale est moins influencée par le type de verbes et montre une augmentation des gérondifs qui permettent l'expression de la simultanéité et invitent à une plus grande complexité syntaxique. Ces résultats montrent l'impact des propriétés des langues sur l'acquisition AL2 et mettent en évidence l'évolution

proposée par Noyau (2002), en particulier l'alternance des hypothèses « aspectuelle » et « temporelle » chez les apprenants de niveaux intermédiaire et avancé.

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The expression of voluntary motion in contemporary Russian: typological issues and implications for second language acquisition

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According to Talmy (2000), Russian is a *satellite-framed* language that lexicalizes the Manner of motion in the verb root and expresses Path in satellites. In comparison, *verb-framed* languages (e.g. French) express Path in verb roots and Manner in peripheral means. A first aim of this study is to examine the typological status of Russian in light of some of its specific and debated properties. In particular, depending on the theoretical framework adopted, it is unclear whether Russian verbal prefixes should be viewed as expressing Path in prefixed verbs and/or aspectual or other features (Camus in press; Fontaine 1983; Janda 1986; Veyrenc 1980). In addition, the study closely examines the set of Russian “verbs of motion”, which exhibit a grammatical opposition between “determined” and “undetermined” verbs, as well as verbs expressing upward and downward motion, traditionally excluded from this set. A second aim is to examine controlled production data in order to explore the implications of language-specific constraints on adult second language acquisition (e.g. Hendriks & Hickmann, 2010), with particular attention to Russian learners confronted with other systems.

The study is based on oral descriptions produced by monolingual adult speakers in Russian, which will be compared to similar corpora in English and French (12 per group). Participants were asked to describe animated cartoons showing voluntary motion events performed by various agents in different Manners (running, walking, swimming...) and along different Paths (up, down, across). The results show that responses frequently expressed both Manner and Path in Russian and English (S-framed), whereas French speakers (V-framed) mostly focused on Path (e.g. *monter* ‘to ascend’), occasionally adding Manner by peripheral means (*traverser en courant* ‘to cross by running’) and exceptionally lexicalising both Manner and Path in the verb (specifically with one verb, *grimper* ‘to climb.up’). However, much more structural variability was observed in Russian than in English. Responses in English systematically relied on the same structure: Manner-verbs and Path-satellites (e.g. *run up/down/across*). Russian verb roots frequently expressed Manner, but responses varied with event types, frequently expressing only Path with upward/downward motion. The discussion highlights how the results concerning Russian do not correspond to a clear S-framed or V-framed pattern. Furthermore, it shows how such findings can contribute to the study of second language acquisition.

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Encoding and allocating attention to motion events in English, French and Greek: typological perspectives

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Although human spatial cognition is traditionally thought to be universal, languages present striking differences in how they organize and encode spatial information. For example, *satellite-* vs. *verb-framed* languages (Talmy 2000, 2009) provide different lexicalization patterns that result in varied ways of encoding information about motion (e.g. Manner, Path). The former language type (e.g., English) lexicalizes Manner in the verb root and expresses Path in satellites (e.g., particles), while the latter (e.g., French) lexicalizes Path in the verb root, leaving Manner implicit or peripheral. Some languages also present a *parallel* system in which both *verb-* and *satellite-framed* structures are available, e.g., Greek (Talmy, 2000), despite its recent classification as a clear *Verb-framed* system (Papafragou et al., 2006). Some studies suggest that typological properties affect how speakers encode spatial information in discourse (Hickmann, et al. 2009; Slobin, 2006, 2009) as well as their performance beyond language use (Soroli & Hickmann, 2010; von Stutterheim & Carroll, 2006; Flecken, in press), thereby supporting a Whorfian-like ‘relativity’ hypothesis and reviving debates concerning the relation between language and thought (Gleitman & Papafragou, 2005; Levinson, 2003).

In this context we investigated how speakers of three typologically different languages, English, French and Greek, performed a verbal task and allocated their visual attention while exploring and describing visual scenes involving motion events. The production task implied several types of motion events (voluntary and caused presented in animated cartoons and video clips of natural motion) and was coupled with an eye-tracking paradigm. Measures included verbal responses and non-verbal eye fixations recorded on-line.

Subjects’ verbalizations differed substantially as a function of language-specific factors. French speakers expressed mostly Path (in the verb), while English speakers expressed both Manner (in the verb) and Path (outside of the verb). A theory-neutral double coding was used for analyses of the Greek data according to which prefixes were coded once as part of the verb (*V-coding*) and once as satellites (*S-coding*). The V-coding showed that speakers expressed mostly Path using both verbs and other devices, while the S-coding showed a preference for Manner verbs together with Path prefixes and adverbials. With respect to eye movements, all speakers allocated overall more attention to Path than to Manner. However, their attention also unfolded differently during their processing of the visual stimuli as a function of language and stimuli. For example, French speakers paid more attention to Path information than English speakers, particularly when exploring animated cartoons showing upward motion.

Overall the findings point to language differences in all measures that follow typological properties, although these differences are stronger in verbal responses than in non-verbal behaviours. In conclusion, we argue that our results support a moderate version of the relativity hypothesis according to which typological constraints have a clear impact on linguistic behaviour, but also on some non-linguistic behaviours, although to a lesser extent.

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General discussion:

Cognitive and typological constraints in language use and acquisition: Open questions and future perspectives

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This proposed thematic session comprises a number of papers all focusing on the representation of motion events in a cross-linguistic and interdisciplinary perspective. Several languages are examined (English, German, French, Greek, Russian, Chinese), as well as different types of speakers, including native adult speakers and different types of learners (monolingual and bilingual children, adult learners). Furthermore, these papers examine some interactions among semantic domains, such as tight interrelations between space and time in language. Finally, they rely on a range of measures and methodologies that provide complementary data concerning verbal, co-verbal, and non-verbal behaviours (elicited and spontaneous productions, gestures, attention allocation).

Taken as a whole, these findings address a number of questions which will be at the center of the discussion closing the session, all of which are vividly debated in the current literature available in cognitive linguistics and in psycholinguistics, as well as in other disciplines of the cognitive sciences:

1) What are universal vs. language-specific patterns in spatial systems across languages around the world? What do these patterns tell us about the nature of spatial language and/or of spatial cognition?

2) Do some of the questions raised about the typological status of some languages have implications for available typologies in the linguistic literature? If so, do some of these questions call for continua, rather than dichotomous classifications?

3) Do the properties of particular linguistic domains and observed interactions among them influence choices among proposed classifications? Do different semantic domains imply different learning processes during acquisition and how do these processes interact towards becoming a native speaker (for child learners) or a native-like speaker (for adult learners)?

4) What is the relative role of cognitive vs. typological determinants of language acquisition across languages? How do comparisons across learner types (adults vs. children, monolingual vs. bilingual children) enlighten this question? Can cognitive linguistics, and particularly linguistic typology, also shed light on the performance of some other types of speakers, for example monolingual or bilingual speakers suffering from language breakdown across different languages?

5) What theories of language acquisition can account for the processes involved in learning prototypical patterns of language use? What is the role of input and how do children extract invariants from this input?

6) What methodologies can allow us to go beyond language production in order to avoid theoretical circularity when addressing more general questions concerning the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic cognition?

Workshop 2 : Wednesday 25th May, 10.30 – 17.30

From Localism to Embodiment – What typology and diachrony can tell us about space and language

Organizers:

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10.30 Presentation of the Workshop (Fagard & Fortis)

The localist strand in the history of linguistics (Fortis)

11.00 Mimetic Schemas and Acts of Bodily Communication (Zlatev)

11.30 Spatial preverbs in Hungarian (Sóres)

12.00 How Ese Ejja posture verbs left lying around stand for a wide range of grammatical devices (Vuillermet)

Lunch

14.00 Demonstratives and localism (Carlier & De Mulder)

14.30 From space to syntax: the grammaticalization of deictic suffixes in Wolof (Robert)

15.00 On the non-spatial extensions of slavic spatial deictics. A case study from Polish and Serbian (Fagard, Sikora & Stosic)

15.30 Spatial expressions for reflexivity and reciprocity in Oceanic languages (Moysse-Faurie)

Coffee break

16.30 Modality, aspectuality and temporality: grammatical evolution of the spatio-temporal morpheme /khɛ¹/ ~ /kha¹/ (Vittrant)

17.00 The signer in language space (Risler)

Workshop presentation

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The present workshop proposes to investigate the importance of space in language, with diachronic and typological data as well as broad historical and theoretical perspectives.

Space seems to be fundamental to our perception of the world that surrounds us – as Lestrade et al. put it, “Spatial meaning is generally considered to be basic to our thinking in general” (2010: 973). It has often been said that it also has an important role in the shaping of language and its evolution. The localist theory, which flourished in 19th century philology with works such as Wüllner’s (1827) and Michelsen’s (1843) studies on case marking, is also present in 20th century linguistics: some linguists have explicitly assumed a localist stance, like Hjelmslev (1935-7), Anderson (1971), Lyons (1977), Groussier (1997), O’Keefe (1996); others, without explicitly referring to localism, investigated the relations between space and language in a similar perspective (Svorou 1994, Haspelmath 1997, Guillaume 1973: 234). The ‘localist’ theory has also been addressed by various studies which adopt a critical stance *vis-à-vis* this theory, explicitly or not (e.g. Pottier 2001: 18, Tenbrink 2007, Vandeloise 1986, Victorri 2010).

Looking back at the literature, two important points are especially worth noting: first, localism is probably a universal *tendency*, rather than a *linguistic universal* in Greenberg’s sense; second, it can be defended only if one takes into consideration not ‘geometric’ but ‘experienced’ space. Indeed, Vandeloise (1986) for instance showed the importance of *functional* features even for ‘spatial’ adpositions. This functional component of meaning is also found in *embodied* conceptions of language, which might be more realistic than geometric localism. *Embodiment*, which could be traced as far back as James (1897), has been popularized in psychology and later in other scientific domains (philosophy, cognitive sciences, linguistics, robotics, neuroscience...) mainly in the last twenty years (Thelen et al. 2001). It has been consequently received support from very different fields (Iverson & Thelen 2005), including linguistics.

As with ‘cognitive schemas’ in cognitive linguistics (Hampe 2005), there is a problem of definition and operability of this theory for linguistics; although there have been some efforts to provide definitions (Zlatev 2007), it seems at this point quite impossible to state clearly. We would like to propose ways to measure the impact of experience (including experiences of space) on language and on language evolution, through the study of grammaticalization and subjectification. We propose to address this issue from a theoretical perspective, but with an empirical goal: to formulate a ‘working theory’ of the semantic constraints involved in language evolution, and grammaticalization in particular. In order to combine these two elements, most contributions to this workshop will include ‘hard’ data, i.e. large descriptive or corpus studies of ‘real-life’ linguistic phenomena, and focus on the evolution of spatial markers – their origin and development, as well as the importance of spatial markers for grammar.

The first two presentations will bear on the history of localism, and focus, one on its tradition, the other on new insights into localism theory. The following presentations will focus on specific phenomena and their evolution. They will investigate a wide span of

questions, from demonstratives and deictics to preverbs, particles and directionals. Besides, the languages chosen as a basis for these studies are also varied, including languages from Europe, Asia, Africa and South America, and even Sign Language, which can be used “to broaden our understanding of the range of structures used in natural language” for the expression of spatial relations, given its specific modality and the structures it offers ‘speakers’ (Özyürek et al., 2010: 1111). The common thread is a reflection on the relations between space and language, and on the importance of localism. This workshop will thus be a meeting-point for researchers interested in interactions between language and space who work on different issues in different languages. It should provide a wealth of data on these issues, and bring linguists to confront their methods and theories.

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The localist strand in the history of linguistics

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The purpose of this paper is twofold: in the first, longer part, I present an overview of localist ideas since the 19th century. In the second part, an account is proposed for the surge of localist ideas in authors who belong to partly disjointed traditions. It is argued that the unity lying behind these two traditions is to be searched on a general, philosophical level.

1. Two localist traditions

According to a definition proposed by Lyons (1977: 718), localism is “the hypothesis that spatial expressions are more basic, grammatically and semantically, than various kinds of non spatial expressions (cf. Anderson, 1971, 1973). Spatial expressions are linguistically more basic, according to the localists, in that they serve as structural templates, as it were, for other expressions; and the reason why this should be so, it is plausibly suggested by psychologists, is that spatial organization is of central importance in human cognition (cf. Miller & Johnson-Laird, 1976: 375ff).” More recently, Jackendoff’s Thematic Relations Hypothesis (1983), inspired in turn by Gruber’s theory of thematic roles (1965), proposed a localist account of “conceptual structures” at the interface between cognition and language. Spatial schematism, representations and templates also played a crucial role in seminal studies of cognitive linguistics (Talmy 1972; Langacker 1978, 1979, 1981, 1982).

Although, in the above quotation, Lyons makes reference to studies of the 1970s, localism was not born during this period. In the field of case theory, Anderson’s localist account is but the last offspring of a long-established tradition which had its heyday in the 19th century. With respect to case theory, we may single out the German scholar Franz Wüllner who, with two important studies (1827, 1831) written in a radically localist spirit, sparked off a long debate on the relevance of spatial notions for analyzing cases. Hjelmslev (1935/7) is a late echo of this discussion, of which I will offer a review.

2. Philosophical grounds of localism

At first sight, localist case theories and localist ideas in cognitive linguistics are two distinct traditions. Yet, their reappearing in different scientific contexts is not mere coincidence. It is claimed here that part of the explanation is to be searched in empiricist and Kantian philosophies. Both philosophies put much emphasis on understanding how perceptual experience and forms of intuition mediate our understanding of more abstract concepts. The importance of language for the constitution of knowledge was soon recognized in empiricism. In Kantian philosophy, however, this was a different matter. Only after Kant was language envisaged as the seat of *schematism* and the appropriate domain where to look for a mediation between perceptual experience and “concepts”.

As a conclusion, it is suggested that empiricism and post-Kantian theories provided a fertile ground for localism.

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Motion-emotion metaphors in English, Swedish, Bulgarian and Thai

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The concepts (or “domains”) of motion and emotion are closely related in both language and experience. This is shown by the presence of many metaphorical expressions (e.g. ‘my heart dropped’) across languages denoting affective processes on the basis of expressions originally denoting physical motion. I address the question why this is the case, and distinguish between three kinds of theoretical proposals: (a) (embodied) conceptual universalism, (b) (strong) language/culture dependence and (c) consciousness-language interactionism. After an “eidetic” analysis of motion informed by phenomenology, and to a more limited extent - emotion(s), I describe an empirical study in which 115 motion-emotion metaphors in English, Swedish, Bulgarian and Thai were systematically analyzed and compared. The findings show considerable differences, especially between the Thai metaphors and those in three other languages, but also significant similarities. The results are interpreted as supporting a dialectical, interactionist relationship between language and consciousness, on the one hand, and between motion and emotion, on the other.

Spatial preverbs in Hungarian

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Hungarian has a rich system of verbal prefixes, called preverbs, which express direction or orientation of a movement and represent verbal aspect, mostly perfectivization. The paper aims to study spatial preverbs by presenting their evolution through a process of polygrammaticalization.

First, the syntactic and morphological properties of these preverbs will be presented (D. Máta 1991, Keszler ed. 2000) and their primary meaning will be shown to be, for most of the preverbs and in particular the oldest ones, a spatial meaning. This spatial meaning is prevalent when a preverb combines with an intransitive verb of spontaneous motion or with a transitive verb of caused motion. The same preverb can also be used in the expression of fictive motion when attached to a verb of perception (cf *ki-megy* 'goes **out**', *ki-vised* vmit, 'takes **out** sg' vs *ki-néz az ablakon* 'looks **out** of the window').

However, one of the most important functions of preverbs is the expression of verbal aspect, mostly perfectivity or *aktionsart*, e. g. iterativity or resultativity (Kiefer & Honti 2003): *fut* 'runs, is running', *el-futott* 'ran away'. Finally, preverbs play also a role in lexicalizations: *fel-értékel* 'litt. **up**-appreciate' 'to appreciate', *fel-sül* 'litt. **up**-bake' 'to blunder'.

Morphologically, preverbs form a heterogeneous class. Some of them have a specific form, others are homophonous with spatial postpositions while some others are homophonous with a controversial postposition subclass, namely postpositions governing a case. This morphological complexity can be explained by the various paths of grammaticalization they have followed.

These preverbs are part of the set of Hungarian spatial *grams*, that include adverbs, postpositions, case suffixes all linked by a process of polygrammaticalization (Craig 1991). This is to say that, from the same sources and through different paths of grammaticalization, the language has developed various types of grammatical morphemes. Preverbs have only directional meaning, while other spatial grams have locative and directional meaning, in a tripartite system (stative, allative, ablative) also found in other Uralic languages. The following schema of grammaticalization holds between the different categories:

LEXICAL SOURCE > SPATIAL GRAM

relational noun/body part + primary adverbial suffix >

N- case suffixes postpositions preverbs-V adverbs

This kind of analysis allows putting Hungarian preverbs into a new perspective, considering them as "path satellites" originating in adverbs. Actually, this approach is integrated into an ongoing research project on morphosyntax and semantics of SPACE within the "Trajectory group" in Lyon (see References).

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How Ese Ejja posture verbs left lying around stand for a wide range of grammatical devices

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Ese Ejja (Tacanan) is an undescribed endangered language spoken by less than 1500 people in the Amazon (Alexiades et al. 2009). This study is based on first hand data collected in the Bolivian lowlands between 2007 and 2009. The object of the present paper is to explore the multiple domains where posture verbs appear in the grammar.

Ese Ejja has a set of four posture verbs: the standard three elements *ani* 'sitting', *jaa* 'lying' and *neki* 'standing', augmented by the expected fourth interloper typical of Amazonian languages (Grinevald 2006) *ba'e* 'float' – i.e. 'not in contact with the ground'. As shown for posture verbs around the world in Newman (2002), the Ese ejja set of posture verbs is unsurprisingly found in lexical extension, in presentative and basic locative constructions, and in TAM marking – such as present *and* habitual – as illustrated on the data section below.

There is yet another, more unexpected use of posture verbs: a posture verb (V1) is associated to a Path verb (V2) to allow for the specification of the position of the figure when undergoing a path motion. This is usually productive, but it has been lexicalized in specific contexts.

Interestingly, in many of these uses, the posture verbs retain their semantics – but for the default value – and do function as portmanteau morphemes. The paper will show the omnipresence of the posture verbs in the grammar of this language, and underline how their semantics and functions have evolved as results of processes of semanticization, polygrammaticalization and lexicalization.

DATA

- (1) **Lexical extensions**, e.g. with the meaning 'to live'
Eya neki-poki-naje o-nixe, ba'e-poki-naje.
1ABS stand-go/ITR-PAS 3-COM float-go/ITR-PAS
'I used to **live** (lit: 'stand', for male) with her, we used to **live** (lit: 'float', male & female) together.'
- (2) **Existential / presentative and basic locative constructions**
 - a. *Exawi ke-jo e-ani.*
plantainfield-LOC EXIS-sit
'There are plantains (lit: sitting) in the field (i.e. cut on the ground).'
 - b. *Exawi ke-jo e-ba'e.*
plantainfield-LOC EXIS-float
'There are plantains (lit: floating) in the field (i.e. still in the tree).'
- (3) Marking **TAM** (present tense, habitual and durative)
 - a. *Jacksonexawi ixya po-ba'e.*
J. plantaineat be-float/PRS
'Jackson **is eating** (lit: eating-floating) plantain (i.e. in the arms of his mother).'

b. *Yawajo kya-wiso ye-ka-'okya-ani-naje.*
 long.ago APF-much bring-3A-put.down-sit/HAB-PAS
 'Long ago they **used to** bring lots (of stuff) down (to the harbour).'

(4) **Position of the figure (V1) associated to a Path verb (V2)**

a. *Mona / omeja / maca neki-nobi-ki-ani ena=wasixe.*
 horse / sheep cow stand-enter-GO&DO-PRS agua=hacia
 'The horse / sheep / cow enters (**standing**) the water.' (elicited)

b. *Kwi'ao / syobi ani-nobi-ki-ani ena=wasixe.*
 water.turtle / rodent.sp sit-enter-GO&DO-PRS agua=hacia
 'The turtle / capibara (rodent sp.) enter (**sitting**) the water.' (elicited)

(5) **Lexicalized complex verb (Posture in V1 + Path in V2)**

a. *Jaa-'oke-ki-naje ena=wasixe.*
 lie-go.down-GO&DO-PAS agua=hacia
 'He went down to the water.' (**not lying but standing**) (elicited)

b. **Neki-'oke-ki-naje ena=wasixe.*
 stand-go.down-GO&DO-PAS agua=hacia
 *'Intended: He went down **lying** to the water.' (elicited)

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Abbreviations

ABS: absolute; APF: adjectival prefix; COM: comitative; EXIS: existential; HAB: habitual; ITR: iterative; LOC: locative; PAS: past; PRS: present; 3A: 3rd person Agent.

Demonstratives and localism

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The basic meaning of demonstrative determiners is frequently defined in spatial terms. Thus, according to Da Milano (2007:26), “only distance is a really basic feature, universally codified in demonstratives”. Accordingly, she identifies distance with respect to the speaker and / or the interlocutor as one of the important parameters for classifying the systems of demonstratives in European languages, which display, e.g., a binary (proximal – distal) or a ternary opposition (proximal – intermediary – distal). The fundamental role of spatial deixis and of the distinction between proximal and distal for human cognition has been pointed out in other recent studies, such as Kemmerer (1999), Tomasello (2003) and Diessel (2006). Its basic status seems to be confirmed furthermore by the fact that “pointing expressions”, and demonstratives in particular, appear very early on in language evolution and in language acquisition (Clark 1978), and do not seem to be created by a process of grammaticalization originating in a lexical expression (Himmelmann 1997:20; Diessel 2006: 150-3 and to appear; Deutscher 2005).

Therefore, it is tempting to conclude that the non spatial uses of demonstratives, such as, e.g., their anaphoric and discursive uses (cf. Levinson 2004 for a classification of these non spatial uses and for relevant references), have been derived from their spatial uses by a metaphorical transfer. Such an analysis is based on the idea that spatial notions are frequently used to conceptualize domains that are less accessible to our direct corporeal experience, such as temporality and other abstract domains (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). However, the attempts to explain non spatial uses of demonstratives by using metaphorical notions of proximity and distance have proven problematic (cf. a.o. Kirsner 1979 and Kleiber 1987). Consequently, several researchers have proposed non spatial definitions of the meanings of demonstratives, as expressing an intermediary degree of accessibility (Ariel 1990), particular cognitive statuses (Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski 1993), different forces with which the addressee is instructed to find the referent (Kirsner 1979), or association (or not) with the deictic referential domain including the speaker and the interlocutor (Maes 2006). Interestingly, demonstratives may also change the nature of their semantic and referential definition in the course of language evolution, e.g. from a person-based system to one based on the distance relative to the demonstrative expression itself (cf. Marchello-Nizia 2006).

In our talk, we will examine the localist hypothesis by investigating, from a comparative perspective, the relationship between the spatial meanings of demonstratives on the one hand and their anaphoric and discursive uses on the other. Starting from a comparison between the Spanish demonstrative system, which has a ternary opposition, the Italian system, endowed with a binary opposition, and the French system, where the demonstrative *ce* is distance-neutral, we will analyze the role of the distance parameter in the non spatial uses of the demonstrative in each of these languages.

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From space to syntax: the grammaticalization of deictic suffixes in Wolof

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Wolof (Niger Congo, Senegal) has three spatial suffixes specifying the location of an entity in the speaker's spatial sphere (Sauvageot 1965: 77-80), *-i* as proximal, *-a* as distal and *-u* which is neither medial nor neutral, as it is the case in most ternary deictic systems (Diessel 1999), but indicates that the designated entity is "not localized" in the space of the speaker: A thorough study reveals a pervasive use of these three deictic suffixes in various linguistic categories such as noun modifiers, relative pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, verb conjugations, subordinating conjunctions, and negation (Robert 2006). Thus in Wolof reference depends on a dual mechanism of spatial anchoring: (1) in order to become definite, an object must necessarily be situated in the speaker's space (physically near or far), (2) if the object is indicated as not being localized in the speaker's space, it necessarily depends syntactically on another constituent indicating the situation in which it is validated.

I propose to describe the various uses of these spatial suffixes as well as the specifically linguistic mechanisms that they bring to light, such as the links between deictic anchoring, predication and syntactical dependency, and more generally the central role played by the situation of utterance. Through the presentation of this "extreme" case, I also intend to question the nature and role of deictic space in language, and to show how deictic anchoring can become a linguistic tool used at different syntactic levels for specifically linguistic operations, such as subordination and predication. As a counterpart to the obligatory location of an object in the deictic space in Wolof, one aspect of spatial reference appears then to be particularly important and is the source of various linguistic operations: the construal of the "absence" or non-localization of an entity in deictic space. According to the syntactic scope of the suffix indicating this "absence in the present situation", the non-localization of the entity in deictic space will display various values, including indefiniteness, negation, future, and hypothesis. The absence of localization in the space of the speaker is a fundamental corollary to this system of localization, conferring to it a certain referential strength by allowing speakers to talk about what is absent in the deictic space. As pointed out by Cabrejo-Parra (1992), the emergence of deixis *in absentia* is the condition for the emergence of syntax. Deixis is seen as the first level of linguistic abstraction, which makes it possible to go beyond the stage of pointing and also allows language to detach itself from physical reality

Deictic markers in Wolof are of great typological interest, since this language is permeated throughout its nominal and verbal systems by the indication of spatial determination relative to the speaker. This system is also of great interest from a cognitive point of view, as it gives us an example of a language in which syntactic relations are largely defined by the anchoring (or the absence thereof) in deictic space. This deictic anchoring is used over and over again at various syntactic levels where it assumes each time properties that are specific to each level (nominal determination, predication, or subordination). The functioning of spatial indicators in Wolof reflects the existence of organic links between location in space and the organization of syntactic relations within the utterance.

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On the non-spatial extensions of slavic spatial deictics. A case study from Polish and Serbian

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In a reflexion on space and language, a study on deictics is of special importance, for various reasons. For one thing, deictics are apparently universally attested, though their linguistic encoding varies (Pütz 1996: xii). They root the utterance in the here-and-now, and change along with speaker and addressee: they are therefore particularly linked to spatio-temporal features. Even though deictics encode non-spatial features such as visibility or audibility in some languages, spatial distinctions are clearly the most frequent from a typological point of view: the primary deictic contrast is universally ‘based on an opposition of the speaker-proximal and the speaker-distal forms’ (Pajusalu 2006: 241). But they have a broad range of uses, including textual and other notional uses (Levinson 2004, Pottier 1992, Lyons 1977, Himmelmann 1996). Finally, although they are clearly part of grammar, they do not seem to result from processes of grammaticalization (Diessel 1999), and mostly correspond to unanalyzable or only very partially analyzable forms (see e.g. Marchello-Nizia 2006: 108 for Romance). Deictics thus display a specific type of relation between space and other semantic domains.

The major semantic parameter encoded in deictics is (relative) distance from a Deictic Centre (*par excellence* the speaker), as in the following example:

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|--------------|------------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Nisam</i> | <i>ga</i> | <i>vid</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>znala</i> | <i>sam</i> | <i>d</i> | <i>je</i> | <i>t</i> |
| | | <i>ela,</i> | <i>li</i> | | | <i>a</i> | | <i>u.</i> |
| NEG.be. | him. | see. | b | know | be.AUX.PRS | t | be.PRS. | h |
| AUX.1SG | ACC | PP.F | ut | .PP.F | .1SG | hat | 3SG | ere |

[I turned around, looked around me, I even walked out into the hall. He wasn’t there.] “I didn’t see him, but I knew he was there (= next to me).”

However, relative distance itself is not only a matter of *physical* relative proximity: more abstract notions related to the involvement of speech act participants, their respective personal spheres or dominions are also relevant. As Marchello-Nizia (2004:81-82) puts it, ‘the ‘speaker’s sphere’ can include his social, family or political circles, his possessions – whether recognized, claimed or asserted – or anything he states as being to his liking; in a word, anything the speaker claims, constructs as belonging to him or interesting him’. The use of a distal demonstrative can thus be the result of the speaker’s lack of implication, adhesion to or interest in something:

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|---------------|
| <i>Pon</i> | <i>el</i> | <i>libro</i> | <i>allá</i> | <i>arriba</i> |
| Put.IMPV.2SG | the.M.SG | book | there.MVT | up |

‘Put the book up there somewhere.’ (Spanish, Carbonero Cano 1979: 89)

| | | |
|----------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>Mów</i> | <i>tam</i> | <i>sobie!</i> |
| speak.IMPV.2SG | there | oneself.DAT |

‘You can go on rambling [I don’t care]!’ (Polish, personal example)

| | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|------------|-------------|-----------------|
| <i>Kupił</i> | <i>sobie</i> | <i>tam</i> | <i>nowy</i> | <i>samochód</i> |
| buy.PST.M.3SG | oneself.D | there | new.M.A.SG | car |

‘He bought himself a new car [I don’t care how or which type].’ (Polish, personal example)

The fact that deictics are often unanalyzable makes it very hard to study their semantic evolution. How are we, then, to check that non-spatial uses indeed arise from spatial uses, as the result of a semantic extension? We propose to investigate this issue by comparing, on the basis of corpus examples, non-spatial uses of deictics in Serbian and Polish, two languages which have different sets of deictics, with a simple proximal/distal opposition in Polish (*tu* vs *tam*) and a more complex pattern in Serbian (*tu*, *ovde*, *tamo*): this should enable us to show the impact of differences in spatial meaning on non-spatial uses. We will of course also investigate the diachrony of these adverbs.

In our presentation, we will present general typological characteristics of deictics, describe the main types of deictics in Slavic languages and their origin, and finally illustrate the shift from spatial to non-spatial uses with a contrastive corpus study on Polish and Serbian deictic adverbs.

Our corpus consists of modern written (mainly journalistic) as well as spoken (spontaneous) data, with an arbitrary selection of 100 occurrences of each morpheme in each modality, for each language. We will analyze each occurrence and assign morpho-syntactic, semantic and pragmatic values with a common scale for both languages. This will enable us to give a precise sketch of their uses in each language.

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Spatial expressions for reflexivity and reciprocity in Oceanic languages

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One of the main sources of Oceanic reflexive markers is spatial notions such as 'downwards' or 'return'. The use of 'return'/'again' to express reflexivity is quite frequent in New Caledonian languages, as the sole strategy, or in combination with reflexes of the middle/reciprocal Proto Oceanic prefix *paRi-. In other languages, 'return' occurs in combination with an intensifier to reinforce reflexive readings, as it is the case in Tuvaluan (Besnier 2000).

The extension of the use of 'return' as reflexive markers into reciprocal markers is attested in several Kanak languages of the Mainland, such as Xârâcùù and Haméa, languages which partially lost the Proto Oceanic prefix *paRi-, in several Vanuatu languages (Lynch et al. 2002), in Māori (Bauer 1997), and in quite a few other Oceanic languages.

Besides the use of 'return/again' as a marker of reflexive coreference, other dynamic morphemes are found to express reflexivity, which manifest much more extended functions, as intensifiers, on the one hand, and as markers for reciprocity, on the other. This is the case in several Eastern Polynesian languages such as Marquesan, Hawaiian and Tahitian, with the use of *iho* 'downwards' (from Proto Polynesian *hifo 'go down') in all these functions.

Other Oceanic languages use dynamic (ad)verbs, or directionals for both reflexive and reciprocal situations: 'backwards' is used as a reflexive marker in Ajië and Paicî (Moyse-Faurie 2008), and 'back and forth' is a reciprocal strategy in Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk 2008). In West Futunan, a Polynesian Outlier, the adverb marking reciprocity is *nanoa* 'all around' (Capell 1984). According to Harrison (1976), the Mokilese (Micronesia) suffix *-pene* "indicates either motion of separated objects towards one another or some reciprocal (shared) relationship or activity".

This dynamic way of expressing reciprocity and/or reflexivity, quite recurrent in Oceanic languages, is also found in non-Oceanic languages such as in Sanumá (Schladt 2000). French 'donner en retour', 'dire en retour' and English 'give back' are other examples of such expressions.

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Modality, aspectuality and temporality: grammatical evolution of the spatio-temporal morpheme ≙ /khe¹/ ~ ≙ /kha¹/

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In our talk, we will present the grammatical evolution of the verbal morpheme /khe¹/ ~ ≙ /kha¹/ (henceforth KHE) in Colloquial Burmese and in a more conservative dialect, Arakanese. Grammatical tense – defined as the grammatical expression of the relationship between event time and speech time (or reference time) – does not exist in Colloquial Burmese. No morpheme is dedicated to this function (expressing tense). However, the verbal morpheme KHE occurs frequently in sentences with what seems to be a past tense meaning (see 1), more precisely conveying a motion / displacement in the past.

Taking into account occurrences of KHE such as that in (2), and data of more conservative Burmese dialects such as Arakanese, we can trace back the original meaning of KHE as a motion verb, meaning “motion-toward-Deictic-Center (DC)”, i.e. *come*. This meaning is still found when KHE cooccurs with verbs like “take” (see 2). In other words, in colloquial Burmese as well as in more conservative dialects such as Arakanese, the basic meaning of KHE is ‘motion’: whether this displacement is physical (spatial) or metaphorical (temporal), it marks a change in the spatio-temporal context.

(1) မိုးမိုး ကို မနေ့က လာခဲ့စေချင်တယ် ၊
mo³ mo³ ko² mone¹ ka¹ la² khe¹ se² chiN² te²
Momo OBJ yesterday come PV:spt AUX:fact. PV:desir PVF:R.ass
Yesterday, I wanted Momo to come.

(2) a. ခုံ ယူ ခဲ့ ပါ ၊
khoN¹ yu² khe¹ pa² Ø
bunch take PV:spt PV:POL (PVF:INJ)
Bring(-me) the bunch (litt. Take (towards me) the bunch.)

Apart from this spatio-temporal meaning, KHE (or KHA in Arakanese) also conveys an aspectual meaning. A recent study made on the expression of trajectory in these two dialects shows that the Arakanese form KHA is more frequently used than the corresponding Burmese form. Moreover, it shows that the morpheme is used with a clearly aspectual (perfectivity, accomplishment). In many sentences, KHA does not convey motion towards DC anymore, and can be used with verbs such as “to go” (*away from DC*). (See 3)

(3) RKH a. အချေတစ်ယောက် ဂူထဲကို ဝင်လာခဲ့ရေ ၊ [KKZ/08_04_058]
ʔace ta-yao? gu² the²-ko² wiN² la³ kha¹ re²
kid one-CLF cave interior-DIR enter AUX:go KHA PVF.R
A kid has entered [away from DC] the cave.

BIR b. ပင်လယ်ကမ်းခြေက ဂူထဲကို ဝင်သွားတယ် ၊ [AA/08_04_058]
piN².le² -kaN³ -ce² -ka¹ gu² the²-ko² wiN² θwa³ te²
sea shore origin S. cave interior-DIR enter AUX:go PVF.R
(She) enters [towards DC] in the cave.

More puzzling is the modal meaning arising in Colloquial Burmese, but not in Arakanese. Thus, KHE combined with the modal morpheme ME conveying irrealis, indicate sureness about the actuality of the event described (see 4).

- (4) a. သူ မနက်ဖြန် လာ ခဲ့ မယ် ၊ [C]
 θu² mənɛʔphyaN² la² khe¹ mɛ²
 3SG tomorrow come PV:spt PVF:IR.ass
He will certainly come tomorrow.
- b. သူ မနက်ဖြန် လာ မယ် ။
 θu² mənɛʔphyaN² la² mɛ²
 3SG tomorrow come PVF:IR.ass
He will come tomorrow.

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Abbreviations

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| acc.: accomplished (aspect) | perf.: perfect (acc. result.) |
| ass.: assertion of speaker | POL: politeness |
| AUX: auxiliary | PV: verbal particle |
| benef.: benefactive | PVF: final verbal particle |
| CLF: classifier | QST: question marker |
| const.: constative modality | R.: REALIS modality |
| DEM.: demonstrative | result.: resultative (aspect) |
| DIR.: directional | S.: source of the action (“ablative” or “nominative”) |
| IMP: imperative | SUB: subordinator |
| IR.: IRREALIS modality | spt: spatio-temporal |
| iter.: iterative (aspect) | TOP: topic. |
| LOC: locative | |
| NMLZ: nominalizer | |

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The signer in language space

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Different regards on iconicity and its influence on the linguistic form determine different analyses of French Sign Language (FSL). From a physical point of view, in signed languages, several parts of the body are used in order to produce utterances: eyes, face, hands, and shoulders. However, the description of linguistic features forces us to go beyond the materiality of the body: it is one thing to describe the figurability offered by the body, a property resulting from movements of body parts in space, it is yet another to explain how this gestuality contributes to the linguistic construction. The study of FSL that I propose focuses on the utterance constituted by the ‘trace’ which these movements virtually write in space: this utterance realizes spatially a series of events, references, as well as various types of relations – spatial, temporal, notional and personal – and relate these elements to a specific enunciative situation.

From this point of view, I disagree with the descriptive approach adopted by Cuxac (2000) who considers that iconic structures in FSL are gestural positions or actions used to reproduce actions, situations or forms. I also distance myself from Bouvet (1996), who considers enunciation to be a dramatic construction that provides a polyphonic voice in narratives (as in Ducrot 1998). My perspective is close to the so-called “cognitive iconicity” developed by Wilcox (2004), based on Cognitive grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991).

I will adopt the enunciative-cognitivist perspective advocated by Culioli (1999), in TOE, or Desclés (2000), in GA&C. I claim that the different body parts (with their location, positions and path relative to the signer’s body) support a spatial elaboration, which in fact results from the integration of a oriented predicative relation in an ego-centered spatio-temporal frame.

Thus, iconicity is a consequence of the linguistic visuo-gestual modality: since FSL is expressed in space, it can reproduce in the linguistic space it defines the cognitivo-semantic schemas that are based on spatial and temporal primitives. FSL therefore offers a direct application and demonstration of cognitive localism.

In role shifts, the signer’s chest refers to different elements of discourse: it corresponds to subjective positions which are different from the speaker (or locator). The enunciator’s positions differ from the locutor’s positions (cf Meurant 2008). His gaze is a basic element, setting the linguistic positions of enunciator and co-enunciator. In the category of verbal predicates with an anchoring point on the body, the signer’s body belongs to the predicative schema, as first argument. The enunciator, as uttering subject (Culioli), then corresponds to the grammatical “subject of the verb”. The signer’s body can be used as a site for lexical units, as an argument position (subject of the verb), or an enunciative position in role shifts (point of view, or reported speech).

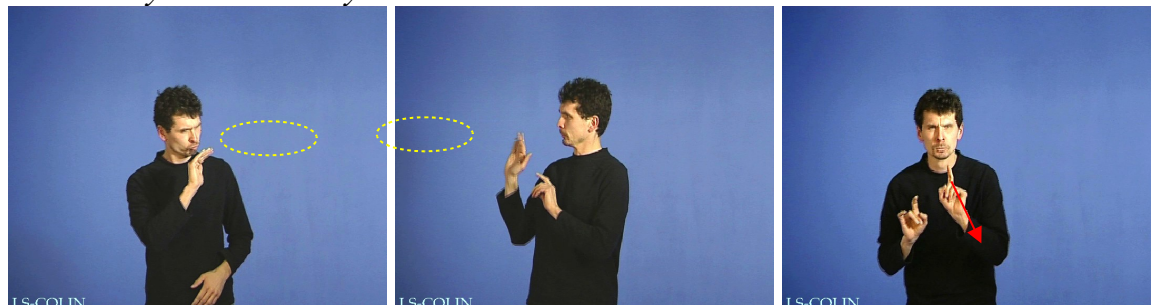
With examples extracted from the FSL LS-Colin corpus, we will show the impact of interactions between chest movements, facial expression and eye-gaze on various configurations:

- on locutor / enunciator positions and different values of self-pointing;
- on the same predicative relation expressed in different utterances, relative to different enunciative frames;
- on modifications of the point of view, when linguistic space changes, as a result of

positions of the signer's shoulders: rotation, moving forward or back.

Annex: different positions of shoulders and chest in reported speech and narrative, with linked points of view.

“– Goodbye” “– Goodbye” He leaves



/goodbye/

chest = client

right hand = “goodbye”

gaze on locus ‘salesman’

/ goodbye/

chest = salesman

right hand = “goodbye”

gaze on locus ‘client’

/he leaves/

chest = salesman

left hand = salesman

gaze on goal

Where is he going?



/is he leaving?/

chest = client

left hand = salesman

gaze on left hand

/???/

chest = client

left hand = salesman

indefinite gaze

/télévision/

chest = speaker

mains = [television]

gaze on interlocutor

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Workshop 3 : Thursday 26th 10.30-18.00 and Friday 27th May, 9.00 – 11.30

Ecology, Population Movements and Language Diversity

Organizer:

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Thursday 26th May

10.30 Diversity in Sinitic languages: Interdialectal contact, stratification and hybridization (Chappell)

11.30 The continuity between crosslinguistic variation and language-internal variation (Croft)

Lunch

14.00 Growing diversity and complexity: The contributions of geography, sociolinguistics, demography, and time (Nichols)

15.00 [CL-NP] phrases in four Sinitic languages (Wang)

15.30 From classifier to numeral and indefinite article: 个 [kei²¹³] of the Shaowu dialect (Min-Gan) in Fujian, China (Ngai)

16.00 Discussion (Discussant: Mufwene)

Coffee break

17.00 Typology, diachrony and cognition in Chinese (Peyraube)

Friday 27th May

09.00 The comparative construction in Sinitic languages: Synchronic and diachronic variation (Chappell & Peyraube)

Coffee break

10.30 Linguistic imperialism and the typology of the passive (Siewierska & Bakker)

Workshop presentation

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How did cross-linguistic diversity emerge? What part did population movements and language contacts contribute to the emergence of this phenomenon? Did structural diversity emerge concurrently with the gradual evolution of language in mankind or did this state of affairs emerge subsequent to the dispersal of the *late Homo sapiens* (*Homo loquens*?) out of Africa? Are there plausible answers to such questions and what kinds of evidence can be adduced to bear on them? What are the modern patterns of typological diversity, even among languages of the same genetic family? What is/are the best ways to account for such variation?

Diversity in Sinitic languages: Interdialectal contact, Stratification and Hybridization

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This paper first considers the major typological features of Sinitic languages which distinguish them from Tibeto-Burman and surrounding language families as a prelude to the discussion on language change and evolution.

Second, the micro-typology of Sinitic languages and a classification into four major linguistic zones will be discussed as a refinement of the traditional North-South division proposed by Hashimoto (1976, 1986). This will be illustrated in terms of morphosyntax and grammatical constructions, rather than in terms of the traditional classifications based mainly on phonology – and, to a lesser extent, the lexicon. Different typological alignments within Sinitic will also be briefly described.

The third and main part of the talk deals with interdialectal contact and its effects on morphosyntax, outlining three specific outcomes of the Mandarinization of Southern Sinitic languages, namely, stratification, convergence and hybridization. The Sinitic case is unusual in that it involves the less prototypical situation of contact between affiliated languages (or dialect groups), in addition to the more celebrated cases of contact-induced change due to calquing and metatypy from unrelated languages, such as Altaic.

Protracted language contact with court varieties of Medieval Chinese, then with early Mandarin, has led not only to stratification in the lexicon and morphology of Southern Min (Lien 2001) but also to widespread use of double marking for syntactic functions, what I have named ‘hybridization’.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 90, n. 9) observe that little is known about the role of such hybrid forms in language contact situations. This paper sets out to provide an explanation of this extremely interesting phenomenon and its relation to convergence and stratification.

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The comparative construction in Sinitic languages: Synchronic and diachronic variation

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Comparative constructions typically contain two NPs representing the ‘standard’ and the ‘comparée’, a comparative marker and a stative predicate denoting the dimension or quality (Stassen 1985, Heine 1997). In using one object (A) as a benchmark against which to judge another (B), different kinds of comparative constructions are possible depending on whether they express that A has either *more*, *less*, or an *equal* degree of the given dimension or quality.

In Sinitic languages, three main comparative construction types have been identified (cf. Li Lan 2003):

- (i) Similarity type – Type I
- (ii) Surpass type – Type II
- (iii) Zero-marked – Type III

In Standard Mandarin, the language generally used as the representative for Sinitic, the comparative construction has the form, *Marker – Standard of comparison – Adjective*, the ordering which crosslinguistically shows a strong correlation with OV, rather than VO languages (Dryer 1992: 91). Hence, an interesting question, relevant for the whole of the Sinitic taxon, is to identify whether this pattern, disharmonic with VO ordering, is in general shared across Chinese languages, or if it is restricted to just certain subgroups.

In fact, we show that in the case of the comparative construction, a large number of Sinitic languages do not use this strategy at all natively, but instead employ a *surpass*-type comparative with the configuration *Adjective – Marker – Standard of comparison*, a construction which aligns exceptionlessly with SVO languages in the sample used by Stassen (1985) and shows a strong correlation in the larger sample used by Dryer (1992: 91-92). The areas using this pattern include many Hakka and Yue dialects, and even several subgroups of non-standard Mandarin. In these cases, the ordering is in perfect harmony with VO constituency.

Having established the synchronic distribution of the *surpass* construction, a diachronic sketch of the development of the comparative construction is presented in order to address the issue of whether the *surpass* comparative is an internal development within Chinese or is a case of contact-induced grammaticalization on the model of languages from surrounding families which in the main use this strategy as well.

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The continuity between crosslinguistic variation and language-internal variation

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Crosslinguistic variation, the subject matter of typology, appears to be different from language-internal variation, in fact, to represent variation at a different order of magnitude. However, typological variation and language-internal variation form a continuum in at least two ways. First, variation in the distribution of different constructions performing a particular function in a single language is simply a part of variation in the distribution of constructions across languages. This will be illustrated by the classic work on relative clauses by Keenan and Comrie (1977, 1979), and more recent typological research in parts of speech (Croft 1991, 2001). Second, crosslinguistic variation originates in variation in the verbalization of experience (Croft 2010). The latter produces "first-order variation", which then may gain social significance, leading to sociolinguistic or "second-order variation." When "second-order variation" becomes the linguistic convention in different ways in diverging languages, the result is "third-order variation", that is, typological variation.

From classifier to numeral and indefinite article: 个 [kei²¹³] of the Shaowu dialect (Min-Gan) in Fujian, China

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Classifier systems and their extended functions have been the topic of much investigation in recent decades (Craig 1986, Croft 1994, Aikhenvald 2000 inter alia). In this paper, we set out to explore the relationship between the general classifier 个 [kei²¹³] and its use as the numeral ‘one’ as well as the indefinite article in the Shaowu dialect spoken in northwestern Fujian Province bordering on eastern Jiangxi Province. This dialect is a putative admixture of features of the Min and Gan group of Sinitic languages in terms of its phonology, lexicon and morpho-syntax. The Shaowu 个 [kei²¹³] (or [kei²¹] in sandhi form) is idiosyncratic in the fact that not only can it be used as the default classifier for humans and objects, for example, 三个人 [sa²¹ kei²¹ nin²²] (‘three people’) but also it expresses the notion of singularity when appearing in the numeral position of the [Num-CL-N] construction, on condition that the classifier used is not [kei²¹³] itself. For instance: 个本书 [kei²¹ pən⁵⁵ ɛy²¹] is interpreted as *one-CL-book* (‘a book’). To explain this unique phenomenon, we postulate a bifurcated pathway of diachronic change determined by structural position for the Shaowu 个 [kei²¹³]. In Archaic Chinese, 个 [ge] was a noun proper meaning ‘bamboo segment’. It was grammaticalised into a specific classifier in Pre-Medieval Chinese and then into a general classifier in Late Medieval Chinese (Peyraube 1997), and remains the default classifier for nouns in Modern Chinese. This is the classical path of grammaticalisation for 个 [ge] in most Sinitic languages, including Shaowu:

$N > CL_{\text{specific}} > CL_{\text{general}}$.

In addition to this, the Shaowu 个 [kei²¹³] has seemingly undergone another development on a par with the classical one. Since the prototypical function of a classifier is to individuate nouns and actualise their semantic boundary, it is highly plausible that 个 [kei²¹³] underwent a semantic change at some point, extending its function of individuation to the denotation of singularity, hence assuming the role of the numeral ‘one’, stemming from which the function of an indefinite article developed. Although the lack of historical records written in the Shaowu dialect has left us no direct evidence for this path of development, we have nevertheless found a parallel case from which an indirect yet convincing inference can be drawn, which we will elaborate upon in the paper.

We will show that this atypical use of 个 [kei²¹³] is an areal feature not only unique to Shaowu or the Shaojiang dialect subgroup to which it belongs, but also to surrounding areas such as the Wu speaking cities of Pucheng, Guangfeng, Jiangshan; as well as the Ke-Gan speaking Taining, Mingxi and Yongan. These areas are also well known for their indeterminate dialect membership and equivocal classificatory status.

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Growing diversity and complexity: The contributions of geography, sociolinguistics, demography, and time

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Over time, normal processes of change can increase the complexity of individual languages and diversify their structure; they also increase the diversity, phylogenetic and typological, among sister languages. The reverse also happens: often rapidly, and especially in response to contact, complexity and diversity can also decrease (textbook example: speakers of small languages shift to a large inter-ethnic language). Both complexity and diversity can be enhanced by circumstances that enable languages to resist shift and spreading; and geographical factors such as peripherality to a spread zone, mountain highlands, closed economies, and islands are among these circumstances. These things are more or less truisms, but we lack case studies and information on rates and frequencies of changes. This paper surveys two geographical areas that serve as good laboratories and case studies: the eastern Caucasus, which exhibits a variety of isolating factors and contact situations and contains a language family of great age and much phylogenetic differentiation, hence many natural yardsticks; and the intake zone and periphery of the Eurasian steppe spread zone, where the periodicity and chronology of spreads is well understood and several well-reconstructed language families have interacted with traceable consequences.

Typology, diachrony and cognition in Chinese

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Historical grammar, linguistic typology, and cognitive linguistics are three domains which are quite closely linked in research on Chinese, as doubtlessly they are for other languages. However, the association between these three domains, although close, is not any the less indirect. The three basic mechanisms involved in Chinese grammatical change, which are the processes of reanalysis (including grammaticalization and exaptation), analogy (including the phenomena of lexicalization and/or degrammaticalization) and external borrowing through language contact, do not involve, or only minimally, typological or cognitive linguistics research, *stricto sensu*. The same applies to the recognized motivations for grammatical change: semantic-pragmatic change, structural requirements, etc.

What connects these three domains then? -- Quite simply the fact that cognitive linguistics has renewed the basic framework for studies into diachronic syntax. This includes issues such as conceptualization, categorization, figure-ground organization, conceptual archetypes and prototypes, pragmatic inferencing and metaphorical extensions, etc. This development has enabled us to provide, if not explanations, then at least grounded hypotheses about the common properties which Sinitic languages share, or more often, the basic differences which are revealed between them.

Examples will be taken from the following topics to illustrate the points made above:

- localizers
- interrogative pronouns
- the question of satellite-framed or verb-framed language for Chinese
- verbs of giving, causatives and passives

Linguistic imperialism and the typology of the passive

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The location of constructions along the voice continuum makes them readily susceptible to changing into each other diachronically. The direction and form of change may be shaped by language contact which is what appears to have happened to passive and passive-like constructions in a wide range of languages under the influence of the Indo-European (IE) and especially the Standard Average European (SAE) passive. We will argue and document that in fact the influence of the SAE passive has been so pervasive as to appear to have seriously undermined the existence of structural diversity of the existing passive constructions and the efficacy of elaborating a comprehensive cross-linguistic typology of the phenomenon. As a counterbalance to the above, we will consider to what extent our understanding of the typology of passives may be enriched by the language internal diversity of passive constructions that is emerging from research of different varieties, genres, and registers of some of the very well studied European languages. The discussion will thus contribute to the recognition of the need for conducting studies of typological diversity on the basis of both detailed language internal and cross-linguistic data.

[CL-NP] phrases in four Sinitic languages

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This study makes an in-depth comparison of [CL-NP] phrases or ‘bare’ classifier phrases, which are very common in southern Sinitic languages. Based on fieldwork data, we look at the representative Jixi (Hui), Suzhou (Wu), Guangzhou (Yue) and Lianshui (Jianghuai Mandarin) dialects to show the typological and synchronic variations of [CL-NP] phrases among them. We first discuss the syntactic distribution and semantic interpretation of [CL-NP] phrases in the aforementioned four languages. Distributionally, [CL-NP] phrases in the four dialects can appear in both preverbal and postverbal positions. In the Jixi dialect, if a [CL-NP] phrase appears in the preverbal position, both definite and indefinite readings are possible; if a [CL-NP] phrase appears in the postverbal position, an indefinite reading prevails. In the Suzhou dialect, a [CL-NP] phrase has a definite interpretation in the preverbal position and a predominantly indefinite interpretation in the postverbal position. In Guangzhou Cantonese, [CL-NP] phrases have either a definite or indefinite reading in the postverbal position and a definite reading in the preverbal position. In the Lianshui dialect, both definite and indefinite readings are possible in both preverbal and postverbal positions. Two universal implications can thus be drawn: (1) preverbal indefinite [CL-NP] phrase (P1) → preverbal definite [CL-NP] phrase (Q1), i.e. in a given language, if a preverbal [CL-NP] phrase has an indefinite reading, it must also have a definite reading ; (2) postverbal definite [CL-NP] phrase (P2) → postverbal indefinite [CL-NP] phrase (Q2), i.e. in a given language, if a postverbal [CL-NP] phrase has a definite reading, it must also have an indefinite reading.

Table 1: The distribution and interpretation of [CL-NP] phrases in four dialects

| | Preverbal definite | Preverbal indefinite | Postverbal definite | Postverbal indefinite |
|-----------|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Jixi | + | + | ± | + |
| Suzhou | + | – | ± | + |
| Guangzhou | + | – | + | + |
| Lianshui | + | + | + | + |

NB: ± means that the reading is only possible in a specific context.

Table 2: Universal implications of [CL-NP] phrases in Chinese dialects

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| (+P1 +Q1) (+P2 +Q2) | (–P1 +Q1) (–P2 +Q2) |
| (–P1 –Q1) (–P2 –Q2) | *(+P1 –Q1) *(+P2 –Q2) |

The paper also talks about the pragmatic contexts in which definite [CL-NP] phrases occur. In the four languages mentioned above, definite [CL-NP] phrases occur mostly in anaphoric context, the Guangzhou dialect (Cantonese) below illustrates this well:

我 哋 睇 啱 咗 (一) 间 屋, * (个) 厅 好 大。
 ŋɔ²³-tei²² t^hei³⁵ ŋam⁵⁵ tʃɔ³⁵ jət⁵ kam⁵³ ok⁵, kɔ³³ t^hɛŋ⁵⁵ hou³⁵ tai²²

1PL look so ASP one CL house CL living- room very big
 ‘We looked at a house, the living room of which is very big.’

The classifier kɔ³³ 个 in the above example of the Guangzhou dialect is obligatory, while in the other three languages it is optional. Moreover, the definite [CL-NP] phrases in the Suzhou and Lianshui dialects have a deictic function and can be used to answer WH-question sentences, whereas classifiers in the other two languages do not allow this. Besides these, classifiers in the Lianshui and the Suzhou dialects can be used alone to function as pronouns, whereas classifiers in the other two languages cannot be used alone. If we use the criteria for definite articles put forward by Himmelmann (2001), the properties of Guangzhou classifiers are closest to that of a definite article.

GENERAL SESSIONS

SESSIONS GÉNÉRALES

A propos de la subjectification de l'échelle dans *PLUS QUE*

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En français, on exprime la comparaison par exemple au moyen des marqueurs *plus*, *aussi* ou *moins* comme dans (1). L'échelle dont il s'agit est indiquée normalement par un adjectif comme *grand* ou *intelligent* et l'étalon de la comparaison est introduit par *que* ~.

(1) Paul est [*plus / aussi / moins*] [*grand / intelligent*] *que* Marie.

Il existe, d'autre part, des constructions curieuses, comme on le voit dans (2) - (5), où, bien que l'étalon soit introduit par *que* ~, l'échelle, à laquelle on doit se référer dans la comparaison, n'est plus explicite. Mais les phrases restent naturelles. Comment expliquer ces phénomènes?

(2) La théorie de l'évolution est *plus qu'*une hypothèse.

(3) Le français est beaucoup *plus qu'*une langue. Il est un lieu d'échanges et de rencontre. (Le Clézio)

(4) La promesse est *moins qu'*un contrat.

(5) L'homme se révèle parfois *moins qu'*un animal.

Nous sommes d'avis que dans ces cas également la comparaison quantitative fonctionne bien. Mais seulement l'échelle est de nature subjective.

Pour ce qui est de la subjectivité, les chercheurs se sont intéressés principalement à la notion de factualité par le biais d'études sur la modalité. Mais nous aimerions présenter l'hypothèse selon laquelle il existe une autre subjectivité, dont l'importance est comparable, « la désirabilité », jugement du locuteur qui consiste à exprimer qu'un fait énoncé est désirable ou indésirable. Et la subjectivité peut être graduable par un marqueur de comparatif.

Ainsi il n'est pas déraisonnable de croire que dans *plus que* ou *moins que* de (2) – (5) opère l'échelle de la désirabilité. Par exemple, dans (2), en comparant, sur l'échelle de désirabilité, « la théorie de l'évolution » et l'« hypothèse » en général, on conclut que la désirabilité de la première est plus élevée que celle de la dernière.

On a parfois une construction où le sujet et l'attribut sont les mêmes, comme dans (6) et (7). Mais ces phrases, en apparence dépourvues de sens, ont pour fonction, nous semble-t-il, d'exprimer que l'objet en cause a plus de désirabilité ou moins de désirabilité que les autres de la même catégorie.

(6) Quand un film est *plus qu'*un film ... (Google)

(7) Un homme qui n'a jamais tenté de se faire semblable aux dieux, c'est *moins qu'*un homme. (Paul Valéry)

Cela nous amène à concevoir un mécanisme plus général selon lequel l'absence d'échelle explicite fait intervenir une échelle subjective. Nous sommes d'avis qu'il s'agit d'un cas de subjectivation.

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Impersonals as abstract locational constructions: Evidence from English and French

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In the Cognitive tradition (Lakoff 1987, Langacker 2009, Achard 2010 inter alia), impersonal pronouns are treated as meaningful structures which code some abstract mental construct or location within which the event/proposition in the complement can be conceptualized. This paper argues that although this basic insight is essentially correct, the cognitive analysis of impersonal pronouns is not, in its current state, capable of accounting for the distribution of different forms language internally and cross-linguistically, because it cannot adequately capture the fine-grained distinctions that distinguish them. It illustrates the need for further elaboration of the abstract locational model with the distribution of the French and English forms.

The analysis shows that *there*, *it*, *il* and *ça* constitute a natural class of abstract locational subjects because each pronoun profiles an abstract region within which the entity coded by the post verbal complement is localized or assessed, but that individual forms profile slightly different kinds of regions, whose specific nature largely determines pronoun distribution. Consistent with Langacker's 2009 proposal, *there*, *it*, and *il* can all be said to profile the conceptualizer's scope of awareness for the issue at hand, but that scope of awareness needs to be determined at different levels of reality. More specifically, existential *there* and simple *il* impersonals (where the post verbal entity is a nominal) profile the subpart of basic reality R which is restricted to the observation of things that are or are perceived as missing, while *it* and complex impersonal *il* (where the post verbal entity is a clause) operate at a more analytical level of reality R' which prominently includes the epistemic or evaluative effort the conceptualizer exercises toward the event or proposition coded in the complement. *Ça* differs from *il* in that it places the emphasis on the immediate circumstances which include the event or proposition coded in the complement rather than on the mental effort required to evaluate its epistemic status or impact.

The conclusions reached in this paper enrich the typology of possible subjects. Secondly, they suggest the examination of a wider range of constructions than ordinarily accepted for the definition of an impersonal category. Thirdly, they provide an elaboration to the cognitive notion of abstract locational construction.

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Référence aux procès dans des récits de fiction produits par des locuteurs quasi-bilingues russes/français

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Notre étude porte sur le rôle réciproque de la langue première (L1) et de la langue seconde (L2) dans des productions des apprenants très avancés russophones du français que l'on peut définir comme quasi-bilingues. Nous nous intéressons plus particulièrement à l'influence de la L1 (le russe) sur la production d'un récit de fiction en français L2, et inversement, à l'influence de la L2 (le français) sur la production en L1. Notre étude est axée sur la référence aux procès, un des domaines référentiels centraux dans un discours narratif. L'analyse proposée s'appuie sur un corpus de 60 (de 45 sujets) récits initiés par un film muet réalisés par des quasi-bilingues en russe (leur L1) et en français (leur L2) ainsi que par des locuteurs natifs monolingues de deux langues (groupe de contrôle).

Les événements présentés dans le support visuel que les locuteurs doivent exprimer dans leurs récits correspondent à différents types de procès (activités, déplacements, états) qui arrivent à un/des protagoniste(s) dans un intervalle temporel donné. Nous nous concentrons sur l'expression d'activités en adoptant la classification de propriétés internes de verbes de Vendler (1967). Du point de vue grammatical, le système verbal du russe diffère de celui du français par la présence des verbes de deux types : imperfectifs et perfectifs. Les verbes perfectifs sont souvent formés à partir des imperfectifs par l'adjonction d'un préfixe. La majorité de préfixes en russe à part la valeur grammaticale de perfectivité ont une valeur sémantique et modifient le sens du verbe.

Les moyens d'expression des activités diffèrent entre les productions des locuteurs du groupe de contrôle. Par exemple, pour l'expression des activités successives dont la première est la cause de l'activité suivante, comme : 'Protagoniste (P) frappe une surface', 'P casse la surface', les francophones monolingues utilisent régulièrement des énoncés séparés. Quant aux russophones monolingues, ils encodent souvent des activités de ce type par un énoncé grâce aux verbes préfixés, par exemple : *raz-bivat'* – casser en morceaux, dont la racine verbale *bi(t)* comporte l'information sur l'action du protagoniste – 'frapper' et le préfixe *raz-* possède le sens de décomposition d'un objet. En ce qui concerne les productions des quasi-bilingues, ils ont tendance à employer des énoncés séparés pour exprimer les activités successives en français et en russe. Cette façon de représenter les activités ne diffère pas des productions des francophones monolingues. En revanche, elle est impropre aux productions des russophones monolingues. L'emploi des énoncés séparés par les quasi-bilingues s'accompagne du choix des verbes sans préfixes, par exemple : *udarjat'* – taper et *lomat'* – casser. Nous voyons dans cette façon d'exprimer les activités successives l'influence de la L2 des quasi-bilingues. Ainsi, la L2 influence le processus de la planification du discours (Levelt, 1989) en L1 des quasi-bilingues ce qui signifie que ce type de locuteurs possède une forme d'interlangue spécifique non seulement en L2, comme cela a été montré dans des travaux antérieurs (cf. p. ex. Lambert, 1997), mais aussi en leur L1.

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Prédication possessive en langues uto-aztèques du Sud

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Cette présentation cherche à développer une étude comparative des mécanismes de prédication possessive dans plusieurs langues indigènes du Mexique, appartenant à la branche méridionale de la famille uto-aztèque. Nous essaierons ainsi, dans un premier temps, de décrire, à partir des données obtenues sur le terrain et dans les grammaires de référence disponibles, les différentes structures qui rendent compte de la prédication possessive, dans une variété de langues représentatives des différentes branches de cette famille linguistique : taracahitique (yaqui-mayo, guarijio, tarahumara), pimique (pápago, pima bajo, tepehuan du Sud, tepehuan du Nord), corachol-nahuatl (cora, huichol, nahuatl). Cette description nous permettra ainsi d'identifier deux types fondamentaux de prédication possessive dans ces langues : i) une construction intransitive ayant pour sujet le possesseur et où la possession est transmise à l'aide d'un suffixe sur une base nominale représentant l'élément possédé, ii) une construction transitive avec un verbe de possession, ayant pour sujet le possesseur et l'élément possédé comme objet. Ces deux constructions qui peuvent coexister dans une même langue sont illustrées en 1) et 2) avec des données de la langue yaqui.

- 1) *Inepo* *kare-k*
1S.NOM maison-POS
'J'ai une maison'
- 2) *Wepul* *chu'u-ta* *e* *jippue*
Un chien-AC 2Sg.NOM avoir
'Tu as un chien'

La présentation des données essaiera de prendre en compte non seulement les comportements syntaxiques mais aussi les possibles restrictions d'usages des constructions identifiées (possession aliénable/inaliénable, possession momentanée/permanente, usages possessifs et non-possessifs, etc.).

Comme cette étude ne s'appuie pas seulement sur un travail comparatif appréhendé depuis une perspective synchronique (comparaisons interlinguistiques à l'intérieur de la branche méridionale de la famille uto-aztèque) mais qu'elle prétend également apporter des éléments à la discussion sur l'origine et sur l'évolution de ce type de constructions dans les différentes langues étudiées, nous adopterons dans un deuxième temps une perspective diachronique, en considérant les travaux sur le proto-utoaztèque (Langacker 1977) ainsi que les données présentes dans des grammaires coloniales qui enregistrent des états anciens de nos langues d'étude ou de langues uto-aztèques aujourd'hui disparues comme le opata et l'eudève. L'analyse de ces données se fera ici à la lumière des propositions reconstructives développées dans le cadre de la théorie de la grammaticalisation et de la linguistique cognitive (Heine 1997a, 1997b, Heine & Kuteva 2002, 2007, Langacker 2008) ainsi que de la linguistique fonctionnelle-typologique (Stassen 2009). Nous défendrons ainsi l'hypothèse de l'origine stative/locative du suffixe possessif et de l'existence de trois processus évolutifs différents pour l'apparition d'un verbe de possession en langues uto-aztèques du Sud : i) la grammaticalisation d'un verbe d'action à travers un schéma cognitif d'Action (Heine 1997),

ii) la lexicalisation d'une construction 'classificateur + suffixe possessif,' iii) la lexicalisation d'une construction 'élément statif + suffixe possessif'.

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Les pronoms clitiques sujets dans un parler occitan alpin

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L'étude des pronoms constitue en occitan alpin une question particulièrement intéressante. En effet, la majorité des variétés d'occitan (dont le provençal et le languedocien) sont des variétés "pro-drop". Ce n'est pas le cas du cisalpin du nord (occitan alpin des vallées italiennes suivantes : Val d'Oulx, Val Cluson, et Val Germanasca). Pour cette variété, il existe un système complexe de pronoms personnels sujet. Ceux-ci sont d'ailleurs fréquemment utilisés en réduplication, ce qui implique l'existence de deux systèmes parallèles combinés de formes toniques et atones de ces pronoms. De plus, ceux-ci diffèrent d'une localité à une autre, puisqu'il existe en occitan une forte variation intra-dialectale. Nous nous intéresserons particulièrement à la variété d'une de ces vallées italiennes occitanes du nord: le Val Cluson (cf. tableau 1. ci-dessous).

Il s'agira d'étudier le fonctionnement de ces pronoms dans le discours, ainsi que les variations oral/écrit, intra- et inter-linguistiques, en le comparant à celui de quelques proches variétés d'occitan, et des autres langues romanes.

Aux pronoms personnels s'ajoutent la question du pronom clitique sujet neutre 'la/l' utilisé dans les structures impersonnelles (exemple (1) ci-dessous).

- (1) La plau
Pr.n.3.sg. pleuvir.3.sg
Il pleut.

Ce pronom est régulièrement décrit dans les grammaires comme un pronom démonstratif.

Cette étude nous permettra de décrire une caractéristique de l'extrême nord occitan, c'est-à-dire, des zones de contact avec le français et le francoprovençal.

| FORME TONIQUE | FORME ATONE | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| | <i>Devant consonne</i> | <i>Devant voyelle</i> |
| <i>mi</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>a</i> |
| <i>tœ</i> | <i>tu</i> | <i>tu</i> |
| <i>al (m.); il (f.)</i> | <i>a (m.); I (f.)</i> | <i>al (m.); il (f.)</i> |
| <i>nou – nous-autri</i> | <i>ou</i> | <i>ous</i> |
| <i>vou – vous-autri</i> | <i>ou</i> | <i>ous</i> |
| <i>ellou (m.); ella (f.)</i> | <i>i (m.); i (f.)</i> | <i>il (m.); iz (f.)</i> |

Tableau 1. Les pronoms personnels sujets en occitan alpin du Val Cluson.

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Acquisition L2 de langues typologiquement proches: le cas des ordres de mots marqués en italien et en français

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Notre présentation porte sur l'acquisition et l'emploi de certaines constructions marquées dans le discours narratif en italien et en français, L1 et L2. Le corpus utilisé est constitué de récits fictifs sollicités à travers un même support vidéo, chez des apprenants italophones du français et des apprenants francophones de l'italien, qui seront comparés aux productions natives dans les deux langues. L'objectif poursuivi dans notre étude est double.

(1) Dans un premier temps, il s'agit d'observer quels types de constructions marquées apparaissent dans la production native pour signaler des contextes informationnels spécifiques, qui concernent notamment la réintroduction et le contraste d'entités topicales.

L'italien et le français sont des langues typologiquement proches, qui partagent le même ordre canonique des constituants (SVO) et qui disposent de constructions en principe similaires pour exprimer des structures informationnelles marquées (diathèse passive, dislocations, structures présentatives, clivées et pseudo-clivées, *cf.* Sornicola 2006; Maslova & Bernini 2006), bien que leur emploi contextuel ne soit pas forcément équivalent (*cf.* Lambrecht 1994). Les premières analyses indiquent en effet le recours à des structures syntaxiques marquées différentes dans des contextes informationnels identiques - ordre VS et clivées en italien vs. dislocations et pronoms contrastifs en français, ce qui montre la non-équivalence fonctionnelle des constructions formellement similaires mentionnées plus haut.

(2) En ce qui concerne la production non native, nous allons ensuite analyser comment des apprenants adultes de ces deux langues expriment les mêmes contextes informationnels au niveau intermédiaire et avancé. Plusieurs recherches sur la production en L2 ont mis en évidence la sensibilité des apprenants au statut informationnel des constituants dès le niveau débutant (*cf.* Klein & Perdue 1997, Hendriks 2000), mais aussi les difficultés qu'ils rencontrent à adopter les constructions typiques de la LC dans la construction du discours, même à des stades très avancés (*cf.* Dimroth & Lambert 2008). Par ailleurs, la présence de stratégies préférentielles reflétant l'influence de la L1 serait plus forte quand les deux langues en contact sont proches (*cf.* Ringbom & Jarvis 2009).

En partant de ces constatations, notre étude vise à évaluer jusqu'à quel point les choix des apprenants analysés sont influencés par les constructions de la L1 ou par des stratégies cognitives communes, liées au stade de développement de leur interlangue.

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Echafaudage conceptuel et grammatical du *PATH schema*

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Le transfert dans la langue du schème du chemin (ou *PATH schema*) - défini au préalable par Mark Johnson (1987) - semble avoir donné lieu à différentes interprétations de ce schème-image dont la présente étude propose d'examiner la complexité de sa construction et de son interprétation, par l'analyse des niveaux linguistiques et extralinguistiques qui le sous-tendent. Cette étude s'appuie sur l'emploi de verbes de mouvement, extraits de corpus journalistiques britanniques et américains, qui participent à l'encodage du schème du chemin. Celui-ci renvoie à une composition de concepts – la source, la voie, et le but – qui sont ses sous-schémes ; ils permettent d'accéder au *PATH schema*, souvent de manière métonymique puisqu'un seul sous-schème suffit à suggérer le schème du chemin dans la langue.

Dans un premier temps, on examinera une conceptualisation métonymique de ce schème où s'opère - selon la théorie des espaces mentaux de Fauconnier - une projection asymétrique entre domaine source et domaine cible : le domaine source projette sa structure conceptuelle sur celle du domaine cible, non pas au travers d'une projection réciproque des éléments qui sont en contrepartie entre domaine source et domaine cible, mais en faisant apparaître l'un des deux domaines au premier plan tandis que l'autre est relégué au second plan. Dans l'exemple (1), la trajectoire du chemin (*the fence*) qui revêt une dimension spatiale statique est désignée de façon métonymique puisqu'elle est assimilée à une entité en mouvement : (1) *The fence runs all the way down to the river.*

Cet exemple illustre le phénomène du mouvement fictif (*fictive motion*, (Talmy, 2000a)) où le domaine cible (celui du mouvement) apparaît au premier plan tandis que le domaine source (celui du stationnement (*stationariness*)) est relégué au second plan, le mouvement du domaine cible (encodé par le verbe *runs*) contribuant alors à tracer un chemin conceptuel.

L'accès métonymique au schème du chemin nous conduira à analyser, au travers d'énoncés agrammaticaux, la manière qu'ont les opérations de *blending* de façonner certains *blend* et d'en exclure d'autres simultanément. Ces opérations révéleront les situations contextuelles et conjoncturelles dans lesquelles s'insère le sujet parlant, ainsi que ses motivations conceptuelles et constructionnelles.

Sur le plan morphosyntaxique, l'accès au schème du chemin sollicite différentes unités lexicales, dont les verbes de mouvement. S'ils évoquent la configuration spatiale du chemin, leur sémantisme limite et contraint la réalité de ce schème. Les types de chemin qu'ils représentent dépendent également de leur charge de télicité et du nombre d'actants qu'impose leur valence. Une attention particulière sera consacrée à l'aspect du verbe, qui contribue à donner une vision holistique ou séquentielle du chemin, accentuant alors les effets diégétiques ou chronologiques des procès étudiés. On s'intéressera précisément à la charge conceptuelle de l'aspect en étudiant les sous-schémes qu'il parvient, à lui seul, à mettre en valeur dans certaines occurrences. Les sous-schémes seront également étudiés par une analyse des prépositions auxquelles ils renvoient individuellement, prépositions dont on distinguera celles à une dimension (*from-to*) et celles à deux dimensions (*behind-through*). On examinera leur configuration spatiale souvent métonymique et leur complémentarité avec les unités verbales pour évoquer le schème du chemin.

Le domaine spatial, qui a tendance à être exclusivement associé au schème du chemin,

n'en est qu'une représentation partielle. Ce schème donne également lieu à des interprétations liées aux domaines temporel, circonstanciel, existentiel et identitaire, réseaux contiguës qui conditionnent l'emploi d'un schème dont la plasticité conceptuelle permet de modeler un univers sémantico-référentiel. On illustrera, au moyen d'espaces mentaux, le continuum conceptuel permettant de lier ces différents domaines les uns aux autres, continuum sous-tendu par l'unité structurante du *PATH schema*.

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Path vs. manner of motion: translational equivalents and second language acquisition of French and English

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Motion is encoded differently across languages (Bowerman, 2007; Pourcel & Kopecka, 2006). English, as a satellite-framed language, typically encodes manner of motion within a verb and lexicalises path of motion with a prepositional phrase. French, as a path-framed language, mainly relies on the verb to lexicalise the path of motion while the manner of motion can be optionally added in a prepositional phrase. When acquiring a second language (L2), L2 learners face the task of becoming aware of the differences in describing motion events in the L2. The sentences produced by L2 learners do not always reflect the typology of motion used in the L2 (Hendriks et al., 2008). Furthermore, during SLA, L2 learners must acquire pairings of verbs with compatible constructions. Pairings in the L2 can correspond to literal translations of L1 pairings, semi-literal translations or completely different pairings.

The present study aims at examining whether translational equivalents, semi-literal translations and different pairings between the L1 and the L2 help or hinder SLA. For this purpose, 7 groups of participants were recruited: (1) a group of balanced bilinguals, (2) a group of English native speakers with an advanced level of French, (3) a group of French native speakers with an advanced level of English, (4) a group of English native speakers with an upper-intermediate level of French, (5) a group of French native speakers with an upper-intermediate level of English, (6) 2 groups of professional translators (English native speakers translating into English and French native speakers translating into French). 6 verbs of path and 6 verbs of manner of motion were selected. They were translational equivalents in French and English. Sentences were built for each verb: 2 literal translations, 4 semi-literal translations (2 with changes in the L1 and 2 with changes in the L2), 2 totally different pairings. The average frequency of the sentences was matched between each type of pairing. Custom-made pictures were designed and described all the arguments of the selected sentences. The participants were asked to make one sentence to describe the motion event on each picture. They were asked to translate their productions into their L1 to verify the sentences produced were in line with the pictures presented.

The results indicate that L2 learners acquire more pairings as the level of proficiency increases. Additionally, the results reveal that L2 learners perform better depending on the type of pairing involved.

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Syntaxe et construction du sens dans la phrase bretonne

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Caractériser le breton en typologie linguistique a toujours été une question controversée. Le breton se démarque des autres langues celtiques (à verbe initial) en faisant précéder le verbe conjugué d'un constituant librement choisi (sujet, objet, attribut, circonstant, le verbe lui-même – alors remplacé en V2 par un auxiliaire) avec des conséquences morphologiques lourdes pour la forme conjuguée (choix de la particule préverbale et/ou de la mutation consonantique ; conjugaison « personnelle » ou « impersonnelle » selon que V2 est précédé du sujet ou non).

Me zo klañv Klañv on
moi est malade malade suis
« je suis malade » « je suis malade »
(il y a moi qui suis malade)
Sujet initial, verbe « impersonnel » Adj. Initial, verbe « personnel »

Cette situation le rapproche en synchronie de l'allemand, mais elle résulte de chemins diachroniques contrastés (langues celtiques anciennes : V1 ; langues germaniques anciennes, notamment le gotique : verbe final). A l'époque actuelle on relève trois classes de théorisations des structures observées :

- la syntaxe connective (Azevard-Roger & Costaouec 2005), qui propose une typologie des verbes connectifs reponsables de l'organisation syntaxique de l'énoncé ; modèle qui n'assigne pas de statut sémantique ou interprétatif à la position des constituants.

- Les grammaires génératives, qui postulent une structure profonde à verbe initial et différents modèles de transformations (d'Anderson 1981 à la thèse de Mélanie Jouitteau en 2005) promouvant à l'initiale un constituant considéré comme thématique ou topicalisé.

- Les grammaires descriptives « classiques », d'inspiration pragmatique (Chalm 2008, Denez 1981, Desbordes 1999, Favereau 1997, Hémon 1975, Kervella 1947, Trepos 2001) et/ou textuelle (Dressler 1972), qui présentent le constituant initial comme le « chef de phrase » : la réponse à une question explicitement posée par un interlocuteur présent, ou prêtée à un interlocuteur fictif dans le cas du monologue et du texte écrit.

Penaos emañ an amzer hiziv ?
Comment est le temps aujourd'hui ?
« Quel temps fait-il aujourd'hui ? »
Yen eo an amzer. (et non :) *An amzer a l zo yen.*
Froid est le temps. Le temps que est froid.
« Il fait froid » « il fait froid »

Notre propre étude se fixe un double objectif :

(i) montrer comment la liberté de choix du constituant initial se traduit pour le breton par un ensemble d'effets morphosyntaxiques secondaires : l'alternance des conjugaisons personnelles et impersonnelles, la diversité des « structures de conjugaison » selon le mode d'inscription du verbe dans le schéma propositionnel intégrant et en fonction de l'initiale retenu, la souplesse des faits de rection (absence de conjonctions et pronoms relatifs à proprement parler, double fonction des SN relativement à des verbes distincts, dislocation du sujet entre un « sujet

provisoire » en position initiale et un « sujet réel » qui le spécifie en expansion, alternance des objets prépositionnels antéposés et postposés). Toute la syntaxe du breton forme une procédure cohérente d'élaboration du sens dans la linéarité mais dont la variabilité par allostructures s'explique par une contrainte de base : la liberté de choix du constituant initial et la nécessité d'ajustements correctifs dans une langue dépourvue de marques casuelles pour les nominaux.

(ii) Discuter de l'ambivalence sémantique et pragmatique du constituant initial. En breton « traditionnel », dialectal et essentiellement parlé, l'expérience dialogale prédomine et assigne à l'initiale la valeur de focale allocutive que lui prêtent les grammaires traditionnelles et les méthodes d'enseignement. En breton actuel, on observe une propension à prioriser tantôt la focale, tantôt le thème, ceci sous l'effet du développement de l'écrit (thématisation par cohésion textuelle) et du contact au français (en particulier dans les traductions, « sourcistes » ou « ciblées » dans la terminologie de Ladmiral, avec parfois des incongruités remarquables). Il en résulte la possibilité d'utiliser un appareil syntaxique commun en conférant à la linéarité des procédures cognitives, interactionnelles et informationnelles divergentes, avec les décalages pragmatiques que l'on imagine.

On en conclura qu'en typologie, une caractérisation descriptive superficielle ne suffit pas à renseigner sur la dynamique cognitive de construction du sens envisagée comme processus interprétatif orienté par la linéarité syntaxique. Dans le cas du breton, différents cadres théoriques en ont réalisé des interprétations contradictoires, et les pratiques actuelles manifestent une réalité conflictuelle, que l'on retrouve par contact en britto-roman ou gallo, et c'est la renégociation du contrat interprétatif même implicite qui se joue à travers elle dans l'interlocution.

‡ Les questions du statut syntaxique de la particule préverbale ou *rannig*, son origine diachronique, sa fonction

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En basque et en inuktitut le double accord verbal ne peut être coréférent; étendue et nature du phénomène, implications cognitives

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En basque des marques dans le verbe signalent l'argument ergatif et l'argument absolu. Chacune est nécessaire, que l'argument correspondant soit ou non réalisé séparément comme SN explicite. Il en est de même pour l'argument datif dans une construction comportant un datif. Dans cette morphologie verbale agglutinante, rien ne s'opposera *a priori* à la production de formes où deux arguments seraient coréférents – des formes 'réfléchies'. Toutefois, les basques ne les produisent jamais et tous les paradigmes verbaux des grammaires sont lacunaires pour les cas 1S_erg-1S_abs, 2S_erg-2S_abs, etc. : dans cette langue on n'exprime pas *il se voit* (*bere burua ikisten du*) par les mêmes moyens morphologiques que pour *il te voit* (*ikusten zaitu*) ou *il la voit* (*ikusten du*); on emploie la supplétion *bere burua*, sa propre tête, *il se voit* devenant alors *il voit sa propre tête*. Une telle prohibition du réfléchi s'observe avec robustesse dans tous les dialectes basques, et dans le corpus écrit du basque on en trouve moins de dix contraventions; elles sont dans une traduction du Nouveau Testament où l'on est fondé à soupçonner l'influence du castillan (Javi Omazabal, comm. pers.).

L'un des auteurs de la soumission et un autre auteur coexpliquent avec d'autres faits la prohibition du réfléchi en basque par une thèse séparant le basque du français, et conjecturalement les langues ergatives des langues accusatives. Selon cette thèse, dans une langue accusative, par exemple le français, la primauté est au prédicat et à son schéma argumental. Même quand il n'y a qu'un actant (*il se voit*), il faut quand même marquer les arguments prescrits par le verbe (deux arguments ici : l'agent-sujet *il* et le patient-objet *se*). Dans une langue ergative au contraire, le basque par exemple, la primauté est aux actants; s'il n'y a qu'un actant, on ne peut pas faire comme s'il y en avait deux, et seule une construction monoargumentale est possible : *il se voit* ne peut pas être exprimé comme on exprime *il te voit* ; le recours est la fabrication d'un second actant, présenté comme référentiellement distinct du premier : *bere burua*, sa propre tête, alors que dans *il se voit*, *il* et *se* sont bien coréférents. Cette thèse séparative 'explique' aussi d'une certaine manière l'ergatif ainsi que la place finale du verbe, l'exposé le montrera.

Fait remarquable, en inuktitut (nord Québec, groupe eskimo-aléoute), autre langue ergative à verbe final, on observe la même prohibition des réflexifs bien qu'ici encore la morphologie pourrait en principe produire ces formes sans difficulté. Comme en basque, l'expression d'un second argument coréférentiel au premier fait intervenir la mise en jeu d'un second supposé actant : *imminik*.

De là premièrement, une corroboration de la thèse séparative : exprimée d'abord pour le basque seul, elle s'étend au groupe eskimo-aléoute. En second lieu la conjecture qu'il en est de même d'autres langues ergatives, peut-être de toutes. Elle prendrait la forme d'un universel implicationnel : si une langue est ergative et si elle rappelle dans le verbe des marques d'au moins deux arguments, alors ses locuteurs ne produisent pas de formes où deux arguments seraient coréférents. De cette thèse restreinte, si elle se vérifie, découle la corroboration générale de la thèse séparative. La thèse restreinte est jusqu'ici validée par le basque, l'inuktitut, le karuk (Californie, famille hokan, apparentée au groupe sioux) et le 'Upriver Halkomelem' (Colombie britannique, famille salish); aucun contre-exemple n'a été

trouvé après examen d'une vingtaine de langues ergatives.

Sans nécessairement apporter de solution, on s'interrogera sur les implications cognitives de cette thèse : quel type de savoir-faire est appris et mis en oeuvre par les jeunes apprenants du basque ou du français ? Les supplétions *bere burua* ou *imminik* sont anti-économiques, or elles ne sont pas réduites par l'analogie réparatrice de paradigmes en diachronie; comment cela se fait-il ?

A quantitative analysis of subject inversion in Romance oral narrations

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In this paper we present a corpus-based study that investigates which factors trigger a postverbal subject in Spanish, Catalan, and Italian utterances. Although Romance subject inversion (RSI) has been the object of much interest in the literature, research based on an exhaustive quantitative analysis of naturally occurring data is, to the best of our knowledge, still scarce. On the other hand, the complexity of this phenomenon and its relation to discourse factors demand an account that is not solely based on constructed sentences. The present work wants to be a step towards filling this empirical gap. Our aim is to quantitatively determine the burden of different factors in predicting RSI, and ultimately to understand how far RSI can be attributed to purely syntactic/lexical rather than pragmatic features.

A multilingual oral corpus was used of free narrations of picture books (Mayer 1969), for a total of about 90000 words of speech. 259 inverted subjects were found for Spanish over a total of 1251 overt subjects; 200 over 1437 for Italian, and 345 over 1034 for Catalan. Our annotation concerns properties of the subject (lexical and syntactic ones), of the verb, and of the entire clause. Verbs were classed into transitives, intransitives, unaccusatives (the latter further divided into different subclasses, cf. Hatcher 1956), psychological verbs, and reflexives (further divided into different subclasses, cf. Creissels 2006). Different subordinate clauses and interrogative clauses were also coded.

The factors influencing the likelihood of RSI were analyzed using mixed-effects logistic regression models (Baayen 2008). The annotation scheme was very detailed, resulting in a very large number of possibly influential factors, often interrelated. In order to reduce the dimensionality and multi-collinearity of the factors, these were grouped according to their theoretical relevance. With the exception of indefinite subject, all the other factors considered (clause structure, sentential subject, non-agent subject, transitive verb, intransitive verb, directed-movement verb, given predicate) exhibited significant contributions to the probability of inversion. However, while most factors had the effect of increasing the likelihood of RSI, if the sentence contained a transitive or an intransitive verb, the likelihood decreased by about 7-8%. In addition, we used random slopes in order to investigate whether the contribution of each factor was different across the three languages studied. Such differences were only found to be significant for non-agent subjects. Unexpectedly, the presence of such subjects had a strong influence on the Spanish and Catalan datasets, but almost no influence on the Italian dataset.

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Modality and linguistic change in Spanish Sign Language (LSE): Obligation and epistemic necessity in the Fernández Villabril dictionary (1851)

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Several factors surrounding signed languages are at the origin of the short number of documents –written or recorded- which allow us to investigate linguistic change: their visual-gestural nature, the special conditions of their intergenerational transmission (low percentage of native transmission), their historic status as languages relegated just to a vernacular use, and the lack of a written tradition. For Spanish Sign Language (LSE) there is one exceptional document: the *Diccionario usual de mímica y dactilología*, authored by Francisco Fernández Villabril, and published in 1851. It is a sign language dictionary, which contains articulatory descriptions of great value for studying the LSE of the time.

Our purpose is to present the results of a search through this dictionary, designed with the aim of tracing the origin of the LSE signs currently used to express deontic necessity (obligation) and epistemic necessity. We will try to explain, from Fernandez Villabril's descriptions, the nature of the *grammatization* process that occurred around the signs usually glossed as DEBER (MUST) and OBLIGACIÓN (OBLIGATION) in LSE. To this end, we have identified those signs which, in the Fernandez Villabril dictionary, are presented with a similar articulation to the current one or contain some elements that allow us to explain the ritualization (Haiman 1994) of certain productions –and not others- for the expression of the modal contents of deontic obligation and epistemic necessity.

For this task, we will use the postulates of Cognitive Grammar, assuming: 1) that linguistic change must be studied jointly in the phonological pole and the semantic pole, and 2) that frequently metaphor is the resource used by speakers and signers to achieve a more efficient use of their language, and for this reason we have to expect that it could be behind the processes of linguistic change and grammatization.

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L'auto-désignation en éclosion : fonctions et premières formes de référence à soi chez des enfants anglophones et francophones.

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Lorsque les enfants francophones et anglophones entrent dans la mise en mots du soi, ils puisent dans l'input les formes qui leur permettront de s'auto-désigner selon leurs intentions communicatives. En français et en anglais cependant, les constructions mettant en jeu des formes d'auto-désignation diffèrent. Les formes présentent donc une saillance perceptuelle et pragmatique distincte dans les deux langues, capable d'influencer les premières formes de référence à soi chez les enfants francophones et anglophones. A la suite des études cognitivo-fonctionnalistes de Budwig (1995) et Morgenstern (2006) sur le développement de la référence à soi, la présente étude tente dans un premier temps de rendre compte des origines sémantico-pragmatiques de la référence à soi chez l'enfant, en retraçant l'émergence des premières formes explicites d'auto-désignation. Dans un deuxième temps, nous essayons de mettre en évidence des similitudes et des différences inter-langues et inter-individuelles du point de vue des formes utilisées, des rôles sémantiques exprimés et des actes de langage visés.

Pour ce faire, nous analysons les productions de quatre enfants de la base de données CHILDES (MacWhinney, 2000), deux enfants francophones et deux enfants anglophones, enregistrées mensuellement dans des situations naturelles d'interaction avec un de leurs parents. Toutes les formes explicites de référence à soi sur une période de 6 mois (de l'éclosion – entre 1;3 et 1;6 selon les enfants – à l'explosion des fonctions et des formes de référence à soi) ont été extraites et codées selon les trois critères cités : forme, rôle sémantique, fonction pragmatique. Nos résultats préliminaires mettent en évidence deux profils d'enfants. Chez Anaé (francophone) et Ella (anglophone), la référence à soi émerge dans des contextes de positionnement par rapport à l'autre, mis en mot au travers de formes et de rôles sémantiques différents. Puis les fonctions pragmatiques se diversifient et les formes employées se spécialisent. Chez Madeleine (francophone) et Naima (anglophone), la référence à soi émerge avec l'emploi d'une seule forme, utilisée pour exprimer des rôles sémantiques et des fonctions pragmatiques variés. Progressivement les formes se diversifient et expriment des fonctions pragmatiques spécifiques. Des spécificités liées à la langue en cours d'acquisition sont en outre observables. L'étude de l'éclosion de la référence à soi chez l'enfant, ancrée dans ce qui pour l'enfant est perceptuellement, fonctionnellement ou cognitivement saillant (Peters, 2001), nous offre un accès privilégié à son développement cognitif et linguistique et met en évidence l'impact de l'input langagier sur ses premières productions.

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Do we actually need a resultative construction? A reappraisal based on data from Dutch

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This paper argues that the resultative construction (e.g. Goldberg 1995; Boas 2003; Broccias 2003; Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004) might not exist as an argument-structure construction in Goldberg's (1995) sense, i.e. as a structural template of the form V NP AP/PP meaning 'CAUSE X to BECOME Y by Z-ing' and allowing practically any verb to fill the verb slot. I extend Herbst's (2010: 244) and Kay's (to appear) objections to considering nonce-creations like *sneeze the napkin off the table* as evidence for a general caused-motion construction, by wondering whether the resultative 'mother construction', which the caused-motion construction is a subtype of, might not equally be done without (cf. also Boas 2003). While I make this claim with respect to the oft-studied English resultative, I adduce supporting evidence from Dutch, a closely-related language abounding with conventionalised resultatives taking an unselected (often fake reflexive) object, like (1) (Cappelle to appear):

- (1) a. Het vriest de stenen uit de grond. (lit.: 'It freezes the stones out the ground')
- b. We betalen ons blauw. (lit.: 'We are paying ourselves blue')
- c. Ik lach me rot! (lit.: 'I'm laughing myself rotten!')

In addition, Dutch has similarly hyperbolic double-object resultatives, requiring some kind of 'HAVE' or 'COME INTO BEING' rather than a 'BECOME' semantic analysis (cf. *cry me a river* for a rare, perhaps unique case in English). Some examples are given in (2):

- (2) a. Ik schrik me een hoedje. (lit.: 'I'm startling myself a little hat.')
- b. We verveelden ons de tering. (lit.: 'We bored ourselves the phthisis')
- c. Ik lach me een bult! (lit.: 'I'm laughing myself a hunch!')

Since there do not seem to be (m)any *non-excess* double-object resultatives in Dutch, we might treat excess resultatives (including the examples in (1) and (2) in Dutch) as an altogether distinct construction from ordinary resultatives. Ordinary resultatives, of the type *hammer the metal flat*, may not require a special argument structure construction. Plausibly, the concerned verb's lexical entry already includes a NP+AP/PP valency and occasional novel instances are created by analogy with established instances. A maximally general resultative schema would overgenerate (e.g. *??paint the room pretty*; **decorate the room inviting*).

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Subject to Universal Constraints? Thematic hierarchies and GFs in Ergative languages.

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Ergative syntax (Dixon, 1972, 1994) is more 'marked' than accusative (Bresnan, 2001; Manning, 1996) and later to emerge in SLA (Muagututi'a, 2010). Lexical Mapping Theory (LMT) (Bresnan, 2001) suggests that Grammatical Functions (GFs) are assigned by aligning the Universal thematic hierarchy with a Universal hierarchy of GFs, which defaults to an S/A alignment, or Accusative syntax.

Manning (1996) suggests that this mapping can be inverted when direct arguments are mapped before obliques, and that only some of Keenan's tests for Subjecthood (Keenan 1976) target the 'true' grammatical Subject, which is always always absolute in syntactically ergative languages (1972,1994). If we take case-marking as a sign of obliqueness, and have transitive verbs index their higher role as oblique, LMT can generate ergative syntax for languages like Samoan, where A is case-marked, and S/ O are not (Charters, 2009). The marked lexical structure could then explain the late emergence of ergativity in Samoan SLA.

However of 19 ergative languages in the World Atlas of Language Structures (Haspelmath et al, 2008; Siewierska, 2008), there are only 3 where A is more oblique than S and O (Comrie, 2008). Manning's ergative 'solution' is not generalizable.

An alternative is proposed that heeds Dubois' (1987) position that it is the relationship between thematic roles and *discourse functions* that underlie grammatical functions. In this approach, visibility, word order, thematic role and topicality all factor into GF assignment, providing different targets for grammaticization in different languages.

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Hyponymy in Classifiers and the acquisition of plural inflection

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In a cross-sectional study of 36 Vietnamese adolescents learning English (Dao 2007) plural-marking emerged in numeric expressions before appearing on nouns used alone, contrary to expectations (Pienemann, 1998, 2005, 2007; Pienemann et al., 2005).

In Vietnamese, as in other classifier languages, nouns cannot be numerically quantified unless accompanied by a classifier (Doetjes, 1996), and nouns fall into classes depending on the classifier they select (Aïkhenvald, 2003).

Using Levelt's (1989) Theory of Speaking as modelled in Weaver++ (Levelt, Roelofs & Meyer, 1999) we argue that the system of classifiers in the L1 cognitive framework provides a scaffold that facilitates the acquisition of number-marking in numeric contexts. Classifiers are treated as hyponymous lexical expressions with links through entity-classifying concepts to a superordinate concept of countable units. The consequence is that nouns are only quantified if they are first classified.

While this is not transfer of an L1 *structure*, it seems the conceptual system underlying the L1 can facilitate the creation of a link between quantity and entity concepts. Since no such facilitation occurs when numeric quantities are not conceptualized, this explains why plural-marking emerges first in numeric contexts for these learners whose L1 is a classifier language.

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Why do Daghestanian Spatial Case Systems leak?

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Unidimensional systems of spatial cases encode directionality distinctions only (*location* vs. *source of movement* vs. *destination of movement* vs. *path*), whereas bidimensional systems combine them with configuration distinctions (i.e., distinctions of the type expressed by the choice between *in*, *on*, *at*, *behind*, *under*, etc. in English). A bidimensional system of spatial cases in its most extreme form would combine *x* values for ‘directionality’ with *y* values for ‘configuration’ into *xy* spatial cases specifying a directionality value and a configuration value each. The question we address is: do such systems really exist?

The answer is at first sight positive, since with the only exception of Udi, the endings of the spatial forms of Daghestanian nouns can quite obviously be segmented into at least two elements unquestionably involved in the expression of configuration distinctions and directionality distinctions respectively. What is however questionable is the idea (implicit in most accounts of Daghestanian spatial case systems) that the configuration markers function on a purely semantic basis, and encode a system of semantic oppositions reflecting the conceptualization of spatial configurations as straightforwardly and transparently as the directionality markers encode the *location* vs. *source* vs. *destination* distinction.

A closer look at Daghestanian spatial case systems reveals however that not all configuration markers in a given language are equally specified semantically, and that the current semantic labels may be misleading. The two languages we have analyzed in detail (Akhvakh and Karata) have a semantically unspecified configuration marker, available whenever the speaker considers that the precise nature of the spatial configuration need not be specified, or when the very notion of spatial configuration is problematic. Although morphologically complex, spatial cases including such a configuration marker are semantically equivalent to spatial cases encoding directionality only in unidimensional systems. Moreover, configuration markers which unquestionably have a precise semantic content occur with some nouns in contradiction with the meaning they normally express.

The fact that systems whose formal perfection is at first sight striking are affected by such semantic drifts calls for an explanation. Our hypothesis is that the conceptual domain of spatial configuration categorization is particularly complex, and does not lend itself easily to grammaticalization into an obligatory inflectional choice between a limited set of equally specified values. Consequently, if such a system emerges in the history of a language, it will tend to undergo evolutions making it functionally more similar to systems in which the expression of spatial configurations is not grammaticalized to such a degree: lexicalization and/or loss of semantic specificity of some configuration markers on the other hand.

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Typology without types: inducing a numeral system typology

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Compiling a typology traditionally involves categorizing languages into discrete types ("categorization"), or positioning them on a continuous scale ("linear measurement"). For example, to obtain a categorization of word order one might classify a language as either being VO or OV, while for a linear measurement one might establish the fractional occurrence of VO clauses in a text collection for each language. I will argue that both these kinds of typologies are a special case of a more general approach to typology in which there are no types. In this approach, every language is different from all other language, so every language will be its own type. However, not all languages will be equally different from all others. Some are more similar to each other than others. These similarities define the typology.

In such a typology without types, the dissimilarity between all pairs of languages in the sample is the basic empirical observations. The resulting table of pairwise dissimilarities is the typology, though a somewhat unusual one from a traditional perspective. However, by using various established statistical techniques (viz. various forms of clustering and/or dimensional scaling), it is easily possible to derive a traditional categorization or a linear measurement from a table of pairwise dissimilarities. With such statistics also comes a notion of suitability, indicating to which extent the resulting categorization or linear measurement represents the underlying dissimilarities. Conceiving of typology as establishing pairwise dissimilarities between languages opens up various new possibilities to make typologies, and turns out to be statistically much more powerful than traditional conceptions. This approach to doing typology will be exemplified by the concrete case of quantitatively inducing a typology of numeral systems. There is a long tradition in classifying the structure of numerals across the world's languages, and this topic is specifically chosen here for the new method to be testable against traditional classifications. We use a selection of the enormous amount of data from Chan (2010) to automatically induce the typology of Comrie (2008).

The basic idea of the quantitative approach is to define the "type" of a language as a complex construct which consists of the relations in form between all pairs of (a selection of) numerals in each language. Such (long) tables with language-specific relations can be compared to each other, and the pairwise comparison of all languages will result in a metric on language diversity, what we would like to call a "typology without types". From this metric, it turns out to be trivial to statistically separate decimal from vigesimal systems. Figure 1 shows a NeighborNet separating the decimal language on the left from the vigesimal languages on the right. French and Danish appear in between these two classes. The other, much more rarer, types from Comrie (2008) are more difficult to disseminate. In contrast, the decimal systems appear to be much more variable than traditionally assumed in numeral systems typology, and it seems worthwhile to propose a more fine-grained sub-classification in this realm.

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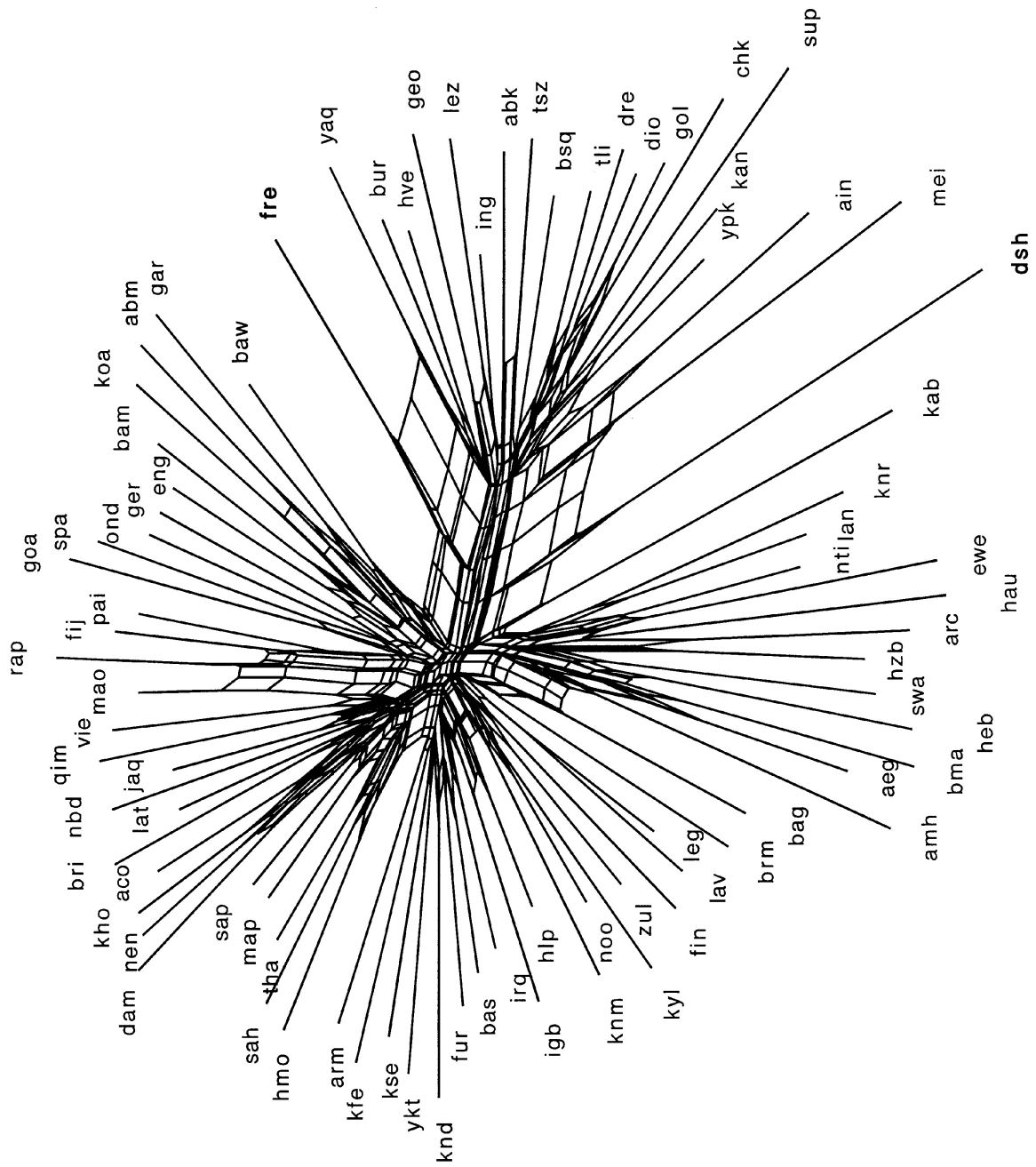


Figure 1. NeighborNet of numeral systems, separating decimal (left) from vigesimal (right) with French and Danish in between these two types.

Composition and Construction in Parataxes

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I examine French *parataxes* (e.g. 1-3). They consist of two adjacent clauses without any lexical linking (conjunction or discourse marker), connected by at least one accommodated discourse relation (temporal, causal, consequence, conditional relations, etc.). Although they have been studied in several works, none of them has systematically investigated the interplay between several dimensions (syntactic dependency, prosody, discourse relations). I argue here that parataxes exhibit different ‘degrees’ of (non)compositionality, that is, their full interpretation results –or does not result– from the properties of their components.

- (1) Avance↑, je te casse la figure. (‘Step forward, I beat you up’)
- (2) Il reviendrait plus tôt↑, il mangerait avec ses enfants. (‘He would come back earlier, he would eat with his children’)
- (3) J'en ai pas↑, j'en ai pas les moyens. (‘I don't have any, I can't afford them’)

One can sum up their main properties as follows:

- a) There is a melodic rise at the end of the first clause associated with a continuative contour, in the terms of Delattre (see rising arrows in the examples).
- b) There is in general no significant pause between the two clauses.
- c) Parataxes cannot be embedded as easily as standard coordinate and subordinate structures.
- d) In parataxes, the accommodated discourse relations cannot enter the ‘main content’, even when it is the case in the corresponding explicit paraphrases.

Parataxes require two different approaches, depending on the type of discourse relation that is reconstructed. In most cases, the interpretation results from the features mentioned above. It has been shown in previous work that the combination of major continuative contour and absence of pause signals that the discourse segment where the continuative occurs must be attached to the next segment by a discourse relation. So, the interpretation of the parataxis depends on the interpretation of its constituents and general constraints on discourse, as in SDRT. In other cases, in particular with a conditional discourse relation ((1), (2)), the interpretation depends also on constructional constraints, which make reference to the parataxis as a whole (‘Gestalt effect’). In the presentation, I extend the Construction Grammar framework in order to classify parataxes, by (i) integrating prosodic and discourse layers into the standard feature structure representation and (ii) providing two different unification designs for compositional and constructional cases.

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A lexical constructional approach to illocution: the realization of requests

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The present paper is concerned with how illocutionary meaning is cognitively motivated and constrained. The theoretical framework is the *Lexical Constructional Model* (LCM henceforth) as propounded by Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal (2008) and Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza (2009). The primary concern of the LCM is to develop a comprehensive theory of meaning construction that accounts for all facets of this process. The model consists of four descriptive levels, which refer to core grammar representations (level 1), implicated and explicated meaning captured by low-level situational models (level 2), implicated and explicated illocutionary meaning (level 3) and discourse structure and relations (level 4). Meaning derivation takes place on the basis of conventionalized constructions and inferential activity at the four levels. Representations from any level can be subsumed into higher levels as licensed by a number of cognitive and pragmatic constraints. Level-3 illocutionary constructions result from the interplay between cognitive construal operations and general social conventions as defined in the *Cost-Benefit Cognitive Model* (Ruiz de Mendoza & Baicchi, 2007). In this presentation I will examine the conceptual grounding of constructions carrying request values. The formal pole of the constructions studied here includes an array of linguistic devices such as sentence types, lexical items, grammatical properties and suprasegmental patterns. The semantic pole is structured in the form of illocutionary scenarios or high-level cognitive models. I argue that the realization of requests is based upon linguistic mechanisms capable of instantiating relevant parts of the semantic base of requesting. On the basis of real data drawn from the British National Corpus and the Corpus of Contemporary American English, I offer a systematic description of the most common conventional realizations of requests and determine the relationship between their form and meaning. I then explore the conceptual structure that provides the addressee with access to the cognitive model of requesting and see how different linguistic properties may make an expression a more explicit instance of a request by means of instantiating some of all the semantic features of the corresponding cognitive model. Clearly, this view of constructions makes it possible to account for how illocutionary meaning imposes different degrees of codification on its production and understanding, which has been one of the greatest concerns in pragmatic research.

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Les emplois pseudo-copulatifs des verbes espagnols *hacerse* et *volverse*: deux types de changement

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L'espagnol dispose d'une douzaine de verbes pseudo-copulatifs pour exprimer le changement (*hacerse*, *volverse*, *ponerse*, *quedarse*, etc.). Cette contribution aborde la relation pseudo-copulative exprimée par *hacerse* et *volverse* dans le but de détecter les différences conceptuelles entre les deux verbes. Les études existantes mettent en avant trois critères distinctifs, à savoir, [\pm intentionnalité], [\pm gradualité], [\pm positivité] (cf. Porroche Ballesteros (1988), Morimoto & Pavón Lucero (2007)). Alors que *hacerse* évoquerait une participation active et consciente de la part de l'entité sujet, *volverse* suggérerait une participation passive et inconsciente. Le changement exprimé par *hacerse* serait graduel (*petit à petit*, *de plus en plus*), tandis que celui rendu par *volverse* surviendrait rapidement, brusquement ou brutalement (*tout à coup*, *en une fois*). *Hacerse* serait réservé aux contextes à orientation positive (de progression, promotion, développement), alors que *volverse* apparaîtrait également dans des contextes à orientation négative (de régression et d'échec).

Si la pertinence de ces oppositions se voit corroborée par des exemples tels que (1) et (2), elle ne se vérifie pas dans (3) et (4). Les traits proposés reflètent des tendances plutôt que des règles absolues.

(1) *Juan se hizo rico, trabajando mucho.* -- '*Juan est devenu riche, travaillant beaucoup.*'

(2) *Al tocarle la lotería, Juan se ha vuelto rico.* -- '*En gagnant à la loterie, Juan est devenu riche.*'

(3) *Cuando un futbolista se hace viejo, el aviso lo recibe de su entrenador.* -- '*Quand un footballeur devient vieux, il en reçoit le message de son entraîneur.*'

(4) *Romero no se vuelve viejo ni a tiros.* -- '*Romero ne devient vieux quoi qu'on fasse.*'

Ceci nous porte à poser l'hypothèse que pour capter ce qu'a de particulier la représentation que chaque verbe apporte de la notion de changement, il convient de remonter à la signification qu'il a en dehors de la construction pseudo-copulative. Nous nous appuyons sur la notion de persistance lexicale (Hopper 1991 : 22) et sur la métaphore conceptuelle du changement conçu comme « mouvement dans le temps » pour postuler que dans *hacerse* persiste la notion de 'réalisation' et dans *volverse* celle de 'régression', transposées au niveau abstrait d'une *Gestalt* d'(auto)formation et d'(auto)déformation, respectivement. L'étude s'appuie sur un corpus de prose espagnole contemporaine. Suivant l'approche de la sémantique cognitive, l'analyse privilégie la distinction entre profil et base, et intègre le rôle du concepteur dans la description de la relation entre l'entité sujet et le complément prédicatif, distinguant ainsi une variété de perspectives, certaines plus objectives, d'autres plus subjectives.

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On the importance of conceptual persistence in the grammaticalization of binominal quantifiers

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The aim is to illustrate the role of conceptual persistence in the development of grammaticalized uses of quantifying nominals. Quantifying nominals (QN) display a quantitative potential next to the original lexical meaning, as they designate containers (brazada ‘armful’), configurations (montón ‘pile’) or collective entities (hatajo ‘herd’). When followed by a PP introduced by *de* indicating the mass, these QN can be considered binominal quantifiers (una brazadaN1 de trajesN2 ‘an armful of suits’, etc.).

The diachronic development motivates a description in terms of grammaticalization in progress (Brems 2003; Verveckken 2009): from head of the quantifying constructions (*[una pila]/[de libros]* ‘[a pile] [of books]’), the QN gets reanalyzed as quantifying the mass designated by N2 (*[una pila de] años* ‘[[a pile of] years]’). However, the high degree of conceptual persistence (cf. Hopper 1991) puts into question the grammaticalization hypothesis. The N1 position of the sequence ‘QN + *de* + N2’ appears to admit nearly any nominal susceptible of making reference to a crowd. The high productivity of the construction suggests an ongoing process of grammaticalization by analogy with highly frequent binominal quantifiers (e.g. *montón* ‘pile’) or, at a more abstract level, with the schematic construction ‘QN + *de* + mass noun’ associated with the expression of quantity.

Iconically speaking, the QN imposes its conceptualization on the following mass noun: while *un alud de clientes* ‘an avalanche of clients’ makes the clients be conceived of as a submerging dynamic mass, *un hatajo de clientes* ‘a herd...’ imposes a negative evaluation of them, and *un montón de clientes* ‘a heap...’ simply presents them as a big disorganized quantity. Combinatorial restrictions add up to the contextual evidence for conceptual persistence: *alud* ‘avalanche’ is associated with masses conceived of as dynamic, *hatajo* ‘herd’ profiles animacy, *letanía* ‘litany’ evokes repetitiveness, etc.

Beyond illustrating the importance of conceptual persistence in the development of binominal quantifiers and grammaticalization processes in general, the analysis leads to a double refinement of the notion of ‘persistence’ (Hopper 1991). Firstly, as to the gradualness of the process, a distinction can be made between a high, an intermediary and a neuter level of conceptual persistence, depending on whether the relation of the grammaticalized QN with its original use is a metaphorical, a metonymic or simply an implicit one. Secondly, there is also some variation regarding the original conceptual characteristics that persist in the grammaticalized use (e.g. while in the example *el racimo de problemas que afectan al sector* ‘the bunch of problems that affect the sector’ the focus is on the tangled configuration, in *enfilame a ese racimo de bandidos* ‘take me this bunch of bandits’ it is rather the equivalence among the individual components that gets profiled).

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Dynamismes du système de classification génitive en iaai : glissements et adoptions

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Les langues océaniques (famille Austronésienne) sont connues pour la richesse de leur système de classificateurs génitifs (voir Carlson & Payne, 1989 ; Lichtenberk, 1985). Cette communication a pour objectif d'aborder comment réagissent ces systèmes face à l'introduction de nouveaux mots dans le lexique et dans des situations de contact de langues marquées par une forte diglossie.

Des données récemment collectées sur le iaai lors de mon dernier terrain à Ouvéa (Iles Loyautés, Nouvelle-Calédonie) m'ont amenées à constater une certaine évolution de l'usage des classificateurs possessifs par rapport à la langue telle que décrite par de précédents linguistes (Ozanne-Rivierre 1976 ; Tryon, 1968). Les transformations dans l'usage de ces classificateurs se manifestent de différentes manières, dont la propagation du classificateur générique *anyin* au détriment des classificateurs spécifiques, phénomène que Françoise Ozanne-Rivierre (1976 : 189) pointait déjà du doigt dans sa grammaire du iaai. D'autres changements sont également observables et seront abordés dans cette communication comme l'intégration de mots nouveaux dans des paradigmes préexistants ou encore le remplacement d'un classificateur spécifique par un nouveau lexème moins transparent.

Finalement, cette présentation sera l'occasion de se demander si le démantèlement d'un tel système doit être considéré comme stigmate de l'attrition de la langue ?

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Le conjonctif en innu : un cas d'insubordination

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L'innu, aussi connu sous le nom de *montagnais*, est une langue algonquienne parlée dans le nord-est du Québec au Canada. On trouve dans cette langue trois ensembles mutuellement exclusifs de flexions verbales appelés « ordres de conjugaison » : l'indépendant, le conjonctif et l'impératif (Clarke 1982; Wolfart 1973). On a expliqué traditionnellement l'emploi de tel ou tel ordre de flexions verbales par le contexte syntaxique (par exemple Wolfart 1973). L'objectif de cette présentation est d'aller plus loin que ces explications exclusivement syntaxiques en offrant une nouvelle analyse du *conjonctif* en innu dans une double perspective : cognitive et fonctionnelle-typologique.

En plus de ses emplois dans les propositions enchâssées, le conjonctif apparaît dans une variété de constructions non-subordonnées : interrogatives fermées (introduite par un mot interrogatif), après le préverbe de négation *âpu*, dans les constructions focalisées, dans les phrases exclamatives, et après le préverbe de souhait *cîmâ*. Ces contextes d'utilisation du conjonctif en innu sont parallèles à ceux qui déclenchent l'inversion du sujet et de l'auxiliaire en anglais, tel que décrit par Goldberg et Del Giudice (2005). Ces derniers analysent les constructions à inversion en termes cognitivistes arguant qu'elles forment un ensemble naturel en ce qu'elles expriment toutes une « déviation » par rapport à la phrase prototypique. Nous adoptons une analyse similaire pour l'innu en proposant que le conjonctif s'emploie justement dans le même type de contextes opposant la proposition déclarative simple à un ensemble de propositions marquées non-prototypiques (subordonnées, exclamatives, souhaits, propositions focalisées, etc).

L'utilisation d'une marque de dépendance syntaxique, tel l'ordre de conjugaison conjonctif en innu, dans une proposition indépendante constitue ce qu'Evans (2007) appelle de « l'insubordination », c'est-à-dire l'usage dans une phrase indépendante de ce qui apparaît comme étant formellement une marque de subordination. L'auteur fournit une typologie des fonctions de l'insubordination dont la négation, la focalisation contrastive, l'exclamation, le souhait. Ces fonctions recourent les différentes constructions affichant l'ordre conjonctif en innu. Il y a donc une motivation fonctionnelle à l'emploi du conjonctif pour marquer les constructions décrites précédemment. On assiste ici à ce que Mithun (2008) décrit comme l'extension fonctionnelle de marques de dépendance grammaticales (le conjonctif en innu) de la syntaxe (propositions subordonnées) à la pragmatique (propositions marquées, non-prototypiques). Notre recherche illustre ainsi la convergence de l'analyse cognitive avec l'analyse fonctionnelle-typologique.

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Comparing speech laughs and their social-psychological functions across dialects of English

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A speech laugh is a layering of laughter over speech. In a speech laugh, the speaker says something, but also laughs simultaneously. Kohler (2008) has described the phonetics of speech laughter in German, and discerned systematic and regular patterns. For example, he found consistent variation in volume and pitch, and observed, consistent with other investigators (e.g. Trouvain 2001) that speech laughs were restricted to at most two syllables. Kohler raised the issue whether different patterns might be found cross-linguistically. Using a corpus of spontaneous spoken English, this paper compares the phonetic quality of speech laughter in a small number of dialects of Scottish English, and Gaelic, to investigate this question. In addition, the study sought to examine whether the phonetic characteristics of speech laughter were associated with specific communicative functions.

The range of phonetic moderation in this sample was considerably greater than previously described. However, differences between individuals were greater than the differences between dialects. Strikingly, examples were found that extended over much longer durations than two syllables. From a psychological perspective, speech laughter served similar social functions to laughter, but was especially well fitted to functions of subjectification and dominance negotiation because of the directness of its link to speech.

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Some prepositions in English and French: evidence from translations from Norwegian

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Given the growing number of translation corpora, it is perhaps surprising that they have not formed the basis for more work on prepositions. Two notable exceptions are Schmied (1998) on English *with* and German *mit* and Cosmelle and Gilquin (2008) on *with* and *avec*. These two studies both compare prepositions in English with their translations into German or French. The present paper differs from these in that I take as my starting point prepositions in a third language, Norwegian. I compare how the two notions of *betweenness* and *throughness* are encoded in English and French, by analysing translation equivalents of the Norwegian prepositions *mellom*, which encodes the *betweenness* relationship, and *gjennom*, which encodes the *throughness* relationship. The original Norwegian tokens serve as a *tertium comparationis* (see Krzeszowski 1990) for their translation equivalents in English and French. All tokens of the two Norwegian prepositions in the Oslo Multilingual Corpus (see Johansson 2007) were classified according to the semantic type of predication encoded by the preposition. Three of the categories are common to both prepositions, *Location*, *Motion* and *Time*. Other categories are more typical of one of the prepositions. Thus *gjennom* is often used to predicate the path of an act of perception, as in the token translated in (1) a & b, while *mellom* is often used to encode the interaction of two participants, as in (2) a & b.

- (1) a. *Through* the mangroves I glimpsed Adam and Eve walking barefoot down by the water-line...
b. *A travers* la mangrove, j'aperçus Adam et Ève qui marchaient pieds nus au bord de l'eau.
- (2) a. The first bout *between himself and the corpse* had been won.
b. De ce premier combat *entre lui et le corps mort* il était sorti vainqueur.

Translations which resemble the original syntactically are labelled *congruent*; translations which differ syntactically are labelled *divergent*. Convergent translations are further subdivided according to whether they employ the most closely related preposition (*between/entre* for *mellom*, for example) or an alternative preposition. Statistical calculations are employed to establish whether the forms of translation of the various semantic classes differ significantly from those of the other classes, both within each language and across the two languages.

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Construction transitive en ikposso avec omission de l'objet à valeur anaphorique

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En ikposso les constructions des verbes sont parfois générales parfois spécifiques. En tant que verbe plein jo « prendre » est recteur d'harmonie et est généralement construit transitivement avec des actants dans le rôle d'agent et de patient. En plus de ces propriétés intrinsèques à la plupart des verbes qui dans la construction transitive, peuvent avoir en lieu et place de l'objet, un référent pronominal, le verbe /jo/ est aussi employé comme auxiliaire ; il change de comportement, il est dépendant et subit l'harmonie vocalique de V2.

Dans notre exposé sur la construction transitive du verbe avec omission de l'objet à valeur anaphorique, nous verrons les différents cas où- le verbe /jo/ est le recteur d'un référent non marqué ainsi que la nature de ce référent. Nos bases de données sont constituées de textes collectés à partir d'entrevues sur des recettes de fabrication de savon indigène.

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Emergence et premières utilisations des adjectifs qualificatifs dans le langage chez deux enfants anglophone et francophone jusqu'à 4 ans

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A quel moment et comment les adjectifs qualificatifs émergent-ils dans le langage ? Ce questionnement a été motivé par le constat que cette catégorie grammaticale a été relativement peu étudiée en acquisition du langage, en comparaison d'autres catégories telles que les verbes ou les noms, notamment. Or les adjectifs sont un outil essentiel pour communiquer efficacement : ils permettent de déterminer qualitativement le nom qu'ils modifient et de le sous-catégoriser avec précision ; en théorie des opérations énonciatives, on considère que le nom est alors repéré à l'intérieur de son domaine notionnel, et différencié des autres instances du domaine. Pourtant, les enfants commencent à interagir avec leurs pairs sans utiliser d'adjectifs : bien que l'étiquetage de leurs premiers énoncés soit pour le moins complexe, il est certain que beaucoup de noms produits alors ne sont pas caractérisés par des adjectifs.

Pourquoi et comment les jeunes enfants en viennent à utiliser une catégorie grammaticale qui pourrait sembler, à ce stade, superflue ? Des éléments de réponse seront apportés après analyse de données orales d'interaction adulte enfant, dans un cadre théorique se situant à la croisée des théories énonciatives, cognitives et pragmatiques. Deux corpus longitudinaux de petites filles anglophone (de la base de données CHILDES, MacWhinney, 2000, <http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/>) et francophone (du projet COLAJE, Morgenstern, 2000, <http://colaje.risc.cnrs.fr/>) seront mis en regard, depuis l'apparition du premier adjectif jusqu'aux 4 ans des enfants. Après une rapide vue d'ensemble de tous les adjectifs lexicaux produits, le fonctionnement des tous premiers adjectifs et de ceux les plus fréquemment produits sera analysé.

Il sera question de comprendre pourquoi ces adjectifs là sont tant utilisés, et ce qu'ils peuvent nous apprendre du système langagier du jeune enfant à des instants donnés. Une analyse plus fine de l'input langagier, de la valeur sémantique de ces adjectifs et des fonctions pragmatiques qu'ils remplissent permettra de mieux comprendre les résultats quantitatifs. Les points suivants seront éclaircis : Existe-t-il des différences significatives entre les deux systèmes langagiers anglais et français ? Qu'évoquent-elles ? Les premiers résultats suggèrent des ressemblances assez remarquables à tous points de vue (i.e., sémantiques, pragmatiques, rôle de l'input), bien que certaines spécificités systémiques apparaissent assez tôt dans le langage.

The Causative Construction in Persian Child Language

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One big challenge facing children learning language is the acquisition of systematic constructions alongside numerous exceptions to those constructions. While each natural language has plenty of constructions that can be generalized, there will most often be lexical items that the learner must learn as the exception which can't enter a construction. The causative construction is a well known example of this kind. Linguists and cognitive scientists alike have been studying the patterns of acceptability across different languages and structures in which it occurs.

Every language expresses causation using at least one kind of verbal derivation or construction. Causative verbs usually alternate with a non-causative counterpart which expresses the same action without an overt "causer". However, not all verbs alternate and learning the idiosyncratic rules determining which particular verbs alternate in a given language represent a challenge to children. This phenomenon has given rise to debates on how children limit productivity and avoid rampant overgeneralization that is latent in a purely rule-based system. In this paper, we will use spontaneous speech samples from a corpus of three monolingual Persian-speaking children, aged 2;0 to 5;0, to describe this phenomena and revisit the problem of productivity in child language.

All three types of causatives found across languages occur in Persian, though only a special case of the periphrastic causative is truly productive. The verbal element, namely the light verb (LV), of these constructions has been argued to determine causation of the verbal predicate (e.g. Folli et al., 2004). As can be observed in examples in (1), switching one LV for another can result in a change in causativity.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) CAUSATIVE | NON-CAUSATIVE |
| qælt zædæn | qælt xordæn |
| sommersault hit (= do a sommersault) | sommersault eat (= roll over) |
| kæj kærdæn | kæj ʃodæn |
| bent make (= to bend something) | bent become (=to bend) |

In this study, we examine the development of causative alternations in Persian. We address the causative alternation by looking at Persian data for the first time. We map out how these alternations develop: which types of alternations arise first, which are most productive, and which ones are prone to more errors.

The results reveal examples of three mechanisms at play: entrenchment (i.e. repeated exposure to the correct alternation pattern), preemption (i.e. a correct form prevents overgeneralization of a broad rule), and induction of semantic classes (i.e. honing in on semantic categories). Thus, a child will first learn individual verbs followed by a period of overgeneralization. Then, high frequency verbs are entrenched and preempt erroneous alternatives.

Linguistique cognitive, expérimentation psycholinguistique et changement sémantique : à propos de la polysémie du verbe *rapporter*

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Cette communication – qui se situe dans le prolongement de travaux antérieurs, en particulier (François 2007, 2010) – aborde la question de la polysémie verbale selon trois éclairages en compétition pour rendre compte de la notion de « proximité sémantique relative » entre types d'emploi d'un même item verbal, en l'occurrence le verbe *rapporter*.

La première approche est analytique et se fonde sur un examen détaillé des propriétés sémantiques et syntaxiques des différents types d'emploi de ce verbe en français contemporain, afin de dégager des critères de proximité entre ces emplois. Les propriétés syntaxiques en cause sont le nombre d'actants et la catégorisation de l'objet direct, les propriétés sémantiques sont le type de procès et la référence du sujet, de l'objet direct et éventuellement de l'objet indirect. Une pondération variable de certaines de ces propriétés permet d'anticiper des jugements de proximité variables entre usagers de la langue.

La seconde approche relève de la psycholinguistique expérimentale : à partir d'un ensemble de 5 énoncés correspondant à 5 types d'emploi différents du verbe *rapporter* (A,B,C,D,E) nous appliquons aux dix triplets d'énoncés (ABC, ABD, ABE, ACD, ACE, ACE, BCD, BCE, BDE, CDE) une expérience de triangulation sémantique : l'un des énoncés est sélectionné comme amorce et les sujets (étudiants en psychologie à Poitiers) sont invités à écarter sur la base d'un jugement spontané celui des deux énoncés-cibles dont le sens est « le moins proche » de celui de l'énoncé-amorce. Au terme de cette première expérience, une partie seulement des hypothèses est confirmée statistiquement.

La troisième approche est historique. Elle se fonde sur la théorie des innovations et extinctions sémantiques et syntaxiques développée par Peter Koch et Paul Gevaudan à Tübingen. En caractérisant chaque type d'emploi par une classe de procès (action causatrice > non causatrice > état) et une sous-classe actancielle (locatif > expérientiel > relationnel) on constate que l'évolution reconstituée du champ sémasiologique du verbe *rapporter* conforte (pour ses premiers stades) les thèses de la théorie de la grammaticalisation : à partir d'un type d'emploi primitif prédisant une classe d'actions causatrices locatives, un double mouvement d'abstraction se dessine avec (a) la perte de la causativité, voire de la dynamicité, et (b) la progression d'une actance locative vers une actance simplement relationnelle.

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Verbs of instrument of communication: lexical-constructional subsumption into the caused-motion construction

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This study aims to provide both a descriptively and explanatorily adequate account of the participation of verbs of instrument of communication (e.g. *email*, *cable*, *fax*, *telephone*, etc.) in the caused-motion construction (X CAUSES Y TO MOVE Z ; cf. Goldberg, 1995, 2006). For this purpose, we will make use of the analytical tools provided by the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM). This model, as propounded by Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal (2008, 2010) and Mairal & Ruiz de Mendoza (2009), integrates insights from cognitively-oriented constructionist and functional approaches to language. The LCM postulates that the integration of lexical items within constructional configurations (called *subsumption*) is regulated by internal and external constraints that operate at four levels, which range from argument structure and implicature to illocution and discourse relations. Internal constraints arise from the degree of conceptual compatibility between lexical and constructional characterizations, while external constraints have to do with the sensitiveness of a lexical predicate to be construed from different perspectives. Changes in construal are often reflected in grammar in the form of categorial and subcategorial conversion. Constraints on subsumption are essential in our analysis of the caused-motion construction. The caused-motion construction has been amply studied (Goldberg: 1995, 2006 among others) in relation to verbs that code actual motion (e.g. *They pushed him out of the room*) and others that do not (e.g. *They laughed John out of the room*). A sentence like *They laughed John out of the room* is explained in the LCM as follows: the verb *laugh* undergoes a process of subcategorial conversion as a pre-requisite for its integration into the caused-motion construction. This process is licensed by a high-level metaphor (EXPERIENTIAL ACTION IS EFFECTUAL ACTION) by virtue of which the psychological effect that people laughing has on John is seen as if the laughs had a physical impact on him, forcing him out of the room. This metaphor is grounded in *experiential conflation*, that is, the mixing-up of two concepts that identify events that tend to co-occur in our everyday experience (Lakoff & Johnson 1999). We may explain some sentences involving verbs of manner of communication in similar ways (e.g. *My dr. phoned me into his office again*). However, further considerations need to be made in order to fully understand the examples (1) and (2) below:

- (1) She even stayed late to meet with us and **faxed** paperwork to me.
- (2) About two days later, her boss, Dan **emailed** her into his office.

Example (1) can only be interpreted if two consecutive conflation processes, which arise from the close relatedness of these events in our daily lives, take place. Firstly, we need to understand the verb *faxed* in terms of giving, that is, as being the effectual action of sending something (some paperwork) via fax. The use of the dative construction provides this sense of transfer of possession. Secondly, another conflation process allows the conceptualization of the act of sending a fax as a case of caused motion (in this case, ‘sending’ results in the metaphorical motion (transfer) of an object (information) from the giver to the receiver). The case of (2) is even more complex. The verb *emailed* is also understood as giving something (i.e. the contents of the email) to somebody. However, the semantic object (an email) does not correspond to the syntactic object of the sentence (her). In addition, the

result of receiving the information enclosed in the email is seen as the factor that causes the woman to move and get into her boss's office. Thus, the verb "email" is seen, through metaphor, as designating an effectual action. The metaphor allows the integration of "email" into the caused-motion construction.

In this study we explore the different processes that verbs of manner of communication undergo before they can be subsumed into the caused-motion construction. We also discuss the ways in which motion and giving intertwine, with different degrees of conceptual prominence, in verbs belonging to this class.

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Concepts across Cultures. A corpus-driven and contrastive study of FATE in Polish, Russian and Ukrainian

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One of the greatest challenges that Cognitive Semantics faces is developing rigorous and testable methods of analysis. The study of Idealised Cognitive Models (Lakoff 1987) represents one of the most difficult fields of enquiry in these terms. This study assumes a usage-based model of language (Langacker 1988), and seeks to develop corpus-driven techniques for the analysis of conceptual structure.

How can we scientifically answer questions such as how are FATE and DESTINY conceptualised? Moreover, how can we answer these questions in a sufficiently fine-grained manner to allow us to identify variation in how these concepts are structured in a given culture or in contrast closely related cultures. Traditional approaches to Cognitive Models (Lakoff 1987, Wierzbicka 1997) have drawn on linguistic evidence, such as systematicity of source domain references for a given concept. This method falters for two reasons. Firstly, even combined with native speaker intuition, the use of lexicons and thesauri can only reveal a fraction of the complexity and subtlety of language. For example, all expressions are treated equally, regardless of currency or attitudes towards their use. Moreover, concepts in language and culture change, and this kind of change may be reflected in how speakers actually use expressions. Secondly, there is little or no way of verifying the findings. In other terms, the proposal of an Idealised Cognitive Model cannot be falsified nor the accuracy of its explicative power determined. This is not scientifically acceptable.

This study takes the cognitive and quantitative corpus methods for lexical semantic analysis recently developed (Gries 2006, Divjak 2006, Glynn 2009) and applies them to conceptual analysis. To do this, we systematically examine the use of lexemes denoting FATE *dolia*, *sud'ba*, *učasť*, *žrebij* and their Ukrainian and Polish equivalents. The Ukrainian and Polish data are taken from a corpus of modern informal language compiled from on-line personal diaries and from discussion groups on contemporary political issues. The Russian data are taken from the Spoken subsections of the Russian National Corpus, supplemented with comparable on-line diaries. In total, some 1200 examples are manually annotated for a wide range of formal, semantic, and discursive factors. The results of the analysis are then treated with multifactorial exploratory statistical techniques such as Multiple Correspondence Analysis. Certain findings are then treated using Logistic Regression in order to confirm the tendencies and ascertain the explanatory accuracy of the factors considered.

The findings clearly suggest that despite their similarity, Russian and Ukrainian differ on certain important points: Ukrainian conceptualises FATE as part of something; especially as something shared between people. Russian, on the other hand, conceptualises FATE as an 'effect' that a higher power has over one's life. Along these lines, Ukrainian stands between Polish and Russian. Moreover, Polish is marked by the strong religious conceptualisation of FATE. The results confirm the possibility of using this method for the study of abstract conceptual structure. However, offering a more finely grained socially realistic picture of the concepts requires further research. Such future research needs to extend the data to consider the effects of register as well as language change.

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Entre l'éveil et le sommeil : «quedar» et l'expression de la permanence et du changement

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En espagnol, le verbe *quedar* (*se*) a été le seul survivant d'un ensemble de termes (*rastar*, *fincar*, *remaner*) qui exprimaient la notion de permanence au moyen âge. Si cet élément a attiré notre attention, c'est parce que son évolution sémantique lui permet d'exprimer aujourd'hui non seulement la permanence, mais aussi le changement, ceci au sein de la même structure :

1.1 *Juan se ha quedado dormido.* / *Juan s'est endormi.*

1.2 *Juan se ha quedado despierto.* / *Juan est resté éveillé.*

Notre objectif principal est de déterminer les mécanismes synchroniques et diachroniques qui ont permis cette ambivalence, et de montrer que celle-ci n'est pas une anomalie, mais plutôt une évolution logique de ce verbe polysémique. Le parcours sémantique de *quedar* sera présenté à travers ses 4 significations prototypiques, qui sont toutes en rapport avec la notion de permanence, mais qui sont également reliées à d'autres notions (existence, location, possession et état). Les concepts de profil/base, propres au modèle de R.W. Langacker, ainsi que le concept de dynamique des forces de L. Talmy seront essentiels pour cette conceptualisation.

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Motion event expressions in English and French speaking two- and three-year olds

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Do French-speaking and English-speaking 24-month- and 36-month olds differ in their motion event language in naturalistic conversation as Hickmann's experimental and naturalistic findings (e.g., 2007, 2010) would suggest? Motion event expressions (Talmy, 2000) of children learning English versus French (typologically varying languages) are compared across age. The basis of the earliest language in common cognition suggests overlap in meaning expression early, with increased variation and complexity as specific language influence grows.

Transcripts of spontaneous mother/child interactions at home by four children learning English and four French (36 months, taken from the Childes database) were compared with 24 month data in French (also Childes) and English (from McCune, 2008). Motion event utterances were analyzed for path and manner both within the verb and in verb satellites. At 24 months 33 different verb meanings were expressed across the two languages, overlapping 36% in meaning. In contrast at 36 months 77 different verb meanings occurred with 25% overlap. While manner information is not yet present at 24 months, the inclusion of path information is frequent, and mostly reflects deictic relationships, describing a literal or figurative motion with direction toward or away of the body, but also relationships of containment and verticality. At 36 months both English and French speakers still largely omitted information about manner of motion (<1%), and still expressed deictic reference with special emphasis on the directional information about the deictic path leading inward and outward from the body, but also included semantic information about path of motion describing spatial relationships irrelevant to the spatial perspective of the speaker. Overall at 36 months, information about path of motion becomes more typologically determined: English speakers demonstrated a noticeable preference for encoding semantic information about path of motion in verb satellites such as prepositions, adverbs, etc. In contrast the French speaking children provided less semantic information about path of motion, and when they did, they predominantly encoded that information within the verb roots.

While the underlying semantic components found at 36 months remained similar to those at the earlier stage of language acquisition, the surface components used by the speakers to package this motion information were considerably more sophisticated. The data demonstrate the progression from production limited to generic verbs at 24 months to more complex motion meanings. Meanings determined by universal cognitive achievements (space, time, motion) expand to include typologically influenced motion event expressions. The study furthers the understanding of the development of typologically determined expressions from 24 to 36 months, converging with other findings in the field, and revealing the connection with an earlier stage of language development. This initial insight into the developmentally determined motion event semantics and their verbal expression at 24 and 36 months indicates the importance of cross-linguistic longitudinal study in the future.

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Discourse evidence for the grammatical status of ‘PATH’ expressions in Yaqui motion events

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The study of motion event descriptions has been a fruitful area of research in languages of the world. This paper investigates the expression of subjects and the potential coding-devices of place, goal and source of motion events in Yaqui (Uto-Aztecan; México). The term ‘PATH’ is used here to refer to all of these three types of spatial relations (Jackendoff 1990; Pantcheva 2009).

Although most authors agree that different factors can determine the way that event participants are linguistically encoded in particular event descriptions, they differ regarding the way the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic dimensions correlate in a construction. This study examines the linguistic coding of PATH in Yaqui motion events using a pragmatically-based view: the Preferred Argument Structure (PAS; Du Bois 1987; Du Bois *et al.* 2003). PAS points out specific tendencies regarding the realization of core arguments of verbs in use. That is, languages with very different configurations follow a discourse-based ergative pattern such that transitive agents (A) are distinguished from transitive objects (O) and intransitive subjects (S). While A’s are typically coded as pronouns or anaphoric zeros, full NPs tend to correlate with the roles of S’s and O’s.

Regarding constructions with motion events, this analysis explores whether or not these typically intransitive verbs follow a “discourse-transitive” pattern, where the S participants behave as A’s and the PATH expressions behave as O’s. First, based on Yaqui oral narratives, it is shown that out of 220 constructions with motion verbs, 64% explicitly encode the PATH of motion. This preference for encoding spatial relations supports the idea that goals and sources behave as core arguments of motion verbs (Beavers, Levin and Tham 2010). Second, the status of PATH expressions is examined based on the PAS predictions: (i) if PATH behaves as a core argument in discourse, then motion constructions will tend to follow a transitive pattern (e.g. with a pronominal subject and a lexical PATH, or a lexical subject and a pro-adverbial PATH); (ii) if PATH does not behave as a core argument in use, then motion clauses will follow an intransitive pattern, and there will be no correlation between the type of expression realizing the subject and the appearance and type of expression encoding PATH. The analysis of Yaqui points toward a discursively transitive pattern of motion constructions, where PATH commonly behaves as expected for O arguments.

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Grammaticalization of motion and language contact: the category of “associated motion” in lowland Bolivian languages

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This paper will report on a survey of “associated motion” systems in the languages of lowland Bolivia South America. The function of associated motion (auxiliaries, serial verbs, affixes, etc.), which was first identified in the aboriginal languages of central Australia (see Koch 1984; 2007, Tunbridge 1988, Wilkins 1991, among others), is to associate a backgrounded motion component to the event expressed by the main verb. Associated motion markers typically differ according to the following semantic parameters: (1) the time of motion relative to the main action (prior, concurrent, subsequent) and (2) the direction of motion (away from, towards, back, etc.). Some of these distinctions are illustrated below with examples from Cavineña (Tacanan family, Guillaume 2006, 2008, 2009).

The first part of the paper will discuss the geographical distribution of the associated motion systems in the Bolivian lowlands. I will show that, from the data available on the languages, elaborated and well grammaticalized associated motion systems are found in at least three languages families (Arawak, Panoan and Tacanan) and one isolate (Mosetén-Chimane). These languages are spoken in contiguous areas located in the northernmost Amazonian part of the Bolivian lowlands.

The second part of the paper will investigate the diachronic origin of the associated motion markers in these languages. Starting from the observation that several markers are traceable to independent motion verbs, I will review the applicability for these languages of a number of hypotheses that have been proposed for the origin of associated motion systems out of independent verbs in Australian languages (auxiliary constructions, serial verb constructions, verb compounding, etc.). Finally, I will explore the possibility that the category of associated motion is an areal feature of the Amazonian part of the Bolivian lowlands and that language contact played a major role in the development of the associated motion category in these languages.

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- (1) Prior motion (away from the speaker)

Nawi-ti-wa=jari =pa.
bathe-GO&DO-PERF=STILL =REP
'He has gone (away from me) to bathe.'

- (2) Prior motion (towards the speaker)

Ija iye-na-kwe!
porcupine kill-COME&DO-IMP.SG over.there sit-SIT-IMPV
'Come and kill the porcupine!'

- (3) Concurrent motion

[Tumeke mejiji=ju] =pa =tuna tawi-nati-kware.
there beach=LOC =REP =3PL sleep-DO.WHILE.GOING-REM.PAST
'They slept on that beach on their way.'

- (4) Subsequent motion

Refresco=kamadya =tuke =Ø iji-kena-wa.
soft.drink=RESTR =3SG =1SG drink-DO&GO-PERF
'I just had a soft-drink as I was leaving.'

Analyse diachronique de la structure sémantique et de l'évolution des prépositions spatiales françaises et italiennes contenant le mot *travers* ou *traverso* : présentation d'un cadre interprétatif illustré par des exemples du XVI^e siècle.

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Les prépositions analytiques contenant les mots *travers* et *traverso* (dont on trouve aussi des analogues en fonction adverbiale ou adjectivale) appartiennent au groupe restreint des principaux marqueurs spatiaux qui caractérisent les relations dynamiques tout en étant dotés d'une polarité médiane. Elles sont directionnelles et, comme *par* et *via*, décrivent souvent une situation de parcours (Borillo 1998). Cependant, elles sont plutôt non-relationnelles, parce qu'elles ne se combinent que difficilement avec une référence à une voie de communication (Stosic 2005).

Dans cette contribution je propose une analyse sémantique de l'usage qui était fait, au XVI^e siècle, des locutions françaises *à travers (de)*, *au travers (de)*, *de travers (à)*, *en travers (de)*, *par le travers (de)*, *par à travers* et *par au travers*. Je m'inspire, entre autres, des travaux de Stosic qui a décrit de façon approfondie l'emploi spatial de *à travers* en le contrastant avec celui de *par*. Les descriptions de Stosic s'avèrent aussi très utiles pour la description des emplois des expressions autres qu'*à travers*, et pour les usages perceptuels et métaphoriques. En effet, la notion de « guidage » qu'il introduit, et qui serait centrale dans les emplois spatiaux de *à travers*, a l'avantage d'être moins ambiguë que la notion d'« obstacle » et semble donc plus féconde pour qui vise à décrire la totalité des emplois des expressions contenant *travers* ou *traverso*. Par ailleurs, on ne saurait négliger les travaux d'Aurnague (2000), Dominicy et Martin (2001 ; 2005), Plungian (2002), Schwarze (1989) et Somers (1988).

Tout en me situant dans une perspective à la fois diachronique et cognitive, j'adopte une approche fonctionnelle dans la tradition des travaux de Vandeloise (1986) et autres. Ladite analyse est utilisée comme cadre interprétatif lors de ma recherche, qui a pour objectif de dévoiler les changements qui ont caractérisé l'évolution des prépositions analytiques mentionnées à partir des premiers textes du français, et de l'italien, jusqu'aux emplois actuels.

En proposant une structure en termes de concepts fonctionnels, j'espère contribuer à une meilleure compréhension de la structure sémantique actuelle de la totalité des prépositions visées, de leur fonctionnement actuel et ancien, et du développement des prépositions analytiques spatiales en général. Pour aboutir à ce résultat, il faudra découvrir les mécanismes de grammaticalisation qui ont opéré. Une analyse comparative des évolutions attestées en français et en italien servira à établir une distinction entre les mécanismes grammaticaux et sémantiques les plus généraux et ceux qui restent spécifiques à une langue.

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Norwegian Sign Language (NSL) and language attitudes¹

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We're exploring language attitudes among deaf people to Norwegian Sign Language (NSL) and Signed Norwegian. We're basing our data on a qualitative study of language attitudes among different generations of deaf people towards Norwegian Sign Language, the natural language evolved among deaf people in Norway, and towards Signed Norwegian used during the 1970's and 1980's. The latter is a constructed system of signing based on Norwegian spoken language syntax, and is a result of an standardization process in the 1970s. The standardization didn't take in regard the properties of sign languages. Our informants are 22 deaf native signers and are from 18 to 85 years old. We're discussing language attitudes from the perception that negative attitudes regarding NSL provided a favoring of Signed Norwegian.

The theoretical basis for our survey of language attitudes is critical linguistics (Fairclough 2001), where we focus on power relations in discourse.

In our data, it appears that Signed Norwegian has had a great effect on the language attitudes among deaf people. We also find that older deaf people are generally positive towards Signed Norwegian, and they are generally negative in their statements about Norwegian Sign Language. Younger deaf people, however, do not seem to have any relationship to Signed Norwegian, and they have generally positive attitudes regarding Norwegian Sign Language as a language in its own right.

1. A lot of thanks to our informants!

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From image schema to optimal feedback control

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Despite the usefulness of image schema for the description of linguistic meaning, they have never been defined satisfactorily nor located clearly in a larger theory of cognition. This essay attempts to resolve these two problems by assimilating them to a general theory of sensorimotor control, that of optimal feedback control, hereafter OFC.

An OFC system consists of four components: a plant, a prediction of the next movement, integration of the prediction with the state of the plant, and a control policy – see Figures 1 and 2 for flow diagrams of their interactions. In brief, the motor system interacts with its environment via a set of effectors that are controlled by a set of motor commands. The effectors together with their environment are known as the plant. Motor commands are calculated by a control policy, defined as a set of cost functions. One part of a cost function encodes the external goal of the plant. The other part, known as the regularization term, penalizes some feature of the movement. Such a cost function defines an optimal solution in the sense that it achieves the goal reasonably well while exerting as little effort as possible.

In terms of cognitive linguistics, the OFC effectors constitute the body and what they move defines the figure or trajector in an image schema. The environment defines the ground. Thus the plant in OFC defines an image schema, shorn of its markings for orientation, movement, etc. These markings are defined by the cost functions of the control policy. The external goal of a cost function defines the start and end points of a movement, which is to say, a path. The regularization term of a cost function defines the manner in which the movement is accomplished. Typologically, we claim that languages whose verbs lexicalize the external goal are described as verb-framing in Talmy (1991), such as in the Spanish sentence *Entré al cuarto*. Conversely, languages whose verbs lexicalize the regularization term are described as satellite-framing by Talmy, such as in the renditions of the Spanish sentence above into English like *I walked into the room*. In this way, we can reduce a typological distinction in the realization of verbs to an independently needed aspect of motor control.

As it stands, this account only applies to what can be called first-person volitional movement. To generalize it to non-first person or non-volitional movement, we must invoke the notion of simulation as defended recently in Gallese & Lakoff (2005). For third-person or animate movement like *Mary/the cat walked into the room*, the cognitive system runs an OFC simulation with an appropriate plant. The output of the control policy is a simulated motor command. For non-volitional or inanimate movement like *The ball rolled into the room*, the control policy changes from producing movement to recognizing movement, and its output is a movement percept, which is used by the forward model to predict the next step of the movement and by the plant to update its state. In this way, we can begin to derive a principled account of the causative-inchoative alternation (*I rolled the ball into the room* ~ *The ball rolled into the room*) and why it is a fault-line along which languages cleave typologically, see Haspelmath (1993) and Song (1996), according to whether the control policy outputs a motor command or a movement percept.

Manner of motion salience: Variation across and within the typological divide

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As is well known, one of the major correlates of the typological distinction between Satellite-Framed and Verb-Framed languages is the lexical stock of manner verbs and their frequency of use. The tendency of V-F language speakers not to use manner verbs in the lexicalization of displacement events (especially telic ones) is claimed to be due primarily to the higher cognitive load deriving from the need to have two verbs for the expression of directed motion. Instead, speakers of S-F languages use directional particles which modify the manner verb. Cross-linguistic studies have shown that S-F language texts contain much more information on manner of motion than V-F language texts describing the same motion event (cf. Guo et al. 2009). Moreover, some variation in the number and use of manner verbs also emerges among V-F languages. More specifically, the Italian language (despite being classified as belonging to the V-F type) is particularly rich in manner verbs (Slobin 2005; Iacobini 2010).

In this paper we investigate the number and use of manner verbs in the Italian language using the methodology of interlingual comparison through translation with English. Our preliminary results demonstrate that it is appropriate not only to consider the total number of manner verbs in a language, but also to distinguish the various semantic sub-classes in which manner verbs can be classified. Italian data show that, although the connection between a high number of manner verbs holds for the lexicon of motion verbs on the whole, its different subparts can show their own peculiarities. Thus, counter to the expectations, languages belonging to the V-F type may have some semantic sub-classes richer in manner verbs than S-F languages. In the case of Italian, comparison with the lexical inventory of English shows that the most numerous sub-domain of manner of motion verbs is that of “oriented” verbs, i.e. manner verbs that show a tendency to merge manner with directional and / or deictic information (e.g. *assalire* ‘to pounce’, *sfuggire* ‘to escape’, *precipitarsi* ‘to bolt’). The numerosity of verbs belonging to different semantic sub-domains is reflected in language use. If one considers the most typical group of manner of motion verbs (e.g. the verbs that encompass the various ways in which the manner of walking can be described such as *to march*, *to pace*, *to stamp*, etc.) the data on translation strategies conform to the typological distinction between the two languages (and confirm the results of comparisons of manner expression in English and Spanish, cf. Cifuentes-Férez 2009), and at the same time reflect the different verb numerosity in the two languages. Instead, the translation into Italian of sentences containing “oriented” verbs permits a verbal expression of the manner of motion equivalent to that found in the English source texts (more than 90% of manner expression and higher number of verb types). These preliminary results seem to be promising to comprehend some of the reasons behind typological change. A frequent use of expressions with a manner verb followed by a prepositional phrase in sentences licensing a directional reading also in languages lacking inherently directional particles (cf. Gehrke 2008, Kopecka 2009) may favour the frequency of usage of manner verbs as main verbs of the clause and the emergence of S-F constructions in predominantly V-F languages. The presence and use of “oriented” manner verbs (i.e. verbs that better license a directional reading) may be interpreted as a possible factor and as a cue of change.

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Differences within the typology: Path in genetically- and non-genetically related languages

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Talmy (1991, 2000) proposes that the world's languages can be divided into two main typological groups, verb-framed and satellite-framed, in terms of the way the core feature of a motion event, i.e. Path, is expressed linguistically, and in the way languages express the components of a complex event. These lexicalization differences are directly reflected in the online use of language, and consequently, speakers of verb-framed and satellite-framed languages differ in their rhetorical styles when describing the same motion event (Slobin 1996, 2004, 2006). Previous work on the lexicalisation of Path has shown that languages vary in the degree of detailed description with respect to the component of Path independently from the lexicalization pattern they belong to, and that they can be situated on a *cline of path salience* (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2004, 2009). This paper focuses on the intratypological variation that exists in verb-framed languages with respect to the lexicalisation of the Path component. Data, elicited using the Frog story procedure (Berman and Slobin 1994, Strömquist and Verhoeven 2004), come from four languages, three Romance (French, Italian, and Spanish) and Basque. It is argued that there are significant differences both in genetically-different and genetically-similar languages. Basque, in comparison with the other Romance languages, shows a pervasive tendency to mention at least one piece of Path information with the main verb (88,13%), it is very rare to find the main verb alone (11,86%). The behaviour within Romance languages is also different. Italian is the language that tends to give more details (78,56% plus ground), in contrast to French which is poorer as far as Path description is concerned (52,08% plus ground). There is another difference among these languages. Whereas it is common to find cases in Italian and Basque, where the verb is accompanied by two or more pieces of information—and thus, contradicting what is expected from verb-framed languages—Spanish and French show none. It is argued that these differences may be explained if we take into account the linguistic resources that these two languages have to codify motion (e.g. inflected spatial nouns, pseudo-satellites).

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La deixis spatiale dans l'expression du déplacement en japonais : variation intralinguistique

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Les études typologiques de l'expression spatiale ont contribué, en particulier, à une meilleure compréhension de similitudes dans l'organisation des informations spatiales et ce, même avec des langues connaissant des divergences de disponibilité des éléments morphosyntaxiques exprimant une relation spatiale. Par exemple, Talmy a proposé un modèle typologique des événements spatiaux consistant à distinguer les *langues* à cadre verbal (p.ex. espagnol) des *langues* à satellite (p.ex. anglais) selon la modalité de l'expression de la trajectoire (Talmy 1985, 1991). Cependant, une telle approche typologique est depuis largement rediscutée dans la mesure où plusieurs stratégies structurelles peuvent coexister au sein d'une langue (Aske 1989, Kopecka 2004, *inter alia*).

Dans cette étude, nous examinons en particulier l'expression du déplacement du japonais, en nous focalisant notamment sur la distribution de la deixis spatiale. Miyajima (1984) a observé qu'en japonais, un événement peut être perçu soit comme un procès qui se déroule par rapport à un lieu (p.ex. *Ken-ga heya-ni hait-ta*. 'Ken est entré dans la pièce'), soit comme un procès qui implique la perspective du locuteur, donc avec la notion de deixis (p.ex. *Ken-ga heya-ni hait-te ki-ta*. 'Ken est entré dans la pièce en s'approchant de moi'). Notre étude vise à évaluer les circonstances dans lesquelles les locuteurs japonais encodent l'information déictique, à partir des données orales élicitées auprès de 20 locuteurs natifs du japonais avec le stimulus vidéo *Trajectoire*, élaboré spécialement pour le projet de recherche *Trajectoire* (Fédération de Typologie et Universaux Linguistiques).

Considérant 53 clips du stimulus (1188 clauses), nos données représentent 68 % (808 clauses) de l'expression déictique. Cela suggère que les sujets japonais ont tendance à inscrire la perspective dans la description du déplacement et d'organiser la relation spatiale par rapport à leur position vis-à-vis de la scène. L'examen de nos données montre également que l'interprétation des événements spatiaux varie en fonction de la portion de trajectoire mise en scène. Lorsque le déplacement se fait par rapport à un lieu initial (ou la source) (p.ex. *woman walks out of field*) ou un lieu final (ou le but) (p.ex. *child runs into sea*), les locuteurs ont tendance à interpréter les scènes déictiquement. En revanche, lorsque le déplacement se fait par rapport à un lieu intermédiaire (ou le médian) (p.ex. *child walks down path*), l'interprétation déictique décroît. Ce résultat semble suggérer que la nature de la trajectoire (source/but vs. médian) interfère dans la variation distributionnelle de la deixis spatiale.

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Développement des structures anaphoriques dans des récits d'enfants en Langue des Signes

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Se pencher sur le langage c'est observer des mécanismes cognitifs complexes qui permettent de dire, de se faire comprendre. C'est aussi explorer l'organisation, la hiérarchisation des informations dans la construction du discours afin d'établir de la cohérence. Cette organisation est présente très tôt chez l'enfant et se construit progressivement selon la maturité cognitive. De nombreuses études (Berman & Slobin, 1994, Hickmann, 2006, Kail & Fayol, 2000) ont porté sur ce thème et en particulier sur la cohérence discursive dans des discours enfantins. La majorité de ces études portent sur des langues vocales, comparant dans plusieurs langues les formes linguistiques et leurs fonctions. En se basant sur ces travaux, nous avons observé des formes linguistiques à fonction anaphorique dans des discours enfantins en langue des signes françaises (LSF). Notre propos vise à décrire ces formes mais aussi leur diversité en fonction de l'âge des sujets.

Les résultats montrent que les formes linguistiques se complexifient avec l'âge des apprenants, assurant une cohésion plus importante : les récits des jeunes enfants juxtaposent les événements sans lien chronologico-causaux alors que les récits des sujets plus âgés lient les événements entre eux et maintiennent une continuité entre les différents paragraphes.

La langue des récits étant une langue à modalité visuelle, notre propos a aussi consisté à analyser le dire des enfants. En effet, en LS, le locuteur a le choix de dire en montrant (en anamorphosant l'expérience perceptivo-pratique) ou de dire sans montrer. Selon Cuxac (2000), la distinction entre les deux se manifeste au niveau du regard. Le regard, en LS, est une donnée linguistique qui pertinise le sens et dont la fonction peut aussi être anaphorique. Nos travaux confirment que le regard est un élément linguistique complexe que les enfants acquièrent tardivement, sa maîtrise étant en corrélation avec la maîtrise de l'espace de signation. Selon si un procès est dit en montrant ou sans montrer, la granularité du procès peut être plus ou moins fine, comme nous le montrerons à travers des exemples précis. Par conséquent, le rôle sémantique du regard influencerait sur l'identification de structures linguistiques (ce que Cuxac nomme les « structures en grande iconicité ») et la cohérence narrative.

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From nouns of space to adverbs of place. Language change in the Baltic Sea region (and beyond)

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Estonian and Latvian are two genetically unrelated, but geographically closely located languages in the eastern Baltic Sea region – the former being Finno-Ugric, the latter belonging to the Baltic branch of the Indo-European family. Partially similar grammaticalization has taken place in these languages, involving nouns denoting the etymon 'field', whereby inflected case forms of the lexemes have given rise to adverbs of place in both languages. In Estonian, two forms have developed further into markers of existence/visibility and also yielded an aspectual marker.

The topic is approached using semantic maps as a means of cross-linguistic comparison, following the examples of Haspelmath (2003) and François (2008). The semantic functions for the maps were derived from voluminous descriptive dictionaries of both languages and data from previous etymological studies incorporated. The development of spatial grams following the path FIELD>OUT will be discussed in the light of a number of similar grammaticalization cases from neighboring languages, taking into account possible grammatical replication and common origins, while reflecting on relevant previous work such as Svorou (1994), Heine & Kuteva (2004, 2006) and Nilsson (1995).

The observations outlined in this paper are still to be taken as a working hypothesis, as these grammaticalization (or replication) paths certainly require further investigation. This study has been conducted as a pilot survey for further typological research that is set to encompass the grammaticalization of space across a larger sample of languages, through which a display of (at least preliminary) universalities is hoped to be achieved.

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Frequency and positional saliency of nouns and verbs in Turkish and French caregivers' speech across two contexts.

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Early lexicon composition differs in children acquiring different languages. This is particularly true in the distribution of verbs as opposed to nouns in children before 2;5 years of age. Among the explanations given for this tendency, frequency of word type/token in caregivers' speech, positional saliency, as well as context, have often been considered but rarely simultaneously. In addition, these studies have concentrated primarily on the comparison between English and Asian languages, which generated a great number of related research in crosslinguistic arena. These findings guided researchers to investigate caregiver speech in the domain of nouns and verbs more closely, both within and across languages (Choi & Gopnik, 1995; Ogura et al., 2006; Türkay, 2008).

The goal of this study is to compare Turkish and French caregivers' speech in two contexts (book-reading, BR and toy-play, TP) regarding frequency of verb and noun types and tokens as well as the position of these two grammatical categories in the utterances. The differences between French and Turkish particularly in the domain of noun/verb use exhibit a valuable contrastive puzzle to solve with regard to some recent findings in early French and Turkish lexical acquisition. French can be considered as a noun-friendly language, whereas Turkish presents some common properties with verb-friendly languages.

There was no language effect on either verb or noun frequencies. The only crosslinguistic difference emerged from an analysis of noun vs. verb types, context by context. In both languages, context had an influence on noun and verb use. The syntactic analyses revealed a language and a context effect on utterance length. Concerning verb and noun position, Turkish mothers used twice as many verbs than nouns in final position in both contexts. In French we observed the reverse trend: there were more nouns than verbs in final position. These results show clearly that context played an important and consistent role on mother's linguistic behaviour. Contrary to our expectations, no real noun orientation in French caregivers' speech was observed as compared to Turkish caregivers' speech.

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Encoding Trajectory: South Eastern Huastec (Mayan)

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South Eastern Huastec (HSF) is an endangered Mayan language spoken in Mexico by about 1700 people. It is the least known member of the Huastecan branch of the Mayan language family. This is the first study on the expression of space in this language, carried out within the Trajectoire Project of the Fédération de Typologie based at the DDL in Lyon. This presentation will briefly present the HSF morphosyntactic means for encoding space (prepositions, relational nouns, locational words, verbs of movement and posture) and will then focus on the expression of motion in this language.

HSF has only one preposition that expresses the basic locational notion, like *en* in Spanish or *at/in/on* in English), therefore adpositions in this language do not differentiate between Source and Goal; it is actually the verb that bears the meaning of Trajectory:

| | Goal | | Source |
|------|---|--|---------------------------------|
| 1 a) | och-ich ti juun i jool | | b) kal-ej ti juun i jool |
| | Enter-COM prep one NM cave | | leave-COM prep one NM cave |
| | <i>(He) entered/went into the cave.</i> | | <i>(He) came out of a cave.</i> |

The phenomenon of absence of directionals (as well of verbal suffixes, particles, pre-verbs, verbal prefixes) in this language lead to an interesting coding of the Trajectory: unlike many other Mayan languages, for ex. Tzeltalan or Q'anjob'alan (Brown 1994, Craig 1994, Grinevald 2006, Grinevald 2010, Mateo-Toledo 2004, Zavala 1993, Zavala 2002). Instead, when it comes to encoding Path, HSF uses complex sentences sequencing the event, one clause describing motion/Path, and the other the Source or the Goal. This is illustrated in the following examples:

| | | |
|---|--|---------|
| 2 | bel-ej juun i txithan // kub-at wik t-in akan i te' | |
| | walk-COM one NM girl stand-PPL PAST prep-E3 feet NM tree | |
| | <i>(Litt: A girl walked; she had been standing at the foot of the tree.)</i> | (T32-4) |
| | Desired reading: <i>A girl walked away from the tree.</i> | |

| | | |
|---|--|---------|
| 3 | taal ti bel-al // och-ich ti eemlam | (T26-3) |
| | come.irr SUB3 walk-INC enter-COM prep maize | |
| | <i>(Litt: Here (she) comes walking; she entered the corn field.)</i> | |
| | Desired reading: <i>She went into a corn field.</i> | |

The HSF examples will be then compared to those from other Mayan languages to argue that the HSF way of encoding represents an early stage of the expression of trajectory in the family, resembling by its complex sentence constructions some other languages, such as Amazonian (like Ese Ejja), or, more generally, the patterns known in Asian languages.

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Kinds of temperature evaluation from a lexical-typological perspective

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This talk deals with the cross-linguistic variation in the categorization of the conceptual domain of temperature. It is based on the data from more than thirty languages representing several language families spoken in different parts of the world. The project's overarching aim consists in finding out what temperature concepts are encoded as words or constructions across languages, what distinctions are made in the systems of temperature expressions and what factors underlie them (i.e., biologically rooted, environmental, cultural and/or linguistic). The main dimensions according to which languages cut up the temperature domain among their expressions are TEMPERATURE VALUES (e.g., 'cold', 'hot'), KINDS OF TEMPERATURE EVALUATION and ENTITIES whose "temperature" is evaluated (Koptjevskaja-Tamm *forthc.*). Here I will focus on the three KINDS (frames) OF TEMPERATURE EVALUATION – T(ACTILE)TEMPERATURE (*The stones are cold*), NON-TACTILE, primarily A(MBIENT) TEMPERATURE (*It is cold here*), and P(ERSONAL-)F(EELING) TEMPERATURE (*He is cold*) (cf. Plank 2003).

These three frames are sometimes distinguished in semantic and lexicographic work. E.g., FrameNet (<http://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/>) opposes the Temperature frame, with Ambient_temperature inheriting its properties, to the Subjective_temperature (PF TEMPERATURE in our terms). Likewise, Goddard & Wierzbicka's (2008) explications for PF TEMPERATURE radically differ from those for both T and A TEMPERATURES. However, both FrameNet and NSM definitions suggest a possible link between PF and A TEMPERATURES. The bulk of the talk will discuss the cross-linguistically recurrent patterns by which the three-fold distinction is made explicit within the systems of temperature expressions (cf. also Firsching 2009). E.g., the same or comparable TEMPERATURE VALUES can be encoded by different words, by different morpho-syntactic patterns, or by a combination of both. Ex. (1) from Armenian involves three different words for referring to 'cold' temperatures – two adjectives for T and A TEMPERATURE, and a verb for PF TEMPERATURE. Furthermore, subsystems of the temperature expressions for the different KINDS OF EVALUATION may differ in their degrees of elaboration, as in ex. (2) from Georgian, where PF TEMPERATURES distinguish between two values, as opposed to the four values for the other cases. There are further complexities stemming from the interaction between TEMPERATURE VALUES and KINDS OF TEMPERATURE EVALUATION: e.g., languages often differ in their lexical and constructional repertoires for encoding 'hot' vs. 'cold' temperatures. Finally, some entities (most notably persons, water and air) participate in different kinds of temperature evaluation and may therefore correspond to particularly elaborated subsystems of temperature expressions.

In general, PF TEMPERATURES are often singled out by languages (in lexical choice and/or morphosyntactic patterns, in the reduced system of TEMPERATURE VALUE oppositions, etc.), conforming to the intuition behind the FrameNet and NSM definitions mentioned above. The linguistic encoding of A TEMPERATURE may share properties with that of either T or PF TEMPERATURE. The motivation for this stems from the conceptual and perceptual affinities of A TEMPERATURE with both other kinds of temperature evaluation. On the one hand, A and PF TEMPERATURE are similar in being rooted in the same type of experience, *thermal comfort* (keeping the body's temperature at 37°C). Contrary to those, T TEMPERATURE relates to *temperature sensation*, i.e. evaluation of the temperature of other entities, based on perception received by the skin relatively to its own temperature. On the one hand, T and A

TEMPERATURES are about temperatures that can be verified from “outside”, they are phenomenon-based. Contrary to this, PF TEMPERATURE is experiencer-based in that it is about a living being experiencing a certain state.

Examples

(1) Armenian (Indo-European)

- a. TACTILE: *k'ar-er-ə* *saʀn* *en*
stone-PL-DEF cold be:AUX:PRES:3PL
- b. AMBIENT: *aysor/ aysteB* *c'urt* *ē*
today/here cold be: PRES.3SG
- c. PERSONAL-FEELING: *mrs-um* *em*
be.cold-IPFV be:PRES.1SG

(2) Georgian (South-Caucasian)

- a. TACTILE: *cxeli/tbili/grili/civi kv-eb-i*
hot/warm/cool/cold stone-PL-NOM
‘hot/warm/cool/cold stones’
- b. AMBIENT: *dyes/ak cxel-a /tbil-a /grila-a /civ-a*
today/here hot-STAT/ warm-STAT/ cool-STAT /cold-STAT
‘It is hot/warm/cool/cold today/here.’
- c. PERSONAL-FEELING: *me m-cxel-a /*m-tbil-a /*m-gril-a /m-civ-a*
I o1-hot-STAT/*o1-warm-STAT/* o1-cool-STAT/o1-cold-STAT
‘I am feeling hot/*warm/*cool/cold’.

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A socio-cognitive and corpus-based analysis of SHAME emotions in English

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The present study develops empirical tools for the corpus analysis of **EMOTION concepts** and demonstrates how a **quantitative usage-based** method improves upon previous methodology. The concept under investigation is **SHAME** in British and American English. It is operationalized through the two most frequent lexemes instantiating it – *ashamed* and *embarrassed*. Their actual usage is examined along formal and semantic parameters. It is assumed that patterns of language use, found in corpora, are indicative of an underlying conceptual structure (Glynn 2010; Krawczak & Glynn in press).

By analyzing actual language use, the study illuminates the intersubjective plane of the mind, argued to be central to cognition (Zlatev et al. 2008). **SHAME**, being at the intersection of subjectivity and intersubjectivity, integrates speaker internal and external perspectives on a given situation. It is the only genuinely **social emotion**, originating from the speaker's sensitivity to others' actual or potential criticism (Wierzbicka 1999). A usage-based approach builds upon Wierzbicka's results by elucidating this dimension of the concept, which can only be grasped in interactive events.

A **corpus-driven semantic analysis** makes possible **accurate** and **verifiable** investigations into conceptual and intersubjective structuring. This constitutes an important improvement upon earlier intuitive approaches, whose importance to Cognitive Linguistics is undeniable. The present study builds upon this tradition but advances the science with a quantitative corpus-driven approach.

This method entails the **meticulous manual annotation** for usage-features of large numbers of examples. In this study, 500 occurrences per each lexeme, extracted from the BNC, COCA and online diaries, are tagged for situation, speaker, register, dialect, and topic of discourse as well as semantic and formal factors. This detailed feature-analysis reveals the conceptual structure of the lexemes, their interrelations, the constructions they enter and construction-dependent meanings as well as their socio-cultural profiling. The data are treated with **multivariate exploratory and confirmatory statistics**. These methods enable the author to identify patterns of language use and the intersubjective conceptual profile of **SHAME** and determine the statistical significance and descriptive power of such multivariate modeling. Among the interesting socio-cultural results, it is demonstrated that **SHAME** is more prominent in the American culture, which will be accounted for along with other findings.

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Middle Marking in Thulung Rai

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Thulung Rai is an exclusively oral Tibeto-Burman language of the Kiranti group, spoken in Eastern Nepal by some 2000 speakers. The language has rich verbal morphology, with a complex system of verb endings (marking both agent and patient for transitives) and alternating verb stems. There is additionally a verbal suffix *-s*, which in many ways behaves like a middle marker: it has a detransitivizing effect (in some cases) on the verb with which it occurs; it appears to be derived from a productive reflexive marker (*-si*); many of the verbs that take the *-s* suffix can be grouped into semantic categories which are found cross-linguistically in middle-marking languages (bodily actions, emotion verbs, perception verbs...).

Example 1 shows a middle-marked sentence (the middle-marked stem is bolded.)

- (1) pak^hanu **jes-ɕa** ʔe "sy bu-ni"
outside **call.MV-3SG.PST** HS "who be-2PL.NPST"
There was calling outside: "who are you?"

But there are other ways in which this suffix does not behave as prototypical middle voice: in a number of situations, the marker is found suffixed to fully transitive verbs associated with an ergative-marked agent.

- (2) muk-ka ko-le t^harsaŋ **kros-dy.**
that-ERG one-CL pole **erect.MV-3SG>3SG.PST**
He planted a bamboo pole upright.

This seemingly contradicts Kemmer's association of middle voice with a "low degree of distinguishability of participants" (1994: 210), which should typically result in intransitive marking.

Another unusual fact is that the suffix only occurs in part of the verbal paradigm, namely with 3rd singular and 1st plural inclusive subjects, unlike reflexive marking which occurs with all person/number combinations. These deviations from the middle-voice norm raise issues about the nature of this morpheme.

I shall rely on two types of data in my examination of the middle voice in Thulung Rai: elicitation materials, in the form of verbal paradigms and glossary entries, and a narrative corpus. There are variations in the occurrence of the middle marker between the two data sets, with a more liberal usage in elicitation forms, suggesting that the marker may be undergoing a change.

Abbreviations

CL=classifier
ERG=ergative
HS=hearsay
NPST=non-past
PL=plural

PST=past
SG=singular
1SG>3SG=1st singular agent acting on a 3rd singular patient
.MV=middle-marked stem

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Serial Verb Constructions in Caribbean Creoles: A Relabelling Account within the Framework of Construction Grammar

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Relabelling (a.k.a. relexification) is a cognitive process that consists in assigning a new phonological representation – derived from another language – to an existing lexical entry. The resulting lexical entry has a phonological representation derived from one language, and semantic and syntactic features derived from another language. Research carried out over the last thirty years has shown that the cognitive process of relabelling plays a central role in the genesis of mixed languages (e.g. Muysken, 1981 for *Media Lengua*), of creole languages (e.g. Lefebvre, 1998 for Haitian Creole), and in the first phase of second language acquisition (e.g. Sprouse, 2006). By its very nature, the process of relabelling takes place in the lexical component of the grammar. Different theories advocating differing views of the lexicon should make different predictions as to the nature of the items of the lexicon that are pertinent for relabelling. The aim of this paper is to offer a relabelling account for the genesis of serial verb constructions in creole languages within the framework of Construction Grammar on the basis of data drawn from Caribbean creoles.

Serial verb constructions (hereafter SVCs) are defined as series of two or more verbs not separated by any dependency marker (coordination or subordination) and expressing a single event (cf. Aikhenvald, 2006). SVCs are found in all Caribbean Creoles. SVCs are also found in the majority of their substrate languages. McWhorter (1992) provides data from eleven West African languages, stretching from Ghana eastward through Nigeria, showing that they have remarkable uniform SVC systems. SVCs are not found in any of these creoles superstrate languages, be they French, English, Portuguese, Spanish or Dutch. Strikingly, the SVCs in the Caribbean Creoles parallel almost exactly the SVCs in the West African languages, showing the same semantic domains and utilizing the same lexical items. As such, SVCs pose a problem for a relabelling account of creole genesis within a generative lexicon: since SVCs do not constitute lexical entries, it is not possible to account for them in terms of relabelling.

Our analysis shows that a constructional approach presents clear advantages with respect to predicting the results of relabelling as it applies in creole genesis. The Construction Grammar model accounts for the overall similarity between the SVC systems of the Caribbean Creoles and their substrate languages, and it also accounts for the relabelling of constructions involving two lexical entries in the original lexicon, such that the new constructions involve the same verbs with the same semantics.

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L'adjectif attribut antéposé: entre prédication focalisée et spécification

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Comme le précisent les principales grammaires de référence, le français admet l'antéposition de l'adjectif attribut, ce qui entraîne – obligatoirement – l'inversion du sujet nominal:

(1) Grande fut ma surprise (Grevisse & Goosse 2008: 275)

(2) Autrement graves sont les faits sur lesquels il nous reste à appeler l'attention (Grevisse & Goosse 2008: 274).

Or, contrairement à des langues V2 telles que le néerlandais, cette possibilité de construction est fortement contrainte, ce qui n'est pas resté inaperçu. La question a essentiellement été abordée du point de vue de l'inversion (nominale) du sujet, l'antéposition de l'adjectif attribut n'étant que l'un des multiples contextes légitimant l'inversion (e.a. Blinkenberg 1928, Le Bidois 1952, Jonare 1976, Lahousse 2003). Les romanistes se sont efforcés d'identifier les contextes favorisant cet emploi marqué et de classer les cas attestés d'après des indices contextuels (cf. aussi Grevisse & Goosse 2008: 274-276). Il en résulte une image éclatée. Plus récemment, certains auteurs ont essayé de rattacher la problématique de l'adjectif attribut antéposé à un dénominateur pragmatique commun, en l'occurrence le concept de *focus paradigmatisant* (ou *paradigmatic focus*), mais cette analyse n'épuise pas la problématique.

La présente contribution s'inscrit dans ce débat et se veut originale à la fois par sa méthode et par la perspective théorique adoptée. Elle veut dépasser le traitement "exemplariste" du phénomène par des recherches plus systématiques dans des corpus électroniques, complétées par un traitement statistique des données, plus particulièrement par une analyse collostructionnelle (Stefanowitsch & Gries). En outre, elle adopte une perspective sémantico-pragmatique qui se veut plus "holistique" dans la mesure où elle prend en considération la typologie des constructions attributives, dépassant de ce fait l'analyse du constituant attributif et les facteurs déclenchant l'inversion du sujet.

Notre démarche sera comme suit. Nous commencerons par analyser deux configurations distributionnelles particulières, à savoir la construction sans et avec adverbe antéposé. Nous identifierons pour chaque configuration les adjectifs attirés de façon statistiquement significative. Cette étude quantitative à partir des structures de surface permettra d'établir le profil sémantique des deux constructions, qui par la suite sera précisé (et nuancé) par une étude qualitative des facteurs contextuels. Ces observations seront complétées par une analyse des propriétés syntaxiques, prosodiques et informationnelles des deux constructions. Il en résultera un continuum s'étendant entre deux pôles: une construction attributive mettant en place une focalisation spécificationnelle (ou paradigmatisante) d'une part, et une construction prédicationnelle inversée réalisant une focalisation informationnelle, d'autre part.

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Learning from ambiguous and conflicting cues: A statistical model of argument structure acquisition in German.

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Verb argument structures are a key issue in language acquisition research. If we do not want to rely on nativist explanations, we have to show that the linguistic input contains the necessary information to learn the mapping between semantic roles and their syntactic realization. This can be demonstrated by computational models. Current models focus on English and rely heavily on word order, a cue which is always present and highly reliable. However, in many languages children acquire a system of argument structures from partially ambiguous and conflicting cues (Bates and MacWhinney 1987).

German uses a combination of case, word order, and other cues. In feminine and neuter gender, nominative/accusative case marking is ambiguous: ‚die Kuh‘ (the cow, nom/acc). In the present study, in 18,4% of simple causative utterances both arguments had ambiguous case marking. On the other hand, word order is not a reliable cue. Dittmar et al. (2008) found that 21% of the examined active causative utterances had a patient-before-agent word order. This leads to the question whether models for argument structure acquisition based on English are generalizable to languages that rely on a combination of ambiguous and conflicting cues.

I will propose an adaptation of an existing model of argument structure acquisition (Alishahi 2008) to German, using word order, and a simplified representation of case as formal cues. The model uses a bayesian classifier to form clusters of similar frames from a series of utterance-meaning pairs. The modified model was tested on a hand-annotated corpus of German child directed speech (Behrens 2006) including 15 highly frequent verbs.

In language production, the model is able to infer correct case-marking from a given semantic representation, learning from ambiguous case information and partially contradicting word order. After 400 input pairs results reach the same level as the control condition with unambiguous case (71% vs. 74% correctness). A comprehension experiment using a novel verb shows how both cues interact. For utterances in which case and word order indicate the same agent (cue coalition), the system performs better after 400 utterances (82%) than when the cues conflict (66%), or when case is ambiguous for both arguments (69%).

This shows that the model proposed by Alishahi (2008) is in principle adaptable to German, and that verb argument structures are learnable from positive input, even if this input contains ambiguous and partially contradictory information.

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Polish verbal prefixation by *prze-* and Japanese V-V compounding by *-sugiru/-sugosu* in a typological perspective: from perlocative expressions to complex event structures

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Since Talmy's typological classification into satellite- and verb-framed languages as to the Motion event, there have been many studies in this framework, and it has been extended to certain types of complex events, called "macro-events" by Talmy (2000). In this talk, we will focus on perlocative expressions, which contain a notion such as "through/across" in motion complex events (MCE), and their metaphoric semantic derivations as non-motion complex events (non-MCE).

At first, the Polish preverb, *prze-* will be presented. It has two variants with or without preposition, according to the type of complex events: *prze-V przez* O_{ACC} (only for MCE e.g. *prze-biegać* {per-run} "run across") or *prze-V* O_{ACC} (for MCE and non-MCE such as *prze-smażyć* {per-grill} "grill too much" or *prze-spać* {per-sleep} "miss (the stop) while sleeping", among others). Then, we will analyze the Japanese verbs *sugiru* "pass by"/*sugosu* "spend (time)", forming an etymological intransitive/transitive pair. V-*sugiru* can be divided into two groups, called by Kageyama (1993) lexical compound verbs (for MCE e.g. *toori-sugiru* {go along-pass} "go past") and syntactic compound verbs (for non-MCE e.g. *tabe-sugiru* {eat-pass} "overeat"), whereas V-*sugosu* forms only the lexical ones (for MCE/non-MCE such as *nori-sugosu* {ride-spend} "miss (the stop)", *ne-sugosu* {sleep-spend} "oversleep").

In doing so, we will argue that preverb-V and V-V form a complex predicate in relation to their complement. Moreover, we will show some cases, where it is impossible to express a given complex event in the level of word-formation, but instead by a coordinative construction, which we should also consider as a syntactic strategy, as supported by Croft *et al.* (2010).

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(Dis)continuity between Gesture and Language? Referring to YOU and ME in French and French Sign Language

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Personal reference is expressed through nominal expressions and pronouns in French and French Sign Language (LSF) alike. However, signs for pronouns in LSF take the same form as pointing gestures present in children's communication system since the age of about 11 months (Bates *et al.* 1977, Clark 1978). Continuity between pointing gestures and language is questioned by Bellugi and Klima (1981) and Petitto (1986), based on their observations of discontinuity and pronominal inversions in deaf signing children. According to them, children's pre-linguistic gestures are different from signs and may correspond to two distinct categories of pointing gestures: some indexical and some symbolic (Tomasello 2003).

In this study, we explore the issue of (dis)continuity between gestures and words/signs. We analyze data from three longitudinal follow-ups of two French speaking children, a deaf signing child (LSF) and a bilingual hearing child (French and LSF) aged one to three, filmed at home with their parents once a month. The corpus of the bilingual child is a nice 'missing link' between the studies on hearing monolingual French children and deaf signing children since it gives us the opportunity to explore the role and the status of personal reference in the early stages of language acquisition in a (hearing) child acquiring LSF and French simultaneously. All the recordings were coded using CLAN and ELAN. The researchers conducted fine-grained analyses of all the pointing gestures/signs, pronouns and nominal expressions used by the children and the parents to refer to themselves and their interlocutor and coded their semantic and pragmatic functions in context.

Our analyses do not enable us to differentiate "gestures" from signs and to observe any discontinuity. A very precise description of reference to self and interlocutor in the three girls' productions leads the authors to place pointing gestures and words/signs on a continuum.

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Children's first three-argument verbal constructions in French and English: a contrastive study of *donner* and *give*

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The gradual emergence of verbal constructions is of special interest for linguistic theory: children appear to be highly sensitive to the characteristics of the input, including frequency, semantic accessibility across wide-ranging contexts and with varying arguments, and the specific verbal patterns used by their caregivers (Choi 1999, Slobin 1985, Theakston et al. 2001). But they do not always produce *all* of the verbal arguments typically found in adults. In fact, a progression from incomplete to complete patterns (Bloom 1990, Valian 1991) has been observed, where forms with multiple arguments pose a particular challenge.

This study contrasts the development of constructions involving three arguments in English and French, in particular those based on the English verb *give* and the French verb *donner*. We analyze spontaneous language data from six children age 1;06 to 3;06 from the Paris and Providence corpora (CHILDES). Utterances from both children and caregivers including these verbs were extracted and coded for a variety of features concerning both surface form (verbal tense, person and number; presence and position of arguments, as well as whether they are expressed pronominally or lexically; clausal construction type) and semantic and pragmatic characteristics of the scene (semantic frame, pragmatic function). Utterances were also coded for whether an absent argument could be considered an omission in adult speech.

Preliminary results show significant individual differences in how and when children begin producing partial and full structures. Some children go through an early stage of producing incomplete structures that exhibit both imitation and creative reanalysis of the input, followed by a later stage dominated by complete forms with all three arguments. Other children seem to pass more directly from not using the verb at all to using the full three-argument pattern. In all cases, however, the transition is relatively abrupt: once a child uses all three arguments, he or she seems to match the adult patterns with few errors or omissions. Our results suggest that the particular path taken by each child depends on an interplay of cognitive skills, linguistic aptitude and exposure to the pattern; the latter may take some time, given the relatively low frequency of *give* and *donner*. Overall, these findings lend support for theories that emphasize the idiosyncratic and usage-based nature of linguistic development.

Our more detailed bilingual analysis will focus on two salient differences between the French and English cases: (1) *donner* is slightly more flexible than *give* in allowing more ellipsis of its arguments; (2) English has two main patterns for expressing three-argument structures, the double-object construction and the caused-motion construction (Goldberg 2006). We will examine the impact of those differences between English and French.

Dénomination non consciente de mots chez des enfants bilingues franco-turcs en grande section maternelle

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Les nombreuses recherches effectuées sur les langues des enfants bilingues grandissant dans un contexte migratoire convergent pour affirmer que ces derniers rencontrent à l'école des problèmes d'apprentissage importants (Backus 2004 ; Chalumeau & Efthymiou 2010).

Lors d'une étude de dénomination en français, nous avons observé que les enfants bilingues franco-turcs utilisaient leur connaissance en turc. En effet, il faut savoir que la langue turque a beaucoup emprunté au français depuis un siècle. Le nombre de mot français passé en turc serait de 4974 en 2005. Ces mots tels que *omlet*, *problem*, *tren*, *kamyon* s'écrivent conformément à l'orthographe phonétique du turc et se prononcent par conséquent de manière souvent identique à leur prononciation d'origine. Partant de ce constat, nous avons voulu tester l'hypothèse suivante : les enfants bilingues même très jeunes (5 ans) connaîtront implicitement les mots communs à leurs deux langues. Cette connaissance ne serait pas explicite, accessible directement mais plutôt automatisée et se manifesterait par un meilleur taux de dénomination pour les mots existant dans les deux langues que ceux qui existent uniquement dans la langue dominante.

Afin de tester cette hypothèse, nous avons eu recours à une tâche de dénomination de 36 images du logiciel Exalang 3-6 (Thibault *et al.*, 2006), destiné aux orthophonistes pour l'étude du langage oral des 3-6 ans. L'étude a été réalisée auprès de 18 enfants bilingues franco-turcs âgés de 5 ans et 18 enfants monolingues vivant dans l'agglomération lyonnaise. Les résultats ont révélé que les performances ont été supérieures pour la tâche de dénomination pour les mots dont la prononciation est identique aux deux langues chez les enfants bilingues. Nous discuterons nos résultats en lien avec les études réalisées en psychologie cognitive qui mettent en évidence le fait que les deux langues sont activées chez les bilingues et ceci même quand l'enfant s'exprime que dans une seule langue (Kroll *et al.*, 2008).

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Expression of PATH in motion events in Seri

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In Seri (isolate; Mexico) there is no morphological class of motion verbs, as such, this class of verbs is defined here as including verbs that occur in motion event descriptions. The PATH function (Jackendoff 1983) is expressed in these verbs and not in ground phrases (O'Meara 2009). In this paper, I present evidence to support the claim that Seri is best classified as a verb-framed language following Talmy's (2000) typology of lexicalization types in motion event encoding, keeping in mind that this classification is best thought of as a continuum (Slobin 2004), as there does seem to be hints of satellite-framing in Seri (see the directional *-iqui*, which means motion along a path).

One piece of evidence illustrating Seri's classification as a verb-framed language is provided can be seen in utterances where the same "satellite" *-ti* 'on' occurs with two different motion verbs, resulting in different path types, for example with *moca* 'that moves toward' resulting in a source path interpretation and with *tafp* 'arrives' resulting in a goal path interpretation. This is a slightly different from Sachs (2010: 60, 73), in which it is claimed that path is encoded in both verbs and satellites in Seri. A second piece of evidence supporting Seri's status as a primarily verb-framed language is that the distribution of path components in describing a motion event is determined by different verbs that express different parts of the motion event. This is a quality typical of verb-framed languages (Slobin 2004). Thirdly, I argue that what are called P-elements in Seri by Marlett (ms.) and which are equated with satellites in Sachs (2010) do not express path, but rather, at least in the case of *-ti* 'on' and *ano* 'in it', their variation is determined by the geometry of the ground object. Finally, in some cases Seri motion verbs do provide some amount of ambiguity as to the path that is expressed, as is the case with the verb *-iqui -iin* 'go'. In such cases, I argue that the type of path that is expressed is determined by the larger context of the utterance (cf. Nikitina 2009).

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Posture et position en yuhup, langue d'Amazonie colombienne

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L'analyse des données du yuhup fournit des éléments à la typologie de stratégies de codification de composants sémantiques spatiaux. Elle montre quels sont les traits sémantiques permettant de différencier les prédicats de posture de ceux de position. Les données de cette langue révèlent de stratégies mixtes de codification de la trajectoire, qui indiquent que le composant de direction est aussi important pour la localisation que pour le mouvement.

En yuhup, les constructions locatives traduisent systématiquement une grande quantité d'information explicite sur les relations spatiales, la trajectoire, la disposition de la cible et les caractéristiques du site par le moyen d'un système de verbes de posture et de position (simples et complexes), d'un riche système de noms et des particules de partie, région et distance, ainsi que d'un suffixe de cas locatif. L'information sur les relations topologiques est distribuée entre deux systèmes : le système verbal et le système de noms et des particules. Le premier s'oriente vers la codification des relations en termes de la cible, le second les codifie en termes du site.

Cet exposé présente deux parties. La première commente la différence entre les prédicats de posture et ceux de position en termes des traits sémantiques qu'ils codifient. Les verbes de posture spécifient la disposition du corps de la cible, mais aussi les types des relations de support et de contact entre la cible et le site. Les verbes de position, à leur tour, spécifient la relation de contenance et de support entre la cible et le site. La deuxième partie présente un système de préfixes locatifs qui ajoutent aux prédicats à radical simple de l'information sur : la disposition et le type de support d'une partie ou de la totalité du corps de l'objet cible, ainsi que l'orientation de son corps et/ou de son regard.

Le Yuhup, peuple de tradition nomade dont la population globale n'atteint pas les cinq cent personnes, se localise au sud de la rivière Tiquié et au Nord de rivière l'Apaporis, à la frontière Colombo-brésilienne. Leur langue appartient à la famille linguistique connue sous les noms de makú (Martins et Martins 1999), makú-puinave (Landaburu 2000), ou nadahup (Epps 2008).

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Variations linguistiques de la langue baka (oubanguienne) au contact du fang (langue bantu A75)

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Le baka est une langue oubanguienne parlée par une population de chasseurs-cueilleurs estimée à 50000 individus au Cameroun et à moins de 1000 au Gabon. Dans ce dernier pays, la situation des Baka est unique : seule langue oubanguienne dans un contexte bantu, arrivée récente, sédentarisation multi-causale (contacts, loi de rapprochement, etc.), isolement géographique du groupe souche, entourage quasi-exclusif des Fang (une des populations majoritaires du Gabon).

L'approche comparative des deux variétés du baka, celle du Cameroun (Brisson 2002) et celle du Gabon (Paulin 2010), a permis de mettre en évidence un certain nombre de changements. Il s'agit principalement de deux phénomènes : élision de la voyelle postérieure fermée ([u]→∅/ N – #) et adoption de l'affriquée [dz] aux dépens de la palatale [dʒ] correspondante. Autant le premier phénomène est peu développé, autant il est possible d'affirmer que le second a atteint son processus final chez les jeunes de moins de 30 ans. Le changement d'affriquée est, en effet, observable en temps réel sur trois générations en présence. Ces phénomènes sont à appréhender dans une perspective écologique de la langue dans la mesure où l'origine des changements (cf. Labov 1976) n'est pas mono-factorielle mais qu'il s'agit plutôt d'une combinaison de plusieurs types de facteurs à prendre en considération.

- Les variations inhérentes à la langue :
 - o traits typologiques ;
 - o attitude des locuteurs (variation intra- et inter- locuteurs), intentionnel, fonctionnel (Croft 2000) ;
 - o notion de prestige, modèle dominant ;
- Les phénomènes de contact :
 - o bilinguisme, diglossie (cf. Wolff 2000) ;
 - o emprunts lexicaux (faune, flore, maladie, etc.), utilisation de la langue ;
 - o phénomène aréal ;
- Environnement :
 - o sédentarisation, changement de mode de vie ;
 - o isolement, manque de revitalisation linguistique (et plus largement culturelle).

Il semble évident que les multiples facteurs évoqués ci-dessus interagissent entre eux. Aussi, l'utilisation de la langue est souvent fonction de l'attitude des locuteurs qui désirent, ou non, se rapprocher du modèle dominant. De même, certains traits typologiques des langues bantu du Gabon – comme le fait que lesdites langues présentent majoritairement des systèmes où les palatales ont tendance à disparaître au profit des alvéolaires et des dentales plus communes – peuvent se retrouver dans d'autres langues non bantu (i.e. le baka) suite à des pressions externes significatives liées aux phénomènes de contact. Ainsi, apparaît un phénomène aréal particulier pouvant regrouper des langues appartenant à différentes familles linguistiques (i.e. bantu et oubanguienne). Les deux variétés de baka, se trouvant désormais dans des contextes situationnels différents (contacts de langues différentes, pressions diverses, isolement croissant du groupe gabonais, etc.), tendent à présenter davantage de diversité.

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The status of alternations in construction grammar: a sorting task experiment

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Languages are replete with pairs of constructions that fulfill similar functions; such pairs have received much attention in the domain of argument structure under the name of alternations; e.g., the dative alternation: *Mary gave John a book* vs. *Mary gave a book to John*. Much research in construction grammar is aimed at contrasting variants of an alternation and describing them as largely independent constructions. However, the alternation itself is rarely discussed and often given little theoretical status, if any. In this paper, we present evidence from language comprehension suggesting that alternations should be given a greater theoretical importance.

Seeking empirical evidence for constructions, Bencini and Goldberg (2000) presented subjects with sentences obtained by crossing four verbs with four constructions (transitive, ditransitive, caused-motion and resultative), and asked them to sort the sentences into four groups. They found that many subjects do sort by constructions, suggesting that “constructions are psychologically real linguistic categories that speakers use in comprehension” (*ibid*: 649-650). In our study, we used the same experimental paradigm with a different set of sentences. Instead of contrasting verbal vs. constructional sorting, we investigated whether the presence of possible alternation relations has an influence on the way speakers categorize sentences. We used two pairs of constructions: (i) the ditransitive and *to*-dative constructions, related by the dative alternation, and (ii) the caused-motion and *with*-applicative constructions, related by the locative alternation (e.g., *Shannon sprayed perfume on Helen* vs. *Shannon sprayed Helen with perfume*). Importantly, these four sentence types instantiate three constructions from the perspective of construction grammar, since *to*-datives are arguably metaphorical uses of the caused-motion construction relying on the construal of transfer of ownership as physical transfer (cf. Goldberg 1995: section 3.4.2). Moreover, the verbs we used with the *to*-dative allow a pure change of location interpretation (e.g., *throw*), which makes these sentences more clearly similar to the other caused-motion sentences.

We asked 26 native speakers of English to sort the sentences into three groups according to their overall meaning. Under the assumption of a prior constructional sorting, the constraint of three groups implies that subjects have to decide which constructions they want to merge, i.e., following a purely constructional generalization (caused-motion + *to*-datives) or either of the two alternations. In a purely constructional account, we would expect speakers to sort *to*-datives and caused-motion sentences together; strikingly, no single subject produced such a group. About two-third of them (15 of 26) merged either the ditransitives with the *to*-datives (6) or the caused-motion sentences with the *with*-applicatives (11). Post-experiment interviews confirmed that they indeed relied on some aspect of event-level semantics shared by the alternating constructions (caused change of possession and caused change of location).

Our results show that the semantic extensions of formally distinct constructions can largely overlap, which suggests that constructional generalizations are not always stronger than generalizations involving alternations, as Goldberg’s (2002) surface generalization hypothesis seems to imply. We conclude that viewing alternations as a higher level of generalization is a thought-worthy avenue of research, which certainly calls for more empirical evidence.

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"On the use of *staan* ('stand'), *liggen* ('lie') and *zitten* ('sit') by French-speaking learners of Dutch. Report on an elicitation study"

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It is generally acknowledged that French-speaking learners of Dutch have considerable difficulties with the (grammaticalised) use of the posture verbs *staan* ('stand'), *liggen* ('lie') and *zitten* ('sit'). This can be related to the larger typological differences between Germanic languages on the one hand, being satellite-framed languages (in the terminology of Talmy 2000) which favour the use of manner verbs to describe location (and motion), and Romance languages on the other, being verb-framed languages, where location is mostly expressed by a neutral verb (e.g., French *être* 'to be' or *se trouver* 'to find oneself'). The difficulties that French learners have with Dutch posture verbs have been confirmed by a quantitative and qualitative corpus study (Lemmens & Perrez 2010), indicating that in their foreign language productions, French-speaking in general tend on the one hand to underuse the posture verbs and on the other hand to yet occasionally overuse these posture verbs in contexts where no such verb is allowed ('posture verb panic'). The latter observation tend to suggest that the L2 user has probably mastered the logic of certain specific uses, but also that they are overextending these insights to encode similar situations. A further qualitative analysis of the erroneous uses of the Dutch posture verbs by the learners moreover points to two interesting tendencies: firstly, the learners tend to some extent to use a posture verb instead of another ('posture verb confusion'), and secondly tend to use '*staan*' 'stand' as a default posture verb (as illustrated by the high frequency of *staan* in the erroneous sentences). These different observations seem to confirm the idea that the learner system is a system of its own right that follows a mixed logic: some "errors" are due to inferences from their native language yet others are due to overextensions of patterns they observe in the target language.

Building on these results, we will in our presentation (i) report on an elicitation experiment where francophone L2 speakers were asked to describe the location of entities as given by a controlled set of illustrations and (ii) compare these (semi-spontaneous) descriptions narrations to those produced by native speakers (in the same experimental condition). The data is part of a larger corpus of semi-spontaneous descriptions in English, Dutch and French and two sets of L2 data (Dutch L2 and English L2).

This analysis should allow us to confirm the tendencies observed in our previous study and to fine-tune our understanding of the L2 language system as far as the expression of location is concerned. Initial exploration of the data shows that native speakers are fairly much trapped in the use of posture verbs, not finding many equivalents. Conversely, the L2 speakers, tend as expected to underuse the posture verbs on the one hand and to show a high level of posture verb confusion on the other. Their tendency to overuse the posture verbs in certain contexts ('posture verb panic') is however not as pronounced as in our previous study (which is probably due to the experimental design used in this research).

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Have possessives and Be possessives as strategies in Portuguese? An empirical investigation in Cognitive Grammar

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Portuguese (in both varieties, Brazilian and European) has a standard strategy to express a predicative possessive construction such as:

- (1) “Eu **tenho** uma casa”
I **have** a house

However in specific contexts one can use a comitative strategy to express possession using a copula (*estar* TO BE) plus a comitative particle (*com* WITH) such as:

- (2) “Eu **estou com** uma casa na praia”
I **am with** a house on the beach (I have a house on the beach)

Both constructions have some particularities, example (1) means that someone has an permanent possession. Example (2) expresses transitory possession, as pointed out for some authors (Stolz, 2001; Avelar, 2008). In face of this phenomenon, Cognitive Grammar (Langacker, 2009) may offer some explanations for the case of Portuguese to have two strategies to express possession, in Langacker’s terms, a “Have Possessive” and a “Be Possessive” construction. For achieving empirical consistency, the “Corpus do Português” (Davies & Ferreira 2008) will be used in order to map the contexts of use of both construction and their variation within Brazilian and European varieties. It is expected that an empirical investigation might corroborate some insights from the **reference point analysis** used in Cognitive Grammar. A cognitive treatment may also touch on some other conceptual domains related to possession, such as locative, existential and comitative, offering a better picture of the constructions in question.

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Compréhension de texte et construction des connaissances lexicales. Quels enjeux cognitifs pour l'apprentissage ?

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Comprendre un texte suppose de construire une représentation intégrée des informations présentées successivement et de fait, d'établir une certaine cohérence entre les éléments perçus (Rapp & Van den Broek, 2005). Ces éléments, en partie d'ordre lexical, sont décryptés et assimilés aux éléments nouveaux du texte au fur et à mesure qu'ils apparaissent (même si les retours en arrière sont possibles à l'écrit). Ainsi, de la même façon que l'apprenant réorganise ses connaissances et construit des réseaux prototypiques en mémoire (Dubois, 1997), l'apprenant (-lecteur) fait émerger un réseau de représentations sémantiques des informations développées dans et par le texte, et lie les idées entre elles afin de répondre aux exigences de la progression linéaire (sa cohésion), de la composition organique (sa cohérence) et de ses conditions énonciatives (sa pertinence) (Defays, 2007). La résolution de la compréhension du texte littéraire écrit en langue française, pose alors des difficultés de modification et d'actualisation des connaissances par les apprenants de français langue étrangère et seconde (FLES) mais aussi de français langue maternelle (FLM). L'objectif de notre communication est alors d'appréhender au regard des recherches en didactique cognitive des langues (Billières & Spanghero-Gaillard, 2005) d'une part, les phénomènes sémantiques liés à la compréhension des textes par les apprenants et d'autre part, les enjeux cognitifs développés dans et par le texte lors d'un apprentissage fondé sur la construction de connaissances lexicales (Rançon 2009).

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Synchronic and diachronic aspects of English and French non-canonical passives: a constructionist account

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The proposed communication is a Construction Grammar account of synchronic and diachronic aspects of the English and French non-canonical passives in GET Ven and SE FAIRE Ver, respectively, as illustrated in:

(1) *He **got sent** to prison.*

(2) *J'en ai assez de **me faire arnaquer**.*

I have had enough of me_{acc} make_{INF} con_{INF}

“I’ve had enough of getting ripped off.”

Formally, non-canonical passives differ from their canonical counterparts with respect to the verb used as auxiliary. They have been shown to exist, among other languages, in English and French (e.g. Lakoff 1971, Spang-Hanssen 1967). However, the literature on the subject is not clear and unanimous on what the specificities of such passives are. Most importantly, the various claims which have been made on their semantic, pragmatic or stylistic characteristics are insufficiently grounded in real linguistic data.

Using quantitative synchronic and diachronic corpus-based evidence, I argue that:

1. Despite their formal differences (copular verb + past participle in English vs. causative reflexive verb + infinitive in French), both GET Ven and SE FAIRE Ver have evolved to acquire similar semantic, functional-pragmatic and stylistic (or register-related) properties that distinguish them from their canonical counterparts. All those properties define GET Ven and SE FAIRE Ver as passive constructions and must feature in their representation.

2. GET Ven and SE FAIRE Ver passives differ in productivity, SE FAIRE Ver being submitted to stronger restrictions on all three levels of semantics, functional pragmatics and stylistics.

Comparing past and present states of English and French regarding the constructions studied and their respective canonical counterparts, this analysis is a constructionist contribution to the study of variation within and across languages in synchronic and diachronic linguistics.

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Interaction between ideophones and gesture in Awetí (Tupian)

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The aim of this presentation is to show how gesture can meaningfully interact with ideophones in Awetí discourse. This interaction has not yet been studied to a great extent across languages (e.g. Kita 1997, Dingemanse 2010). I will discuss several typical examples from a documentation corpus of almost 20 hours of transcribed and translated audio and video recordings of oral narratives and task descriptions from this Amazonian language which is spoken by around 170 individuals in the multiethnic environment of the Xingu National Reserve in Central Brazil.

Awetí ideophones show many of the characteristics found in ideophones across languages. They are prosodically marked, have special phonotactic constraints and an ‘expressive’ morphology. They can be syntactically integrated to varying degrees and semantically depict sensory events. Most of them are conventionalized. In addition, Awetí ideophones may develop into verb roots – a process which can be observed in all its stages on the synchronic level.

Gestures can interact with ideophones in various ways: Iconic gestures narrow down the activities which are depicted by ideophones with a more general meaning. They may visually reflect phonosemantic characteristics of ideophones or vary in accordance with the discourse prominence or the degree of syntactic integration of the ideophones they synchronize with. In the context of motion events pointing gestures are used which usually depict the ‘path’ component which is also primarily encoded in Awetí motion verbs (cf. Talmy 2007). When uttered synchronously with ideophones which provide information on the ‘manner’ of movement, pointing gestures also reflect this component to differing degree.

The interaction to be demonstrated in the presentation is another illustration of the multi-modality of communication, i.e. that meaning is not just expressed linguistically, by lexicon and grammar, but that auditory and visual modes of representation can provide important information in oral discourse.

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Participant Referencing and Event Structuring through Semi-Cognate Deixis Markers in Several Northern Dene (Athapaskan) Languages

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Languages often develop specialized markers which lend cohesion and coherence to discourse, especially when it comes to the reliable tracking of central protagonists (key nominals) and episodic actions (key predicates). At a certain level of abstraction, there are cognitive parallels between the need to mark a central participant against all others and the need to differentiate between episodic and non-episodic events. Dene languages seem to deploy the same set of morphological markers to do both reference tracking and event structuring for discourse cohesion purposes. Ns and Vs can look remarkably alike and they can take similar-looking and similar-meaning particles (hence, the use of the term *semi-cognate* in this paper's title). As shown in the Tsuut'ina (ISO 639-3: srs) examples in (1a-b), the very same morpheme, *-(ʔ)i*, that can accentuate a nominal in discourse can also attenuate a predicate by virtue of rendering it nominal-like and unepisodic, which is obligatory when the verb is introduced by the subordinating (and suffixing) temporal conjunction *-gu* 'when/while'. In (2b), this same morpheme has a relativizing function, attaching to a fully propositional verb to give it a variety of readings such as 'the N that V', 'the N that was Ved', 'the place (N) where V happens'.

In a comparison of narratives in several Northern Athapaskan languages, we investigate the deployment of deictically sensitive markers like *-(ʔ)i* which seem to be doing similar work across categories in each language, although they are not necessarily cognate in form or meaning between the languages (few grams are beyond the postpositions). Nevertheless, the systematic exploration of contextualized examples in a variety of discourse genres (personal narratives, conversation, and stories) across related languages is yielding a plethora of indexicality, event-framing, viewpoint, evidential, and epistemic phenomena that have hitherto received scant attention in the Athapaskan literature. Moreover, the highly subjective, abstract, and context-specific nature of these grammatical devices provides real challenges for glossing (the grammatical glosses in (1)-(2) are provisional and merely intended to illustrate) and interpretation, especially since few fluent speakers remain and the devices are so different from their periphrastic English counterparts. These types of elements are most subject to or the result of grammaticalization. Since these languages have a historical record dating back, at most, a century, we must rely on comparison with other languages to better understand how these framing devices work so we can better assist remaining speakers to produce the most natural records of their highly threatened languages and to appreciate the textual legacy left behind by previous generations of fluent speakers.

- (1) a. *ɔut'i* *ɔisii* *ts'idoniska-ɔi...*
 and then PROX.DEM boy.PL-**DEICTIC**
 'and then, these boys...'
- b. *gadit-i-gu,* *ɔisii* *xalitsa giyigo*
 xagit'oh-idi.
 IMPF.3PL.Walk-**NOMZ**-while PROX.DEM old.man by-them
 they.passed.by-ASSERT
 'while they were walking (lit. during their walking), they passed by this old man'
- (2) a. *ɔisgòn.*
 IMPF.1SG.dry
 'I am drying (meat)'
- b. *jɔjà* *sígòn-í*
 berry IMPF.3.dry-**RELZ**
 'dried berries; berries that are dried'

Lexical-constructional subsumption in the Lexical Constructional Model: Some notes on *gather* and *collect* in present-day English

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The present study sheds light on the different kinds of constructional realization for the verb *gather* by contrasting it with the verb *collect* in the ditransitive, benefactive and caused-motion constructions. We will draw on insights from Levin's (1993) lexical semantics and Faber & Mairal's (1999) lexematics-oriented taxonomies. In addition, we will make use of the analytical tools developed by the Lexical Constructional Model (henceforth LCM), as propounded by Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal (2008). Levin (1993) classifies *gather* as a *get*-type verb whereas *collect* is listed among *obtain* verbs. Although *gather* is semantically similar to the verb *collect*, a number of relevant asymmetries need to be highlighted. Thus, the former can be found in the ditransitive construction (cf. *He gathered me some flowers from the garden*) whereas the latter cannot (cf. **He collected me some flowers from the garden*). It is our contention that the verb *gather* adds to *collect* the idea that what you get is put together in a coherent way. If you gather thoughts, you put them together or you assemble them so that they look like one whole. In the sentence *They gathered her some flowers* the verb *gather* suggests more than the mere collecting of flowers: they are put together so that the arrangement looks nice. For this reason, this verb fuses straightforwardly into the ditransitive construction, thus placing emphasis on the close relationship between the object and the receiver. By contrast, the verb *collect* is not felicitous in this construction since there is a mismatch between the idea of just finding and picking up objects and the emphasis of the ditransitive construction on the relationship between the objects and the receiver. Moreover, the verb *gather* is also compatible with the caused-motion construction as in *He gathered her to him*. This use of *gather* can best be accounted for with reference to Lakoff's (1996) metaphor THE SCATTERED SELF. This metaphor is part of a more general system of metaphors called THE DIVIDED PERSON according to which a person is an ensemble (the subject plus a self). The experiencing consciousness is the subject while the bodily and functional aspects of a person constitute a self. As Ruiz de Mendoza (1998) notes, self-control is envisaged as keeping the subject within a bounded region or in an upright position (vertical orientation). In this utterance the woman's lack of control over herself, is seen in terms of the scattered self. The action of helping the woman regain control (and thus feel comfortable) by holding her in his arms is seen in terms of someone bringing together into one whole the scattered parts. The use of *gather* instead of *collect* underscores the involvement of the figurative gatherer in helping the woman regain control.

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Utterance verbs: a special class of trivalent verbs in Mojeño Trinitario

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This paper defines a minor class of trivalent verbs on morphosyntactic grounds in Mojeño Trinitario, an Arawak language spoken in Bolivia. Trivalent verbs are well-known for being organized in different classes, often conditioning splits in the encoding of their non-subject arguments (Malchukov, Haspelmath and Comrie 2010). In Mojeño Trinitario, there are about 5 classes of trivalent verbs. This paper will compare one of these classes, the utterance verbs, to the monotransitive verbs and the *give*-type canonical ditransitive verbs. While in their non-derived forms the utterance verbs do not significantly differ in syntactic behavior from ditransitive verbs, once derived, they strongly diverge both from monotransitive and ditransitive verbs. This paper correlates this non-canonical syntactic behavior with the particular semantics of these verbs with three participants: agent, patient/utterance (Utt), and recipient (R).

Utterance verbs form a small class of frequently used verbs: *jicho* 'tell', *echjiko* 'speak', *yoseriko* 'ask', *jikpo* 'answer', etc. They encode the recipient as an object that can be indexed as a suffix on the verb when it is a first or second person. The patient/utterance can be encoded in a number of ways: as a direct speech, as a complement clause (a clause with future or irrealis marking, an interrogative clause *nuti n-yoseri-k-vi-yre* *meme kaeera-puka* to *v-yan-a.* or a nominalized clause), and rarely as an NP. The main difference with a canonical ditransitive verb is therefore that P is rarely expressed a simple NP, and cannot be a first or second person.

(3) *nuti n-yoseri-k-vi-yre* *meme* *kaeera-puka* *to* *v-yan-a.*
PRO.1SG 1SG-ask-ACT-2SG-FUT Lady when-HYP ART.NH 1PL-go-IRR
'I am going to ask you, Lady, when we shall go.'

Differences emerge when valency-increasing mechanisms are used. On canonical ditransitive verbs, causative and applicative are not accepted. On monotransitive verbs, they promote an additional object in addition to the P object, thus creating a double-object construction. On utterance verbs, the causative promotes the causee in the only object position (R and Utt are not expressed); the applicative results in encoding Utt in the only object position, and R is left unexpressed or demoted to an oblique *ñi 'móperu ñi-jikpu-ino ñi ñi-ya ñe ñi Japutuki*. The final result of valency-increasing derivations on utterance verbs is then surprisingly a decrease of valency from a ditransitive verb to a monotransitive verb. While the main goal of this paper is to define a class of verbs in Mojeño Trinitario, it simultaneously contributes to the study of non-canonical uses of valency-changing mechanisms. These mechanisms indeed apply differently according to the semantics of the verb base and its basic construction (Peterson 2007).

(4) *ñi 'móperu ñi-jikpu-ino ñi ñi-ya ñe ñi Japutuki*
ART.M youngster 3M-answer-APPL2 ART.M 3M-father PREP.M ART.M Japutuqui
'The boy answered the Japutuqui instead of his father.'

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Manner of motion in English and French child language: beyond lexicalization patterns

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Manner of motion has been shown to be more often and more diversely expressed in English than in French (e.g. Berman & Slobin, 1994:118; Slobin, 1996). This is because of structural differences that Talmy's semantic typology (1985, 2000) captures and explains: English being a satellite-framed language, it has a wide range of manner verbs that can be used together with path satellites. Such constructions are relatively rare in French, a verb-framed language, i.e. a language where verbs most often express path of motion, not manner. A number of language acquisition studies pointed to more frequent and diverse expressions of manner in English-speaking children's narratives (Berman & Slobin, 1994; Özçaliskan & Slobin, 2000) as well as in spontaneous depictions of motion (Hickmann & Hendricks 2006) thus confirming the impact of typological differences from early acquisition onwards (Choi & Bowerman, 1991).

Previous studies, however, were mostly concerned with verbal constructions, and the use of other linguistic means such as onomatopoeias and ideophones has barely been noticed (Slobin, 2004:250). In this paper we examine the forms that are not captured by Talmy's lexicalization patterns in order to see how they shape early interactions and early language acquisition.

We start by analysing manner of motion expressions in child-directed speech, using four longitudinal follow-ups: two English-speaking children from the Providence corpus (Demuth et al., 2006), and two French-speaking children from the Lyon corpus (Demuth & Tremblay, 2008). The variety of forms encountered in both languages, ranging from sound symbolism to a set of constructions defined in line with Kopecka's (2009) remarks on French, enables us to show how a more thorough inventory of manner of motion expressions considerably tones down quantitative differences between the two languages. As a result of typological constraints, however, the relative frequency of those less expected linguistic forms and constructions is significantly higher in French-speaking mothers and their children. We finally discuss how those findings can be accommodated within a moderate version of linguistic relativism.

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Mutual intelligibility among the sign languages of Belgium and the Netherlands

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Communication across linguistic boundaries is usually perceived to be easier in signed than in spoken languages, yet there is little experimental research investigating the nature of mutual intelligibility among sign languages. Certain aspects of language use in sign communities lead us to expect additional factors to play a role in understanding foreign signing, such as iconic structures (classifier constructions and constructed action) and mouthings (lip movements resembling the articulation of spoken words).

In an exploratory study of mutual intelligibility among the sign languages of the northern part of Belgium (Flemish Sign Language, VGT), the southern part of Belgium (French Belgian Sign Language, LSFb), and the Netherlands (Sign Language of the Netherlands, NGT), we tested the comprehension of VGT by signers of LSFb and NGT. In order to measure the influence of iconic structures (classifier constructions and constructed action) that linguistic analyses have shown to be highly similar across different sign languages, two genres were compared: narrative and informative signing. To investigate the effect of the overlap between the spoken languages surrounding the Dutch and Flemish Deaf communities, videos were presented in two conditions: first without and subsequently with mouthings.

Our results show that both LSFb and NGT signers understood narratives better than informative signing, thanks to the high number of iconic structures present in narratives but not in informative videos. Furthermore the results at least partially confirm our hypothesis that NGT signers benefit more from mouthings than LSFb signers, uncovering a source of intelligibility that is unique to sign languages.

| Region | Wallonia | Flanders | the Netherlands |
|-------------------|--|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Signed | Langue des Signes de Belgique Francophone (LSFB) | Vlaamse Gebarentaal (VGT) | Nederlandse Gebarentaal (NGT) |
| Spoken | French | Dutch | Dutch |
| Similarity | Manual component | | |
| | | Mouthings | |

A pilot-study for the causal remodeling of Italian instruments: *uno strumento che serve*

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Contrary to its sister relation of causality, for which many descriptive accounts exist, for instance of causal connectives in Dutch, French and English (Sanders and Sweetser 2009, Sanders, Spooren and Noordman 1992, Pit 2003) the notion of instrumental or tooling has received little attention in frame semantic, terminological or ontological approaches to language (Marsman et al. 2008). Recent research (Sambre and Wermuth 2009, 2010) has pointed out that these two relations are closely interrelated, to such an extent, that underlying causal patterns may contribute to the detection of explicit and implicit instrumentals. Moreover, on a formal level, the notions of causality and/or of instrumentality have been examined basically in satellite languages such as Dutch and English, in studies about prepositions or connectives for causes and their consequence, or, in Italian, in terms of complements and subordination type (Ferrari 2004; Renzi, Salvi and Cardinaletti 2001).

The goal of this exploratory research is to model the instrumental relation and its corresponding causal rationale for a verb-framed Romance language like Italian, and to further develop and refine an ontological template for instrumentals as parts of causal processes, based on authentic language use of instrumental verbs.

The analysis brings together Talmy's (2000) seminal conceptual characterization of the instrumental as part of a (volitional) causing action leading to a caused action with an effect on the one hand, and FrameNet's (2009) bottom-up definition of the Using and Causing frames and their core and non-core frame elements (FE). This global causal semantics for instrumentals, is complemented, in a second move, by the Construction Grammar description of real (written) language data in terms of these frames (Fried and Östman 2004).

We use the Italian *La Repubblica* newspaper corpus (Baroni et al. 2004), in two steps. First, we randomly look up verbal lemmas. Think of verbs like *utilizzare*, *adoperare*, *fare da*, *fungere da*, *servire da*, *servirsi* or *valersi di*. Second, the verbal patterns under study will be contrasted with the combined use of *strumento/ mezzo* nouns in NP or PP syntagms potentially interacting with causal verbs like *causare* or *condurre*.

We will present a conceptual template for instrumentality as part of causality complemented by an inventory of constructions for some basic causal verbs in Italian and the *strumento/mezzo* pair. The corpus examples are transcribed and inventoried as more complex (B)CxG instrumental-causal patterns based on syntactic order, part of speech and relevant frame element (FE) referring to the FU under study. These constructions allow us to provide more detailed semantics for the usage-based study of instrumentals. In line with Stukker et al. (2008) and in a more pedagogical vein Proudfoot 2005² and Nazarenko (2000), we conceive of causal relations across grammatical levels. Consequently, this pilot is one step in displaying the large array of (Italian) causal-instrumental evidence as a window on cognition.

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***Au fond*, on peut se poser la question : est-ce que les noms de localisation forment une base propice à la formation des marqueurs discursifs**

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Nous proposons une étude sur corpus consacrée à la description du comportement du syntagme prépositionnel *au fond*, en français moderne (*Frantext*, et *Le Monde*). Le nom 'fond' est un nom de localisation (Borillo, 1988 ; Aurnague 2001) qui entre usuellement dans la construction [dét/prép + *fond* + *de* + SN]. Il dénote alors une portion d'espace attachée à une partie spécifique du référent du SN de cette construction et dépend référentiellement de lui. Il peut renvoyer à la partie basse sur un plan vertical (cf. 1), où à la partie la plus éloignée sur un plan horizontal (cf. 2).

- (1) Transi, tremblant, je relevai le col de mon imperméable, enfouissant mes mains **au fond** de mes poches. Michel Del Castillo, *La Nuit du décret*, 1981
- (2) Un murmure de terreur a parcouru les serviteurs noirs groupés **au fond** de la pièce. Michel de Grèce, *La Nuit du sèrail*, 1982.)

A côté de ces emplois spatiaux, *fond* a également des emplois discursifs. Il est comparable aux marqueurs de reformulation non paraphrastique (Roulet 1987) ou aux marqueurs de reconsidération (Rossari 1990, Lepneveu 2006, 2007) proches de *en fin de compte*, *tout bien considéré* ou *en réalité*, *en fait*. *Au fond* se distingue de ces autres marqueurs par son haut degré de subjectivité.

- (3) Comme beaucoup de choses dans la vie paradoxale et comblée de Pandora, ce fut un échec retentissant. - **Au fond**, me disait Pandora, je ne suis pas faite pour le succès. Jean d'Ormesson, *Tous les hommes sont fous*, 1986.

Entre ces deux usages clairement spatiaux ou clairement discursifs, figurent toute une gamme d'emplois intermédiaires (4) :

- (4) Premier épisode d'une longue série d'événements, où une part de l'élite française, condamnant chacun des buts que je serais amené à poursuivre, mais, **au fond d'elle-même**, désolée de s'en tenir à l'impuissance, m'accorderait, à travers ses blâmes, le triste hommage de ses remords. De Gaulle, Ch. *Mémoires de guerre (1940-1942)* 1954.

Après avoir décrit les emplois spatiaux et discursifs, nous aborderons en discussion la question de la productivité de la construction en comparant le fonctionnement de *au fond* à différents marqueurs spatiaux qui semblent prendre le même chemin de grammaticalisation (*à la limite*, *en marge*, *au passage*, *d'un côté*, *à l'origine*, *à la base*) et d'autres encore qui semblent résister au processus (*à la proximité*, *au cœur*, *au bout*, *à la tête/ en tête*, *au niveau*, *au plan*, *dans le cadre*, *à la pointe*, etc.).

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Il y a des particules de démodulation en français

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Les particules de démodulation (en allemand 'Modalpartikeln' ou 'Abtönungspartikeln', terme français proposé par Nøjgaard 1992-1995) sont en général considérées comme une marque typique de certaines langues, notamment l'allemand. Le français, par contre, est souvent vu comme une langue dite pauvre en particules. Cependant, plusieurs chercheurs ont déjà remarqué qu'il y a bel et bien des éléments en français qui ressemblent fort aux particules de démodulation allemandes. Il s'agit notamment d'éléments comme *donc* et *quand même* dans les exemples suivants :

- (1) Asseyez-vous *donc*, dans la mesure du possible.
(Rolf Hochhuth, *Le Vicaire*)
- (2) Mais ne pouvez-vous *donc* penser qu'à votre procès ?
(Franz Kafka, *Le Procès*)
- (3) Tu ne crois *quand même* pas sérieusement qu'ils vont me flinguer ?
(Ulrike Syha, *Conduire en Allemagne*)

Söll (1974:149sq.) parle dans ces cas de particules de démodulation françaises, et Mosegaard Hansen (1998:41sq.) semble également inclinée à les catégoriser ainsi. Waltereit (2006:75), par contre, indique que leur comportement syntaxique diffère trop de celui des particules de démodulation allemandes pour ce faire.

Notre but est de montrer qu'il est tout à fait légitime de considérer ces formes comme des particules de démodulation françaises, et que notamment le contre-argument syntaxique de Waltereit est inapproprié. Nos arguments seront basés sur les résultats de différentes études, et se situeront à trois niveaux : l'analyse de particules de démodulation allemandes, la comparaison des deux langues en question (l'allemand et le français) et les principes de la grammaire des constructions ('Construction Grammar'). Ces arguments mèneront à la conclusion qu'il y a des particules de démodulation en français, qui sont en outre plus similaires par rapport à leurs pendants allemands que ne le suggèrent certains auteurs.

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Motion Events in Turkish & French: An Intra-Typological Investigation

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The verb lexicalization dichotomy originally put forward by Talmy (1985¹) is by far the most commonly used framework for the crosslinguistic investigation of motion event expressions. The dichotomy distinguishes between *path languages* (path of motion is expressed in the main verb and manner of motion in a separate component) and *manner languages* (manner information is given in the main verb and path is expressed through satellites).²

The present study has the aim of testing this dichotomy from an intra-typological point of view. We investigate two languages, Turkish and French, which are both assumed to be path languages. We look at the issue not only from the production side but also from the comprehension side, and our aim is to be able to see whether the two languages really behave the same way or not³. To this end, 20 native speakers of Turkish and 22 native speakers of French were tested. The stimuli used in the experiments were real-life video clips, each depicting a separate motion event (*e.g.* run into, hop up or limp across). All subjects first took the production task, during which they watched and described 25 video clips depicting motion events. Afterwards, they watched 30 other videos, each with a written sentence describing the action in the clip, and evaluated the acceptability of those sentences on a 1-to-5 scale.

The results of the one-way ANOVA show that Turkish and French speakers behave exactly the same in the production task and they almost always (95% and 97%, respectively) use path sentences in their descriptions. On the other hand, a repeated-measures ANOVA shows that speakers of the two languages behave significantly different from each other (on the .05 level) in the comprehension task. This latter result, which is not assumed by the dichotomy, will be discussed based on the morpho-syntactic and lexical semantic particularities of the two languages in question.

¹Talmy, L. (1985/2007). Lexicalization patterns: Semantic structure in lexical forms. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language typology and lexical description: Vol. 3. Grammatical categories and the lexicon* (pp. 36-149). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

²The original terms used by Talmy were “verb-framed languages” and “satellite-framed languages”.

³This is the first study in the literature, comparing the motion event uses of this particular pair of languages.

Estonian serial construction and *ma*-infinitive construction

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In this paper, similarities and differences between the two very similar constructions – serial construction and infinitive construction – will be discussed:

1. construction of a finite verb and the second infinitive (*ma*-infinitive)

Ta läks vaatama.

he go-PST-3SG look-INF2

‘He went to see’

2. serial construction

Ta läks vaatas.

he go- PST-3SG look- PST-3SG

‘he went and looked’

To analyse the difference between the serial constructions and *ma*-infinitive constructions, simple transformation tests were used: a serial construction in a clause was replaced with the *ma*-infinitive construction and *vice versa*. The differences of the clauses were attested and analysed.

One of the differences between the constructions under discussion concerns the goal-directedness of the activity described by the serial construction. The double finiteness encoded in the serial construction thus seems to ensure the completion of the event described more firmly than the finite verb + infinitive construction. A further difference between the serial construction and the finite verb + infinitive construction is that in serial constructions, the activities described by the verbs are carried out simultaneously or immediately after one another, while in case of the finite verb + infinitive construction, the activities may be performed at different times. (Tragel 2003) These features will be described in cognitive grammar approach by grounding (Langacker 1987).

Thus the two constructions which at first glance seem very similar and may be seen as synonymous have systematic functional differences.

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Les tendances universelles/culturelles dans la création de la métaphore conceptuelle : l'interface entre la synchronie et la diachronie

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Cette étude examinera les convergences et les divergences entre les schémas synchroniques et diachroniques relatifs à la création de la métaphore conceptuelle dans le cadre de la linguistique cognitive. En l'état actuel des recherches dans ces domaines, des linguistes ont tenté de proposer des tendances inter-culturelles pour la dimension synchronique, (entre autres, Kövecses, 2005, 2006), et des tendances intra-linguistiques du point de vue diachronique (Allan, 2003 ; Geeraerts & Gevaert, 2008 ; Trim, 2007). En revanche, les recoupements et les similitudes entre ces deux dimensions semblent être inconnus. Quatre scénarios majeurs seront proposés en fonction des études réalisées dans des langues culturellement et typologiquement diversifiées : (a) une tendance universelle des points de vue inter-culturel et diachronique ; (b) une tendance de longue durée dans une langue uniquement ; (c) des modèles répandus entre un grand nombre de cultures mais à des époques historiques différentes et (d) des métaphores conceptuelles dans des cultures très différentes mais sans preuve de durée sur le long terme.

Dans la catégorie (a), la métaphore conceptuelle dans le domaine des émotions en anglais, 'un récipient sous pression de l'eau bouillante = la colère', (*he blew his top*, Lakoff, 1987) existe dans d'autres langues culturellement différentes comme le japonais (Matsuki, 1995) ou avec une variante présentant le gaz (Yu, 1995), au lieu de l'image typique du liquide en anglais. Du point de vue diachronique, cette métaphore conceptuelle d'un récipient sous pression existe en langue anglaise depuis l'époque du vieil anglais avec la notion de gonflement en ce qui concerne la colère. La catégorie (b) regroupe des modèles pérennes, comme 'la vie = un chemin' qui n'existent pas forcément dans toutes les langues : en langue hmong, par exemple, la notion d'une ficelle remplace le chemin (Kövecses, 2005). La catégorie (c) est illustrée par des métaphores sur la partie du corps qui représente le centre des émotions. Les termes *splanchna* (Padel, 1992), en grec ancien ainsi que *hara* en japonais moderne, (Lakoff, 1987), signifient tous deux 'intestins' et représentent le centre des émotions à des époques historiques différentes. La catégorie (d) est plus incertaine sur le plan diachronique. Selon Kövecses (2006), la notion de 'soi' quant à l'orientation vis-à-vis de la conceptualisation des actions, etc., (*il a un grand avenir devant lui*, par exemple), se retrouve aujourd'hui dans un grand nombre de langues très différentes comme l'anglais, le hongrois ou le chinois. Le concept du temps est ainsi lié aux étapes d'une action mais des études diachroniques seraient nécessaires pour établir si cette correspondance au niveau synchronique remonte dans le temps.

Les conclusions provisoires de cette étude proposeront ainsi que, dans la majorité des cas, les tendances universelles des schémas synchroniques au niveau inter-linguistique varient d'une manière considérable par rapport aux parcours diachroniques de longue durée. Une correspondance conceptuelle à l'interface entre la synchronie et la diachronie reste, par conséquent, relativement limitée.

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Where are the phonemes in exemplar theory? A cognitive view

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A fundamental assumption in cognitive linguistics is that languages are symbolic systems and it is precisely this meaningfulness that motivates the learning of such a system. Exemplar theory proposes that speakers memorize innumerable tokens of any given lexical entry in so-called exemplar clouds, which are continuously updated (Goldinger 1998; Johnson 1997; 2005a, 2005b; Nosofsky 1998; Pierrehumbert 1994, 2001, 2002; Pierrehumbert, Beckman and Ladd 2000; Goldberg 2006). It has been argued that there are no exemplar memories of meaningless units such as the individual phonemes (Välimaa-Blum, 2009a) and that all knowledge of speech sounds belongs to metalinguistics (Välimaa-Blum, 2009b). The phoneme as a distinctive unit nevertheless does play a constitutive and contrastive role in the lexicon and the question arises as to (i) whether speakers ‘know’ the phonemes spontaneously after all and (ii) what their status is in exemplar theory in general.

In this paper, I argue that speakers have a fully specified exemplar lexicon memorized in an auditory form and that the articulatory instructions take place online (Coleman, 1998). Children’s first utterances are very little adult-like (Vihman, 2006, 2010; Vihman and Velleman, 2000; Vihman and Croft, 2007; Studdert-Kennedy, 1987) and only actual language use gives rise to adult-like pronunciations and distinctions such as minimal pairs. The process of learning a language means that the child gets highly skilled in matching his auditory perceptions and memories with his own productions. The highly fine-tuned recognition memory allows speakers to detect and conserve even subliminal cues in the incoming speech (Johnson, 2005a), which makes it possible for speech production to become sufficiently identical to the observed instances for the speaker to be understood by others. It has been argued that the segmental goals of speech motor control are acoustic-auditory, not articulatory, and that speakers form an internal model “of how acoustic signals correlate with vocal tract configurations” (Perkell et al., 2000:238). These authors also note that there is leeway in the place of articulation of a given sound so that not every episode of the same sound corresponds to identical movements of the articulatory organs, and that speakers vary from one another in terms of the size and shape of their vocal tract, which also introduces inter-speaker variability into the production of speech sounds. Phonemes in a language necessarily consist of a limited inventory and it is thus a fixed number of sounds that are repeated over and over again in continuous speech. With time, speakers’ procedural knowledge of this inventory of systematically contextualized sounds becomes so highly practiced that words end up auditorily corresponding to the surrounding language as well as to the memorized episodes of them in the exemplar clouds. But the goal for children and adults alike is accuracy of the meaning conveyed. It is through its frequent usage that language emerges in the mind, and in this, isolated sounds play no role, only semantics does. Grammar, too, is procedural (Pawley and Syder, 1983; Bybee, 2001; Bybee and Hopper, 2001) and by its nature, it never occurs alone. The same applies to the phonemes, which are only the constituent units of the words, never occurring isolated. Language use involves both of ease of articulation and ease of perception. The former is evidenced by the articulatory leeway and hypo-speech, and the latter is the central impetus for maximizing the similitude of spoken language with its meaningful auditory models. In this, implicit knowledge of the phonemes is not a prerequisite and therefore phonemes as such have no role in exemplar theory.

L'emploi pseudo-copulatif des verbes espagnols *ponerse* et *quedarse*: deux types de changement

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L'espagnol dispose d'une douzaine de verbes susceptibles d'exprimer une relation pseudo-copulative de changement (*hacerse*, *volverse*, *ponerse*, *quedarse*, etc.). Dans cette contribution nous nous concentrerons sur le changement exprimé par les verbes *ponerse* et *quedarse*. Ces deux verbes sont étudiés ensemble pour l'aspect de complémentarité qui s'en dégage: si *ponerse* suggère une mise en marche, *quedarse*, par contre, semble invoquer une mise à l'arrêt. L'hypothèse dès lors serait que *ponerse* donne à voir l'activation d'un processus alors que *quedarse* reflète un état d'incapacité. Cette double hypothèse tient compte de la notion de persistance lexicale (Hopper, 1991: 22), étant donné que *poner* ('situer, mettre à un endroit) est un prédicat locatif causatif, tandis que *quedar* ('rester, persister') est un prédicat locatif statique.

Nous comparons la portée de cette approche cognitive des emplois pseudo-copulatifs de *ponerse* et *quedarse* avec les différences aspectuelles habituellement mentionnées dans la littérature (Fente, 1970; Eberenz, 1985; Alba de Diego & Lunell, 1988; Porroche Ballesteros, 1988). Ainsi, nous vérifions dans quelle mesure la brièveté est propre à l'état attribué par *ponerse* à l'entité sujet, et si l'évaluation négative du résultat est plutôt liée à *quedarse*? Si ces propriétés se vérifient dans les exemples (1) et (2), ce n'est pas le cas dans (3) et (4).

(1) *Mi tío se pone muy alegre cuando bebe alcohol.* -- 'Mon oncle devient très gai quand il boit de l'alcool.'

(2) *Hace tiempo que he quedado viudo.* -- 'Cela fait un bon bout de temps que je suis [devenu] veuf.'

(3) *Muchas veces, el rostro de una mujer se pone grasoso durante el embarazo.* -- 'Souvent, le visage d'une femme devient gras lors de la grossesse.'

(4) *Se quedó contento con el regalo.* -- 'Il était content avec le cadeau.'

La validation de l'hypothèse se fait à partir d'une étude de corpus. Pour chaque verbe, nous analysons 800 contextes provenant d'un corpus de prose espagnole contemporaine.

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Les SP en [*sous* N] et [*under* N] : approche constructionnelle

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On s'intéressera ici à un type de structures ayant jusqu'ici fait l'objet de peu de travaux : les syntagmes prépositionnels à déterminant zéro, c'est-à-dire des syntagmes dans lesquels un nom normalement obligatoirement précédé d'un déterminant représenté (c'est-à-dire, pour l'anglais, un nom dénombrable) peut être précédé du déterminant zéro lorsqu'il est complément de certaines prépositions (*à table, par avion, sur demande ; at night, by mistake, on stage, under contract...*). Longtemps considérés comme de simples cas isolés de figement, ces syntagmes prépositionnels ont fait l'objet d'une réévaluation récente grâce à des travaux qui ont montré que cet emploi du déterminant zéro réapparaissait avec une grande régularité dans les langues disposant d'articles et de prépositions (Stvan 1998, Himmelmann 1998, Baldwin et al. 2006).

On présentera ici les résultats d'une étude de corpus contrastive portant sur les syntagmes spatiaux de type [*sous* N] et [*under* N], c'est-à-dire de syntagmes dans lesquels *sous* ou *under* sont suivis d'un nom de lieu ou d'un nom d'objet. A partir de critères syntaxiques et sémantiques, on discutera de la pertinence du modèle constructionnel pour l'analyse de ces structures. Comme l'a récemment souligné Peter Lauwers (2010), en effet, ce modèle n'a jusqu'ici que rarement été appliqué à l'étude des prépositions et syntagmes prépositionnels. On montrera que le petit nombre de SP spatiaux de type [*under* N] relevés en anglais (comme *under foot, under shelter, under cover* ou *under plough*) semble constituer un groupe hétérogène d'expressions au caractère assez figé, tandis que les SP de type [*sous* N] en français forment un groupe productif obéissant à des logiques propres. Dans une structure de type [x sous y], il est question non pas seulement d'une localisation spatiale, mais d'une mise en relation hiérarchisée et télélique entre x et y. Y, selon le contexte, protège ou masque x (*sous cloche*), le met en valeur (*sous cadre*), le bride (*sous muselière*) ou encore l'alimente (*sous masque à oxygène*). Ainsi l'emploi de l'article zéro est-il corrélé à un travail sémantique sur la préposition et à un passage du purement spatial au spatial télélique. On conclura à l'intérêt du modèle constructionnel pour l'analyse de tels syntagmes.

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Les marques de réciprocité dans les langues atlantiques : formes et fonctions

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Les travaux typologiques sur les événements, constructions et marqueurs réciproques ont connus ces dernières décennies un grand développement (Frajzyngier Z. and T. S. Curl. (2000) ; Nedjalkov, V. P. & Z. Guentcheva, Ed. (2007) et König E. and V. Gast. (2008)). L'organisation syntaxique des constructions (Maslova 2007), les différentes valeurs (Creissels & Voisin 2008) que peuvent avoir les marqueurs donnent aujourd'hui un éclairage nouveau pour les descriptions de langues. Notamment, les langues où ces constructions et les marqueurs sont atypiques, si on se base sur les premiers travaux qui s'appuyaient essentiellement sur les schémas connus dans les langues indo-européennes (Kemmer, 1993).

Dans cette présentation, nous voudrions utiliser cette avancée pour mieux comprendre et décrire les marqueurs utilisés dans l'expression de la réciprocité dans les langues du groupe Nord de la famille atlantique - phylum Niger-Congo. Dans un premier temps, nous montrerons que les langues qui composent ce groupe n'ont que très rarement emprunté la voie de grammaticalisation traditionnellement décrite pour un grand nombre de langues bantoues (Schladt, 1998). En effet, mise à part le bijogo (Seegerer, 2002), les autres langues n'ont pas construit la marque de réciproque sur la base de la préposition comitative. Il semble en fait que, mise à part cette exception, les langues atlantiques se divisent en deux groupes selon qu'elles ont suivi le continuum de grammaticalisation assez connu du REFLECHI > MOYEN > RECIPROQUE dont le fil conducteur est la non distinguabilité des participants ; ou au contraire emprunté une autre voie, considérée par Kemmer (1993) comme beaucoup moins fréquente, s'appuyant principalement sur le trait de la pluralité des participants PLURALITE > RECIPROQUE.

Nous montrerons également que quelle que soit la voie empruntée, les marques de REC dans ces langues ont toutes évolué vers l'expression d'événements de type co-participation.

Ensuite, nous nous intéresserons plus particulièrement aux langues qui ont emprunté le schéma PL > REC. Nous tenterons de voir s'il existe une corrélation entre ce continuum de création d'une dérivation verbale REC et l'existence de multiples marques encodant la réciprocité et d'autres types d'événements. En effet, dans beaucoup de langues atlantiques, on trouve dans les descriptions souvent plusieurs dérivations verbales indiquées comme marques de réciprocité. Ce schéma permet également d'expliquer d'autres dérivations dans ces langues. Ces dérivations créent au premier abord, un système de dérivations verbales assez atypique et complexe que l'on comprend mieux replacé dans le cadre de la PLURALITE.

Les sections sur les marques de réciprocité et de leur extension - co-participation - s'appuieront sur différentes langues de la famille atlantique, toutes du groupe Nord. La dernière partie s'appuiera essentiellement sur le wolof dont le système de dérivation verbale est mieux connu.

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Are constructions dialect-proof? Type-shifting within a variational perspective

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Recently-emerging interest in the study of construction 'coercion' has seen it as a means of resolving semantic indiscrepancies in the morphosyntax that are brought about by implicit type-shifting (Michaelis 2005: 47). Studies have included a variety of different languages, e.g. French (Lauwers 2008; Michaelis 2004), Spanish (González-García 2007), Tongan (Koontz-Garboden 2007), Chinese (Huang and Ahrens 2003) and English (Michaelis 2004; 2005). Less attention has been attributed to the nature of construction coercion and its interaction with variational phenomena in non-standard varieties of the languages with which it has been associated. In a recent study (Ziegeler 2010), it was conceded that count-to-mass nominal type-shifting, when applied superficially to a contact variety of Singapore English, was not realised in coercion effects due mainly to the fact that the categories of count and mass nominals were less salient in the dialect than in standard varieties (e.g. *Pedestrian This Way*; *Electronic dictionary is not allowed*, in which referentiality, rather than number, is marked). Ostensibly, such an explanation would seem to complement the coercion hypothesis if the hypothesis rests on the extant presence of the categorial distinctions such as count and mass nouns in the language concerned. However, the problems raised go much deeper, as, according to Traugott (2007: 525) constructions are specific to a language and a time period - thus involving also sub-varieties of a language. It is questioned, therefore, to what extent the hypothesis depends on the anticipation of category distinctions in the system and pre-existing syntactic definitions in order to be tenable. If it does, it would seem to run counter to some of the traditional principles of construction grammar, in which the constructions are non-compositional, form-meaning correspondences, defined also by frequency of use, their semantics derived from the surface framework of the construction itself (Goldberg 2006: 5, 2009: 94). Given instances of the parity of formal representations in the case of bare nominals in non-standard dialects, the question is then raised how to classify constructions in contact and mixed language varieties in which the syntax reflects one language and the lexicon is derived from another, and formal and lexical identity with standard varieties does not appear to presuppose construction identity.

The present paper investigates further the problems of construction coercion in contact dialects of English, using data from the *International Corpus of English*, and will provide additional examples of 'apparent' coercion from variational data. The interaction between diachronic construction grammaticalisation and contact constructions will be considered in an attempt to re-examine bare nominals in present-day, standard varieties of English, and to explain the possible reasons that the construction inventory of such contact varieties may be considered not incompatible with that of present-day, established varieties of English.

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Grammar as a Sequential Achievement: Socio-cognitive Perspective on English Learner Language Productions in Interaction

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Recent research has examined the integration of conceptual and methodological approaches in the study of language development (Behrens 2009). This study explores possible intersections of typological issues on the one hand and discourse-functional elements on the other. These elements are addressed relative to systematic interactional practices of grammar construction and a socio-cognitive approach to language development (Ziegler et al., 2006). Evidence that grammar is a multimodal and interactional achievement (Wells et al., 2004) has been observed a) “in situ” in spontaneous interaction and b) in multilingual settings of first and/or additional language development. Such linguistic environments raise the issue of suitable descriptions and descriptors for the learners’ verbal and non-verbal productions. Grammatical analysis of the target language or other languages in a multilingual environment doesn’t provide sufficient information for analyzing jointly produced utterances in interaction.

The current study focuses on instances of grammatical completions across turns in learners’ peer-to-peer multi-party conversations (by at least three different participants). Secondary school learners of English as an additional language were videotaped in an English classroom in Luxembourg. Language profiles of the multilingual learners include at least three of the following languages: German, French, Luxembourgish, Portuguese.

The set of completions under study highlight a) projected grammatical structures, oriented to by the participants in the deployment of the interaction, b) that transitions in the sequential organization of turn-taking are systematic in the construction of grammatical units, and c) that language acquisition, as an interactional achievement, points to the socio-cognitive nature of grammar and its constructions as a jointly completed action.

This study contributes to the growing field of studying English as an international language, as developed in multilingual peer-to-peer contexts where English is not a local language, shedding new light on more typologically oriented approaches to language acquisition. The results underline the role of interaction in grammar, allowing for further insights into considering larger or non-conventional compound units in the syntax-semantics interface.

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Ajustements codiques chez l'enfant plurilingue : effets de fréquence et enjeux pragmatiques chez un jeune garçon de Vénétie et des membres de sa famille

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Ce travail explore les ajustements à l'interlocuteur dans la production plurilingue d'un enfant grandissant dans la société de Vénétie (nord-est de l'Italie), où italien et dialecte se côtoient quotidiennement (Coveri, Benucci et Diadori, 1998 ; Berruto, 2005). Dans cette région, les enfants construisent leurs répertoires à partir d'un input fortement variable, souvent constitué d'usages mixtes, se répartissant le long d'un continuum entre les deux pôles que représentent le dialecte et l'italien (Berruto, 1993).

Nous observons la production Francesco, suivi longitudinalement entre 17 et 30 mois et celle des membres de son environnement lors d'interactions dyadiques et multipartites (35 heures d'interactions transcrites, environ 100 000 mots). Les interactions dyadiques ont été recueillies au domicile de l'enfant, où son principal interlocuteur est sa mère. Les interactions multipartites ont été enregistrées au domicile des grands-parents lors d'une rencontre familiale où étaient présents des membres de trois générations, dont certains rencontrent Francesco très rarement. Nous analysons quantitativement la relation entre la répartition des choix lexicaux de l'enfant dans les langues en présence et cette même répartition chez ses interlocuteurs. Deux types d'ajustements au contexte paraissent sous-tendre les choix codiques de l'enfant. Dans les interactions dyadiques, l'enfant converge sur le long terme (plusieurs mois) vers la répartition des choix lexicaux stables de sa mère. Cet ajustement semble le fruit d'une imprégnation implicite au contact des usages environnants. Dans les interactions multipartites, les choix lexicaux de l'enfant convergent rapidement (en une dizaine de jours) vers ceux d'interlocuteurs adultes peu familiers. En outre, l'ajustement est mutuel, les choix lexicaux des adultes se déplaçant également vers ceux de l'enfant. Comme le suggère l'analyse qualitative des interactions, cet ajustement mutuel sur le long terme semble motivé par des enjeux pragmatiques (ex : manifestation et renforcement d'une connivence entre le grand-père et l'enfant).

Finalement, si l'impact fréquentiel de l'input favorise l'acquisition de l'italien, la langue le plus souvent sélectionnée, les enjeux pragmatiques inhérents à l'usage encouragent l'acquisition du dialecte et sa transmission entre les générations. En nous appuyant sur l'approche sociocognitive *usage-based* (Tomasello, 2003), nous documentons ces deux aspects de la construction du répertoire multilingue.

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Les champs sémantiques et le processus cognitive

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Ce travail cherche discuter où des champs sémantiques sont situées, cognitivement. Ainsi, il se soutient sur l'idée des champs sémantiques proposée par certains linguistes entre 1920 et 1935 et, ensuite fondé par Saussure (1972). Et, également, il y a aussi l'idée de prototype de Rosch (1978) et Dubois (1990 *apud* PAIS, 2003). Pour la discussion sur la connaissance sémantique et comme il s'organise, nous avons présentés Luria (1931-1932 *apud* LURIA, 1976) et Miller (2001), aussi les études de Quillian (1968, *apud* MACEDO, 1969) avec le programme informatique de compréhension du langage qui s'appelle Teachable comprendre la langue (CCM) et l'organisation des mots dans la mémoire sémantique. Pour cela, Tulving (1983) est mentionné et dit que la mémoire sémantique et la mémoire épisodique sont contenues dans la mémoire propositionnelle. Et, finalement, avec les études de Dehaene (2007), "Les neurones de la lecture", à travers le traduction développée par Leonor Scliar, nous pourrions percevoir la manière comment s'organise et comment est le processus de la connaissance sémantique sur le cerveau, car il montre que la sémantique actif nombreux neurones distribués dans plusieurs régions du cortex, et entre autres, les régions frontales et temporales gauches, qui réunissent le sens des mots afin de faciliter l'accès aux connaissances sémantiques. Cela est démontré par des études de lésions de Wernicke (1875 *apud* KANDEL), Shields (1991), Leal *et al* (2005), Champagne, Desauels, & Joannette (2003 *apud* FONSECA *et al.*, 2006) et aussi grâce à des technologies comme, par exemple, la magnétique transcrânienne (TMS) et le Protocole d'Évaluation de la Communication, Protocole MEC.

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Spatial orientation in Nuristani languages: typological aspects and cognitive implications

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Nuristani languages, spoken in some river valleys high among the ranges of the Hindu Kush Mountains, belong to the Indo-Iranian sub-branch of the Indo-European language family. These languages show significant differences from their closest relatives on several levels of linguistic description. One of their peculiarities is the intricate system of directional pointers (constituted by prefixed or prepositional and postpositional particles). The system of spatial orientation in Nuristani languages is based on a dual system of reference: a lexicalized combination of speaker-oriented and landmark-oriented perspective.

The basic distinction of HITHER↔THITHER is supplemented by the distinction of HORIZONTALLY↔AT AN ANGLE (from below/from above) (see Figure 1).

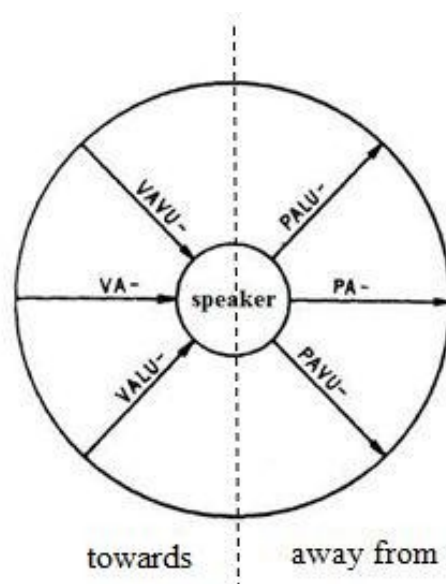


Figure 1

Speaker-centred basic spatial orientation expressed by prefixes in the Kati language
(based on Grjunberg 1980: 275)

This speaker-centred spatial orientation is further refined by locating an action in relation to the environment, primarily to the flow of the river, i.e. UPSTREAM↔DOWNSTREAM, and also defining whether the action is limited by some kind of barrier or not. All these landmark-oriented specifications are also expressed by prefixes.

Our aim is to analyse the structure of Nuristani locational-directional distinctions and to provide an overview of the locational-directional devices of Nuristani languages from three main aspects:

1. the historical-comparative description of the spatial distinctions in Nuristani languages,
2. the placement of the Nuristani system in a typology of linguistic coordinate systems based on a frame of reference for the description of spatial arrangement (cf. Pederson et al. 1998: 584),
3. the cognitive implications of the Nuristani system of spatial orientation, primarily as to its adaptive/functional value under the given environmental conditions.

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L'intervention du 'type' et de la 'phase' du *procès* dans la détermination de la forme verbale du « présent actuel » en berbère tamazight et en arabe marocain (en comparaison avec le français)

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Dans le domaine Temps-Aspect-Mode, le découpage des catégories grammaticales est variable car il est propre à chaque langue. Cependant, les représentations construites par les langues, bien que variables, ne sont pas irréductiblement spécifiques puisque le passage d'une langue à une autre est possible.

Pour étudier l'expression du *présent actuel* en arabe marocain, berbère tamazight et français, nous avons travaillé sur des données authentiques orales. Nous avons trouvé que cette notion n'est pas exprimée dans chacune des langues étudiées par une seule forme verbale mais par plusieurs. Nous nous sommes donc interrogée sur les paramètres qui interviennent dans le choix de telle ou telle forme. Dans cette communication, nous allons montrer que :

1 le type du *procès* (aspect lexical) joue un rôle principal dans la détermination de la forme verbale qui participe à l'expression du présent actuel en arabe marocain et en berbère tamazight ;

2 la forme du présent dépend non seulement du type du *procès*, mais également de la *phase* (du *procès*) sélectionnée (préparatoire, médiane, état résultant...) ;

3 toutes les formes verbales (même les formes généralement employées pour exprimer le passé ou le futur) du berbère tamazight et de l'arabe marocain peuvent participer à l'expression du « présent actuel » en fonction de la *phase* et du *type* du *procès* sélectionnés ;

4 la forme du présent de l'indicatif en français est polysémique, dans la mesure où elle exprime le « présent actuel » avec les quatre types du *procès* là où l'arabe marocain et le berbère tamazight font appel à toutes leurs formes verbales de base pour exprimer cette notion ;

5 en français, les achevements expriment le « présent actuel » soit par la forme du présent de l'indicatif, soit par celle du passé composé (accompli du présent) selon que l'on envisage la phase préparant la culmination (1) ou l'état résultant (2) :

- (1) Regarde! Il *arrive* !
- (2) Regarde! Il *est arrivé* !

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Variations sociolinguistiques, convergences des usages et interactions dans le groupe de pairs : suivi longitudinal d'enfants de 4-5 ans scolarisés en maternelle

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Les travaux de différents champs de recherche (sociolinguistique, phonétique, psychologie) ont mis en évidence un phénomène de convergence : les usages des locuteurs qui interagissent tendent à se ressembler. Ce phénomène a été bien documenté à deux niveaux : 1/ convergence à court terme au cours d'une seule interaction (Garrod & Pickering, 2004 ; Pardo, 2006) ; 2/ convergence à long terme au sein d'une communauté ou d'un réseau social (Beaulieu & Cichocki, 2002 ; Cheshire, 1982 ; Eckert, 2000 ; Labov, 1976, 1978 ; Milroy, 1987). Le but de cette étude est de documenter un troisième niveau de convergence qui reste moins étudié et qui fait le lien entre le long terme et le court terme. Il s'agit des convergences qui s'établissent à moyen terme au sein d'un groupe en formation.

Onze enfants scolarisés dans une classe de l'agglomération grenobloise ont été suivis de la fin de la moyenne section de maternelle (T1) à la fin de la grande section (T2), soit entre 4;7 et 5;7 en moyenne. Un premier type d'observation a consisté à recueillir leurs usages langagiers. À l'aide de systèmes VHF, les enfants ont été enregistrés lors de moments d'activités libres en compagnie de leur enseignante. Aux deux temps d'observation, il leur était demandé également de produire un récit oral face à un adulte inconnu. Trois variables sociolinguistiques du français ont été analysées : la liaison facultative, la suppression optionnelle du /R/ après consonne en fin de mot et la suppression optionnelle du /l/ des pronoms il(s) et elle(s). Un second type d'observation concernait l'évaluation des variables sociolinguistiques. Lors d'une tâche de jugement d'acceptabilité, deux peluches animées par l'enquêteur prononçaient les deux variantes d'une variable sociolinguistique. L'enfant devait désigner la peluche qui avait « bien parlé ». Un troisième type d'observation visait à déterminer l'organisation et la densité des interactions dans le groupe. Dans ce but, nous avons emprunté à l'éthologie une méthode d'observation directe appelée scan sampling (Altmann, 1974 ; Santos, Vaughn & Bonnet, 2000) qui a été complétée par une technique classique de sociométrie, amenant chaque enfant à classer ses camarades en fonction de leurs liens affinitaires.

L'analyse quantitative des résultats montre qu'après un an de fréquentation dans le cadre scolaire, les usages sociolinguistiques enfantins convergent de T1 à T2 en situation de conversation ordinaire. Hors du groupe, en situation de récit, aucune convergence n'est décelée. Par ailleurs, il apparaît que cette convergence des usages est liée aux patrons d'interactions dans le groupe et à leur évolution. Au T1, les interactions sont focalisées : certains enfants n'interagissent jamais ensemble. Ceux qui interagissent s'influencent mutuellement dans leur usage des variantes, mais ils n'influencent pas les autres. Au T2, chaque enfant interagit avec un plus grand nombre d'individus. Les variantes « circulent » davantage au sein du groupe, les usages s'homogénéisent et convergent. Hormis la modification des patrons d'interaction, nous ne notons aucune influence du sentiment normatif ou du statut sociométrique sur l'usage des variables sociolinguistiques et leur évolution.

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Order and syncretism of postpositions in Brazilian Indigenous languages

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Like prepositions, postpositions are a closed class in natural languages, but rather than precede, they follow a nominal element of nominal nature, forming a full constituent with this in the clause. Adopting the assumptions of linguistic typology, whose goal is to group different languages according to the properties that they display in common (Whaley, 1997; Croft, 2003), the aim of this paper is to present the system of postpositions in five Brazilian Indigenous languages (the Dâw – Maku, Ikpeng – Carib, Matis – Pano, Kamaiurá – Tupi-Guarani and Wapixana – Arawak), and to compare it with the Greenberg's Universal 3 (1966) and the syncretism of prepositions presented by Stolz (1996).

The Greenberg's Universal 3 (1966) says that languages with order dominant VSO are always prepositional. Combining this implicational universal with the Dryer's (1991) work, it follows logically that if a language has a type OV, it will be postpositional. Like all languages selected for our analysis have postpositions, we confronted such implicational with them.

In relation to syncretism presented by Stolz (1996), we saw that the natural languages have, mostly, the same item for the comitative and instrumental functions, which express, respectively, the semantic functions of comitativity and instrumentality.

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Cognition and textual informativeness: Variation of the subject pronoun *nosotros* (we) in discourse

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Variation between expression and omission of subject pronouns *nosotros* (we) in Spanish may be studied according to a gradual conceptualization of cognitive salience (Croft and Cruse 2004:73) and textual informativeness (Beaugrande and Dressler (1997: 201). If a pronoun is not explicitly formulated in discourse this may be explained through the conceptualization of cognitive prominence, which makes its referent accessible thus making it unnecessary to disambiguate or stress it (\emptyset Fuimos de compras ‘(We) went shopping’) (Ariel 1990). On the contrary, expressed pronouns relate to textual informativeness, a tool for textual coherence generating propositional contents that are felt as unexpected or in need to be pragmatically highlighted (*Nosotros* fuimos de compras ‘WE went shopping’). This poster will present some issues of research on variable expression of the subject pronoun *nosotros*, focusing on the meanings created in discourse by means of either gradual cognitive prominence or informativeness of the omitted and expressed variants respectively. A bunch of spontaneous conversational texts has been surveyed from the *Corpus Conversacional del Español de Canarias* (CCEC).

Results indicate that omitted *nosotros* is the most frequent variant in the corpus. It helps create meanings derived from the inclusion of the speaker’s and hearer’s referents in the propositional content signaled by the prominence of the omitted pronoun, among them those related to pragmatic politeness. The use of omitted *nosotros* often protects the hearer’s face by involving the speaker in that content:

\emptyset *Hoy vamos a terminar pronto* \ (CCEC<ElEn08>)
(‘Today (we) are going to finish very soon’)

Such function is not performed by the expressed variant. In turn, when *nosotros* becomes formulated it communicates meanings related to textual informativeness, centering the attentional focus on the pronoun itself:

Dicen que no la firman porque no es obligatoria \
no es obligatorio que nosotros estemos disponibles las 24 horas \ (CCEC <ElEn08>)
(‘They told us not to sign it since this is not mandatory|
it is not necessary for US to be available 24 hours a day’).

Conclusions will show that cognitive prominence and textual informativity are gradual notions which, in conjunction with other sociosituational traits, draw up meanings suitable for speakers to achieve their communicative goals in discourse.

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