10th
International Contrastive Linguistics Conference

I C
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July 18-21, 2023
Mannheim, Germany

Foreword

This is a pre-conference version of the conference booklet of the 10th International Contrastive Linguistics Conference (ICLC-10) that will take place in Mannheim, Germany, from 18 to 21 July 2023. It contains

– a description of the conference aims,
– details on the conference venue,
– information on committees,
– the preliminary conference program (as of 3 July 2023),
– the abstracts of the keynotes, oral and poster presentations, and
– an author index.

The final version of the conference booklet, including the final program and the abstracts of the talks and posters actually presented at the conference will be published after the conference.

Contact

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Abstracts of Keynotes

Abstracts of Oral and Poster Presentations

ICLC Conferences

The aim of the ICLC conference series, running since 1998, is to encourage fine-grained cross-linguistic research comprising two or more languages from a broad range of theoretical and methodological perspectives. ICLC brings together researchers from different linguistic subfields (and neighboring disciplines) to continue the (interdisciplinary) dialog on comparing languages, to foster the development of an international community, to discuss the state of the art, and to advance possible new areas of cross-linguistic research. Contrastive Linguistics as a linguistic subfield has had a checkered history, but comparative and contrastive work has always been and continues to be an important part of linguistic research. New impulses for comparative and contrastive work include the increasing availability of multilingual corpora or comparative work drawing on naturalistic interaction data. At this anniversary edition of ICLC, we want to provide a stage for the presentation of such new work, and reflect the past, current and future developments of contrastive research in linguistics.

Conference Venue

The *10th International Contrastive Linguistics Conference* (*ICLC-10*) will take place in Mannheim, Germany, on the premises of the University of Mannheim.

Conference venue details:

Universität Mannheim
68131 Mannheim
Germany

The GPS coordinates of the Mannheim Palace (German: Mannheimer Schloss), where the University of Mannheim is located, are: N 49°28'58'' E 8°27'42''

The map and directions, the map of the campus and the map of the lecture halls and classrooms are provided at

https://www.uni-mannheim.de/en/about/map-and-directions/

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F7 F6 F5 F4 F3 F2 F1 Q1 Q2 Q3 Q4 Q5 Q6 Q7

E7 E6 E5 E4 E3 E2 E1 P1 P2 P3 P4 P5 P6 P7 Wasserturm

Paradeplatz Strohmarkt Wasserturm

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11 10 2 1 3 4 5 6 L5 L9 L11 L13 L15 L7

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Universität (Steig 2) Universität (Steig 3) Hauptbahnhof

Konrad-Adenauer-Brücke

LECTURE HALLS AND CLASSROOMS

CAMPUS WEST

B6

Bauteil D

Bauteil A-C 15 Bauteil E+F

A5 Bauteil C

Bau-teil A 14

12 13 Bauteil B

A3 16

1 O 048 Ostflügel, ground floor	6		11	
2 O 102 Aula, 1. floor	7		12	
3 O 126 to O 151 Ostflügel, 1. floor			13	
4 SN 163 / SN 169 Schneckenhof Nord, half way up the stairs	8		14	
5 SO 108 Schneckenhof Ost, 1. floor	9		15	
	10		16	

Bismarckstraße

SCHLOSS

L9

L7

Committees

Organising Committee:

- Beata Trawiński (IDS Mannheim, Chair)
- Marc Kupietz (IDS Mannheim)
- Kristel Proost (IDS Mannheim)
- Jörg Zinken (IDS Mannheim)

Scientific Committee:

- Hagen Augustin (IDS Mannheim)
- Annalisa Baicchi (University of Genoa)
- Heike Baldauf (Lyon University)
- Vladimír Benko (Slovak Academy of Sciences)
- Tony Berber Sardinha (São Paulo Catholic University)
- Tilman Berger (University of Tübingen)
- Emma Betz (University of Waterloo, Canada)
- Hans Boas (University of Texas at Austin)
- Anna Bondaruk (The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin)
- Bernhard Brehmer (University of Konstanz)
- Anna Čermáková (Charles University)
- Ruxandra Cosma (University of Bukarest)
- Andressa Costa (São Paulo Catholic University)
- Dániel Czicza (IDS Mannheim)
- Oliver Czulo (Universität Leipzig)
- Maria Claudia Delfino (São Paulo Catholic University)
- Arnulf Deppermann (IDS Mannheim)
- Nils Diewald (IDS Mannheim)
- Elaine Dhonnchadha (Trinity College, Dublin)
- Oliver Ehmer (University of Osnabrück)
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- Marja Etelämäki (University of Helsinki)
- Carolina Flinz (University of Milan)
- Livio Gaeta (Università degli Studi di Turino)
- Francoise Gallez (Université Catholique de Louvain, Université Saint-Louis Brüssel)
- Giannoula Giannoulopoulou (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)
- Gaëtanelle Gilquin (Université Catholique de Louvain)
- María de los Ángeles Gómez González (Universidade de Santiago de Compostela)
- Francisco Gonzálvez-García (Universidad de Almería)
- Sylviane Granger (Université Catholique de Louvain)
- Lutz Gunkel (IDS Mannheim)

- Thomas Herbst (University of Erlangen)
- Laura Herzberg (University of Mannheim)
- Martin Hilpert (Université de Neuchâtel)
- Mai Hodac (University of Toulouse)
- Nam Hui Kim (Kyungpook National University, Daegu / Südkorea)
- Gianina Iordăchioaia (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)
- Tommi Jauhiainen (University of Helsinki)
- Andreas Jucker (University of Zurich)
- Johannes Kabatek (University of Zurich)
- Minkyeong Kang, Tohoku University (Japan)
- John Kirk (University of Vienna)
- Sonja Kleinke (University of Heidelberg)
- Annette Klosa-Kückelhaus (IDS Mannheim)
- Sabine De Knop (Université Saint-Louis, Brüssel)
- Michal Křen (Charles University, Prague)
- Kerstin Kunz (Universtiy of Heidelberg)
- Uwe-Alexander Küttner (IDS Mannheim)
- Daniela Landert (University of Heidelberg)
- Marie-Aude Lefer (Université Catholique de Louvain)
- Torsten Leuschner (University of Gent)
- Jan Lindström (University of Helsinki)
- Henning Lobin (IDS Mannheim)
- Oscar Loureda Lamas (University of Heidelberg)
- Harald Lüngen (IDS Mannheim)
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- Meike Meliss (Universidade de Santiago de Compostela)
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- Tanja Mortelmans (Universiteit Antwerpen)
- Christine Möhrs (IDS Mannheim)
- Johannes Müller-Lance (Universität Mannheim)
- Arja Nurmi (Tampere University)
- Kim Oger (University of Reims)
- Eva Ogiermann (King's College London)
- Signe Oksefjell Ebeling (University of Oslo)
- Florence Oloff (IDS Mannheim)
- Giulio Pagonis (University of Heidelberg)
- Irina Podtergera (University of Heidelberg)
- Renate Raffelsiefen (IDS Mannheim)

- Chase Wesley Raymond (University of Collorado Boulder, USA)
- Tinka Reichmann (Universität Leipzig)
- Giovanni Rossi (UCLA, USA)
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- Eva Schaeffer-Lacroix (Sorbonne Université)
- Susan Schlotthauer (IDS Mannheim)
- Kerstin Schwabe (IDS Mannheim)
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- Torgrim Solstad (University of Bielefeld)
- Jakob Steensig (Aarhus University)
- Katrin Steyer (IDS Mannheim)
- Doris Stolberg (IDS Mannheim)
- Petra Storjohann (IDS Mannheim)
- Janusz Taborek (University of Poznań)
- Carmen Taleghani-Nikazm (OSU, USA)
- Elke Teich (Saarland University)
- Pius ten Hacken (Universität Innsbruck)
- Nadine Thielemann (Technische Universität Wien)
- Alina Tigau (University of Bucharest)
- Peter Uhrig (University of Erlangen)
- Hélène Vinckel-Roisin (Université de Lorraine)
- Björn Wiemer (Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz)
- Klaas Willems (Universiteit Gent)
- Nicholas Williams (Potsdam University)
- Zekun Wu (Zhejiang University)
- Jiajin Xu (Beijing Foreign Studies University)
- Arne Zeschel (IDS Mannheim)
- Alexander Ziem (University of Düsseldorf)

Conference Program

This is the preliminary conference program (as of 3 July 2023), which is also available online at https://iclc10.ids-mannheim.de/program.shtml. Please note that there might be some last-minute changes.

ICLC-10: 10TH INTERNATIONAL CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS CONFERENCE

`PROGRAM` `AUTHORS` `KEYWORDS`

PROGRAM

Days: Tuesday, July 18th   Wednesday, July 19th   Thursday, July 20th   Friday, July 21st

Tuesday, July 18th

View this program: with abstracts   session overview   talk overview

15:00-19:00   Session 1: REGISTRATION
LOCATION: O138
19:00-22:00   GET-TOGETHER (Location: TBA)

Wednesday, July 19th

View this program: with abstracts   session overview   talk overview

08:00-09:00   Session 2: REGISTRATION
LOCATION: O138
09:00-09:30   Session 3: OPENING SESSION
LOCATION: Aula
09:30-10:30   Session 4: PLENARY TALK

CHAIR: *Beata Trawinski* (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
LOCATION: Aula

09:30 *Martin Haspelmath* (Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig, Germany)
Language structures are unique but comparative grammar is nevertheless useful

10:30-11:00   ☕ COFFEE BREAK
11:00-12:30   Session 5A: Corpus-based Studies

CHAIR: *Stefan Hartmann* (HHU Düsseldorf, Germany)

LOCATION: O129

11:00 *Regina Zieleke* (Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Germany)
Polarity and particles – Marking double contrast across Germanic languages

11:30 *Susanne Triesch* (Universität Leipzig, Germany)
Oliver Czulo (Universität Leipzig, Germany)
A Frame-Based Approach to the Pragmatics of "bekanntlich" and English Translation Equivalents

12:00 *Tiago Augusto Duarte* (University of Cologne, Germany)
Haydar Batuhan Yildiz (University of Cologne, Germany)
Marco García García (University of Cologne, Germany)
Klaus von Heusinger (University of Cologne, Germany)
Differential Object Marking and discourse prominence in Spanish and Turkish

11:00-12:30   Session 5B: Pragmatics

LOCATION: O131

11:00 *Audrey Bonvin* (University of Fribourg, Switzerland)
Raphael Berthele (University of Fribourg, Switzerland)
De schlussaendlich entscheidet er sich doch z'springe: contrastive linking in oral narrative in (Swiss) German and French

11:30 *Svenja Dufferain-Ottmann* (Universität Mannheim, Romanisches Seminar, Germany)
French enunciative pragmatics meets German discourse linguistics based on Foucault: the concept of polyphony as an operationalization instrument of "voice" in discourse

12:00 *Sam Schirm* (Universität Bielefeld, Germany)
Melissa Juillet (Université Neuchâtel, Switzerland)
Discourse markers and second language acquisition: opposite trajectories of French parce que (because) and German also (so) as "my-side" prefaces

11:00-12:30   Session 5C: Quantitative Approaches

CHAIR: *Andreas Witt* (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
LOCATION: O145

11:00 *Alexander Koplenig* (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Sascha Wolfer (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Peter Meyer (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Human languages trade off complexity against efficiency

11:30 *Natalia Levshina* (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Netherlands)
Adèle Ribeiro (University of Marburg, Germany)
"Who did what to whom": Measuring and explaining cross-linguistic differences

12:00 *Hanna Mahler* (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Germany)
The use of verb phrases in English and German - A quantitative case study using comparable corpus data

11:00-12:30	Session 5D: Syntax and Morphology

CHAIR: *Björn Wiemer* (Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany)
LOCATION: O135

11:00 *Max Bonke* (Universität zu Köln, Germany)
Restrictions on subordinators in Russian and Spanish elliptical clauses

11:30 *Kerstin Schwabe* (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Karolina Zuchewicz (U Leipzig, Germany)
NP + infinitival and participial clausal constructions in German, English, Italian, Hungarian, and Polish

12:00 *Maria Miaouli* (National Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece)
Contrastive analysis of Modern Greek and French converbs

11:00-12:30	Session 5E: Construction Grammar

LOCATION: O133

11:00 *Víctor Royo Viñuales* (Université de Liège - Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium)
Wout Van Praet (Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium)
Liesbeth Degand (Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium)
An Van Linden (Université de Liège - KU Leuven, Belgium)
A contrastive-constructional approach to (in)subordination: the case of hypothetical manner clauses in French and Spanish

11:30 *Pilar Ron Vaz* (University of Huelva, Spain)
Not to mention "por no decir": A contrastive study of a complementary alternation discourse constructions in English and Spanish

12:00 *Jong-Bok Kim* (Kyung Hee University, South Korea)
Raul Aranovich (University of California at Davis, United States)
Contrasts in the Spanish and Korean External Possession Constructions: A Construction Grammar Approach

12:30-14:00	⊩ LUNCH BREAK

14:00-15:30	Session 6A: Cross-cultural Pragmatics

LOCATION: O129

14:00 *Monika Messner* (University of Innsbruck, Austria)
Crosslinguistic and crosscultural perspectives on destination advertising: The case of

French, Italian and Spanish destination ads

14:30 *Julia Landmann* (University of Basel, Switzerland)
Animal proverbs - a cross-cultural perspective

15:00 *Maria Becker* (University of Heidelberg, Germany)
Bruno Brocai (Heidelberg University, Germany)
Lars Tapken (Heidelberg University, Germany)
Detection and Analysis of Moralization Practices Across Languages and Domains

14:00-15:30 Session 6B: Language Contact and Typology

LOCATION: O131

14:00 *Vladislava Warditz* (University of Potsdam, Germany)
Natalia Meir (Bar Ilan University, Israel)
Marina Avramenko (Bar Ilan University, Israel)
Contrastive linguistics meets heritage languages: A cross-linguistic study on address forms in bilingual Russian speakers in Germany and Israel

14:30 *Thomas Strobel* (Goethe University Frankfurt, Institute of Linguistics, Germany)
Comparing grammatical doubts in Germanic and Romance

15:00 *Martina Irsara* (Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, Italy)
Degree and standard markers in English, Italian, and Ladin: A contrastive analysis based on typological findings

14:00-15:30 Session 6C: Corpus-based Studies

LOCATION: O133

14:00 *Milena Belosevic* (Bielefeld University, Germany)
A corpus-based contrastive approach to name blending in German and English

14:30 *Stella Neumann* (RWTH Aachen University, Germany)
On distributional patterns of verbs in English and German

14:00-15:30 Session 6D: Theory and Methodology

CHAIR: *Lutz Gunkel* (Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Mannheim, Germany)
LOCATION: O135

14:00 *Giannoula Giannoulopoulou* (University of Athens, Greece)
Is Contrastive Linguistics possible without a theoretical framework?

14:30 *Torsten Leuschner* (Ghent University, Belgium)
Tom Bossuyt (Ghent University, Belgium)
Contrastive Linguistics as Pilot Typology: the Case of Concessive Conditionals

15:00 *Tom Bossuyt* (Ghent University, Belgium)
Eline Daveloose (Ghent University, Belgium)
Cappadocian concessive conditionals: Divergence from Greek and contact with Turkish

14:00-15:30	Session 6E: Phonetics and Phonology / Morphosyntax

LOCATION: O145

14:00 *Ekaterina Medvedeva* (Leipzig University, Germany)
Prithivi Pattanayak (Leipzig University, Germany)
Razieh Shojaei (Leipzig University, Germany)
Eva Zimmermann (University of Leipzig, Germany)
A new typology of lexical accent competition

14:30 *Alessandra Domizi* (Universität Mannheim, Germany)
Is German the ugliest language in Europe? An Empirical Study about the Aesthetic Perception of Languages

15:00 *Katrin Schlund* (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Germany)
Anna Pavlova (Universität Mainz, Germany)
Two is Better than One: Total Lexical Reduplicates in Russian and their Equivalents in German

15:30-16:00	☕ COFFEE BREAK

16:00-17:30	Session 7A: Multimodality

LOCATION: O129

16:00 *Ramona Kunene Nicolas* (University of Witwatersrand, South Africa)
Pragmatic Speech Acts development in French, isiZulu, and Sesotho oral narratives

16:30 *Yanka Bezinska* (Université Grenoble Alpes, France)
Ramona Kunene Nicolas (University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa)
A multimodal comparison of Bulgarian and isiZulu pragmatic development in oral narratives

17:00 *Irina Pavlova* (University of Oxford, UK)
Maka Tetradze (Tbilisi State University, Georgia)
Megi Kartsivadze (University of Oxford, UK)
Anna Wilson (University of Oxford, UK)
Comparative Analysis of Conceptualisations of the Future in English, Russian and Georgian: Speech and Co-Speech Hand Gesture

16:00-17:30	Session 7B: Lexicon

CHAIR: *Stefan Engelberg* (Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Germany)
LOCATION: O131

16:00 *Cristina Fernández-Alcaina* (Charles University, Czechia)
Eva Fučíková (Charles University, Czechia)
Jan Hajič (Charles University, Czechia)
Zdeňka Urešová (Charles University, Czechia)
The SynSemClass lexicon: A resource for multilingual synonymy

16:30 *Julia Pawels* (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Contrastive Analysis of Climate-Related Neologisms Registered in German and French Wikipedia

17:00 *Alexandra Anna Spalek* (University of Oslo, Norway)
Louise McNally (University Pompeu Fabra, Spain)
Figurative polysemy: Insights into the lexicon from a contrastive perspective

16:00-17:30	Session 7C: Corpus-based Studies

LOCATION: O133

16:00 *Valentin Werner* (University of Bamberg, Germany)
A cross-linguistic register study of English and German pop lyrics

16:30 *Antonina Bondarenko* (Université Paris Cité, France)
Verbless Sentences: A multidimensional contrastive corpus study

17:00 *Bojana Mikelenić* (Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, Croatia)
Gorana Bikić-Carić (Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, Croatia)
Contrastive Analysis of Articles in Romance Languages and Croatian on a Parallel Corpus

16:00-17:30	Session 7D: Verbs, Verb Forms and Verb Classes

CHAIR: *Janusz Taborek* (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland)
LOCATION: O135

16:00 *Xinran Yan* (Leipzig University, Germany)
Verbs with an Information-Action Alternation in English and in German

16:30 *Olga Nádvorníková* (Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, Czechia)
French, Polish and Czech converbs: A contrastive corpus-based study

17:00 *Athina Sioupi* (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece)
A Verb Classes Model in a cross-linguistic perspective

16:00-17:30	Session 7E: Slavic

LOCATION: O145

16:00 *Adrian Jan Zasina* (Institute of Czech Studies, Charles University, Czechia)
Svatava Škodová (Institute of Czech Studies, Charles University, Czechia)

Alexandr Rosen (Institute of Theoretical and Computational Linguistics, Charles University, Czechia)
Elżbieta Kaczmarska-Zglejszewska (Institute of Western and Southern Slavic Studies, University of Warsaw, Poland)
Milena Hebal-Jezierska (Institute of Western and Southern Slavic Studies, University of Warsaw, Poland)
Towards a contrastive functional grammar for non-native learners: A comparative corpus-based approach to possession in Czech and Polish

16:30 *Björn Wiemer* (Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany)
Syntactic indeterminacy on either side of complementation – why can it be so persistent?

17:00 *Tatiana Perevozchikova* (University of Tübingen, Germany)
Vyjádřete (svůj nebo Vaš?) názor. Possessives as politeness markers in Bulgarian, Czech, and Russian

18:00-20:00	RECEPTION

LOCATION: Katakomben / Rektoratshof

Thursday, July 20th

View this program: with abstracts   session overview   talk overview

08:00-09:00	Session 8: REGISTRATION

LOCATION: O138

09:00-10:00	Session 9: PLENARY TALK

CHAIR: *Kristel Proost* (Institut fuer Deutsche Sprache, Germany)
LOCATION: Aula

09:00 *Jenny Audring* (Leiden University, Netherlands)
Morphological complexity in the 'Germanic Sandwich'

10:00-10:30 🌰	COFFEE BREAK

10:30-12:00	Session 10A: Semantics-Pragmatics Interface

LOCATION: O129

10:30 *Hiwa Asadpour* (The University of Tokyo, Japan)
A comparative study of Target Word Order Variation among the low-resource languages of northwestern Iran

11:00 *Othman Al-Shboul* (Jadara University, Jordan)
A Contrastive Linguistic Analysis of Narratives in Arabic and English

10:30-12:00   Session 10B: Generative Grammar

CHAIR: *Patrick Brandt* (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
LOCATION: O131

10:30 *Philipp Weisser* (Universität Leipzig, Germany)
A qualitative typology of floating coordinators and its implications for theories of clitics

11:00 *Jens Hopperdietzel* (The University of Manchester, UK)
Nicola Klingler (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Austria)
Multiple-marking SVCs: Multiple exponence vs. reduced adverbial clauses

11:30 *Ioannis Konstantinos Katochoritis* (Leipzig University, Germany)
The bigger the inventory, the bigger the legacy: Syntactic ergativity as epiphenomenon of feature inheritance

10:30-12:00   Session 10C: Typological Perspectives

LOCATION: O133

10:30 *Shigeki Yoshida* (The University of Tokyo, Japan)
Mai Hayashi (The University of Tokyo, Japan)
Sakura Ishikawa (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan)
Yuko Morokuma (The University of Tokyo, Japan)
Yui Suzuki (The University of Tokyo, Japan)
Mizuki Tanigawa (The University of Tokyo, Japan)
Naonori Nagaya (The University of Tokyo, Japan)
Uniplex/multiplex pairs and frequency asymmetries in general number languages

11:00 *Moisés Velasquez* (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3, France)
Absolute and construct form of nouns: typological tendencies supplemented by novel data from Kibiri, a highly endangered language from Papua New Guinea.

11:30 *Jörg Bücker* (University of Düsseldorf (HHU), Germany)
The circumpositions of German from a typological and contrastive point of view

10:30-12:00   Session 10D: Nominal Semantics

LOCATION: O135

10:30 *Ljudmila Geist* (University of Stuttgart, Germany)
The mass/count distinction in nouns for foodstuffs in German: A contrastive view

11:00 *Machteld Meulleman* (Université de Reims Champagne-Ardenne, France)
Katia Paykin (Université de Lille, France)

Weather nouns in French and Russian: from structural possibilities to semantic particularities

11:30 *Stefania Biscetti* (University of L'Aquila, Italy)

English and Italian bipartite garment nouns as singulars in the language of fashion

10:30-12:00　Session 10E: Translation Studies

CHAIR: *Stella Neumann* (RWTH Aachen, Germany)

LOCATION: O145

10:30 *Petra Storjohann* (IDS Mannheim, Germany)

Shortcomings and the potential of specialised contrastive bilingual lexicography

11:00 *Adriano Murelli* (Università di Torino, Italy)

Translating phraseologisms in comics – the example of an Asterix album

11:30 *Eva Klüber* (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, Germany)
Kerstin Kunz (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, Germany)

Segmentation and Annotation of Interpreting Units for Semantic Transfer Analysis

12:00-13:30　️🍴 LUNCH BREAK

13:30-15:00　Session 11A: Interaction

LOCATION: O129

13:30 *Christina Mack* (IDS Mannheim, Germany)

Confronting misconduct with interrogatives: a cross-linguistic perspective

14:00 *Jörg Zinken* (IDS Mannheim, Germany)

Modal verbs and deontic meaning in social interaction across European languages

14:30 *Søren Sandager Sørensen* (Aarhus University, Denmark)

Semantic maps and action formation: the case of response tokens

13:30-15:00　Session 11B: Generative Grammar

CHAIR: *Angelika Wöllstein* (Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Germany)

LOCATION: O131

13:30 *Lutz Gunkel* (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Jutta Hartmann (University of Bielefeld, Germany)

Prepositional object clauses in West Germanic. Experimental evidence from wh-movement

14:00 *Klaus von Heusinger* (University of Köln, Germany)
Alina Tigau (University of Bucharest, Romania)

Subject-Object binding dependencies in Romance and Germanic. The view from

Romanian

14:30 *Nicholas Catasso* (Bergische Universität Wuppertal, Germany)
What a contrastive approach can tell us about the formal status and syntax of causal interrogatives in West-Germanic and Romance

13:30-15:00	Session 11C: Corpus Linguistics

CHAIR: *Peter Fankhauser* (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
LOCATION: O133

13:30 *Renáta Panocová* (Pavol Jozef Šafárik University Košice, Slovakia)
Pius ten Hacken (Universität Innsbruck, Austria)
Frequency profiles as a tool for tracing the interaction between borrowing and word formation

14:00 *Jana Kocková* (The Institute of Slavonic Studies, Czech Academy of Sciences, Czechia)
Between Syntax and Morphology: German deverbal compounds and their equivalents in Czech

14:30 *Katrin Menzel* (Saarland University, Germany)
Initialisms in English and German European Parliament Data

13:30-15:00	Session 11D: Germanic and Romance in Contrast

CHAIR: *Sabine De Knop* (Université Saint-Louis Bruxelles, Belgium)
LOCATION: O135

13:30 *Maria De Los Angeles Gómez González* (University of Santiago, Spain)
Purificação Silvano (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, Portugal)
How dialogic are tag questions? A contrastive study in British English and European Portuguese

14:00 *Merle Benter* (Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache (IDS), Germany)
Morphological Integration of (Neologistic) Verbs from English - Contrastive Comparison of the German and French Language Systems

14:30 *Faye Troughton* (University of Mons, Belgium)
Projected Meaning in English and French: The Embedded Exclamative

13:30-15:00	Session 11E: Morphology and Syntax

LOCATION: O145

13:30 *Ryan Walter Smith* (The University of Manchester, UK)
Andrew Koontz-Garboden (The University of Manchester, UK)
Jens Hopperdietzel (The University of Manchester, UK)
Inchoativization across languages: Morphology vs. Type-shift

14:00 *Mari Saraheimo* (University of Helsinki, Finland)
       Silja-Maija Spets (University of Turku, Finland)
       On the functions of retrospective shift markers in the languages of the Volga–Kama Sprachbund and Russian

14:30 *Kaja H. S. Ø. Evang* (University of Oslo, Norway)
       Noun phrase complexity in a contrastive perspective: German and Spanish L3

15:00-16:30	☕ COFFEE BREAK

15:00-16:30	Session 12: POSTER SESSION

LOCATION: Katakomben

Rodrigo Agustin Lana (Ruprecht-Karls Universität Heidelberg, Germany)
Impoliteness in Adversarial Contexts: A Cross-Cultural Perspective

Hagen Augustin (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Dániel Czicza (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Lutz Gunkel (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Susan Schlotthauer (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Kerstin Schwabe (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Beata Trawinski (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Angelika Wöllstein (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Propositional arguments in English, German, Hungarian, Italian and Polish

Marc Kupietz (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Adrien Barbaresi (Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences, Germany)
Anna Cermakova (Charles University, Czechia)
Małgorzata Czachor (Institute of Polish Language, Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland)
Nils Diewald (Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Germany)
Jarle Ebeling (University of Oslo, Norway)
Signe Oksefjell Ebeling (University of Oslo, Norway)
Rafał L. Górski (Institute of Polish Language, Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland)
John Kirk (University of Vienna, Austria)
Michal Křen (Charles University, Czechia)
Harald Lüngen (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Mícheál Ó Meachair (Dublin City University, Ireland)
Ines Pisetta (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Elaine Uí Dhonnchadha (Trinity College Dublin, Ireland)
Rebecca Wilm (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Jiajin Xu (The National Research Centre for Foreign Language Education, Beijing Foreign Studies University, China, China)
Eliza Margaretha (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Friedemann Vogel (University of Siegen, Germany)

Rameela Yaddehige (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
News from the International Comparable Corpus: First launch of ICC written

Piotr Banski (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Nils Diewald (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Marc Kupietz (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Beata Trawinski (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Applying the newly extended European Reference Corpus EuReCo: pilot studies of light-verb constructions in German, Romanian, Hungarian and Polish

Hsin-Yi Lien (Ming Chuan University, Taiwan)
Validating Terminologies and Phraseological Units Retrieved from Specialized Comparable Corpora in Lexical Semantics: An Interactive Method

Lian Chen (LT2D, France)
Contrastive analysis of the idiomaticity of idiomatic expressions in French and Chinese

Meike Münster (Leipzig University, Germany)
Use of verbs of motion in German and Portuguese

Hannah Jasmin Seemann (Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Germany)
Albert Marsik (Univerzita Karlova, Praha, Czechia)
Expressing certainty and attitude in Czech and German

Yuxiang Duan (UCLouvain, Belgium)
Liesbeth Degand (UCLouvain, Belgium)
Academic certainty stance markers across languages in spoken discourse

Janusz Taborek (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, Poland)
A model of corpus-based co-occurrence contrastive analysis: Case study of light verb construction in German and Polish

Masaki Yasuhara (Ibaraki University, Japan)
Transitive Anticausatives: A Case Study in Japanese

16:30-17:30	Session 13: PLENARY TALK

CHAIR: *Beata Trawinski* (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
LOCATION: Aula

16:30 *Artemis Alexiadou* (Leibniz-Centre for General Linguistics and Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany)
Overmarking in inflectional morphology: the view from language contact and language acquisition

19:00-23:00	CONFERENCE DINNER

https://www.rheinterrassen.info

10. International Contrastive Linguistics Conference (ICLC)

LOCATION: Rheinterrassen

Friday, July 21st

View this program: with abstracts   session overview   talk overview

08:00-09:00   Session 14: REGISTRATION

LOCATION: O138

09:00-10:00   Session 15: PLENARY TALK

CHAIR: *Marc Kupietz* (Leibniz Institute for the German Language, Germany)
LOCATION: Aula

09:00 *Hilde Hasselgård* (University of Oslo, Norway)
Corpus-based contrastive grammar studies: some challenges and insights from crosslinguistic studies of adverbials

10:00-10:30 ☕ COFFEE BREAK

10:30-12:00   Session 16A: Interaction

LOCATION: O129

10:30 *Uwe-Alexander Küttner* (Leibniz-Institute for the German Language, Germany)
Formulating problem behavior: Action descriptions in direct confrontations for transgressions and misconduct across (European) languages and cultures

11:00 *Jowita Rogowska* (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Going beyond 'here-and-now': Connecting misconduct to general rules across languages

11:30 *Laurenz Kornfeld* (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Syntactic Complexity of Sanctioning Turns Across European Languages

10:30-12:00   Session 16B: Political Discourse

LOCATION: O131

10:30 *Dariusz Koźbiał* (University of Warsaw, Poland)
Evaluation in legal discourse: The case of judicial English and Polish Eurolects

11:00 *Ivana Pothorski* (Prva srednja škola Beli Manastir, Croatia)
Metaphor in Political Discourse: Case Study of English and German Conceptual Metaphors in the 2019 European Parliament Elections

11:30 *Sophie Eyssette* (La Sapienza, Rome, in cotutelle with the University of Silesia, Poland, Italy)
What are the linguistic taboos on the tabooness of incest? A cross-linguistic research to

query the universality of the incest taboo

10:30-12:00	Session 16C: Corpus-based Studies

CHAIR: _Louis Cotgrove_ (IDS Mannheim, Germany)

LOCATION: O133

10:30 _Olaf Mikkelsen_ (Adam Mickiewicz University & Paris 8 University, Norway)
Stefan Hartmann (University of Düsseldorf, Germany)
Future alternations in English and Norwegian: A contrastive corpus study

11:00 _Jonas Freiwald_ (RWTH Aachen University, Germany)
The myth of the word order flexibility differences in English and German - A corpus-based analysis

11:30 _Hung-Hsin Hsu_ (Université catholique de Louvain, Belgium - National Chengchi University, Taiwan)
A corpus-based contrastive study of questions in Mandarin and French

10:30-12:00	Session 16D: Valency Grammar and Construction Grammar

CHAIR: _Jörg Bücker_ (University of Düsseldorf (HHU), Germany)

LOCATION: O135

10:30 _Meike Meliss_ (Universidade de Santiago de Compostela (USC), Spain)
Mario Franco Barros (Universidade da Madeira (UMA), Portugal)
The German-Spanish verb pair schreiben/escribir from a contrastive perspective: empirical study of argument structure patterns and their variation in different text types

11:00 _Sabine De Knop_ (Université Saint-Louis Bruxelles, Belgium)
Fabio Mollica (Università degli studi di Milano, Italy)
The German ditransitive construction: A challenge for Italian learners

11:30 _Thomas Herbst_ (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany)
Peter Uhrig (ScaDS.AI, TU Dresden, Germany)
Is there any such thing as constructional equivalence?

10:30-12:00	Session 16E: Germanic Syntax and Morphology

CHAIR: _Harald Lüngen_ (Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Germany)

LOCATION: O145

10:30 _Rose Fisher_ (Pennsylvania State University, United States)
Grammatical Gender in Three Germanic Varieties

11:00 _Livio Gaeta_ (Università di Torino, Italy)
Dutch expletives: another sandwich?

11:30 *Magnus Levin* (Linnaeus University, Sweden)
Jenny Ström Herold (Linnaeus University, Sweden)
Contrasting English noun-phrase complexity with German and Swedish – from Highclere gardeners to the climate change denial movement

12:00-13:30	⊟ LUNCH BREAK

13:30-15:00	Session 17A: Interaction

LOCATION: O129

13:30 *Alexandra Gubina* (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Emma Betz (University of Waterloo, Canada)
Carmen Taleghani-Nikazm (The Ohio State University, United States)
Reihaneh Afshari Saleh (University of York, UK)
Marking something as unexpected: Prosodically marked 'no' in German and Persian

14:00 *Florence Oloff* (IDS Mannheim, Germany)
Martin Havlík (Ústav pro jazyk český, Czechia)
Joint utterance formulation from a cross-linguistic perspective: Co-constructions in Czech and German

13:30-15:00	Session 17B: Chinese in Contrast

LOCATION: O131

13:30 *Lian Chen* (LT2D, France)
Contrastive analysis on the pragmatics of French and Chinese idiomatic expressions: the defrosting

14:00 *Alexander Wimmer* (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Germany)
Mingya Liu (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Germany)
A contrastive approach to conditional perfection: Chinese vs. German/English

14:30 *Ludovica Lena* (INALCO, France)
The encoding of indefinite human reference in Chinese/English aligned translation

13:30-15:00	Session 17C: Using Parallel Corpora

LOCATION: O133

13:30 *Annette Herkenrath* (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan, Poland)
Impersonal acts of speaking and thinking in a parallel corpus of Turkish and Kurmanji Kurdish academic writings

14:00 *Alina Tsikulina* (University of Lille, France)
Fayssal Tayalati (University of Lille, France)
Efstathia Soroli (University of Lille, France)

Evaluative Tough constructions in English, French and Russian: a parallel corpus investigation.

13:30-15:00	Session 17D: Language Learning and Teaching

CHAIR: *Petra Storjohann* (Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Germany)

LOCATION: O135

13:30 *Mohamed Habib Kahlaoui* (Sultan Qaboos University, Oman)
Revisiting Negation in Standard Arabic: an intra- and interlingual Enunciative approach

14:00 *Maria Bondarenko* (Univeristy of Montreal; University of Heidelberg, Canada)
Can a learner-led contrastive analysis be conducted in the L2 classroom?

14:30 *Helena Wedig* (University of Antwerp, Belgium)
Carola Strobl (University of Antwerp, Belgium)
Jim J.J. Ureel (University of Antwerp, Belgium)
Tanja Mortelmans (University of Antwerp, Belgium)
The influence of L1 Dutch on cohesion in L2 German writing: Results from a contrastive corpus-based analysis of L1 and L2 students´ writing in German

13:30-15:00	Session 17E

LOCATION: O145

15:00-15:30	☕ COFFEE BREAK

15:30-16:30	Session 18: PLENARY TALK

CHAIR: *Jörg Zinken* (Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Germany)

LOCATION: Aula

15:30 *Elwys De Stefani* (University of Heidelberg and KU Leuven, Belgium)
On contrast and comparison in Interactional Linguistics

16:30-17:00	Session 19: CLOSING SESSION

LOCATION: Aula

18:00-20:00	CITY WALK

Abstracts of Keynotes

Artemis Alexiadou

OVERMARKING IN INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY: THE VIEW FROM LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Keywords Inflectional morphology; language contact; language acquisition

In this talk, I will discuss two instances of overmarking in inflectional morphology: double plural and double tense marking. Such instances occur in language contact and language acquisition and typically involve regular markings co-occurring with irregular ones, e.g., *feets* or *ated*. While in the literature such forms are treated as errors, I will point out that double marking can in fact be found in a variety of languages as well as several vernaculars, and thus is very telling about what we take the units of word formation to be and how stems and functional morphemes combine to build words.

Two issues will be addressed: i) are instances of overmarking in the two domains parallel? ii) why exactly do language contact and language acquisition favor overmarking?

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Jenny Audring

MORPHOLOGICAL COMPLEXITY IN THE 'GERMANIC SANDWICH'

Keywords Morphology; construction grammar; Germanic languages

Morphological structure is not a given. Whether speakers perceive and linguists analyze words such as *splendid*, *bombard*, *whiting*, *ugly*, *happy*, or *struggle* as morphologically complex or not can depend on a variety of factors. Contrastive research on related languages reveals the central importance of relationality: the availability of other lexical items with some amount of shared structure. An intuitively simple notion, relationality is not trivial if we try to put it on a systematic footing. When are two structures perceived as the same? What does this mean for our theoretical understanding of morphological knowledge? In this talk, I discuss these and related questions with data from the 'Germanic sandwich': English, Dutch and German. I use the framework of Relational Morphology (Jackendoff/ Audring 2020), a construction-based approach to the grammar of words, to make sense of situations where morphological structure is ambiguous or questionable.

Reference

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Elwys de Stefani

ON CONTRAST AND COMPARISON IN INTERACTIONAL LINGUISTICS

Keywords Interactional Linguistics; language comparison; multimodality; situated action

Interactional Linguistics (IL) regards language as a resource for, and, concomitantly, as an epiphenomenon of social interaction. Accordingly, language is studied as it unfolds *hic et nunc* in social encounters, alongside other modes of communication, such as gesture.

As a consequence, comparative approaches to interaction face the sensitive problem of having to determine *which phenomena* to compare and *on which grounds*. For instance, the comparison might focus on specific social actions (e.g., instructions), grammatical formats (e.g., if/then clauses), referential practices (e.g., pointing), etc. in similar settings of interaction across different communities. In this talk, I discuss the methodological and theoretical challenges of comparative studies as carried out by interactional approaches rooted in Conversation Analysis (CA). With their thoroughly empiricist and inductive method, CA and IL examine the multimodal practices interactants display in mutually understandable ways. However, the situated complexity and semiotic richness of face-to-face encounters occasions considerable variation and hence makes comparison difficult. By highlighting different possible orders of comparison, I offer an overview of contrastive and comparative perspectives in CA and IL while addressing at the same time methodological questions currently discussed in the field (e.g., on coding, quantification, and analytical labels).

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Martin Haspelmath

LANGUAGE STRUCTURES ARE UNIQUE BUT COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR IS NEVERTHELESS USEFUL

Keywords Language typology; language contact; morphosyntax

That it is useful to compare language structures may sound trivial, but it has sometimes been regarded as problematic or dangerous, because in describing one language, we may be unduly influenced by what we know from some other language(s). In the worst case, we overlook our prejudices and impose a procrustean bed onto another language. Especially the structuralist movement emphasized the uniqueness of each language and made a point of describing each language in its own terms, with its own categories.

In this talk, I begin with the observation that the uniqueness perspective is actually well-motivated, and I note that a rigorous approach to language structures can hardly get around it: Describing language structures with general terms (rather than with language-particular terms) may lead to strange or ethnocentric analyses. But on the other hand, it is also clear that languages exhibit many similarities that are worth highlighting, and many linguists find comparative and universalist frameworks satisfying even when they focus on a single language.

Perhaps surprisingly, I will propose that the relation between language-particular analyses and the study of cross-linguistic contrasts is best seen not as mutual dependency (let alone as unilateral dependency of analytic proposals on comparative work), but as relative independence: Unique language structures can be analyzed without much concern with universals, and the study of universals does not depend on the correctness of specific analyses. I will provide examples from a range of (mostly European) languages, from a range of different domains of grammar.

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Hilde Hasselgård

CORPUS-BASED CONTRASTIVE GRAMMAR STUDIES

Some challenges and insights from crosslinguistic studies of adverbials

"Exploring grammatical phenomena in a multilingual corpus is a difficult and time-consuming task involving much manual intervention, unless there are clear lexical correlates or the corpus has been syntactically annotated". These words come from a pioneer in corpus-based contrastive studies, Stig Johansson (2007, p. 37). In my talk I will discuss some of the challenges involved in grammar studies based on multilingual corpora. I will use examples and insights from my own crosslinguistic studies of adverbials, especially comparing English and Norwegian. Even monolingual studies of adverbials are problematic for a corpus linguist because it is not obvious how adverbials can be retrieved with reasonable reliability. In a crosslinguistic study, even of closely related languages, the problems are compounded because equivalent syntactic functions may be realized by different lexicogrammatical means, as in this example, where the English PP corresponds to a German adverb.

> At last the litany came to an end. (PM1)

> Endlich fand die Litanei ein Ende. (PM1T)

It may thus be difficult to achieve the corpus-linguistic goal of total accountability, i.e., the wish to account "for all the corpus data in the relevant samples" (Leech 1992, p. 113).

Other challenges are related to the tertium comparationis (TC) – what is the common ground for the comparison? And what is the rationale for comparing set of expressions in one language to another set in a different language? Types of TC include etymological similarity (cognates), similarity of function (e.g., time adverbials), dictionary data and/or translation equivalence, but not all of these may be relevant in grammar studies.

In addition to these challenges, I will discuss different corpus types (parallel and comparable) and search methods (e.g., manual excerption, use of PoS tags, and N-gram extraction). An important consideration is whether different methods of investigation give results that are compatible with each other, and I will illustrate this with evidence from my own crosslinguistic explorations (e.g. Hasselgård 2014, 2017, 2021).

References

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Hasselgård, Hilde (2021): Time adverbials in English and Norwegian news discourse. In: Cermáková, A./Egan, T./Hasselgård, H./Rørvik, S. (eds.): Time in languages, languages in time. Amsterdam: Benjamins, pp. 201–227. https://doi.org/10.1075/scl.101.09has.

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Abstracts of Oral and Poster Presentations

Mari Saraheimo/Silja-Maija Spets

ON THE FUNCTIONS OF THE RETROSPECTIVE SHIFT MARKERS IN THE LANGUAGES OF THE VOLGA-KAMA SPRACHBUND AND RUSSIAN

Keywords Retrospective shift markers; temporality; modality; Volga-Kama Sprachbund; Russian

The term *retrospective shift marker* is used in description of temporal constructions, which include a TAME-marked finite lexical verb and a finite-origin item petrified from the 3rd person singular past tense form of the verb 'to be'. This 'was'-element functions as a shift marker that moves the interpretation of an event to past from the deictic location of the speaker. Constructions of this kind are found in several Eurasian languages, including Turkic, Uralic, Slavic and Northwest Caucasian. (Plungian/van der Auwera 2006; Arkadiev 2020, pp. 10.) Examples (1) and (2) illustrate the construction type in Udmurt (Uralic) and Russian (Slavic) with finite past tenses combined with 'was'-element:

(1) Udmurt (Keľmakov/Hännikäinen 2008, pp. 269)
*So   tolon   tone   utčaz   **val**   no,   öz   šeďty.*
3SG   yesterday 2SG.ACC look.PST.3SG **was** but   NEG.PST.3SG find.CNG
  'He was looking for you yesterday, but did not find [you].'

(2) Russian (Timberlake 2004, pp. 398)
*On   pošol   **bylo**   proguljatʹsya,   no   peredumal.*
3SG   start.going.PST **was** carous.INF   but   change.mind.PST
'He went out to go carousing, but changed his mind.'

The employment of the 'was'-elements has various semantic effects. In our study, we will start a comparative discussion on the semantic properties of the constructions in the Uralic and Turkic languages of the Volga-Kama Sprachbund as well as in Russian based on previous studies and corpus data in case of the less studied Volga-Kama languages (e.g. Corpora of Uralic Volga-Kama Languages). Even though temporal manipulation is the primary function of the shift markers, the constructions also show interesting yet understudied connections related to other TAME contents.

Firstly, the temporal meanings have been complemented or overridden by modal readings in the languages in question. In the examples above, they appear in so-called 'future counterfactual' functions, where the possibilities of the marked event are not fulfilled in the actual world.

Developed from past perfect constructions, the future counterfactuals (e.g. Goeringer 1995 and Kagan 2011; Saraheimo 2022) represent a change from temporal ordering to modal evaluation.

However, besides of *being modal*, the studied retrospectivization-based constructions also possess restrictions concerning certain types of modality. Since the shift markers naturally operate on the level of temporality, which is an event-based phenomenon, the propositional contents such as epistemic modality and evidentiality do not belong to the scope of the retrospectivization (c.f. division of modality in Palmer 2001 and scope hierarchies of modality

as in Nuyts 2014). In the presentation, contrastive examples are given on how this affects the possibilities of the shift markers to attach in certain verb forms and how in some cases the process of retrospectivization makes the propositions not just temporally but also modally different from their non-past counterparts.

Our presentation will thus start a broader typological discussion on the essence of retrospective shift markers. In addition to functional analysis, the areal distribution of the retrospective shift markers and the possibilities of code-copying are discussed.

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NEWS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMPARABLE CORPUS
First launch of ICC written

The International Comparable Corpus (ICC) (Kirk/Čermáková 2017; Čermáková et al. 2021) is an open initiative which aims to improve the empirical basis for contrastive linguistics by compiling comparable corpora for many languages and making them as freely available as possible as well as providing tools with which they can easily be queried and analysed. In this contribution we present the first release of written language parts of the ICC which includes corpora for Chinese, Czech, English, German, Irish (partly), and Norwegian. Each of the released corpora contains 400k words distributed over 14 different text categories according to the ICC specifications. Our poster covers the design basics of the ICC, its TEI encoding, a demonstration of using the ICC via different query tools, and an outlook on future plans.

Similar to the European Reference Corpus EuReCo (Kupietz et al. 2020), ICC follows the approach of reusing existing linguistic resources wherever possible in order to cover as many languages as possible with realistic effort in as short a time as possible. In contrast to EuReCo, however, comparable corpus pairs are not defined dynamically in the usage phase, but the compositions of the corpora are fixed in the ICC design. The approaches are thus complementary in this respect. The design principles and composition of the ICC are based on those of the International Corpus of English (ICE) (Greenbaum (ed.) 1996), with the deviation that the ICC includes the additional text category blog post and excludes spoken legal texts (see Čermáková et al. 2021 for details). ICC's fixed-design approach has the advantage that all single-language corpora in the ICC have the same composition with respect to the selected text types and that this guarantees that the selected broad spectrum of potential influencing variables for linguistic variation is always represented. The disadvantage, however, is that this can only be achieved for quite small corpora and that the generalisability of comparative findings based on the ICC corpora will often need to be checked on larger monolingual corpora or translation corpora (Čermáková/Ebeling/Oksefjell Ebeling forthcoming). Arguing that such issues with comparability and representativeness are inevitable, in one way or the other, and need to be dealt with, our poster will discuss and exemplify the text selections in more detail.

ICC's original aim was to make all corpora available for download. However, this goal turned out to be unfeasible, as it was often not possible to obtain licences for individual texts with reasonable effort. In addition, the copyright exceptions are too different to find a uniform solution for sharing full texts. In order to come as close as possible to our original goal, we have thus decided to make the ICC accessible at least via several corpus platforms and on several access levels (Kupietz/Diewald/Margaretha 2022), requiring users only to electronically sign an end-user licence agreement that provides for exclusively academic, non-commercial use. Our poster will demonstrate ICC access via the corpus query and analysis platform KorAP[1] (Diewald et al. 2016) showing exemplary comparative analyses of light verb constructions in selected ICC-corpora using Universal Dependency annotations (Nivre et al. 2020) provided by UDPipe 2.0 (Straka 2018). As further platforms we plan to add KonText (Machálek 2020) and Korp (Borin/Forsberg/Roxendal 2012).

In the final part of the poster, we discuss the plans of future ICC extensions, intensifying the relations with the EuReCo, and the roadmap for completing the spoken language parts of ICC.

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[1]   You can perform your own ICC queries and analysis via https://korap.ids-mannheim.de/instance/icc/.

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DISCOURSE MARKERS AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Opposite trajectories of French *parce que* (because) and German *also* (so) as "my-side" prefaces

As part of a larger shift in second language acquisition (SLA) research that centers social and interactional dimensions of L2 development (see Firth/Wagner 1997), contemporary conversation analytic work on SLA (or 'CA-SLA') focusses on how L2 speakers develop methods to recognizably perform social actions in interaction – or how L2 speakers develop interactional competence (IC) (Hall/Pekarek Doehler 2011). While much CA-SLA work on IC has demonstrated how L2 speakers diversify their methods for performing social actions (e.g., Pekarek Doehler/Berger 2018; Skogmyr Marian 2022; cf. Pekarek Doehler/Balaman 2021), only recently have studies begun to emerge that focus on L2 speakers' developing use of specific linguistic resources (contributions in Pekarek Doehler/Eskildsen 2022). To date there is no empirical CA-SLA work directly comparing the development of IC in different L2s. Investigating IC development through different analytic foci can reveal different trajectories of development (see Schirm 2021), particularly in combination with comparative approaches.

In our paper, we compare the development of IC of two L2 speakers, one of French (Aurelia) and another of German (Nina), during their respective sojourns in areas where the L2 is widely spoken. We use longitudinal conversation analysis (see Deppermann/Pekarek Doehler 2021) to investigate their changing use of two linguistic forms – French *parce que* "because" and German *also* "so" – as prefaces to 'my-side' informings (see Pomerantz 1980). While both speakers use these conjunctions as discourse markers in this context, we observe opposite developmental trajectories. Aurelia starts by using *parce que* in third position of request-for-information sequences to preface my-side turns that account for her earlier request; Aurelia drops this use of *parce que* later in her sojourn. Nina, on the other hand, develops a new systematic use of *also* in the later month of her sojourn as a preface my-side turns following a multi-unit informing or telling from a co-interactant. We seek to uncover what motivates these opposite developmental trajectories in similar action environments. The data for our study comes from two corpora of everyday interaction: one of Aurelia's video-recorded interactions with other L2 French speakers over 18 months in French-speaking Switzerland, and another of Nina's audio-recorded interactions with L1 and L2 German speakers over 12 months in Germany. While there are differences in the recording medium (video vs. audio recording) and co-interactants (L2 speakers vs. L1 and L2 speakers), the sojourn lengths (18 and 12 months), the kind of interactions (everyday interactions), the context of language use (in an area where the L2 is widely spoken) as well as the participants' shared L1 (English) and L2 proficiency at the start of their sojourn (Aurelia CEFR A2, Nina CEFR B1, see Council of Europe 2020) make the two corpora ripe for comparison. We begin by reviewing IC, discourse markers, and longitudinal CA. We then analyze Aurelia's *parce ques* and Nina's *also*s as my-side prefaces. In a second step, we do a longitudinal analysis of the my-side turns each participant prefaces with *parce que*/*also* to describe the change

in how the participants perform these my-side turns over time; we thereby aim to uncover what motivates the 'pruning' (see Schirm 2021) of Aurelia's my-side use of *parce que* and the development of Nina's my-side use of also. We conclude by discussing the potentials of comparative analyses for our understanding of IC and trajectories of its development.

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NOUN PHRASE COMPLEXITY IN A CONTRASTIVE PERSPECTIVE
German and Spanish L3

Since Biber/Gray/Poonpon (2011) showed complexity in noun phrase modification to be essential in the development of academic writing skills, NP modification has been explored mainly in university level writing, and mainly with holistic measures. Exceptions are detailed qualitative analyses of secondary level learner English by Rørvik (2022) and German by Gamper (2022). Still, we need more knowledge about the development of noun phrase complexity in the writing of L3 learners of languages other than English at levels below tertiary education, and about how learners of different languages handle the same linguistic phenomena (Hasselgård/Ebeling 2018).

Spanish and German are frequent options for L3 instruction in Norwegian secondary school. The curriculum is the same for all foreign languages (FSP01-03, Ministry of Education and Research 2023). Most research on noun phrases in early German L3 writing has focused on morphology: gender, definiteness, number, and case marking (e.g. Hopp 2011, 2013; Repshus 2008). What this project aims to investigate are syntactic measures: size and internal structure of noun phrases.

The research questions asked are:

1) To what extent do Norwegian learners of Spanish and German L3 use augmentation (pre- and postmodification) of noun phrases in their writing?

2) Is there a difference between the learners of German and Spanish, and if so, does this correspond to a difference in input from textbooks?

This study compares NP modification in 39 German and 58 Spanish narrative(-like) texts about a holiday or leisure activities, written by students in their third year of L3 studies and culled from the 10th grade subset of the MULTIWRITE project corpus. The NPs are also compared to examples from textbooks for 10th grade Spanish and German, providing authentic examples of the kind of input the students receive in their studies.

The results show differences in NP complexity in L3 Spanish and German. In Spanish, all students use postmodification with preposition de, and most students also use attributive adjectives and postmodification with other prepositions. The most common modifications in addition to these are finite relative clauses and appositions. Other modification types listed in Rørvik (2022) occur sporadically.

The simplest student texts in German contain only simple noun phrases. Many texts contain only a few complex phrases, in which the most frequent modifiers are attributive adjectives, prepositional postmodifiers, and appositions. Finite relative clauses and more advanced modifiers are rare in the material.

In the German textbooks, the texts contain more simple NPs, and fewer attributive adjectives. Prepositional postmodifiers are common in both languages, but the most common preposition in Spanish (de) is five times as frequent as the most frequent German preposition (in). Finite relative clauses occur 4 times as often in Spanish as in German textbooks. Elements from the most advanced levels 4 and 5 (Biber/Gray/Poonpon 2011; Parkinson/Musgrave 2014; Rørvik 2022) are found in 8 of 9 Spanish textbook texts; in German in only 6 of 14.

The investigation thus shows that there are differences in the NP modification used by the students of L3 Spanish and German, and that these differences correspond to differences in the textbooks. It should be noted, however, that a causation has not been established. There may be many reasons for why there are similar NP structures in the textbooks and the students' texts. To investigate causation, a more rigid approach with control groups and treatment groups would be needed.

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Valentin Werner

A CROSS-LINGUISTIC REGISTER STUDY OF ENGLISH AND GERMAN POP LYRICS

The present contribution offers a cross-linguistic register study (Neumann 2016) of English and German pop lyrics, which constitute an understudied text type. It conceptualizes lyrics as a highly specific text type/register and tries to identify cross-linguistic commonalities and differences. As empirical base, it uses LYPOP (Werner 2021a) and the Songkorpus (Schneider 2020), two corpora that represent the lyrics of commercially highly successful pop songs in Anglophone and German contexts. Given the similar sociocultural functions and production circumstances of English and German lyrics, the study empirically assesses the starting hypothesis that large-scale linguistic overlap can be traced. While indeed cross-linguistic convergence is found especially for lexical patterns in terms of topic choice, the analysis also reveals a common property of conveying a conversational feel through lexico-grammatical means. However, given the differing typological make-up of the languages contrasted, fine-grained differences are found as regards the ways conversationality/informality is established in pop lyrics as a performed text type, for instance regarding contraction patterns in lexical and modal verbs. Further, it emerges that lyrics from both languages largely lack other highly characteristic informal/conversational items, such as false starts or hesitation markers. Given the scripted and edited production of the lyrics as well as the (as a rule) spatial and temporal distance between speaker and audience and the genuinely monologic/non-interactive nature of the discourse, it is suggested that such devices lack a communicative function and thus are absent. This finding can further be related to the concept of a "performance filter" (Werner 2021b) in the sense that only selected items associated with conversationality (or the language of immediacy *sensu* Koch/Oesterreicher 2012) are (consciously) used to index informality in lyrics.

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THE USE OF VERB PHRASES IN ENGLISH AND GERMAN

A quantitative case study using comparable corpus data

In the existing literature on English-German contrasts, claims as to the more frequent use of verb phrases in English, compared to a more "nominal" style in German, abound (e.g. Kortmann/Meyer 1992, p. 163; Königs 2004, p. 1) The empirical evidence on this is, however, scarce. The few existing empirical studies either use translation data (e.g. Fischer 2013), which is not adequate, focus on nominal style (e.g. Neumann 2020), or rely purely on the count of automatically assigned parts-of-speech tags (e.g. Berg 2017).

A thorough empirical investigation of the "verbality" of English and German is needed to complement the existing research. For such an investigation, it is essential to pay due attention to differences associated with register and mode in each language. It is a possibility that language-internal register/mode differences might be overall more pronounced than cross-linguistic differences, or that cross-linguistics differences are especially pronounced in certain registers (e.g. Königs 2004, pp. 3–5).

The study at hand uses GECCo, a comparable corpus of spoken and written texts from English and German (Kunz et al. 2021). The German component contains around 488,000 tokens, the English component around 551,000 tokens (UPOS-version of the corpus).

Through a combination of automatic and manual processing, all verb phrases in the corpus are identified and annotated for finiteness, verb form, and grammatical function in the clause. The frequency of finite and non-finite verb phrases (in various functions) in English and German is then examined with the help of a Bayesian mixed-effects regression model. In total, 68,658 verb phrases are found in English (of which 15,508 are non-finite) and 50,289 in German (4,462 non-finite).

The results confirm existing assumptions that English uses more verb phrases overall, that in both languages verb phrases are used more often in spoken texts, that information density is negatively correlated with the frequency of verb phrases, and that there are considerable differences by register. The difference by mode is illustrated in Figure 1, which depicts the number of verb phrases (sum of finite and non-finite) per hundred words[1] for the two languages. One can see that the effect of mode is stronger in English, which is confirmed by the regression model.

The data furthermore allows for a subsequent investigation of the contribution of non-finite verb phrases to these overall differences since the existing literature heavily suggests a central role of these structures (e.g. Fischer 2013, p. 169).

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[1] Counting verb phrases per sentence was not an option due to unreliable sentence segmentation in the corpus.

In sum, the study at hand
- provides new insights into verbal style through fine-grained measurements and statistical modelling based on non-translation data,
- offers empirical evidence for common claims about English-German contrasts,
- illustrates the value of advanced statistical procedures for contrastive linguistics,
- and contributes to the emerging branch of (corpus-based) "quantitative Contrastive Linguistics" (Gast 2015, p. 5).

From a practical perspective, the results of this study will be useful for providing more nuanced advice for translation between the two languages, as well as for designing empirically grounded language acquisition material. From a theoretical perspective, the study provides insights on the cross-linguistic relevance of mode, information density, and register for the use of verb phrases in a given language.
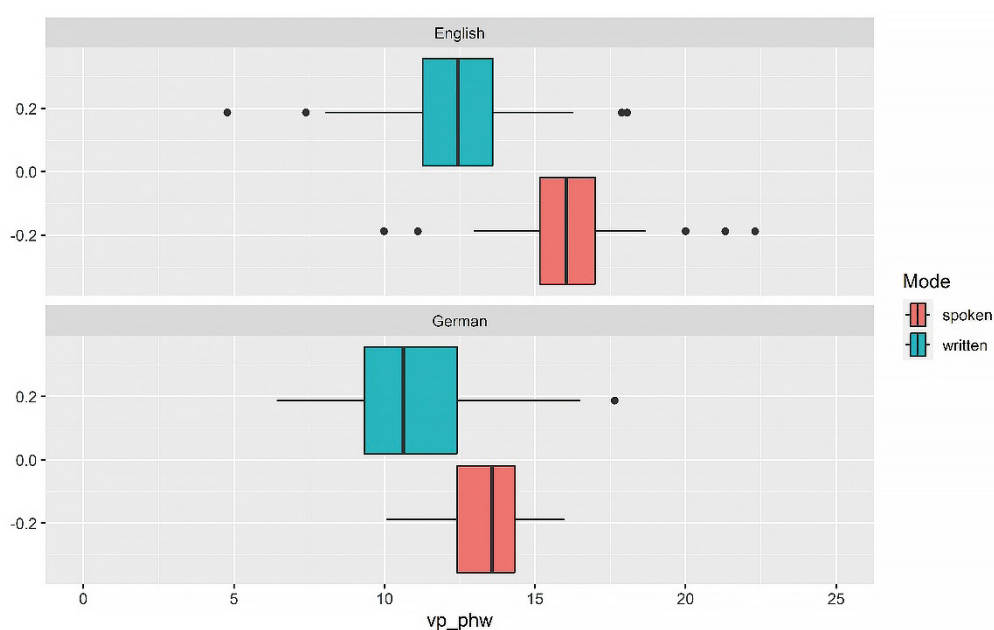
Fig. 1: Frequency of verb phrases per hundred words in English and German by mode (based on GECCo corpus)

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MORPHOLOGICAL INTEGRATION OF (NEOLOGICAL) VERBS FROM ENGLISH
Contrastive comparison of the German and French language systems

Keywords Morphological integration; verb inflection; norm variations; standard vs. real language usage

English is currently the most widely spoken language in the world and exerts great lexical influence on other language systems (cf. Eisenberg (ed.) 2018, p. 46). Numerous expressions originating in English are borrowed into other languages and morphologically adapted to the rules of their own language system in the meanwhile. In both German and French, this process can be realised in such a way that an English root of a lexical item is taken over without any modification and the implementation into the respective language system is then made possible by the addition of indigenous inflectional suffixes. The German lexicon in particular is enriched with English lexical material and integrates a large number of embedded English roots this way (cf. Fleischer/Barz 2012, p. 102). English also has a relatively large influence on the French language system, which is significantly more hostile to the borrowing of exogenous expressions (cf. Neusius 2021, p. 409). The preservation of a vocabulary that is as indigenous as possible is striven for much more strongly here than is the case in German, so that translations rather than morphological embedding are predominantly used for the integration of foreign-language units; only a few English stems find their way into French dictionaries.

Looking from a morphological perspective, especially verbs borrowed from English represent an interesting object of study between the two languages, so that the focus of this talk will be on the investigation of this word class. As an example, the integration of a total of 21 English-derived verbs will be examined, which became established after 1990 and emerged from the fields of technology and electronic interaction (*to add*, *to chat*, *to download*, *to email*, *to ghost*, *to host*, *to leak*, *to like*, *to mail*, *to photoshop*, *to podcast*, *to post*, *to retweet*, *to roam*, *to scroll*, *to stream*, *to upgrade*, *to upload*, *to vlog*) (cf. OWID-Neologismenwörterbuch 2006ff.).

With regard to the integration into the German language system, it can be observed that the verbal roots of the English expressions studied have been adopted and indigenous inflectional affixes have been added (e.g. *add-en*, *download-en*, *lik-en*). Today, 19 of the 21 verbs are recognised as standard language[1] (cf. Duden online). The integration process is not without idiosyncrasies: For the past tense as well as for the past participle, fluctuations of norms can be detected in large German-language corpora (DeReKo 2022 and GermanWeb2020). These often result in German-English hybrid forms (e.g. *leakte/leakete*; *gechattet/gechatted*, *gelikt/geliket/geliked*; *geupgradet/upgegradet*).

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[1] The term *standard language* is used here to refer to the forms of language identified as standard in the pertinent dictionaries. The terms *natural language* or *real language* in contrast refer to data from natural language evidence taken from the corpora used.

(1)   «Ihr wurde vermutlich vom Palast gesagt, dass sie den Kontakt mit befreundeten Presseleuten beenden soll. Ich wurde buchstäblich von ihr *geghosted*», erklärt Lizzie den Bruch. (https://www.20min.ch/story/meghan-wollte-einen-beruehmten-briten-daten-908140072771, detected via GermanWeb2020)

While in German the implemented verb stems of almost all the verbs examined are classified as standard language, in French dictionaries only a small proportion of such verbs are found where the English root has been adopted (e.g. *retweet-er, scroll-er*) (cf. LeRobert dico en ligne). In the majority of cases, purely French equivalents are created in order to cover the meaning of the English expression linguistically in their own system (e.g. *télécharger* for engl. *to download*); consequently, from the prescriptive side, only 6 of the 21 English verb stems are integrated morphologically. In contrast, the situation appears different in natural language use: In the examination of a French-language web corpus (FrenchWeb2020), affixed forms of all 21 English verb stems are also found for French. The prescriptive rejection of non-standard language forms does not lead to uncertainties in inflection: In the French study corpus, no variation of norms can be identified within the respective inflection paradigms.

(2)   *Au départ, j'étais bien déterminé à lui parler de son problème, de pourquoi elle nous **ghostait** tous depuis presque un mois.*
        (https://plumedargent.fr/chapitre/episode-7-partie-4-elliot, detected via FrenchWeb2020)

This talk will focus on the possibilities of linguistic realisation in terms of morphologically integrated English word stems (normative vs. natural inflection). It will also illuminate the standard and usage-based language acceptance of the corresponding verb forms of both language systems.

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SHORTCOMINGS AND THE POTENTIAL OF SPECIALISED CONTRASTIVE BILINGUAL LEXICOGRAPHY

Any bilingual dictionary is contrastive by nature, as it documents linguistic information between language pairs. However, the design and compilation of most bilingual dictionaries is often no more than mere lists of lexical or semantic equivalents. In internet forums, one can observe a huge interest in acquiring relevant knowledge about specific lexical items or pairs that are prone to comparison in a more comprehensive manner as they may pose lexical semantic challenges. In particular, these often concern easily confused pairs (e.g. false friends or paronyms) and new terms increasingly travelling between languages in news and social media (Šetka-Čilić/Ilić Plauc 2021).

With regard to English and German, the fundamental comparative principles upon which contrastive guides should be build are either absent, or specialised contrastive dictionaries simply do not exist, e.g. comprehensive descriptive resources for false friends, paronyms, protologisms or neologisms (see Gouws/Prinsloo/de Schryver 2004). As a result, users turn to electronic resources such as Google translate, blogs and language forums for help. For example, it is English words such as *muscular* which have two German translations options. These are two confusables *muskulär* and *muskulös* both of which exhibit a different semantic profile. German *sensitiv/sensibel* and their English formal counterparts *sensitive/sensible* are false friends. However, these terms are highly polysemous in both languages and have semantic features in common. Their full meaning spectrum is hardly captured in bilingual dictionaries to allow for a full comparison. Translating protologisms such as German *Doppelwumms* as well as more established new words is one of the most challenging problems. Currently, German neologisms such as *Klimakleber* are translated as *climate glue* (instead of *climate activist glueing him-/herself onto objects*) by online tools, simply causing mistakes and contextual distortion. Most challenges users face today are well-known (e.g. Rets 2016). New terms are often unregistered in dictionaries and it is often impossible to make appropriate choices between two or more (commonly misused) words between two languages (e.g. Benzehra 2007). These are all relevant problems to translators and language learners alike (e.g González Ribao 2019).

This paper calls for the implication of insights from contrastive lexicology into modern bilingual lexicography. To turn dictionaries into valuable resources and in order to create productive strategies in a learning environment, the practice of writing dictionaries requires a critical re-assessment. Furthermore, the full potential of electronic contrastive resources needs to be recognised and put into practice. After all, monolingual German lexicography has started to reflect on how users' needs can be accounted for in specific comparative linguistic situations. Some of these ideas can be comfortably extended to bilingual reference guides. On the one hand, this paper will deliver a critical account of some English-German/German-English dictionaries and touch on the shortcomings of contemporary bilingual lex-

icography. On the other hand, with the help of fictitious resources I will demonstrate contrastive structures as focal points of consultations which answer some of the more frequent language questions more reliably. Among others, I will explain how we need to build user-friendly dictionaries to allow for translating false friends or easily confusable words from the source language into its target language efficiently. With regard to neologisms, I will show how discursive descriptions and definitions that are more elaborate can support language learners to learn about necessary extra-linguistic knowledge. Overall, this could improve the role of specialised dictionaries in the teaching or translating process (cf. Miliç/Sadri/Glušac 2019).

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FUTURE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ENGLISH AND NORWEGIAN
A contrastive corpus study

The choice between the future constructions will/shall and BE going to is certainly among the most well-investigated topics in English linguistics (see e.g. Binnick 1971; Haegeman 1989; Szmrecsanyi 2003; Hilpert 2008; Denis/Tagliamonte 2018; among many others). A host of semantic, pragmatic, and syntactic factors has been suggested to drive the alternation between these constructions. In this talk, we revisit one particular aspect pertaining to the syntactic factors that have been said to influence the alternation: Based on spoken data from both British and American English corpora, Szmrecsanyi (2003) has shown that the alternation is sensitive to syntactic complexity. While going to is preferred in syntactically complex contexts – e.g. if-clauses, contexts of negation, and generally in longer sentences –, will/shall is preferred in syntactically independent contexts and shorter sentences. Rohdenburg's (1996) "complexity principle", according to which "[i]n the case of more or less explicit grammatical options the more explicit one(s) will tend to be favored in cognitively more complex environments" offers an explanation for this observation, especially if we follow Hopper/Traugott (2003, p. 73), who characterize BE going to as "more substantive (phonologically longer) and therefore more accessible to hearers" than will.

Szmrecsanyi's analysis is based on a series of monofactorial analyses. The aim of the present paper is twofold: On the one hand, (a) we replicate Szmrecsanyi's study using multifactorial statistical modelling drawing on new datasets. On the other hand, (b) we address the question of whether this account can be generalized to other languages that show a similar alternation as well. A particularly well-suited candidate for the latter is Norwegian, in which both skal/vil and kommer til å are used to indicate future time reference. For the replication study (a), we use samples from the spoken BNC 2014 and the Open American National Corpus (OANC). For the comparative study (b), we use spoken data from the Norwegian Speech Corpus (NoTa) and the BigBrother corpus. The data are annotated using the clause type and syntactic context variables operationalized by Szmrecsanyi (2003). The results confirm Szmrecsanyi's observations for the English data, but syntactic complexity correlates with the shorter form skal in the Norwegian data. This suggests that at least in the case of Norwegian, other factors are more influential; for English, it raises the question of whether the complexity principle can adequately account for the choice between constructions or if the observed complexity effects are actually side effects of other (e.g. semantic and pragmatic) factors.

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THE SYNSEMCLASS LEXICON
A resource for multilingual synonymy

Keywords Synonymy; valency; lexicon; multilingual

This paper presents ongoing work on the multilingual lexicon SynSemClass (henceforth, SSC). Other related projects have addressed the issue of synonymy in multilingual contexts, e.g., EuroWordNet (Vossen 2004) or Predicate Matrix (Lopez de Lacalle et al. 2016). However, to the best of our knowledge, only SSC formalizes multilingual verbal synonymy in terms of syntactic and semantic properties. SSC is also linked to other resources in an effort to contribute to linked data in line with initiatives such as the *Unified Verb Index* (UVI).[1]

For our purposes, synonymy is understood as contextual synonymy (Palmer 1981) and context is defined in terms of the set of semantic roles expressed by the valency frame of a verb, either explicitly or implicitly and with possible restrictions. Based on these criteria, verbs are grouped into synonym classes, both monolingually and cross-lingually. Verbs are considered to belong to the same class if they convey the same meaning in a specific context, i.e., if the valency frame defined for each verb can be mapped to the set of roles (i.e., Roleset) of a class. For example, the Roleset defined for the class *allow* ('An Authority allows an Affected entity to engage in a Permitted entity') has three roles (Table 1). Each role is mapped to one of the arguments of the appropriate verb in each language, based on the information provided by the resources used. The same verb can be classified into different classes depending on the meaning expressed by their arguments (Fig. 1).

	Authority	Permitted	Affected
allow	ACT	EFF	PAT
dovolit	ACT	PAT	ADDR
erlauben	VA0	VA1	VA2
permitir	arg0	arg1	arg2

Table 1: Role-argument mapping in class *allow* (English, Czech, German and Spanish) (simplified)

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[1] https://uvi.colorado.edu/ (last access: 4 May 2023)

'A Participant_1 meets a Particpant_2'			'A Cognizer gets to know a Person'		
	Partcipant_1	Partcipant_2		Cognizer	Person
encounter	ACT	PAT	*aquaint*	ACT	PAT
meet	**ACT**	**PAT**	***meet***	**ACT**	**PAT**
sejít se	ACT	PAT	*poznat*	ACT	PAT
setkat se	ACT	PAT	*seznámit se*	ACT	PAT

Fig. 1: An example of a verb (*meet*) included in two classes based on the different semantic roles expressed by the arguments it takes

SSC is built following a bottom-up approach and data are linked to a set of external resources available for each language (e.g., VerbNet for English or E-VALBU for German, among others). Translational equivalents are automatically extracted from parallel corpora (e.g., ParaCrawl for German-English) and annotated by human annotators. All annotators are (near-)native speakers of one of the languages included and proficient in English. For each language, the same set of classes is processed by two annotators and their annotations are monitored by a researcher. The task of the annotators consists in:

i) mapping the valency frame of a particular verb with the set of roles defined for the class where the verb is included as a potential class member,

ii) when available, establishing links to external resources, and

iii) selecting relevant examples.

The latest release, SynSemClass 4.0 (June 2022)[1] covering Czech, English, and German, contains 978 classes with approx. 9,000 class members (CMs). The Spanish-English part of the lexicon (planned to be included in the fifth version, 2023) contains 99 classes enriched by 620 Spanish class members (as of March 2023). Ongoing work is being done to include other languages in SSC.

The resulting resource has a twofold value: it provides fine-grained syntactic-semantic information on multilingual verbal synonyms at the same time it links data to other existing monolingual and multilingual resources. Although the number of classes and languages available in SSC is still limited, we believe that the resource can provide relevant data for descriptive and computational purposes as it may be used for cross-linguistic research on verbal valency as well as curated data for NLP tasks, such as cross-lingual synonym discovery.

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VYJÁDŘETE (*SVŮJ* NEBO *VAŠ?*) NÁZOR
Possessives as politeness markers in Bulgarian, Czech, and Russian

In the typology of possessive adnominal modifiers, Slavic languages belong to the reflexive type, i.e. they have a special reflexive possessive item to distinguish a coreferential pronominal possessor from a non-coreferential pronominal possessor (Manzelli 1990). However, the actual use of reflexive possessives varies across Slavic languages as well as across conditions within a language. Slovene and Russian have been reported to make the most use of the reflexive possessive, whereas Polish and Bulgarian (in long pronouns) the least (Pekelis 2021). It has also been observed that in Slovene, the reflexive possessive is less obligatory in 2nd person plural/polite contexts[1] than in the 2nd person singular, where it often competes with the non-reflexive possessive (Uhlik/Žele 2020).

In this presentation, we address the question whether possessive pronouns in Bulgarian, Czech, and Russian are used in 2nd person contexts similarly to Slovene. Specifically, we test two hypotheses. First, the non-reflexive possessive is more frequent in 2nd person polite/plural Vy-contexts, as in example (1) from Russian, than in the 2nd person singular, as exemplified by (2):

(1)   *Kogda **Vy** prišlëte mne **Vašu** stat'ju?*
      'When you.2PL send me your.NREFL.PL article?'

(2)   *Kogda **ty** prišléš mne **tvoju** stat'ju?*
      'When you.2SG send me your.NREFL.SG article?'

Second, the non-reflexive possessive is more frequent in imperatives as in (3) than in indicatives as in (2) above.

(3)   *Prišlite mne **Vašu** stat'ju.*
      'Send.IMP.PL me your.NREFL.PL article.'

To test these hypotheses we extracted 2nd person possessives in comparable web corpora of Bulgarian, Czech and Russian (bgTenTen12 v2, csTenTen12 v9, and ruTenTen11) as well as in the subcorpora of untranslated texts from the national corpora of these languages (Bul-NC, SYN2015, RNC). For Czech and Russian, we chose 4000 random occurrences of 2nd person possessives in the TenTen corpora and 4000 in the national corpora per language. The chosen 4000 sentences exemplified four different conditions with 1000 examples per condition (singular + indicative, singular + imperative, plural/polite + indicative, and plural/polite + imperative). For Bulgarian, long and short forms of possessives from both corpora were analysed separately, leading to four samples for Bulgarian with 4000 sentences each.

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[1]   Plural, plural polite and singular polite contexts in Slavic languages are not distinguished morphosyntactically.

The results confirm the two hypotheses for Russian and for Czech showing that the reflexive is the default possessive in the 2nd person singular, and the non-reflexive is used only in up to 5% of singular examples. In 2nd person plural/polite contexts, the reflexive is still the preferred possessive but the non-reflexive is used in up to 10% of the indicative and up to 20% of the imperative *Vy*-contexts. In Bulgarian long possessives, the non-reflexive is overall much more frequent than in Russian and Czech, and whereas the reflexive still dominates in the singular (up to 75% of examples), the non-reflexive is used in 46% of plural plural/polite indicative and in 54% of imperative contexts. In Bulgarian short possessives, only the reflexive possessive occurs in both singular and plural/polite contexts.

To summarize, the non-reflexive in Czech, Russian, and Bulgarian long possessives is most frequent with polite *Vy*-forms in imperative contexts. In terms of theory of politeness by Brown and Levinson (1987), imperative contexts represent acts that threaten the addressee's negative face because they urge him to act in a way he might not want to. Special polite forms of personal pronouns are one of the linguistic means to avoid the direct reference to the addressee and thus to reduce the degree of face threats (Helmbrecht 2003). In our case, this function of the personal pronoun *Vy* is complemented by the use of the non-reflexive possessive *Vaš*. The non-reflexive can be considered a less direct reference to the hearer than the reflexive possessive because, due to implied plurality, the non-reflexive distributes responsibility imposed on the hearer by the imperative over the plurality of addressees.

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METAPHOR IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Case study of English and German conceptual metaphors in the 2019 European Parliament elections

The aim of this case study is to analyse the use of figurative language based on conceptual metaphor in political discourse during the 2019 European Parliament elections in the United Kingdom and Germany. This research attempts to discover similarities and differences in the use of conceptual metaphors in British and German media and investigate their culture-based specificities (Kövecses 2005; Charteris-Black 2003). The frequency of the use of figurative language in the two languages will also be inspected to examine Grady's (2017) statement that the significance of figurative language in shaping public opinion is especially evident in discussions about topics of social importance. The corpus consists of 13,515 words in total and it was created for the purposes of this paper. It includes twenty articles, ten British and ten German, randomly selected from a larger corpus created for the thesis on the use of figurative language in political discourse. The articles were collected from online news portals with free access (e.g., www.bbc.com, www.theguardian.com, www.welt.de, www.tagesschau.de) during and shortly after the 2019 European Parliament elections. For the manual identification of figurative language several methods and sources were used: Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff/Johnson 1980), Conceptual Integration Theory or Blending Theory (Fauconnier/Turner 2002), Metaphor Identification Procedure (Steen 2010), Master Metaphor List (Lakoff/Espenson/Schwartz 1991) and Goatly's metaphor base Metalude (Metaphor at Lingnan University). To check their entrenched phraseological status, all instances of figurative language were first checked in phraseological dictionaries and then categorised as conventional, modified or novel, according to the guidelines of figurative and phraseological profiling of political discourse by Omazić (2015). A special attention will be paid to discourse metaphors (Zinken 2007) that are in the process of being conventionalised due to their easily evoked analogical schemas. In addition to the quantitative analysis, the paper will also provide some insight into qualitative aspects of the use of figurative language in discourse, such as preferential conceptual metaphors, clustered figurative saturation, diffuse figurative use, intertextuality, and neologisms. As the preliminary results show, the most commonly used conceptual metaphors in political discourse in both languages are POLITICS IS WAR, POLITICS IS COMPETITION and POLITICS IS A JOURNEY.

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THE GERMAN-SPANISH VERB PAIR *SCHREIBEN/ESCRIBIR* FROM A CONTRASTIVE PERSPECTIVE

Empirical study of argument structure patterns and their variation in different text types

Keywords Argument structure patterns; multilingual corpus; variation in different text types

This contribution on the German-Spanish verb pair *schreiben/escribir* takes up some questions about representative communication verbs in language comparison (Harras et al. 2004, 2007; Fernández Eduardo 1993). Departing from an ad hoc data base of a comparable multilingual corpus (Kupietz et al. 2020; Meliss/González Ribao 2022) and a corpus-based methodology for multilingual contexts, it describes the extensive combination potential of both verbs from a contrastive perspective.

The data base consists of 400 corpus examples per language from four different text types of the contemporary language, extracted from large reference corpora of both languages. The corresponding analyses for lexical issues at the interface between semantics and syntax required the development of a corpus-based methodology for multilingual contexts and the creation of an annotation system for the acquisition of different lexical data. The underlying methodology based on Engelberg et al. (eds.) (2012) was adapted to the main purposes of the research project COMBIDIGILEX and applied to the analysis of verbs of different verb classes (Meliss (coord.) et al. in preparation).

The high number of attested argument structure patterns combined with a wide morphosyntactic realisation spectrum provides not only the basis for fine-grained sense disambiguation, but also relevant phenomena in the contrastive field. Based on a *tertiums comparationis*, which is defined by the identified argument structures (Wotjak 2011), the following research questions will be considered:

i)   What combination potential do the verbs *schreiben/escribir* possess?

ii)   Can different readings be revealed based on the individual argument structure patterns?

iii)   Do the verbs behave similarly regarding their combination potential in both languages?

iv)   Can text type-specific differences be identified? (cf. Engelberg et al. 2012).

v)   Can the verbs in both languages be assigned to the same frames? (cf. Boas 2009)

These research questions in part follow the tradition of valence grammar and connect to current approaches to the analysis and description of argument structures and argument structure patterns, which explicitly address the syntax-semantics interface (Primus 2012; Herbst 2014; Engelberg 2018) and enable a connection to contrastive issues (Cosma/Engelberg 2014; Engelberg et al. (eds.) 2015; González Ribao 2021). However, the concept of 'argu-

ment structure patterns' underlying this study, allows for an analysis independent of the chosen linguistic approach (cf. Proost/Winkler 2015).

The results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses also provide the basis for an application-oriented proposal within the framework of the development of a multilingual lexico-grammatical information system for foreign language acquisition, which among others offers explicit contrastive commentaries (Fernández Méndez/Mas Álvarez/Meliss 2022).

The main aim of this contribution is not only to present the results and point out application-oriented possibilities, but also to stimulate a discussion that particularly concerns the methodological-empirical foundations for contrastive studies.

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PRAGMATIC SPEECH ACTS DEVELOPMENT IN FRENCH, ISIZULU, AND SESOTHO ORAL NARRATIVES

Keywords Comparative linguistics; pragmatic speech acts; oral narratives; late language development

Conventional forms in oral discourse are later acquired than the structure (phonetics, phonology, morphology, semantics) of language. Children are socialised in line with their environmental conventions to produce culturally appropriate formulations. Contrastive linguistics aids us in understanding what is language specific and what is universal.

In this study, we investigate the pragmatic behaviour of two Bantu languages (isiZulu and Sesotho) spoken in South Africa and neighbouring countries, and French, in storytelling. In particular, we look at how pragmatic speech acts are expressed and if there is a developmental trajectory. We employ a multimodal perspective where we study oral and non-verbal cues in the form of gesture production during the oral narration.

Previous research on oral narratives (see Berman 1997; Bruner 1993) has highlighted their pragmatic heterogeneity; we know that telling a story involves not only narrating the events but also commenting on them or on the narration itself. Oral discourse is a complex form of language built at the textual level. The adult use of language relies on the ability to understand and generate linguistic information based at this level (Austin 1975; Cameron-Faulkner 2014; Hickmann 2002). Discourse displays specific properties of cohesion and coherence which have no equivalent in the course of dialogue built out of the sequencing of short speech turns (Halliday/Hasan 1976; Searle/Searle 1992). All these pragmatic features define the written use of language, so that later speech development is directly related to the acquisition of writing and reading abilities (Reilly 2004).

As in all forms of speech acts and spoken discourse, narratives involve the use of both auditory (linguistic + prosodic) and visual (gesture) communicative means. How is this manifest in children? A previous study on spontaneous narratives of events experienced by 6- to 11-years old children in the francophone context (Colletta 2004) showed an evolution of multimodal narrative performance with age. From 9 years onwards, narratives gain in linguistic complexity and children make more frequent use of gestures to represent the narrated events and characters, to maintain the internal coherence of the narrative, and to mark the transitions between the account of events and the commentaries.

In order to study the multimodal (speech and gesture) of narrative development and investigate its underlying linguistic, cognitive and social factors, we used a quasi-experiment where we elicited the production of oral narratives. We asked three groups of French, isiZulu, and Sesotho-speaking participants: 24 six-year-olds, 24 ten-year-olds, and 24 adults respectively, to narrate from a short cartoon that was previously shown to them. For this presentation, we focus on the pragmatic speech acts and co-speech gesture produced during this oral narrative task.

We will focus on the findings that illustrate language-specific (local) cues as well as universal trends. The two South African languages show a highly similar index while the French language shows a slightly different trend. We also find a universal developmental trend across all three languages, that further contributes to the literature on the developmental milestones that can be more attributed to cognitive development rather than the language spoken.

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FRENCH, POLISH AND CZECH CONVERBS
A contrastive corpus-based study

The present study aims at investigating similarities and differences between three nonfinite verb forms specialized in converbal function, i.e. in adverbial subordination, as defined in Haspelmath/König (eds.) (1995) and Ross (2021): the French *gérondif*, the Polish *imiesłów przysłówkowy* and the Czech *transgressive*. Previous studies have shown that these three forms display important syntactic and semantic similarities (Čermák et al. 2020, Haspelmath/König (eds.) 1995): they are canonical (strict) converbs, i.e. forms limited to converbal (adverbial) function, they are same-subject, and their semantic interpretation is based on contextual factors. Moreover, the three forms share almost identical proportions of different meanings, with the basic meaning of accompanying circumstance prevailing. Yet despite such similarities, the three forms differ significantly in frequency: 4,000 ipm in Polish, 1,700 ipm in French and only 200 ipm in Czech (in contemporary fiction, see Nádvorníková, forthcoming). We argue that these differences are due to diachronic distinctions in the evolution of the three forms and we investigate the impact of these differences on their (non)-equivalence in contemporary language. We also argue that the combination of multilingual (parallel) corpora and the converb comparative concept enables thorough cross-linguistic research into the mechanisms of adverbial subordination.

The Czech converb differs from its counterpart in Polish (and in the other Slavic languages) because of its archaistic morphology, requiring agreement with the subject of the main clause. This particularity is due to a sociolinguistically motivated normative intervention in the 19th century. By contrast, the Polish converb, whose adverbialization was accepted by the norm, is well attested in contemporary language. However, despite these differences in frequency, the two Slavic forms share a clear morphological delimitation vis-à-vis the present participle forms, displaying full adjectival morphology and limited to adnominal use. This situation contrasts with French, where the *gérondif* and the *participe présent* had undergone categorial blending (Vangaever 2022), and only during the 18th century the *gérondif* came to be clearly distinguished formally by the adposition *en.* As a result, today the functions of the two forms partially overlap.

We explore the (non-)equivalence of the three forms and the competing constructions in large data from the InterCorp parallel corpus (https://intercorp.korpus.cz/), limited to contemporary fiction. The analysis is conducted on all texts in the language pairs and on manually analyzed samples of 500 occurrences of converbs in the six directions of translation. The analysis of parallel concordances shows that the Czech converb is strongly contested by finite verb forms in coordinate and subordinate clauses (5% converbs vs. 70% finite verbs, in translations both from French and Polish). By contrast, the Polish converb represents 60% of equivalents of both Czech and French converbs, which indicates that converbs are a more important means of adverbial subordination in Polish than in Czech. Finally, the analysis of translations from Slavic into French reveals an important systemic difference: the converb (*gérondif*) and the *participe présent* represent each 30% of translation equivalents of Slavic

converbs. The data indicates that the distribution of the two forms displays important semantic and syntactic differences: the present participle favours ad-clausal use, semantically only loosely related with the main clause and tending towards a participant-oriented content (see Schultze-Berndt/Himmelmann 2004), whereas the *gérondif* is semantically more integrated into the main clause, with a tendency to an 'event-oriented' content. These results suggest that Slavic converbs have a broader range of uses than the French converb.

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WHAT A CONTRASTIVE APPROACH CAN TELL US ABOUT THE FORMAL STATUS AND SYNTAX OF CAUSAL INTERROGATIVES IN WEST GERMANIC AND ROMANCE

Keywords *wh*-interrogatives; cartography; West Germanic; Romance

On the basis of cross-linguistic evidence, several authors have proposed that the adjunct causal *wh*-interrogative 'why' and its lexical counterparts in other languages, differently from other elements of the same nature, are externally merged in a CP position, IntP (cf. Hornstein 1995; Rizzi 2001; Ko 2005; Stepanov/Tsai 2008), or move locally from a high position in the IP situated above NegP ([Spec,ReasonP] in Shlonsky/Soare 2011) to IntP to avoid Criterial Freezing and account for interpretative issues.

This analysis, which excludes upward movement of *why*, is based on solid grounds with respect to the languages taken into account. One of the main arguments in favor of an IntP/ ReasonP base generation is that this element does not leave a trace in the area below such positions. However, data from German, a single *wh*-movement system, suggest that *warum* ('why') does, in fact, exhibit the same syntactic behavior as other interrogative *wh*-elements such as *was* ('what') as to its Merge position. In fact, it seems that *warum* may pied-pipe (multiple) modal particles to the left periphery (cf. Bayer/Trotzke 2015) (ex. (1)).

This indicates that the *wh*-element originates in the middle field and moves to the left periphery, optionally taking the particle(s) along. Moreover, *wh*-intensifiers like *zum Teufel* ('the hell') may move together with the *wh*-element to the CP or, in a slightly more marked construction, remain in the lower area as a litmus test of the trace of *warum* in that position (ex. (2)). This is also true of embedded contexts, in which *warum* exhibits exactly the same behavior in relation to modal particles (ex. (3)) and *wh*-intensifiers (ex. (4)).

Insofar, German apparently represents an 'exception' to Rizzi's (2001) and Shlonsky/Soare's (2011) seminal observations on the cross-linguistic behavior of *why*, implying that e.g. in Italian, English and Romanian this element is merged either in [Spec,IntP] or in [Spec,ReasonP], since the a/m systems disallow *wh*-intensifier split.

A possibility to investigate would be that the SOV syntax of German may have implications for the base generation of 'why'. In fact, Dutch, another West Germanic language in which the underlying word order is SOV, allows for the same phenomenon with the *wh*-pronoun *waarom* (ex. (5)) – crucially, just like German, but differently e.g. from Italian and English, two SVO systems.

Not all causal interrogatives in German and Dutch, however, exhibit the same formal status: for instance, etymologically related German *wieso* and Dutch *hoezo* ('how come') show striking functional differences: for instance, *wieso* (but, crucially, not *hoezo*) can function as a pseudo-relative pronoun in contexts of the type *This is the reason why...* (*Das ist der Grund,* [OK]*warum*/[OK]*wieso...* vs. *Dat is de reden, [OK]*waarom*/**hoezo...*).

It seems, therefore, that a closer look at the structural features of causal *wh*-pronouns in West Germanic, at least with respect to the languages at stake here, reveals on the one hand an instance of macro-variation (German/Dutch as OV systems vs. English as a VO system exhibiting a partially non-Germanic syntax) and on the other hand one of micro-variation (German vs. Dutch). Given that there is independent evidence for a Split-CP in German à la Rizzi (1997) and differences in base-generation site are, therefore, not necessarily attributable to a reduced CP, such facts may call for a typological investigation implying a classification of languages based on the Merge site of causal interrogatives.

Examples

(1a) *Warum denn bloß sollte ich parallel   dazu noch ein Programm kaufen?*
      why   prt prt should I   in-parallel to-it also a   program   buy
(1b) *Warum denn sollte ich bloß parallel   dazu noch ein Programm kaufen?*
      why   prt should I   prt in-parallel to-it also a   program   buy
(1c) Warum sollte ich denn bloß parallel   dazu noch ein Programm kaufen?
      why   should I   prt prt in-parallel to-it also a   program buy
      'Why should I buy another program?'

(2a) [*Warum zum Teufel*]ᵢ *bin ich* [tᵢ] *nicht gegangen?*
      why   to-the devil am I   neg   gone
(2b) [*Warum*]ᵢ *bin ich* [[tᵢ] *zum Teufel*] *nicht gegangen?*
       why   am I   to-the devil neg   gone
      'Why the hell didn't I go there?'

(3a) [*Ich fragte ihn*], *warum denn bloß wir uns nicht besser verstanden hätten.*
      I   asked him   why   prt prt we refl neg better understood hätten.
      'I asked him why we hadn't had a better relationship.'
(3b) [*Wir haben*] *höflich   nachgefragt, warum er denn bloß so krumm am*
       we   have   politely asked   why   he prt prt so crooked at-the
      Instrument   sitze.
      instrument   sits
      'We asked (him) politely why he was sitting so crooked at his instrument.'

(4a) *Ich frage mich, warum zum Teufel ich mich nicht in dich verlieben   kann.*
      I   ask   refl why   to-the devil I   refl neg in you fall-in-love can
      'I wonder why I can't fall in love with you.'
(4b) *Will   wissen, warum du zum Teufel nicht an deinem Platz bist.*
      want know   why   you to-the devil neg at your   place are
      'I want to know why you're not in your place.'

(5a) *Waarom in vredesnaam heb je   dat gedaan?*
      why   in peace-name have you that done
      'Why on earth did you do that?'
(5b) *Maar Augustine, waarom heb je   in vredesnaam dat kind hier gebracht?*
      but Augustine why   have you in peace-name the kid   here brought
      'But Augustine, why on earth did you even bring the kid here?'

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DEGREE AND STANDARD MARKERS IN ENGLISH, ITALIAN, AND LADIN
A contrastive analysis based on typological findings

Keywords Comparison; comparatives; equatives; similatives; Badiot; Marou

The English degree and standard markers *as* and *like* occur in equative, similative, and related constructions. Equatives express an equivalent degree of a gradable property (Anne is *as* [= degree marker] tall *as* [= standard marker] Ben), while similatives express similarity of quality or manner (Anne is *like* Ben; Anne sings *like* Ben; *like* = standard marker). Related constructions are accord clauses (*as we all know*), simulative clauses (pretended similarity of the type of *as if*), and role phrases (a participant's role or function, *as your teacher*). Equative, similative, and related constructions have been studied for several years from different perspectives and in large samples of languages (Haspelmath/Buchholz 1998; Haspelmath 2017). English has been described as rather exceptional among European languages because of its two standard markers *as* and *like*, which make a formal distinction between equative and similative constructions (Treiss 2018). It is generally known that clauses with *as* and phrasal adjuncts with *like* tend to be distinguished in British formal language.

Based on typological findings in the field of equative and similative constructions (Haspelmath/Buchholz 1998; Haspelmath 2017), this study aims to analyse the level of similarity in the use of degree and standard markers in English, Italian, and Ladin, which is still under-researched in various domains. In particular, it aims to show that the Ladin system varies at a micro-level in Val Badia (South Tyrol, Italy). While the linguistic variety in the upper part of the valley uses the same standard marker with phrasal and clausal complements, namely *sciöch*(*e*) (like Italian *come*), the variety in the lower part of Val Badia has two standard markers that distinguish between phrasal and clausal complements, namely *desco* and *desch*(*e*). There are therefore parallels between English and Ladin (Irsara 2021).

The use of degree and standard markers in English, Italian, and Ladin is studied using data from corpora such as the *British National Corpus* (*BNC*), *Italian Web 2016* (*itTenTen16*), and *Tratament Automatch dl Lingaz Ladin* (*TALL*). The Ladin data is supplemented by examples from *Le Saltá* (the Mareo community newsletter), and by examples provided orally by speakers of the language. Dictionaries and grammar books have also been consulted.

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VALIDATING TERMINOLOGIES AND PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS RETRIEVED FROM SPECIALIZED COMPARABLE CORPORA IN LEXICAL SEMANTICS
An interactive method

Keywords Terminology; phraseological units; comparable corpora; interactive method; lexical semantics

The retrieve of terminology and phraseology from a monolingual corpus currently performed effectively by tools but extraction of keywords, terms, multi-word patterns, or collocations remain challenging, whether parallel or comparable corpora are utilized. Bilingual terminology extraction is generally conducted using either parallel corpora (Ndhlovu 2016) or comparable corpora (Terryn/Hoste/Lefever 2020), and most studies identify keywords, collocations, and terms using computational methods (Štajner/Mladenić 2019). Recent works have demonstrated that comparable corpora can be used in cases where parallel corpora is unavailable. Comparable corpora are significant, for they provide examples of attested usage in native-speaking contexts (Giampieri, 2018). In addition to balanced comparable corpora, Morin and Hasem (2015) used unbalanced specialized comparable corpora to examine the quality of extracted bilingual terminology through a regression model which word co-occurrences in the context were observed. Their results show that the quality of retrieved lexicons is good by using unbalanced specialized comparable corpora. Thus, the usability of comparable corpora in cross-language information retrieval is applicable in extracting bilingual terminology. Lien (2018) compiled unbalanced Buddhist comparable corpora and generate the keyword lists and collocation lists by using n-gram function in *Sketch Engine* and expert evaluation.

Most of the studies on extraction of bilingual terminology or lexical phrases employed mainly computational methods, such as word embeddings words combined with a kernel approximation (Štajner/Mladenić 2019), STACC (Azpeitia/Etchegoyhen/Martínez Garcia 2018), and *Sketch Engine* (Lien 2018); however, the quality of obtained terminology or phraseological units in lexical semantic level was not evaluated in previous studies. Accordingly, the present study intends to utilize an interactive method to evaluate suitability of those retrievals from specialized comparable corpora and to analyze the terms and phraseological units in lexical semantics. The specialized comparable corpora consisted of a Buddhist English Corpus and a Buddhist Chinese Corpus. The comparable corpora used in the present study were Buddhist English Corpus (BEC) (Lien 2017) and Buddhist Chinese Corpus (BCC) (Lien, 2018). The *BEC* and *BCC* were both compiled from books, essays, e-books, articles and reviews. A total of 22,677,744 tokens were obtained in *BEC*. The corpus included four sub-corpora regarding to history (4,582,771), origins (2,161,005), beliefs (11,104,917), and arts (4,829,051). The *BCC* contained 20,318,513 tokens which were obtained from publicly available texts. The four sub-corpora were Buddhist history (7,764,086), origins (3,092,059),

beliefs (6,687,199), and arts (2,775,169). The two corpora were unbalanced specialized comparable.

The text files were converted to plain text (.txt) for further analysis. The methods of extracting terminologies from comparable corpora in previous studies were inclined to employ statistical machine translation or computational analysis. However, it was apparently insufficient for ensuring semantic level of obtained terms (Lien 2022; Tongpoon-Patanasorn 2018). Accordingly, the present study applied an interactive method for cross validation of the quality of retrieved terms. The proposed method included filtering the terms with criteria, validating terms with different references sources (google search engine, English dictionaries, Chinese dictionaries, Pali dictionaries), implementing various statistical measures (absolute frequency, LL, OR) for ensuring the distinctness of obtained terms, and machine translation for comparison of terminology and phraseological units. Moreover, the distinct terminologies and phraseological units extracted from specialized Buddhist comparable corpora were examined in lexical semantics. The change of trend in Eastern and Western Buddhist literature were explored through comparing the extracted terms and phraseological units from the Buddhist comparable corpora. Mutual information (MI) were utilized to attain collocates of key clusters which had the highest keyness values in their semantic functions occurring in the *BCC*. The researchers indicated it was a more suitable span for verbs and their collocates in text is (0, +5) as it covers most of the high-frequency collocations (Bai/Zheng 2004; Li/Guo 2016). The n-gram function in Sketch Engine were used to generate collocation list. Therefore, in the present study, a collocation was defined as a single word co-occurring in the span of ±5 words from the reference word, co-occurring at least five times in total across at least five different texts with a MI score of at least 3 and a t-score of at least 2.

After the computational analysis was done, the manual review was used and those phraseological units which are not specific will be removed. To collocate the phraseological units retrieved from two corpora, the phraseological units extracted from BEC were translated into Chinese by using different reference sources: google search engine, English dictionaries, Chinese dictionaries, Pali dictionaries, *Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Buswell/Lopez 2014), *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* (Muller 2015). Some specific obtained phraseological units which may be Hindi or Pali, such as "calm abiding" which was a collocation appearing in BEC. It is "shamatha" in Pali and Chinese translation is "stillness". The occurrence of those specific phraseological units in two lists were compared and analyzed in cultural perspectives.

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PROJECTED MEANING IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH
The embedded exclamative

Keywords Exclamative; mirativity; illocutionary force; projection

This study offers a reanalysis of embedded exclamative constructions as mirative items. Through a quantitative study of the verbs that licence them in English and French, it is demonstrated that the conventionalized meaning of an exclamative is not over-ruled by a matrix clause but rather projected by it.

Matrix exclamative constructions are generally accepted to include instances such as (1–2). These prototypical exclamatives are fronted by interrogative words and are distinguishable from interrogatives by the absence of subject-auxiliary inversion. Pragmatically, they are characterised by their conveying of presupposed content, subjectivity, high degree, and mirativity (denoting surprise or exceeded expectations) (cf. Krawczak/Glynn 2015; Michaelis/Lambrecht 1996; Michaelis 2001; Rett 2008, 2011; Unger 2019).

(1)   Phew, what a relief. (WB brbooks)

(2)   Tu reviens , je te dis : « Tu l' as aimé . Quel pauvre type c' était . » (FranText, LEDUC Violette, *La Batârde*, 1964)

(3)   Jesus, Coll, I never realized what a Puritan you are. (WB brbooks)

(4)   Sa manière de rire seulement des yeux quand elle lui dit combien elle se sent protégée auprès de lui, et combien elle jouit . (FranText, KRISTEVA Julia, *Les Samouraïs*, 1990)

In English, reference grammars and many initial accounts of the exclamative clause type assume that an exclamative clause can be embedded in much the same way as the interrogative (cf. Collins 2005, p. 3; Elliot 1974, p. 233; Grimshaw 1979, p. 281; Huddleston/Pullum 2002, p. 991; Trotta 2000; Zanuttini/Portner 2003). However, many have disputed the fact that constructions such as (3–4) can be defined as exclamative (Chernilovskaya 2014; Michaelis/Lambrecht 1996, pp. 241–242; Rett 2008) This is based on the idea that the exclamative must encode a certain illocutionary force. Rett (2008, pp. 603) holds that "illocutionary force is a property of an utterance as a whole, not of subcomponents of utterances".

The current study builds upon a recent initial corpus study of English what and how (Troughton/Ghesquière 2022) which suggests that most embedded exclamatives are a case of projection. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 443) write that through projection "one clause is set up as the representation of the linguistic "content" of another — either the content of a 'verbal' clause of saying [i.e. a locution] or the content of a 'mental' clause of sensing [i.e. an idea]". This suggests that an exclamative embedded under verbs of saying (*say*, *tell*, etc.) or verbs of mental processes (*know*, *imagine*, *remember*, etc.) are actually "projected through the primary clause, which instates it as (a) a locution or (b) an idea" (Halliday/Matthiessen 2004, p. 377). As such it would retain the same semantico-pragmatic meaning as an independent construction. English and French are known for their relative proximity (Kerfelec 2009, p. 22) and as such it is hypothesised that French embedded exclamative constructions behave in the same way.

The data for this study are drawn from the WordBanksOnline British books (HarperCollins 2009) and Frantext RL-1950 (ATILF) subcorpora. Randomized samples of 100 embedded *what* and *how* constructions are compared with French *quel* and *combien* respectively in terms of the criteria normally associated with their matrix counterparts. These parameters include form (word order, punctuation, ellipsis) and meaning (subjectivity, high degree, surprise). The verbs that are found to licence embedded exclamative constructions (Halliday/ Matthiessen 2004) support the aforementioned hypothesis.

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INCHOATIVIZATION ACROSS LANGUAGES
Morphology vs. type-shift

Keywords Typology; lexical semantics; morphology

Languages differ with respect to the relationship between stative property concept lexemes (henceforth: PCLs) and words describing changes of state (henceforth: COS). In labile languages, there is no morphophonological difference between PCLs expressing a stative meaning and lexemes expressing COS semantics. This is illustrated by Mandarin in (1) (Tham 2013), in which a rate adverbial like *fast*, in combination with a stative predicate, gives rise to a COS meaning (1b). In the absence of a rate adverbial or other material selecting a dynamic event predicate, no COS meaning is present (1a). Lability is not attested in all languages: for example, in Japanese, stative PCLs do not have a COS meaning in the presence of a rate adverbial, and are unacceptable in their presence. Instead, Japanese requires the use of a verb derivationally related to the PCL to express COS (2). Crucially, such overt derivational morphology is absent in languages like Mandarin that show state/COS lability.

We propose an analysis of lability in terms of type shifting: in languages with no overt inchoative morphology, a type-shifting operation introducing inchoative semantics applies where type-mismatches would occur. Together with a Blocking Principle (cf. Chierchia 1998), this explains why COS meaning in labile languages only arises in certain grammatical contexts and why such type-shifting is in complementary distribution with inchoative morphology cross-linguistically. Our analysis thus improves on previous accounts, as it makes a testable cross-linguistic prediction: languages without inchoative morphology, and only these, allow stative verbs to shift to a COS meaning in appropriate contexts.

On our analysis, there is no morpheme, either overt or covert, encoding COS semantics in labile languages. Instead, state/COS lability arises via a type-shifting operation that applies to stative verbs and returns an event predicate (3). This operation which we term Inchoative Shift takes a predicate of states, existentially closes the state argument, and introduces a BECOME relation between an event and the state. Following much work in the type-shifting literature (cf. Partee/Rooth 1983 et seq.), Inchoative Shift applies only as a last resort mechanism to repair local type mismatches. This property of type-shifting explains the restriction of COS readings with stative predicates to cases where the VP would serve as an argument of material that only compose with eventive predicates, e.g. rate adverbs, as such composition would fail in the absence of a type-shift. In the absence of a function demanding an eventive argument, no type mismatch arises, Inchoative Shift does not apply, and COS semantics is absent.

The type-shifting perspective on coercion also lends itself to an explanation for why such a type shift is available in labile languages, but not in non-labile languages: the latter possess overt morphology expressing COS semantics, as (4) shows, while labile languages do not. This is analogous to Chierchia's (1998) explanation for the availability of the $\exists$ and ι type-shifters in Mandarin, which lacks determiners that would otherwise express such meanings,

but not in English, which makes use of a and the instead. We can thus extend Chierchia's Blocking Principle to account for blocking effects with type-shifting outside of the nominal domain.

In our talk, we elaborate on further constraints on Inchoative Shift, including its restriction to verbal predicates (cf. state/COS lability is found with verbal PCLs; Koontz-Garboden et al. 2023) and the sensitivity of the Blocking Principle to the structural complexity of inchoative expressions (cf. periphrastic inchoatives do not block Inchoative Shift (5); cf. Katzir 2007). More generally, our talk highlights that the source of COS semantics varies across languages (Matthewson/Quinn/Talagi 2015).

Examples

(1)   Mandarin
(1a)   *wo   de   toufahen   chang.*
        1SG   DE   hair   very   be.long
        'My hair is long.'
(1b)   *wo   de   toufachang   de   hen   kuai.*
        1SG   DE   hair   be.long   DE   very   fast
        'My hair **gets long** very fast.'

(2)   Japanese
(2a)   *kawa-ga   #(hayaku)hiro-i.*
        river-NOM   quickly   be.wide-PRS
        'The river is #(quickly) wide.'
(2b)   *kawa-ga   hayaku   hiro-**gar**-i.*
        river-NOM   quickly   be.wide-PRS
        'The river is #(quickly) widening.'

(3)   **Inchoative Shift**
        For a verbal constituent V of type <s,t>, SHIFT(V) = λe.∃s[BECOME(e,s) ∧ V(s)]

(4)   **Generalized Blocking Principle with structural alternatives**
        For any type-shifting operator τ and any X: *τ(X) if there is an expression Y such that Y is at most as complex as X and [[Y]] = [[τ(X)]]

(5)   Mandarin
        *wo   de   toufa **bian**   chang   le.*
        1SG   DE   hair   become   be.long   PFV
        'My hair got longer.'

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FREQUENCY PROFILES AS A TOOL FOR TRACING THE INTERACTION BETWEEN BORROWING AND WORD FORMATION

Keywords Derivational paradigm; nominalization; motivation

It is often difficult to determine whether complex words are the result of word formation or borrowing. In many European languages, there are complex words with a Latin or Greek origin, for which a borrowing from classical languages is not possible, because the words are not attested in the classical stages of these languages. Examples include formations in *ation* and its variants in several languages. These nouns are often analysed as the result of a word formation rule taking a corresponding verb as its input. In German, we find triples such as (1).

(1a)   Lokalisation   ('localization')
(1b)   lokalisieren   ('localize')
(1c)   Lokalisierung   ('localization')

For (1a), the question is whether it is a word formation result based on (1b) or a borrowing. For (1b), the verb can either have been borrowed or be a back formation based on (1a). In German, French is the main candidate as a source of borrowings of this type. In the case of verbs such as (1b), the ending *-ieren*, which serves as a condition for the nominalization in *-ation*, corresponds to the French infinitive. The noun (1c) is an unambiguous word formation result, derived from (1b).

We propose frequency profiles as a tool for determining the likelihood of the different scenarios in constellations such as (1). The question is not which words in a particular case were borrowed or resulted from word formation, but how this generalizes for a process. The difference between Baayen's (1992) measures for productivity and our frequency profile is that productivity is a property of word formation processes (or affixes), whereas the frequency profile is a property of such triples as (1). With Furdík (1978, 2004), Mistrík (1985) and Ološtiak/Ivanová (2015) we assume that the base word used in a word formation rule is usually more frequent than the derived word. By looking at large numbers of similar words, the outliers where this assumption does not hold will be outnumbered by the regular cases. The degree to which this effect takes place tells us something about the relative strength of the borrowing and the word formation hypotheses for a particular word formation constellation. In the case illustrated in (1), the questions are whether nouns in *-ation* are rather formed from verbs or borrowed as nouns and whether verbs in *-ieren* should rather be considered borrowings or back formations.

In order to interpret frequency data, we need to calibrate the measures with respect to unambiguous cases. For this calibration, we can use the Slovak counterparts, as in (2).

(2a)   lokalizácia   ('localization')
(2b)   lokalizovať   ('localize')
(2c)   lokalizovanie   ('localization')

In Slovak, the only source for the base of (2a) is a borrowing. In this case, Latin is the most likely source. This means that (2b) must be a backformation based on (2a). The alternative noun in (2c) is derived from the verb in (2b). Comparing the frequency profiles of German triples such as (1) and Slovak triples such as (2) will then provide information about the likelihood that nouns in *-ation* are borrowed or result from word formation.

Frequency profiles are the characteristic distribution of frequency between base words and derivatives in a large corpus. They can be used to determine the likelihood that borrowing or word formation is at the origin of a lexical relationship. By comparing frequency profiles for controversial cases with those for cases where there is no doubt about the relationship, we can determine the most likely analysis for the former. We applied this to German nouns in *ation* and Slovak nouns in *-ácia*. Further research will be necessary to calibrate the frequency profiles and compare them for a larger set of cross-linguistic data.

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Janusz Taborek

A MODEL OF CORPUS-BASED CO-OCCURRENCE CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS
Case study of light verb construction in German and Polish

Keywords Contrastive linguistics; light verb construction; co-occurrence

Research question. The objective of the proposed model is to establish the equivalence of phrases from two language systems (German and Polish) based on their setting, i.e. lexical setting, syntax, morphology and usage – "functional equivalence" (Dobrovol'skij 2015, p. 277). The model allows determining syntagmatic patterns and patterns of use of analysed units, which on the one hand serve to establish functional equivalence, and on the other hand, they constitute complete linguistic material to be used in teaching and lexicography.

Method and results. The model (Taborek 2018) involves three principal stages of analysis:
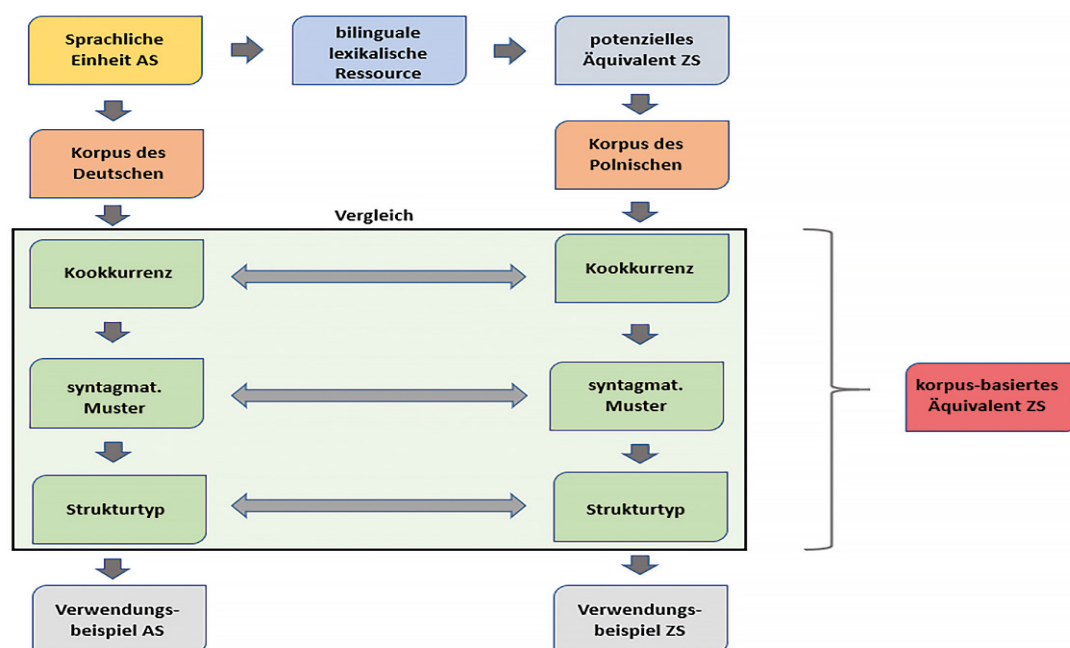
Fig. 1:   A model of corpus-based co-occurrence contrastive analysis (Taborek 2018, p. 140)

a) The first stage involves the analysis of source units (light verb constructions) based on data from monolingual corpora. The analysis based on finding co-occurrences with the highest frequency rate (cf. Steyer 2013). The list of co-occurrences is subjected to linguistic analysis and categorization, which involve word classes, syntactic functions, and semantic distinction. For the German light verb construction *in Vergessenheit geraten* 'fall into oblivion' the most frequent co-occurrences – *fast* 'almost', *schnell* 'quickly', *zu Unrecht* 'wrongly', *Brauch* 'custom' are arranged morphologically and syntactically. Then within syntactic

functions, items are semantically classified, in which adverbial co-occurrences express time (*schnell*), degree (*fast*) and valuation (*zu Unrecht*). Arranging co-occurrences according to their syntactic function makes it possible to establish the "syntagmatic pattern" (Steyer 2013), e.g. SUB + *gerät* + (ADV) + *in Vergessenheit*. The next stage of generalization consists in replacing syntactic functions with variables X,Y,Z, etc., which makes it possible to establish three pattern (Hunston/Francis 1999) X *gerät* ADV *in Vergessenheit*, X *gerät* ADV *in Vergessenheit und wird wieder entdeckt*, and X *droht in Vergessenheit zu geraten.*

b) The second stage of analysis consists in the identification of potential equivalents based on bilingual dictionaries, lexical bases, bilingual corpora, translation support tools and translation memories (Mellado Blanco 2019). The equivalents are subjected to verification based on objective, empirical and corpus-based methods.

c) The third stage is a corpus-based analysis of co-occurence of potential equivalents conducted in a similar way to the analysis of a source unit in a). Based on the data from monolingual corpora, a list of the most frequent co-occurrences is created. These co-occurrences are arranged morphologically, syntactically, semantically, and pragmatically. Further steps include the determination of syntagmatic patterns and patterns of use of potential equivalents in a similar manner to the analysis of source language units.

Then a source unit is compared and contrasted with potential equivalents of i) co-occurrences, ii) syntagmatic patterns, and iii) patterns of a source unit with co-occurrence, syntagmatic patterns and patterns of a potential equivalent. If co-occurrences, patterns and schemes display similarity, then it is possible to speak of functional equivalence, as defined by Dobrovol'skij (2015, p. 277).

Short conclusions. A sample corpus-based analysis of the example *in Vergessenheit geraten* has found that its functional equivalent is *odchodzić w niepamięć/zapomnienie* while lexicographic sources provide different equivalents, such as *iść* (pf. *pójść*)/*popadać* (pf. *popaść*) *w niepamięć/zapomnienie*. The results of sample analyses of light verb constructions show the need for applying co-occurrence that reflects the context of use as a tertium comparationis in order to determine functional equivalents, which, besides light verb constructions, can include both verbs, e.g. *in Frage stellen – kwestionować* and prepositional phrases, e.g. *in Not geraten*(*e*) *– w potrzebie.*

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TRANSLATING PHRASEOLOGISMS IN COMICS
The example of an Asterix album

Translating phraseologisms in comic books may turn into a challenge: on the one side, equivalence between phraseologisms in different languages is not always given; on the other, comics creators may play with existing phraseological units to achieve special (con)textual effects (Korhonen 2004, 2007; Kollner 2007). Additionally, in comics words and images are strongly interwoven and the language varieties used are typically close to the pole of conceptual orality (Fiedler 2004; Rodríguez Abella 2020): these factors, too, cannot be neglected in the translation process.

This contribution aims to examine which means and strategies translators can adopt when dealing with phraseologisms in comics. The Asterix volume "La rose et le glaive" in the original French (Uderzo 1991a) and its translations into Italian and German (Uderzo 1991b, 1991c) will serve as a database. Having been translated into several languages, Asterix albums lend themselves well to contrastive analyses, as the overview in Zanettin (2014) shows. However, investigations have rarely focused on phraseologisms so far – a gap that this contribution will try to fill.

The following steps were taken to examine phraseologisms and their translations: first, all phraseological units occurring in the original album and in the Italian and German translations were identified and classified according to the categories proposed by Kollner (2007) and Dobrovol'skij (2011), i.e., total, partial, and no equivalence; then, a quantitative and a qualitative analysis were conducted. From a quantitative perspective, it emerges that in most cases a total or partial equivalence is given; phraseologisms with no equivalence (about 10–15%) can be regarded as having been "compensated": in the German and Italian translations phraseological units happen to occur in text passages in which the original French shows no phraseologism.

In the talk the results of the quantitative analysis will be presented in detail and single issues raised by the qualitative analysis will be discussed: this will lead to the conclusion that translating phraseologisms in comics requires a balancing act between the figurative and linguistic (con)text on the one side and the linguistic-cultural background of the potential readers on the other.

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BETWEEN SYNTAX AND MORPHOLOGY
German deverbal compounds and their equivalents in Czech

Compounding is considered a highly productive and widespread device in Germanic languages and especially in German (Gaeta/Schlücker 2012, p. 2). The definition of compounding varies for different languages and it raises rather complex questions concerning the delimitation from other word-formation processes and multi-word expressions (Gaeta/Schlücker 2012, pp. 11–14; Martincová 2015; Schlücker 2019; Schlücker/Finkbeiner 2019). Additionally, it accentuates the issues of the definition of word and morph and the role of lexicalization (cf. definition of compounding in Fabb (1998), Gaeta/Ricca (2009)). In recent time, there has been an increasing interest in translation research of German compounds into different languages (Cordeiro et al. 2019; Clematide et al. 2018), however, comprehensive research for Czech is still lacking.

The main purpose of this paper is to give an overview of the equivalents of some deverbal German compound nouns in Czech, focussing on the broad spectrum of their structures. The study is based on compounds with action nominals as the last part, specifically with substantivized infinitive (1) or deverbals ending in suffix -ung (2) and (3):

(1)   German
        das   Flur-platten-klirr-en
        the-NOM   hallway-   tiles-   clatter-INF
        'clatter of hallway tiles'

(2)   German
        die   Risiko-bewertung
        the-NOM   risk-   ASSESSMENT
        'risk assessment'

(3)   German
        die   Eil-meldung
        the-NOM   express-   MESSAGE
        'breaking news'

Data were obtained from the parallel corpus InterCorp of CNC (Institute of the Czech National Corpus FF UK 2022), the compound nouns were automatically selected from the list of lemmas sorted by frequency by means of the morphological analyse (SMOR 2002). The compound nouns with the highest and lowest frequency were examined.

For the German compounds, the number and type of parts of the compound were distinguished. For Czech equivalents, the type of the structure, number of words, (dis)continuality of the parts in the sentence, evtl. variations of the equivalents were examined, cf. the German (4) and Czech (5) examples:

(4) German
Dynamit-fisch-en   über   einem   Korallen-riff
blast-fishing--INF   over   a   coral-reef
'blast fishing over a coral reef'.'

(5) Czech
lovit   na   korálových   útesech   ryby   dynamit-em
to fish-INF   over   coral   reefs   fishes   dynamite-INST
'to catch fish on coral reefs with dynamite'.'

Besides the expected constructions such as noun+noun.GEN (6), noun+prepositional phrase, adjective+noun (7), infinitive constructions and dependent clauses (8) form a significant part of the equivalents. An important feature that is also characteristic for the structural differences between these two languages is the contextual ellipsis in equivalents (e.g. 9).

(6) German
das   *Brötchen-back-en*
the-NOM   bun-   baking-INF
'baking buns'

Czech
pečení   *hous-ek*
baking   buns-gen
'baking buns'

(7) German
die   *Fehl-anpassung*
the-NOM   faulty-   adaptation
'maladaptation'

Czech
špatná   *adaptace*
faulty-ADJ   adaptation
'maladaptation'

(8) German
bei-m   *Salat-wasch-en*
while-DAT   lettuce-   washing-INF
'while washing lettuce'

Czech
když omýva-la   salát
as   wash-PAST.F   lettuce
'as she was washing lettuce'

(9) German
das   *Zoll-verfahr-en*
the-NOM   customs-   proceeding-INF
'customs procedure'

Czech
(*daný*)   *režim*
(mentioned)   procedure
'(this) procedure'

This approach also allows to characterize the role of lexicalization: the most frequent compounds have usually a higher degree of lexicalization in comparison with the compounds with the lowest frequency. Furthermore, the equivalents in Czech mirror this relation, cf. the high frequent compound (10) *Inverkehrbringen*, which corresponds with the lexicalized

multi-word expression (11) *uvedení na trh* (with perfective verbal noun), but also with the other, less frequent aspectual version (12) *uvádění na trh* (with imperfective verbal noun).

(10) German
das   In-verkehr-bring-en
the-NOM   into-   cirulation-   placing-INF
'placing on the market'

(11) Czech
uvedení   na   trh
introducing-NOM.PFV   on   market
'placing on the market'

(12) Czech
uvádění   na   trh
introducing-NOM.IPFV   on   market
'placing on the market'

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RESTRICTIONS ON SUBORDINATORS IN RUSSIAN AND SPANISH ELLIPTICAL CLAUSES

In many languages, it is possible to omit the finite verb from the second of two coordinated clauses if it is identical with that of the first clause (see (1a) for an English example). This type of verb ellipsis is called gapping. One point of variation between the languages that allow gapping occurs in embedded clauses. In English, the elliptical clause may not host a subordinator such as *that*, see (1b). This restriction also holds in other languages (e.g. German, Dutch, French), but not in all of them: In Spanish and Russian, the equivalent of English *that* (Sp. *que*, Rus. *čto*) is optional in such environments. See (2) for an attested example with a subordinator in Spanish.

These observations suggest that when it comes to embedded gapping, there are two language types: English-type languages, which prohibit a subordinator, and Spanish/Russian-type languages, where the subordinator is optional. I will address the question whether the assumption of (only) these two types is justified, specifically by asking whether Spanish and Russian are indeed of the same type.

A closer look at Spanish reveals nuanced patterns of *que* in embedded gapping. Bonke/Repp's (2022) acceptability study indicates that the presence of *que* is constrained by the type of embedding verb: under factive verbs (i.e. verbs that presuppose the content of their complement clause), ratings significantly decrease if *que* is present compared to when it is absent (but are not so low as to indicate outright ungrammaticality). Under non-factive verbs, *que* does not significantly affect ratings. The same effect does not obtain in non-elliptical clauses, where *que* has no statistically significant effect, regardless of verb type. If Spanish and Russian are indeed of the same type, it is to be expected that the same restrictions hold in Russian.

I will contrast Bonke/Repp's (2022) findings with the results of an equivalent acceptability study on Russian *čto*. In two experiments, participants judged the naturalness of embedded gapping structures under non-factive (Exp. 1) and factive (Exp. 2) verbs. Both experiments had a 2×2 design, with the first factor being the subordinator (present vs. absent). In keeping with Bonke/Repp's (2022) design, the second factor contrasted gapping with stripping, i.e. verb ellipsis with a polarity particle, in this case *tože* 'too'. The inclusion of stripping is independently motivated for Russian because there are differences between gapping and stripping in other embedded contexts (Bailyn/Bondarenko 2018). In (3) and (4) there is a sample item with the non-factive embedding verb *govorit* 'says' in the gapping and stripping conditions, respectively. To explore whether the results were specific to ellipsis, I tested the non-elliptical equivalents of the materials of Exp. 1 in another experiment (= Exp. 3).

The results are in Figure 1. Ratings for the individual conditions vary slighty between experiments. However, differences between conditions are largely identical in all three experiments: Except for gapping without *čto*, all conditions are degraded but not outright ungrammatical. Ratings indicate a substantial difference between the experimental conditions and unacceptable controls (not shown). The statistical analyses (mixed models) for the three experiments

revealed significant effects of both factors as well as an interaction. Single comparisons revealed that the effect of *čto* is only significant within the gapping data subsets for each experiment.

The similar results for non-factives (Exp. 1) and factives (Exp. 2) suggest that verb type plays no role in the acceptability of *čto*. Instead, we find a dependency on the type of ellipsis: *Čto* causes a degradation in gapping, but not in stripping (which is degraded on the whole, independently of *čto*). A comparison of Exps. 1 and 3 furthermore suggests that, unlike in Spanish and English-type languages, the effects of the subordinator are independent of ellipsis as such: We observe the same patterns, regardless of whether the verb is absent (Exps. 1/2) or present (Exp. 3).

Thus, the restrictions on Russian čto are not the same as those on Spanish *que*, and the two languages cannot be subsumed under the same type. These conclusions are relevant for ellipsis theory: Gapping and stripping can be argued to involve the same structure as non-elliptical clauses in Russian, but not in Spanish (or English).
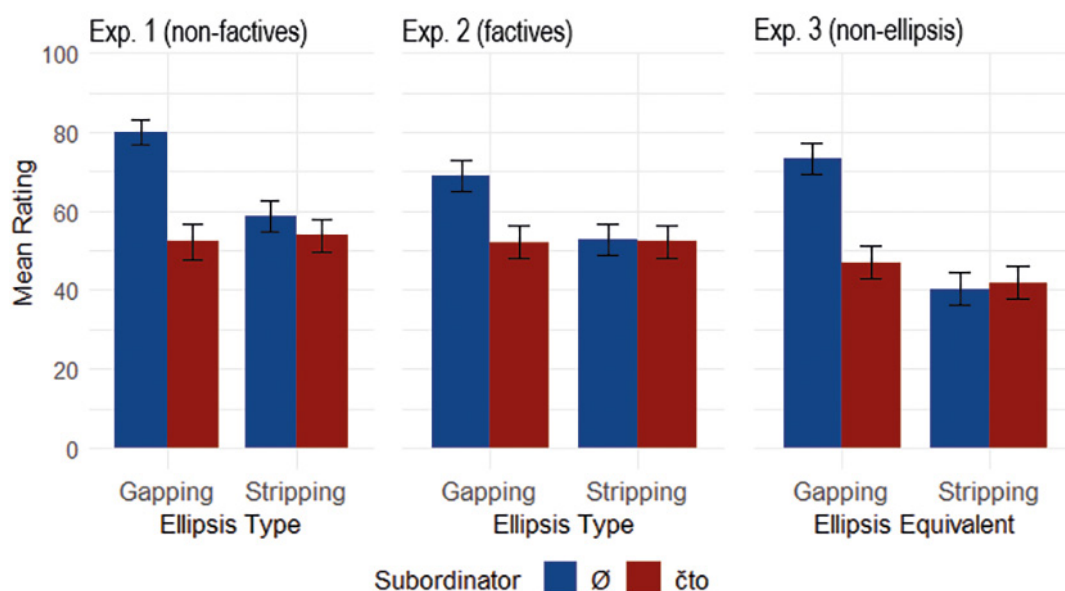
Fig. 1: Experimental results (bars show mean ratings, errorbars show 95% confidence intervals)

(1)   **English gapping**
(1a)   Mary orders steak and John ~~orders~~ seafood.
(1b)   Sue thinks that Mary orders steaks and (*that) John ~~orders~~ seafood.

(2)   **Spanish gapping** (http://www.afntijuana.info/editoriales/67101_trump_no_te_necesitamos, last access: 24 April 2023)
*El   cree   que el   mundo es su empresa y   **que** los Mexicanos sus lacayos.*
He thinks that the world   is his company and that the Mexicans   his lackeys
'He thinks that the world is his company and the Mexicans his lackeys.'

(3)   **Sample item for gapping** (Exp. 1)
Maša   govorit, čto *koška est   žarenuju kuricu   a   {čto|Ø} sobaka – **kotlety**.*
Masha says   that cat   eats Fried   chicken and that|Ø dog   cutlets
'Masha says that the cat eats fried chicken and the dog cutlets.'

(4)   **Sample item for stripping** (Exp. 1)
Maša   govorit, čto *koška est* žarenuju *kuricu   i   {čto|Ø} sobaka – **tože**.*
Masha says   that cat   eats fried   chicken and that|Ø dog   too
'Masha says that the cat eats fried chicken and the dog, too.'

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THE MASS/COUNT DISTINCTION IN NOUNS FOR FOODSTUFFS IN GERMAN
A contrastive view

This paper investigates the mass/count distinction in the domain of aggregate nouns denoting foodstuffs in German in comparison to Russian and Chinese. The investigation suggests that although the morphological encoding of aggregates in German may differ from that in these languages, they nevertheless belong to the same grammatical class of uncountable (mass) nouns.

Nouns for *rice*, *corn* and *potatoes* in different languages have been assumed to denote **aggregates** – entities composed of units that habitually come together (Grimm 2012, a.o.). There is a great deal of variation in the grammatical encoding of aggregates in different languages, but also within one language. In German and Russian, aggregates may be encoded by mass nouns in the singular or by nouns in the plural. In this paper we will focus on aggregate nouns for foodstuffs, since the context of food easily facilitates mass interpretation of such nouns. Many foodstuff aggregates encoded in German as plurals are encoded by singular mass nouns in Russian (e.g., Corbett 2000). For instance, names of berries, legumes and root vegetables which are plurals in German (*Erbsen* 'peas', *Möhren* 'carrots', *Erdbeeren* 'strawberries') are singular mass nouns in Russian (*gorox, morkov', klubnik*a). But even in German, names of aggregates belonging to the same botanical class may be encoded differently; cf. *Zwiebeln* (Pl.) 'onions' vs. *Knoblauch* (Sg. mass) 'garlic'.

It has been assumed that the two types of grammatical manifestation – singular mass vs. plural – correspond to two different countability classes. Mass aggregate nouns like *Reis* 'rice' are assumed to be uncountable, since they do not display a singular/plural contrast. **Plural aggregate nouns** like *Nudeln* 'noodles' have been assumed to be **countable** (Wierzbicka 1988, among others), since they display a singular/plural contrast (*Nudel*.SG – *Nudeln*.PL).

We will critically scrutinize the view that all plural nouns denoting aggregates in German are countable. We will argue that although they are formally plural, it need not be the plural of the respective singular but it can be a **mass plural**. We will show that in one reading the behavior of plural aggregate nouns such as *Erbsen* 'peas' is substantially parallel to that of mass aggregate nouns like *Reis* 'rice' but differs from that of countable non-aggregate nouns in the plural like (*die) Bürgermeister* 'the mayors. **The first distinguishing criterion** for mass/count concerns the way of determination of the quantity. The quantity of a set denoted by the plural countable noun (*die) Bürgermeister* can be determined by counting the particular individuals. However, the quantity of what is denoted by the plural aggregate noun *Erbsen* can be naturally determined by weighing an amount rather than counting the individual peas. The same applies to aggregates denoted by mass nouns like *Reis*.

The second criterion is the combination with quantifiers. Like mass nouns, plural aggregate nouns can combine with non-individuating quantifiers like uninflected *viel* 'much',

etwas 'some/a bit of' and *ein wenig* 'a little' (1). Combinations like *viel Zwiebeln*, *etwas Bohnen* and *ein wenig Erdbeeren* occur in online portals for cooking but also in newspapers; cf. (2). Genuine count nouns do not occur in such combinations (**viel/*etwas/*ein wenig Bürgermeister*).

(1a)   *viel / etwas / ein wenig Reis*   'much / a bit of / a little rice'
(1b)   *viel / etwas / ein wenig Knoblauch* 'much / a bit of / a little garlic'

(2a)   [COSMAS, Die Zeit 19.02.2004]
       Aus der Auslage wählen sie die Zutaten für ihre Handmahlzeit: ein bisschen Rotkohl, *viel Zwiebeln*.
       'From the display they choose the ingredients for their hand meal: a little red cabbage, a lot of onions.'
(2b)   [https://www.kochbar.de, Mit-Bohnen-gefuellte-Paprikafruechte]
       Etwas Bohnen zurückbehalten, um diese dann in die Zwischenräume zu geben.
       'Retain some beans to add to the spaces in between.'
(2c)   [https://www.ichkoche.at/erdbeersorbet-mit-rum-rezept-17747]
       Ist es [= das Sorbet] zu flüssig, noch *ein wenig Erdbeeren* hinzufügen.
       'If it [= the sorbet] is too liquid, add a few more strawberries.'

The third criterion concerns the combination with classifiers. One of the properties of mass nouns is that they cannot combine with numerals directly but need a classifier, like nouns in Chinese (3).

(3)   Chinese (Zhang 2012, p. 229)
       shi   gen   luobo
       ten   Cl   carrot.MASS
       'ten carrots'

Mass nouns in German may also occur in classifier constructions like *zwei Körner Reis* 'two grains of rice' and *zwei Stück Butter* 'two pieces of butter', while countable nouns in the plural do not (Gunkel et al. 2017). Plural aggregate nouns in one reading behave like mass nouns: our corpus study reveals that they may occur with the classifier *Stück* 'unit' like in (4).

(4a)   *drei   Stück   Karotten*
       three   CL   carrot.PL
       'three carrots'
(4b)   *fünf   Stück   Kartoffeln*
       five   CL   potatoe.PL
       'five potatoes'
(4c)   *100   Stück   Kichererbsen*
       100   CL   chickpea.PL
       '100 chickpeas'

All in all, our investigation reinforces the impression that one use of the plural of aggregate nouns in German has to be distinguished from the regular counting plural of count nouns. Although this plural of aggregate nouns is formally identical to the counting plural, it is outside of the number opposition singular/plural. It can be considered as an **inherent, lexical plural** in the sense of Acquaviva (2008). The inherent plural should be analyzed in the realm of word formation rather than inflection, by analogy with the collective *-a* plural in Italian, which however is formally distinct from the counting plural in that language. Thus, one type of plural aggregate nouns in German belongs to the same grammatical class of uncountable nouns as mass aggregate nouns in this language as well as aggregate denoting mass nouns in Russian and Chinese.

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Philipp Weisser

A QUALITATIVE TYPOLOGY OF FLOATING COORDINATORS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORIES OF CLITICS

Overview: In this talk, I present some findings of an ongoing research project about instances of non-canonical placement of clausal coordinators. Based on a number of in-depth case studies of coordinator placement in these languages I argue that despite the apparent rarity of the phenomenon, it presents an ideal testing ground for our typology and theory of clitic placement patterns in the world's languages. Unlike previous studies of clitic patterns, the present study keeps the morphosyntactic category of the cliticizing element constant across languages and therefore allows for a better comparison and a clear typology of which cliticizing patterns are attested in a given morphosyntactic configuration and which are not.

Background: Using the term floating coordinator, I refer to cases where the element coordinating two complex constituents A and B does not appear in between A and B but rather embedded into one of them. In Kalaallisuut (Fortescue 1997), we see the coordinators following the first phonological word of the second conjunct. In Yorùbá (own fieldnotes), the coordinator follows the first prosodic phrase of the second conjunct. In Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993), the coordinator ni follows the first syntactic phrase of the second conjunct. Note that, for all cases, independent tests have been used to identify the respective patterns.

Methodology: For each case study, it is first established that the element in question is a coordinator (and not e.g. a connective adverb). Diagnostics involve e.g. i) the cooccurrence with other coordinators, ii) the ability to license coordination-specific processes (ATB-movement, gapping), iii) word-order restrictions on adverbs, iv) syntacto-semantic scope (see also Dik 1968; Zhang 2006; Bodanyi 2013; Libert 2017). If an element passes the tests for coordinators, its distribution is tested in a variety of different configurations to identify its placement pattern. Finally, further tests are employed to see if the placement obeys different syntactic islands. For these reasons, this research project employs a qualitative method as the necessary language-specific details cannot be accomodated in a quantitative project. Currently, the data from this project come from 19 languages from 8 different language families with many more languages in which the phenomenon is attested and which, at least on the basis of the published data, seem to confirm the findings of the languages studied in more detail. Table 1 gives an excerpt of the current database including a subset of the variables controlled for.

Findings: In this talk, I will highlight the following findings:

a) We find that coordinators always float into the second conjunct. The database contains no cases of a coordinator that is found linearly inside the first conjunct.

b) The established types of 2nd-position clitics found in other domains are also found with coordinators. Clitic appearing after the first phonological word (1st ω) or after the first syntactic phrase (1st XP) are widely attested but even rarer patterns (i.e. the clitic surfacing after the first phonological phrase (1st φ), see Chung 2003) are found in the data.

c) There is no correlation between the phonological shape of the clitic and its positioning (see e.g. the Kalallisuut clitics), which strengthens the claim in Klavans (1995), Anderson (2005) that the phonological shape and the placement of the clitic are independent of each other.

d) There is a correlation between the placement pattern and the sensitivity to syntactic islands. Clitics that appear after a phonological constituent (1st ω or 1st φ) will freely appear inside strong syntactic islands. In Yorùbá, the second conjunct of the conjunction starts with a conditional adjunct clause and the conjunction will appear inside the adjunct clause. In Mandarin, in a similar configuration, the conditional clause is skipped for clitic placement.

e) Finally, I show that there is a correlation between the monosyndetic vs polysyndetic nature of the coordinator (see Haspelmath 2007) and the available clitic patterns. Polysyndetic coordinators (such as Latin, Kalaallisuut, Ancient Greek or Khwarshi) have different cliticization patterns from monosyndetic ones: E.g. polysyndetic patterns that are sensitive to phonological phrasing pick out phonological words rather than phonological phrases. This indicates a difference in clausal integration between the types of coordinators (cf. Mitrovic 2014).

Language	Family	Sem Type	Form	Pattern	Ignoring Islands?	Type
Latin	Indo-Eu	and, or	*que, ve*	1st ω	YES	Poly
Polish	Indo-Eu	but	*zaś*	1st φ	YES	Mono
Yorùbá	Ni-Congo	and	*sì*	1st φ	YES	Mono
Nupe	Ni-Congo	and	*ma*	1st XP	NO	Mono
Kalaallisuut	Inuit	and, or, but	*lu, li, luuniit*	1st ω	YES	Poly
Yavapai	Yuman	and	*pe:*	1st XP	NO	Mono
Rangi	Bantu	but	*maa*	1st XP	NO	Mono
Lezgian	NE-Cauc	and	*ni*	1st XP	NO	Poly
Khwarshi	NE-Cauc	and	*ɨn*	absXP/1st XP	NO	Poly
Mandarin	Sino-Tib	but	*keshì*	1st XP	NO	Mono

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PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT CLAUSES IN WEST GERMANIC

Experimental evidence from *wh*-movement

The issue: We discuss (declarative) prepositional object clauses (PO-clauses) in the West Germanic languages Dutch (NL), German (DE), and English (EN). In Dutch and German, PO-clauses occur with a prepositional proform (=PPF, Dutch: *ervan*, *erover*, etc.; German: *drauf/darauf*, *drüber/darüber*, etc.). This proform is optional with some verbs (1). In English, by contrast, P embeds a clausal complement in the case of gerunds or indirect questions (2), however, P is obligatorily absent when the embedded CP is a that-clause in its base position (3a). However, when the that-clause is passivized or topicalized, the stranded P is obligatory (3b). Given this scenario, we will address the following questions: i) Are there structural differences between PO-clauses with a P/PPF and those in which the P/PPF is optionally or obligatorily omitted? ii) In particular, do PO-clauses without P/PPF structurally coincide with direct object (=DO) clauses? iii) To what extent are case and nominal properties of clauses relevant? We use wh-extraction as a relevant test for such differences.

Previous research: Based on pronominalization and topicalization data in German and Dutch, PO-clauses are different from DO-clauses independent of the presence of the PPF (see, e.g., Breindl 1989; Zifonun/Hoffmann/Strecker 1997; Berman 2003; Broekhuis/Corver 2015 and references therein) (4,5). English pronominalization and topicalization data (3b) appear to point in the same direction (Fischer 1997; Berman 2003; Delicado Cantero 2013). However, the obligatory absence of P before that-clauses in base position indicates a convergence with DO-clauses.

Experimental evidence: To provide further evidence to these questions we tested PO-clauses in all three languages for long wh-extraction, which is usually possible for DO-clauses in English and Dutch, and in German for southern regional varieties. For German and Dutch we conducted rating studies using the thermometer method (Featherston 2008). Each study contained two sets of sentences: the first set tested long wh-extraction with regular DO-clauses (6). The second set tested wh-extraction from PO-clauses with and without PPFs (7), respectively. The results show no significant difference in extraction with PO-clauses whether or not the PPF was present even for those speakers who otherwise accept long-distance extraction in German. This supports a uniform analysis of PO-clauses with and without the PPF in contrast to DO-clauses. For English we tested extraction with verbs that select for PP-objects in two configurations: V+that-clause and V+P-gerund (8) in comparison to sentences without extraction. Participants rated sentences on a scale of 1 (unnatural) to 7 (natural). We included the gerund for English as this is a regular alternative for such objects. The results show that extraction is licit in both configurations. This suggests that English PO-clauses are different from German and Dutch PO-clauses: They rather behave as DO-clauses allowing for extraction. Note though, that the availability of extraction from P+gerund also shows that PPs are not islands for extraction in English. Overall, this shows that there is a split between English vs. German/Dutch PO-clauses when the P/PPF is

absent. While these clauses behave like PO-clauses in the latter languages, extraction does not show a difference between DO- and PO-clauses in English. We will discuss the results in relation to the questions i)–iii) above.

Examples:

(1a) *Jan klaagt (erover) dat Marie zijn aantekeningen weggegooid heeft.* [NL]
(1b) *Hans klagt (darüber), dass Maria seine Aufzeichnungen weggeworfen hat.* [DE]
    J./H. complains about-it that M. his notes away-thrown has

(2a) *The minister worries about losing votes.*
(2b) *I mean, don't you feel worried having to walk back to your flat in that part of town?* (books.google.de)
(2c) *We can't agree (on) whether that is the best choice* (Delicado Cantero 2013: 33)

(3a) *She insisted (*on) that he was innocent.*
(3b) *That he is innocent was insisted *(on) (by her).* (adapted from Fischer 1997: 193)

(4a) *Dat Marie de aantekeningen heeft weggegooid, beweerde Hans.* [DO, NL]
    that M. the notes (has) away-thrown claims H.
(4b) *Dass Maria die Aufzeichnungen weggeworfen hat, behauptet Hans.* [DO, DE]
    that M. the notes away-thrown has claims H.

(5a) **Dat Marie zijn aantekeningen heeft weggegooid, klaagt Jan (erover).* [PO, NL]
(5b) **Dass Maria seine Aufzeichnungen weggeworfen hat, klagt Hans (darüber).* [PO, DE]

(6) *%Welchen Priester denkt er, dass der Bischof ermahnt hat?* [DO, DE]
    which priest thinks he, that the bishop admonished has

(7) **Welches Pony haben wir uns (darüber) gefreut, dass die Kinder streicheln*
    which pony have we REFL about-it happy-be, that the kids stroke
    dürfen? [PO, DE]
    may

(8) *Which award did the actress dream {that she won}/{of winning}?*

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Experimental results for *wh*-extraction:

German DO-clauses per group
(1=accepting extraction, 2= rejecting extraction)
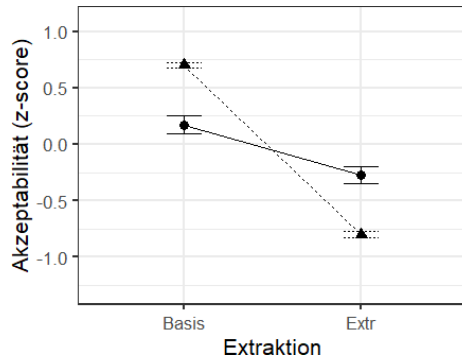
Dutch DO-clauses per group
(1=rejecting extraction, 2= accepting extraction)
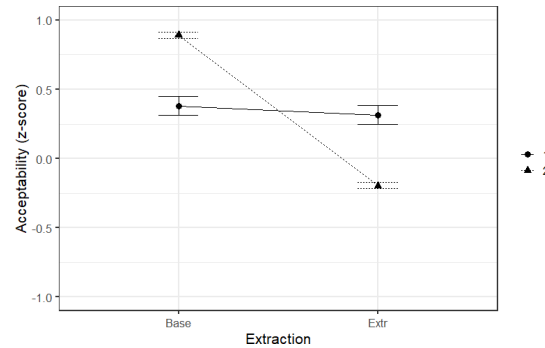
German PO-clauses Group 1 with and without proform
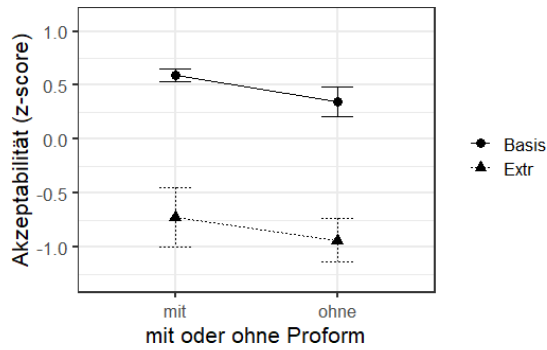
Dutch PO-clauses Group 2 with and without proform
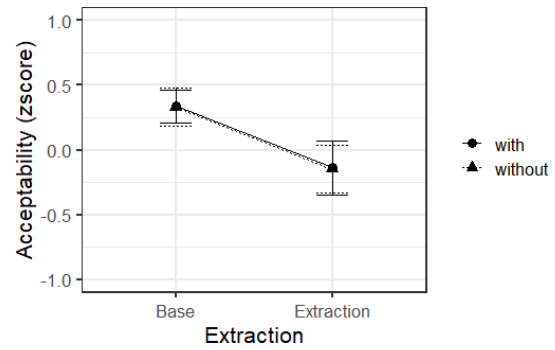
German PO-clauses group 2 with and without proform
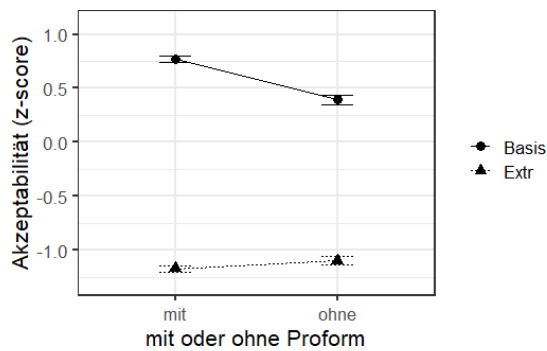
Dutch PO-clauses Group 1 with and without proform
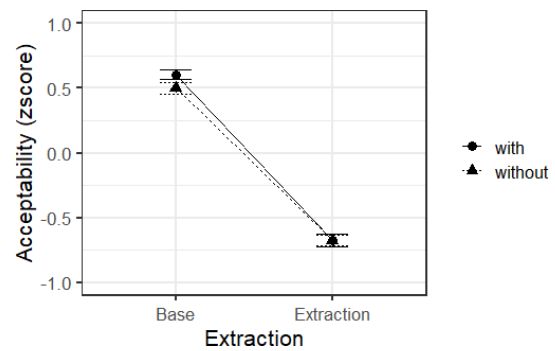
***Wh*-extraction from English PO-clauses contrasting *that*-clauses without P vs. Gerunds with P**
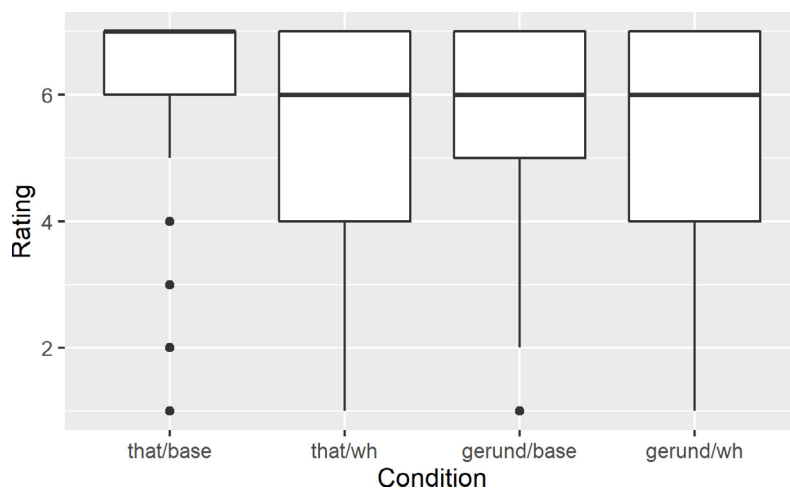
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FORMULATING PROBLEM BEHAVIOR

Action descriptions in direct social sanctionings of transgressions and misconduct across (European) languages and cultures

Keywords Cross-linguistic conversation analysis; word selection; accountability

Interactants who encounter co-participant conduct which they find to be socio-normatively problematic or troublesome are faced with a range of choices. First and foremost, this includes the issue of whether to directly address it, or to simply 'let it pass' (at least for now) (Emerson/Messinger 1977). In the case of the former, the issue then becomes *how* to address it. Across the various ways in which participants can pragmatically engage with what they perceive to be transgressive or untoward behavior (e.g., Pomerantz 1978; Schegloff 1988b; Dersley/Wootton 2000; Günthner 2000; Bolden/Robinson 2011; Potter/Hepburn 2020; see also Rodriguez 2022), they sometimes meta-pragmatically formulate the co-participant's doings in terms of specific actions. Such action descriptions are necessarily selective (Sacks 1963; Schegloff 1972, 1988a; Sidnell/Barnes 2013): They foreground certain aspects of the co-participant's conduct, while backgrounding others, and thus contribute to publically construeing the formulated conduct in particular ways (Jayyusi 1993), viz. *as* socio-normatively problematic, transgressive or untoward, and interactionally accountable (Robinson 2016; Sidnell 2017). Consider the following case from an English family breakfast.

(1)   **PECII_EN_Brkfst_20210919, 05:34-05:41**

```
01    Mum:    BEANS?
02            (0.3)+(0.6)
      rut          +visibly swallowing and chewing-->
03    Mum:    RUthie?
04            (0.7)
05    Rut:    <<chewing> i'm o+KAY;>
                         -->+leading fork to mouth-->
06            (0.2)
07    Rut:    <<chewing> (mum)>
08            (0.7)+(0.4)
      rut      -->+fork in mouth, continuous chewing-->>
09 => Mum:    (hm/don't) shovel it IN; ((clears throat))
10    Rut:    +?hm;+
              +frown, single lateral headshake+
```

In line 09, Mum formulates Ruthie's food intake as *shoveling*, which is hearable as taking issue with and criticizing Ruthie's manner of eating as overly hasty (note Ruthie's dismissive response in line 10). This is different from using a fully indexical prohibitive, such as *Don't do that*, or a corresponding directive without a comparable action description, such as *Calm down* (which Mum uses a little later). Other languages may offer further, or very different, lexico-syntactic choices and options.

From a cross-linguistic perspective, it thus makes sense to contrastively examine the verb phrase as a locus for action descriptions and to ask how language-specific lexico-syntactic

or grammatical resources (e.g., certain aspectual distinctions) may enter into the specific interactional work that such descriptions are used to accomplish. Further, as has been argued in research on cross-cultural pragmatics, where similar phenomena have been studied under the rubrics of politeness and conversational (in)directness (e.g., Brown/Levinson 1987; Blum-Kulka 1997), cross-linguistic differences in such practices can provide a window onto culture-specific patterns of interactional conduct (e.g., Ogiermann 2009).

This paper reports on an in-progress exploration of the role that such action descriptions play in direct social sanctionings of socio-normatively problematic behavior across four European languages and cultures (British English, German, Italian, Polish). Drawing on Conversation Analytic methods (e.g., Clift 2016) and a large collection of such episodes from family mealtime and board game interactions, the paper asks when and how speakers use such action descriptions as part of their sanctioning attempts, and whether there are differences to be observed in the way they are being constructed and used in those four lingua-cultures.

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TRANSITIVE ANTICAUSATIVES
A case study in Japanese

Anticausative events are generally expressed by intransitive verbs in English (e.g., *the vase broke*) but they can also be described by reflexive expressions in many other languages such as German (e.g., Haspelmath 1987; Schäfer 2008; Alexiadou/Anagnostopoulou/Schäfer 2015).

Relatedly, Schäfer (2022) observes that languages such as German and French possess what he calls *transitive anticausatives* (e.g., *the clouds changed their shape*), which are semantically anticausative but syntactically transitive because they take a possessor subject DP and a possessed object DP. The example in (1) is a transitive anticausative sentence in French.

(1) [*Les nuages*] *ont change* /*ont modifié* [*leur forme*].
     the   clouds   have changed /have modified their   shape
     'The clouds have changed/modified their shape.'   (Schäfer 2022, p.86)

Schäfer (2022) claims that transitive anticausatives can be regarded as anticausatives based on the observations that they cannot be passivized, they can co-occur with causer phrases, and they cannot be paraphrased using a periphrastic causative verb (e.g., *the clouds changed their shape ≠ the clouds caused their shape to change*). He proposes that the subject DP of transitive anticausatives receives no external theta role and is selected for by expletive Voice, which selects for a DP in its specifier position but does not provide a theta role for the DP (Schäfer 2008; Alexiadou/Anagnostopoulou/Schäfer 2015). This analysis can be represented by the following structure.

(2) [$_{\text{expletive-VoiceP}}$ *the clouds* expletive-Voice [$_{vP}$ *change* [$_{DP}$ *their shape*]]]
     Japanese also possesses transitive anticausatives, as in (3).

(3) *Kumo-ga   katachi-o   kae-ta.*
     cloud-NOM   shape-ACC   change-PAST
     'The clouds changed their shape.'

This paper aims to investigate the syntactic and semantic characteristics of transitive anticausatives in Japanese. I propose that Japanese transitive anticausatives are reflexive expressions denoting *internal causation* (Lakoff 1996) with an inanimate subject being interpreted as an animate thing metaphorically. Internal causation is an application of force by a person's consciousness on its body (e.g., *I lifted my arm*). I argue that Japanese transitive anticausatives such as (3) share the same syntactic structure with reflexive expressions denoting internal causation such as (4).

(4) *Saiboo-ga katachi-o   kae-ta.*
     cell-NOM   shape-ACC   change-PAST
     'The cell changed its shape.'

Although the subject referents in the transitive anticausative in (3) and the reflexive expression denoting internal causation in (4) are different in animacy, I argue that both are associated with thematic Voice, from which the subjects receive an external theta role, as in (5).

(5) [_thematic-VoiceP_ *kumo/saiboo* thematic-Voice [_vP_ *kae-* [_DP_ *katachi*]]]

The analysis that the external argument of Japanese transitive anticausatives is introduced by thematic Voice is in conformity with their unavailability of passivization and the selectional restriction on causer phrases.

Schäfer (2022) argues that transitive anticausatives cannot be passivized because the external argument has no external theta role to be absorbed. Japanese transitive anticausatives also resist passivization, as in (6).

(6) #*Katachi-ga {kumo-niyotte /saiboo-niyotte} kae-rare-ta.*
     shape-NOM {cloud-by   /cell-by}   change-PASS-PAST
     '(Literal) The shape was changed by {the clouds/the cell}.'

The anomaly of sentence (6), however, cannot be attributed to the absence of an external theta role of the external argument. Sentence (4), whose subject receives an external theta role (i.e., an Agent or Actor role), cannot be passivized, too. This fact suggests that the reflexive relation between the subject and object prevents passivization in (6).

In general, causer phrases are compatible with anticausatives.

(7) *{??Kyoufuu-de /Kyoufuu-no   eikyou-de} kumo-ga   katachi-o kae-ta.*
     {strong.wind-by /strong.wind-GEN influence-by} cloud-NOM shape-ACC change-PAST
     'The clouds changed their shape due to strong winds.'

Kyoufuu-de 'by strong winds' implies a direct causation whereas *kyoufuu-no eikyou-de* 'by the influence of strong winds' evokes a subsidiary causation which indirectly brings about the event denoted by the verb. This semantic difference is concerned with the (un)acceptability of the transitive anticausative sentence in (7), in which the indirect causer phrase *Kyoufuu-no eikyou-de* is preferred to the direct causer phrase *kyoufuu-de*. This fact suggests that, in (7), the subject DP *kumo* 'cloud' retains an external theta role, which contradicts the direct causation expressed by the direct causer phrase *kyoufuu-de*; the indirect causer phrase *kyoufuu-no eikyou-de* is compatible because it indicates a subsidiary condition that enables the subject DP with an external theta role to bring about the event denoted by the verb phrase.

To conclude, this paper investigated transitive anticausatives in Japanese, arguing that the external argument is introduced by thematic Voice and that they can be regarded as reflexive expressions denoting internal causation.

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MARKING SOMETHING AS UNEXPECTED

Prosodically marked 'no' in German and Persian

This conversation analytic study compares the use of negation particles in spoken German and Persian, namely *nein*/*nee* and *na*. While these particles have a range of functions in both languages (Ghaderi 2022; Imo 2017), their use in response to news remains understudied. We focus on *nein*/*nee* and *na* in two sequential contexts: (i) after prior disconfirmations (Extract (a)) and (ii) in response to either solicited or unsolicited informings (see Extracts (b) and (c), respectively).

In both contexts, *nein*/*nee* and *na* mark unexpectedness and open up an opportunity space for more, but they do so in different ways and with different outcomes. *Nein*/*nee*- and *na*-turns after disconfirming, often minimal responses to first-position confirmable turns mark the prior as unexpected (or even contrasting with the *nein*/*nee*/*na*-speaker's expectations) and thus as expandable/accountable (cf. Ford 2001; Gubina/Betz 2021). *Nein*/*nee*/*na*-turns after informings (e.g., announcements that display a story teller's negative emotional stance) differ not only in sequential position but also in prosodic realization. They can be either falling or rising, but all are characterized by marked prosody, i.e., lengthening, very low onset, smiling or breathy voice, or high overall pitch. Through position and turn design features, such *nein*/*nee*- and *na*-turns not only mark a prior turn as counter to (normative) expectations, but may also display the speaker's affective stance and affiliate with the affective stance of the prior interactant.

By comparing the use of *nein*/*nee* and *na* in German and Persian in the two functions illustrated in Extracts (a) and (b/c), we will show (i) how *nein*/*nee*- and *na*-turns shape interactional trajectories after responsive actions and (ii) what role the particles play in managing news and stance-taking as well as epistemic and affective positioning. Apart from revealing similarities in the use of German and Persian negation particles, the results of our cross-linguistic comparison will demonstrate that even if different languages have similar practices for specific actions, the use of these practices is language- and culture-specific. This means that even similar practices in different languages have their own "collateral effects" (Sidnell/ Enfield 2012), linguistic and prosodic characteristic features, and, at least sometimes, consequences for social actions accomplished in the specific language (e.g., Dingemanse/Blythe/ Dirksmeyer 2014; Evans/Levinson 2009; Floyd/Rossi/Enfield (eds.) 2020; Fox et al. 2009).

Our study uses the method of Conversation Analysis (Sidnell/Stivers (eds.) 2013) and draws on more than 80 hours of audio and video recordings of spontaneous interactions (co-present, via video link, and on the telephone) in everyday and institutional contexts.

(a)   FOLK_E_00084_SE_01_T_02_phone call_348

```
01    FR    ja [aber (.) ich glaub_ne katze]
            yeah but    I think  a cat
            würde ne gans schon erLEgen;=ne,
            would slay a goose        right
02          (0.41)
03    FR    Oder?
            wouldn't it
04    EG        ja?=NEE.=glaub ich nich.
            would it  no  don't think so
05          (0.46)
06 =>  FR    <<h>NEin?>
07          (0.24)
08    FR    °h
09          (0.24)
10    EG    voll RIEsig sind [die do]ch-
            they're totally huge though
```

(b)   Phone_Ram_phone call_Fall03

```
01    RA    dishab dir oomadin âre[:?
            you came late last  night  right?
02    PA                        [di:shab? -âre::, dige (.)
                                 la:st night? -yeah::,PRTL(.)
03          sâte: yazdah bood rahoftadim
            it was eleven o'clock when we left
04 => RA    na: bâbâ
            na: PTC
05    PA    vâ[lâ
            truthfully
```

(c)   FOLK_E_00428_SE_01_T_01_phone call_817

```
01    SQ    und ähm sie (.) is einFACH- (.)
            and uhm she      simply
02          hat die kommode ABgeholt,
            picked up the chest of drawers
03    SQ    °hh aus der wohung SCHRÄG
            from the apartment diagonally
            gegenüber von uns?
            acrossfrom us
04    WJ      oK[EY;]
              okay
05    SQ    °hh [und] des is DIE wohnung wo kevins
            and that's the apartment where kevin's
            ex frEundin jetzt [einzieht.        ]
            ex-girfriend is now movin in
06 => WJ                      [<<:-)>!NE:I:[N]!>]
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DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING AND DISCOURSE PROMINENCE IN SPANISH AND TURKISH

Keywords Differential Object Marking; discourse prominence; Spanish; Turkish

Differential Object Marking (DOM) is a cross-linguistically widespread phenomenon that is also attested in Spanish and Turkish, two typologically different languages. DOM refers to the observation that the direct object can be overtly marked or not. In Spanish, DOM is realized by the free morpheme *a*, and in Turkish, by the accusative suffix –(*y*)*I*. We hypothesize that DOM signals discourse prominence of the direct object (H1), and that the discourse prominence effect of DOM is higher in Spanish than in Turkish given the independent status of the functional element (H2). We test these hypotheses for Standard European Spanish and Turkish by means of corpus studies as well as off-line experiments, and discuss the results between the two languages from a contrastive perspective. The main parameters that contribute to the marking of direct objects are ANIMACY, REFERENTIALITY and INFORMATION STRUCTURE (see, among others, Fábregas 2013 for Spanish, and Enç 1991, for Turkish). In our presentation, we argue that DISCOURSE PROMINENCE (von Heusinger/Schumacher 2019) is an additional parameter, which has not been thoroughly investigated so far (but see Chiriacescu/von Heusinger 2010). We expect that direct objects with DOM are more discourse prominent, so that they are more likely to be picked up in the following discourse.

Our corpus studies were based on *CORPES XXI* (for Spanish, 112 tokens) and *TSCorpus* (for Turkish, 154 tokens), and we analyzed sentences such as in (1) and (2), respectively. We conducted paragraph continuation experiments for both languages: we created test items containing a three-sentence small paragraph, in which the last sentence introduces a human indefinite direct object with or without DOM [±DOM]. We asked participants to provide one continuation sentence. Then we annotated these continuation sentences considering whether the direct object was anaphorically picked up or not. The results are given in Table 1.

As for the corpus study in Spanish, the numbers reveal that there are more referential uptakes of direct objects with DOM than without DOM, an effect that is in line with our expectations. Regarding the paragraph continuation task, for which we recruited 80 participants, we also observe a slight preference for uptakes referring to direct objects with DOM as compared to those without DOM.

The corpus study in Turkish displays a numerical effect of DOM on DISCOURSE PROMINENCE of human direct objects, which contributes initial evidence for our hypothesis. The paragraph continuation task based on a sample of 80 participants (*N* = 960) shows no contrast between the conditions, i.e., DOM has no effect on DISCOURSE PROMINENCE of the direct object.

We conclude that our corpus studies in both languages numerically support H1, namely that direct objects with DOM are more often picked up than those without DOM. As for the continuation experiments, the data obtained show a slight discourse prominence effect of

DOM for Spanish, but not for the Turkish data. The evidence from both the corpus studies and the paragraph continuation tasks seems to be insufficient to support H2. We will discuss the implications of these results for our understanding of DOM in both Spanish and Turkish from a contrastive perspective.

(1)   Spanish
        Context:
        Tal vez **Leonardo**$_1$ *eligi*-ó   **a   una   mujer**$_2$ *como muchas otras.*
        perhaps Leonardo   choose-3SG.PAST DOM   a.FEM woman like   many   others.FEM
        'Perhaps **Leonardo1** chose DOM **a woman2** like many others.'

        Continuation:
        Ella$_2$ *no   pertenecí-a   a   la   nobleza, ni   era   una   princesa.*
        she   NEG belong-3SG.PAST to the.FEM nobility nor   be.3SG.PAST a.FEM princess
        '**She2** did not belong to the nobility, nor was she a princess.'
        (Un historiador asegura haber encontrado la tumba de la "Mona Lisa". El país.com, 2007-01-20)

(2)   Turkish
        Context:
        ø$_1$ *Bir keresinde* **usta   bir yazar-ı**$_2$ *görme-ye   git-miş-ti-m*
              at.one.point master a   author-ACC see-DAT   go-EV/PF-PST-1SG
        '**I1** once went to see **a master writer2** DOM.'

        Continuation:
        [...], *kırılgan* **bu bayan yazar**$_2$ *keskin zekalı   ve   zevk sahibi biri-ydi.*
              fragile this female author very.intelligent and tasteful   somebody-PST
         '[...], **this fragile lady writer2**, was a sharp-witted and tasteful person.'
        (TSCorpus, from a blog writing, no access to the source)

	Corpus		Paragraph Continuation Task	
	Spanish	**Turkish**	**Spanish**	**Turkish**
DOM	48% (40/83)	75% (58/77)	74% (631/848)	72% (347/480)
NoDOM	38% (11/29)	67% (52/77)	71% (587/823)	73% (349/480)

Table 1:   Number of referent uptakes for direct objects in the subsequent discourse

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THE BIGGER THE INVENTORY, THE BIGGER THE LEGACY: SYNTACTIC ERGATIVITY AS EPIPHENOMENON OF FEATURE (NON)-INHERITANCE

Keywords Syntactic ergativity; feature inheritance; wh-/phi-features; case assignment; A/Ā-movement; feature (un)interpretability and valuation

Outline A subset of morphologically ergative languages exhibits a ban on Ā-movement (relativization, interrogatives, etc.) of transitive subjects. I examine all barred types of ergative extraction, along with their repair strategies (antipassivization, resumption, etc.) in 24 languages from 10+1 families (Table 1), and suggest the following generalization: syntactic ergativity (SE) emerges in those configurations where the complementizer (C) head lacks (usually) a wh-feature, or alternatively, phi-features in need of valuation (Table 2).

Theoretical background I adopt a system of C-to-T (and v-to-V) inheritance of phi (φ) and Case (K) features (Chomsky 2008), with two crucial assumptions: i) the presence of at least one uninterpretable feature [uF] on phasal heads is a prerequisite for their specifier to be a legitimate final target of movement involving valuation; ii) [$u\varphi$] and [$u$wh] are not universally available, but may be absent in some languages, as tested by certain diagnostics: morphological overtness subsumed to the lexicon for the former, or properties linked to the latter, like superiority effects (vs. multiple fronting), landing sites, DP/non-DP asymmetries and binding.

Proposal I propose that SE arises as an epiphenomenon of the configuration-specific parameter on availability of uninterpretable wh- or φ-features: the presence of both entails no extraction ban, as the availability of [$u$wh] permits [$u\varphi$]/K to be inherited by T, and SpecCP to host the Ā-extracted argument; the absence of one of the two features causes the relevant restriction, the parameter holding not only across but also language-internally; the absence of both should render clause-bound final movement of the argument (or operator) to SpecCP impossible. Similarly, if some language lacks [uwh] on C, but forms, say, content interrogatives either in-situ or by means of a distinct trigger (e.g., Focus), SE should not emerge, as in Eskaleut or Austronesian languages.

Analysis In syntactically ergative languages, C involves a single uninterpretable feature (usually [$u\varphi$]), along with any interpretable operator (Op) feature [iF] (e.g., Q, Rel), as it lacks [$u$wh]. If a DP contains an equivalent Op [uF], feature inheritance is obviated and C keeps its [$u\varphi$]/[K] bundle so that its specifier can be licensed to host the moving DP, otherwise the latter will fail to land to SpecCP and value its operator [uF]. Phi-agreement and absolutive (ABS) assignment therefore take place at CP, to which the object has to successively-cyclically raise for case. Yet, if the subject (already ergative-marked by v*) carries an Op [uF], then it will compete with the internal argument at the edge of v*, and the former would always be prioritized to raise to SpecCP due to higher specificity (being endowed with more features that match C, viz., [K] and [Op], even if case-marked), which results in valuing its own [uF], but also in saturating C's [K] (a possibility independently motivated

by case stacking) and stranding the object caseless, whose unvalued [uK] leads the derivation to crash at the interfaces.

Predictions i) If a marked ABS language involves inverse ABS assignment by v* (and of ERG by C/T), a lack of [uwh] on C should restrict Ā-movement of the ABS: Roviana (Corston 1996) is likely to fit this profile. ii) If ABS is assigned at SpecCP, then this position should (partly) exhibit A-properties: in Tagalog (1), a fronted interrogative pronoun shows no Weak Crossover effects. iii) If a [$u$wh] was somehow involved in an otherwise wh-less syntactically ergative construction, then SE should disappear: the single counterexample (2) to the general absence of ergative extraction in Shipibo internally-headed relative clauses exceptionally contains an overt wh-element. iv) If a morphologically ergative language shows evidence of absolutive assignment to the object by a lower head (v* or V), then SE should not emerge, which seems to hold for languages like Warlpiri and Niuean (Legate 2006). v) If a NOM-ACC language lacked [$u$wh], it should impose some equivalent restriction on Ā-movement of the object across the subject. Late Archaic Chinese (Aldridge 2010) and Slovenian (3) (Hladnik 2015) are plausible candidates.

Conclusion SE reduces to a side-effect of the lack of uninterpretable features on C (viz., [$u$wh] or [uφ]) *qua* triggers, constraining C-to-T feature inheritance, and resulting in both case assignment and operator-feature agreement taking place at the phase head, which is thus rendered a mixed A/Ā position.

Language family	Syntactically ergative	Syntactically non-ergative
Austronesian	Balinese, Indonesian, Seediq, Tagalog	
Chukotko-Kamchatkan	Chukchi (in relativization)	Chukchi (in wh-questions)
Eskaleut	Inuktitut, South Baffin, Greenlandic	
Katukinan	Kanamari	
Nakh-Dagestanian		Hunzib, Ingush, Lezgian, Tsez
Oceanic	Roviana	
Pama-Nyungan	Dyirbal	Ngiyambaa, Pitjantjatjara, Warlpiri
Pano-Tacanan	Shipibo-Konibo	
Polynesian	Tongan	Niuean
Tsimshianic	Gitskan	
Language isolate	Trumai	Basque

Table 1: Morphologically ergative languages examined

	+φ	*-φ*
+wh	**-SE** (e.g. Warlpiri, Basque, Chukchi wh-questions)	**+SE** (e.g. Kanamari)
-wh	**+SE** (e.g. Greenlandic/Chukchi relative clauses, Tagalog, Shipibo)	**Prediction**: no clause-bound movement to SpecCP, whether +SE (e.g., wh-in-situ or pseudo-clefts in Tongan), or -SE (e.g., Japanese)

Table 2: Interaction between availability of [$u$wh]/[uφ] on C and syntactic ergativity

Examples

(1)   Tagalog (Miller 1988, pp. 113–114)
        Sinoi   ang   yumayapos   sa=anak   niyai?
        who   NOM   IMPF.AV-hug   DAT=child   3.SG.GEN
        'Who_i hugs her_i daughter?'

(2)   Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2003, p. 473)
        [*Ɉawerato-n-ki   yokat-ai*]   *ja*   *meni-kati-kan-ai.*
        which-ERG-INT   ask-PPl:ABS   3:ABS   give-PST4-PL-INC
        'Thy gave her (her daughter) to whoever asked for (her).'

(3)   Slovenian (Hladnik 2015, p. 27)
(3a)   *prijateljica, ki   __NOM   igra   šah*
        friend.FEM   that   play.3SG   chess
        'the friend who plays chess'
(3b)   *prijateljica, ki   *(jo)   pogrešam*
        friend.FEM   that   she.ACC.CL   miss.1SG
        'the friend who I miss'

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IMPOLITENESS IN PENINSULAR SPANISH AND BRITISH ENGLISH
A contrastive perspective

Keywords Contrastive pragmatics; impoliteness; card game interactions

The study of the impoliteness has been frequently overlooked in the field of cross-cultural pragmatics. Whereas most research using politeness theory focuses exclusively on politeness, few studies have explored impoliteness use from a contrastive perspective (House/ Kádar 2021, p. 65). Moreover, Peninsular Spanish and British English have been seldom compared, with the notable exception of a few empirical studies with a limited scope (Kaul de Marlangeon/Alba-Juez 2012; Maíz-Arevalo 2005). Whereas the types of impoliteness strategies used by speakers in Peninsular Spanish and British English have been found to show similarities (Kaul de Marlangeon/Alba-Juez 2012, p. 89), the quality and frequencies of said impoliteness strategies remain to be investigated.

The present research aims to bridge this gap by considering interactions that take place within the framework of a specific activity type (Levinson 1992), that of card game interactions. The adversarial nature of these exchanges sets the stage for impoliteness to occur and allows for a straightforward comparison of the use of impoliteness in the two languages. The analysis will be based on a parallel corpus of recordings of groups of four participants playing the shedding-type card game Uno. This corpus will also be stratified by gender, allowing me to explore how males and females convey impoliteness. Once data collection is completed, instances of impoliteness will be identified and coded according to existing taxonomies of impoliteness (Culpeper 1996; Bousfield 2008). The quantitative analysis of the types and frequency of impoliteness strategies employed by speakers of Peninsular Spanish and British English will be complemented with the qualitative analysis of individual instances of impoliteness. This way, I intend to answer the following research questions: a) Do speakers of Peninsular Spanish and British English differ in their orientation towards positive and/or negative impoliteness strategies? b) What are the effects of social factors, including culture and gender, on the amount and types of impoliteness tactics used?

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JOINT UTTERANCE FORMULATION FROM A CROSS-LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE
Co-constructions in Czech and German

This presentation deals with collaborative turn-sequences (Lerner 2004), a syntactically coherent unit of talk that is jointly formulated by at least two speakers, in Czech and German everyday conversations. Based on conversation analysis (e.g., Schegloff 2007) and a multimodal approach to social interaction (e.g., Deppermann/Streeck 2018), we aim at comparing recurrent patterns and action types within co-constructional sequences in both languages.

The practice of co-constructing turns-at-talk has been described for typologically different languages, especially for English (e.g., Lerner 1996, 2004), but also for languages such as Japanese (Hayashi 2003) or Finnish (Helasvuo 2004). For German, various forms and functions of co-constructions have already been investigated (e.g., Brenning 2015); for Czech, a detailed, interactionally based description is still pending (but see some initial observations in, e.g., Hoffmannová/Homoláč/Mrázková (eds.) 2019). The first aim of this presentation is to show basic patterns of syntactic co-constructions in spoken Czech, such as in the following example:

(1)   Co-constru ction in Czech (data: Oloff 2015)

```
01 LEN: .hh tak nejdřív jsem popálila ňáké, (0.3) e:: (0.5) ňáké=
        .hh so   first  I have burned some  (0.3) er::(0.5) some=
02 PAV: =°rákos°=
        =reed=
03 LEN: =r:ákosí, co tam jakože: zbylo z podzimu,
        =reeds  that there like remained from atumn
```

Although the existence of co-constructions in different languages points to a cross-linguistic conversational practice, few explicitly comparative studies exist (see, e.g., Lerner/Takagi 1999, for English and Japanese). The language pair Czech-German has mainly been studied with respect to language contact and without specifically considering spoken language or complex conversational sequences (e.g., Nekula/Šichová/Valdrová 2013). Therefore, our second aim is to sketch out a first comparison of co-constructional sequences in German and Czech, thereby contributing to the growing field of comparative and cross-linguistic studies within conversation analysis (e.g., Betz et al. (eds.) 2021; Dingemanse/Enfield 2015; Sidnell (ed.) 2009).

More specifically, we will present three main sequential patterns of co-constructional sequences, focusing on the type of action a second speaker carries out by completing a first speaker's possibly incomplete turn-at-talk, and on how the initial speaker then responds to this suggested completion (Lerner 2004). Excerpts from video recordings of Czech and German ordinary conversations will illustrate these recurrent co-constructional sequence types, i.e., offering help during word searches (see example 1 above), displaying understanding, or

claiming independent knowledge. The third objective of this paper is to underline the participants' orientation to similar interactional problems, solved by specific syntactic and/or lexical formats in Czech and German.

Considering the more recent focus on the embodied dimension of co-constructional practices (e.g., Dressel 2020), we will also investigate the multimodal formatting of a started utterance as more or less "permeable" (Lerner 1996) for co-participant completion, the participants' mutual embodied orientation, and possible embodied responses to others' turn-completions (such as head nods or eyebrow flashes, cf. De Stefani 2021). More generally, this contribution reflects on the possibilities and challenges of a cross-linguistic comparison of complex multimodal sequences.

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A NEW TYPOLOGY OF LEXICAL ACCENT COMPETITION

Keywords Lexical accent; competition; strength; Gradient Symbolic Representations

Main claim

We present the results of a typological study that classifies lexical accent patterns with a theory-neutral algorithm. Our findings support a theoretical account that is based on gradient phonological representations which allow competition of accents with different strengths.

Background

Most lexical accent analyses are based on a distinction between unaccented and accentual morphemes and the assumption that either the left- or rightmost accentual morpheme determines the surface accent if more than one accentual morpheme is present. In the Ukrainian examples in Figure 1 where accented stems and suffixes 'compete', the parameter Leftmost correctly derives the surface accent in Figure 1-a. In Figure 1-b, however, a 'dominant' suffix surfaces with accent without being the leftmost accentual morpheme. And Figure 1-c shows that there are even degrees of dominance in Ukrainian: The suffix in Figure 1-c only wins against certain stems but not others.

	a. SG.ACC	b. SG.NOM	c. PL.DAT
$\sqrt{foot}$	n ó fi-u	nofi- á	nofi- á m
$\sqrt{head}$	fi ó lov-u	fiolov- á	fi ó lov-am

(V=underlying accent;
V́ =affix accent surfaces,
V́ =stem accent surfaces)

Fig. 1: Accent competition in Ukrainian (Pugh/Press 1999)

Previous theoretical accounts predict different restrictions for such patterns; examples include: A) roots can only be accentual or non-accentual but not 'dominant' (Halle/ Mohanan 1985; Alderete 1999), B) affixes can only be accentual, non-accentual, or dominant accentual but can never show more degrees of dominance (Halle/Mohanan 1985; Revithiadou 1999), or C) all dominant morphemes are morphological heads (Revithiadou 1999; Yates 2017).

Methodology and empirical results

Although there are a multitude of theoretical proposals and empirical case studies on lexical accent (other examples are Kiparsky/Halle 1977; Halle/Vergnaud 1987; Czaykowska-Higgins 1993; Inkelas 1998; Butska 2002; Vaxman 2016; Bogomolets 2020), there is so far no large-scale typological study that tests the predictions of existing accounts. We aim to fill this gap

by conducting a theory-neutral database that collects and classifies lexical accent systems by the number of lexical morpheme classes involved in the lexical accent competition. So far, our database contains 32 languages from 26 different language families/isolates. For each language, a single parameter 'Leftmost/Rightmost' (or 'Outermost/Innermost' morpheme) is taken to decide the competition in case multiple accentual morphemes are present. For contexts where this is insufficient, a hierarchy of accentual morpheme classes is assumed which thus introduces (degrees of) dominance ('No' in (1)). For each language, we ultimately went for the parameter setting that results in fewest morpheme classes. Due to the complexity of the data and the heterogenous sources, this methodology needs to be applied by hand for each language. One important result is that there are 22 languages in our database that cannot be captured with a binary distinction into unaccented and accentual, cf. the list in Figure 2. Crucially, many of these patterns with 'degrees of dominance' are counterexamples to the theoretical predictions A)–C), notated in Figure 2 as well. We, for example, found 12 counterexamples against restriction C) and hence against a theory where dominance is not a lexical property. Another interesting typological result is the fact that the deciding parameter 'Outermost' is unnecessary – all lexical accent systems can be sufficiently described with the directionality parameter Left-/Rightmost (contra, for example, claims in Chung 1983; Bjorkman 2010).

				Nr	Decision	Default	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ
1.	Bulgarian	bul	Indo-European	3	LMost	Penult	Yes	Yes	Yes
2.	Hittite	hit	Indo-European	3	LMost	LMost	Yes	Yes	Yes
3.	M. Greek	ell	Indo-European	3	LMost	Antepenult	Yes	Yes	Yes
4.	Colville	oka	Salishan	3	LMost	LMost	Yes	Yes	Yes
5.	Shuswap	shs	Salishan	3	LMost	n.d.	Yes	Yes	Yes
6.	Thompson River Salish	thp	Salishan	3	LMost	RMost	Yes	Yes	Yes
7.	Hidatsa	hid	Siouan	3	LMost	n.d.	Yes	Yes	Yes
8.	Nez Perce	nez	Sahaptian	3	LMost	Penult	Yes	Yes	No
9.	Parabel Selkup	sel	Uralic	3	LMost	n.d.	Yes	Yes	No
10.	A'ingae	con	-	3	LMost	Penult	Yes	Yes	No
11.	Chamorro	chw	Austronesian	3	RMost	RMost	No	No	No
12.	Choguita Rarámuri	tar	Uto-Aztecan	4	LMost	Postin	Yes	No	No
13.	Sahaptin	yak	Sahaptian	4	RMost	n.d.	Yes	No	No
14.	Vedic Sanskrit	san	Indo-European	4	LMost	LMost	Yes	No	No
15.	Coastal Bizkaian Basque	eus	-	4	LMost	RMost	Yes	No	Yes
16.	Arapaho	arp	Algic	4	RMost	Penult	No	Yes	No
17.	Cupeño A	cup	Uto-Aztecan	4	RMost	LMost	No	Yes	Yes
18.	Russian (N, infl)	rus	Indo-European	4	LMost	LMost	No	No	No
19.	Japanese	jpn	Japonic	4	RMost	Antepenult	No	No	No
20.	Lithuanian (N, infl)	lit	Indo-European	6	LMost	LMost	No	Yes	No
21.	Moses Columbian Salish	thp	Salishan	5	RMost	RMost	No	No	Yes
22.	Ukrainian (N, infl)	ukr	Indo-European	7	LMost	LMost	No	No	No

Fig. 2:   Languages with more than two accentual morpheme classes

Theoretical proposal

The assumption of Gradient Symbolic Representations (Rosen 2016; Smolensky/Goldrick 2016) can predict all these properties of lexical accent systems. The degrees of dominance follow as a lexical property since all linguistic objects (e.g. H-tones or feet) have a certain underlying activity that can gradiently differ (Zimmermann 2018), expressed here as numerical values from 0-1. Such an analysis based on gradiently active H-tones is given in

Figure 3 for lexical accent in Ukrainian, correctly predicting the full paradigm in Figure 4. One basic mechanism of accent competition is the minimization of gradient Max violations predicting that the accent with the highest input activity surfaces ((2) in Fig. 3). Another basic mechanism is coalescence of two weakly active identical elements into a single element (cf. Smolensky/Goldrick 2016) that is assumed to be only possible if the resulting output activity equals the full activity of 1. Under coalescence ((4) in Fig. 3), the accent surfaces in the default Leftmost position.

root →	ø	$H_{0.2}$	$H_{0.6}$	$H_{0.8}$	$H_{1.0}$	affix↓
SG.NOM	ø+ $H_{1.0}$ ❶	$H_{0.2}$+ $H_{1.0}$ ❷	$H_{0.6}$+ $H_{1.0}$ ❷	$H_{0.8}$+ $H_{1.0}$ ❷	$H_{1.0}$ +$H_{1.0}$ ❸	$H_{1.0}$
PL.DAT	ø+ $H_{0.8}$ ❶	$H_{0.2}$+$H_{0.8}$ ❹	$H_{0.6}$+ $H_{0.8}$ ❷	$H_{0.8}$ +$H_{0.8}$ ❸	$H_{1.0}$ +$H_{0.8}$ ❷	$H_{0.8}$
SG.ACC	ø+ $H_{0.5}$ ❶	$H_{0.2}$+ $H_{0.5}$ ❷	$H_{0.6}$ +$H_{0.5}$ ❷	$H_{0.8}$ +$H_{0.5}$ ❷	$H_{1.0}$ +$H_{0.5}$ ❷	$H_{0.5}$
PL.ACC	ø+ $H_{0.1}$ ❶	$H_{0.2}$ +$H_{0.1}$ ❷	$H_{0.6}$ +$H_{0.1}$ ❷	$H_{0.8}$ +$H_{0.1}$ ❷	$H_{1.0}$ +$H_{0.1}$ ❷	$H_{0.1}$
	$\sqrt{article}$	$\sqrt{height}$	$\sqrt{foot}$	$\sqrt{head}$	$\sqrt{base}$	

❶ only accent surfaces; ❷ stronger accent surfaces; ❸ Leftmost accent wins (=if same activity); ❹ Coalescence (if sum of activity is 1) and Leftmost default

Fig. 3: Ukrainian: GSR representation

SG.NOM	statt^j- á	vysot- á	nofi- á	fiolov- á	osnóv -a
PL.DAT	statt^j- ám	vysót -am	nofi- ám	fiólov -am	osnóv -am
SG.ACC	statt^j- ú	vysot- ú	nófi -u	fiólov -u	osnóv -u
PL.ACC	statt^j- í	vysót -y	nófi -y	fiólov -y	osnóv -y
	$\sqrt{article}$	$\sqrt{height}$	$\sqrt{foot}$	$\sqrt{head}$	$\sqrt{base}$

Fig. 4: Ukrainian: Paradigm with one representative context for each pattern

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INITIALISMS IN ENGLISH AND GERMAN EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT DATA

This paper addresses the question of how English (EN) and German (DE) use initialisms in European Parliament original and translated / interpreted discourse in the sentence-aligned Europarl_UdS (Karakanta et al. 2018) and EPIC-UdS (Przybyl et al. 2022) corpora. Europarl-UdS includes the European Parliament interventions in their officially published versions and their translations. EPIC-UdS with spoken data is smaller than Europarl-UdS and consists of transcripts of these European Parliament speeches and their simultaneous interpretation, without any corrections with respect to the spoken signal.

In general, initialisms as minimalistic submorphemic lexical units functioning as shortenings of multi-word sequences can be expected to be used rather similarly in the English and German data for items referring to international institutions, groups, projects and policies as proper nouns, e.g. *WTO*, *NATO*. Differences between English and German involve English forms for technical and scientific terms borrowed into German (e.g. EN/DE: *BSE*), but usually not from German into English. EU-specific and highly frequent terms may have a German equivalent with an initialism for the full form as a multiword expression or a closed compound (e.g. EN: *European Regional Development Fund / ERDF* – DE: *Europäischer Fonds für regionale Entwicklung / EFRE*, EN: *Gross domestic product / GDP* – DE: *Bruttoinlandsprodukt / BIP*). Some initialisms happen to be the same in both languages if the source expressions are structurally similar and involve cognates (e.g. *European Stability Mechanism / Europäischer Stabilitätsmechanismus – ESM*).

Initialisms can be demanding for interpreters in both English and German, and there are probably similar interpreting procedures for English and German initialisms that contribute to general differences between interpreted and translated texts. Initialisms in the original texts may be among the less expected textual items and have high surprisal values despite the general tendency of short codes to represent messages of high probability (Shannon 1948, p. 395). For interpreters, they might be potentially ambiguous or difficult to associate with their underlying full forms. This might lead, for instance, to disfluencies or a loss of lexical information or specificity in the interpreted texts or to the usage of units in untypical contexts with an even higher degree of unexpectedness for the recipients of the target texts.

The Europarl_UdS and EPIC-UdS data are queried and analysed by using CQPWeb to compare frequencies in the languages and production modes for initialisms, the contexts they are used in, their surprisal profiles and the respective translation / interpreting procedures. Various short forms look superficially similar, but have been coined on the basis of different word formation processes (e.g. *EULEX* stands for *European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo*). Therefore, one step involved the development of a categorisation/annotation scheme. The results of the analysis show, for instance, that German spoken and written originals use initialisms mainly for foreign terms, and often combine them with additional nouns to form compounds, e.g. EN: '*the debate on BSE*' → DE: '*die BSE-Debatte*', EN: '*at the WTO*' → DE:

'auf WTO-Ebene'. In spoken texts from both languages, initialisms are used very flexibly in word-formation processes, e.g. in adjective compounds such as *'WTO-compatible'* / *'WTO-kompatibel'*, which are less frequent in written EU texts. Interpreters sometimes opt for leaving out initialisms with high surprisal values entirely, probably due to cognitive overload. If interpreters opt for adding paraphrases or additional words, they tend to use general (and sometimes erroneous) terms, while in the written data, initialisms in both languages are more often retained adequately, paraphrased with specific vocabulary or spelt out as full form in the translations (e.g. DE: *'die EVP-Fraktion'* → EN: *'the Group of the European People's Party'*). Interpreters introduce initialisms in certain contexts as implicitation strategies to save time, while written translations in this field tend to be at least as explicit as their source texts. For instance *'Interim-WPA mit dem Pazifischen Raum'* is used in a German interpretation for *'Interim Economic Partnership Agreement with the Pacific'*, while the written translation of the same English term in this context contains *'Interim-Wirtschaftspartnerschaftsabkommen mit Staaten im Pazifischen Ozean'*. The results show that surprisal values are typically higher for initialisms than for individual components of multiword terms and proper nouns.

In sum, initialisms as word-like shortening devices for multi-word sequences are important in both languages in these registers with expert-to-expert and expert-to-general public interaction. In English, an advantage of initialisms in written texts is to reduce the number of orthographic words in noun pile-ups for specialized vocabulary, while in German they reduce long closed compounds with technical meanings. In spoken language, they save time and establish a sense of shared knowledge and expertise among the speaker and the audience. In both written and spoken texts and in interpreted and translated texts in English and German, they are characterized by high information density, measured by surprisal on the basis of the previous words as predictors.

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ENGLISH AND ITALIAN BIPARTITE GARMENT NOUNS USED AS SINGULARS IN THE LANGUAGE OF FASHION

Keywords Bipartite nouns; fashion language; grammatical number

This paper is part of a project on the study of bipartite nouns used as singulars in the language of fashion, and aims to contrast the use of the most frequently occurring noun denoting a bipartite item of clothing (viz., E. *trouser(s)* and It. *pantalone/i*) in the English and Italian editions of the Vogue fashion magazine.

Bipartite nouns (such as *trousers* (It. *pantaloni*), *spectacles* (It. *occhiali*), *tights* (It. *calze*)) denote objects or items of clothing consisting of two equal parts joined together (Quirk et al. 1985, § 5.76), and are a semantic subcategory of *pluralia tantum* nouns, that is, nouns that are said to occur only in the plural, to be uncountable (Payne/Huddleston 2002, p. 342), and to be emblematic of the iconic relationship between grammatical (plural) form and (plural) meaning (Wierzbicka 1988, pp. 514–515; Wisniewsky 2010, pp. 181–182). It is also said of bipartites that they can be used as singulars only to refer to the type, model, or style of garments, not to individual items (Wickens 1992).

In a recent paper (Biscetti 2022) I challenged these claims using data retrieved from 2,941 issues of The Vogue Archive (America) (i.e., spanning from the first 1892 issue to the December 2021 issue), and concluded that the lexical item *trouser(s)* chosen to represent English bipartite garment nouns is at best "plural dominant", not "plural only"; that the singular form (*trouser*) can be used not only to refer generically to model or type of garment, but also indexically to specific items; and that the use of the singular to denote one leg of a pair of trousers is not arbitrary but iconic of the way of conceptualizing the human body (i.e., as two symmetrical halves) in this specific domain of human activity.

Here I would like to examine the behaviour of the corresponding Italian lexical item *pantaloni* and put it to the same countability, reference and iconicity tests as *trousers* using evidence from the Vogue Italia Archive, which contains the entire run of the Vogue fashion magazine (Italian edition) from the first issue (October 1964) to present. The data collected show that *pantaloni* passed Allan's (1980) "A + N Test" for countability, as it occurs with quantifiers which identify one or more discrete entities. Frequency of occurrence with some of these quantifiers suggests that It. *pantaloni* seems to have a higher degree of countability than E. *trousers* (which never occurs in combination with an indefinite article in the Vogue America database), and therefore its status as "plural only" is even more questionable. In terms of reference, the Italian singular form *pantalone* was found to be used with both a generic and a specific reference just like E. *trouser*, although specific reference is somewhat more frequent for It. *pantalone* than it is for E. *trouser*. Finally, like its English correspondent, the singular It. *pantalone* is also used to refer to one leg of the garment but differs from *trouser* in frequency and recency of usage.

These results suggest that the two bipartite nouns enjoy the same status as "plural dominant" rather than "plural only" in both languages, while the differences in terms of countability

need to be further investigated on a variety of discourse types to determine whether they are ascribable to cognitive, typological, and possibly normative differences concerning fashion language in formal contexts (print magazines).

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DETECTION AND ANALYSIS OF MORALIZATION PRACTICES ACROSS LANGUAGES AND DOMAINS

Keywords Moralization practices; multilingual corpora; corpus creation; moralization dictionary; annotation; deep learning; pragma linguistics

In this talk we propose a workflow for detecting and analyzing moralization practices in texts. Our **research question** is: Which linguistic features are characteristic for moralizing practices in different languages and different domains, and how can we detect and analyze those practices manually as well as automatically?

By **moralizing practices** we mean strategies in which moral values are utilized for describing controversial topics and demanding specific actions. Vocabulary that refers to positive or negative moral values (such as "freedom", "credibility"; "cheating" or "inequality") is used to enforce a demand. This way, the demand is made to appear inescapable and requires no further explanation or justification. In the following example, which is taken from the protocols of the German parliament, the word "security" is used to support the demand for a cap for refugees: "We should introduce an upper limit for refugees to ensure the security of German citizens" [translation by the authors].

Moralizing practices are widely used by many speakers and writers, e.g. in political speeches, online discussions or newspaper commentaries, and are an important discourse practice. Therefore, we propose an approach for detecting and analyzing moralization practices that is applicable to texts from different genres and domains as well as from different languages. It combines **qualitative and quantitative methods** and comprises the following steps (note that in our talk we present results for step 1 and 2 for all four languages German, English, French and Italian, while for step 3 and 4 we focus on the results for our German corpus, since the annotation and analysis of the English, French and Italian data is work in progress):

I) **Semi-automated creation of a multilingual dictionary with words that hint at moralizing practices.** Our starting point is a manually created seed set of moral vocabulary in German. We expand this set by including words that frequently appear in similar contexts and are therefore likely to have similar meanings, using the co-occurrence database CCDB (Belica 2001) and manual post-filtering. Our final dictionary includes 2000 entries and consists of both base forms and inflected word forms, which we all automatically translate to English, French and Italian using DeepL and Google Translate. Afterwards we manually check and, if necessary, correct the translations.

II) **Retrieval of potential moralization practices from texts**. Next, we query large corpora and the web for text passages that include words from our dictionaries. We create parallel corpora for the four languages with text passages from different domains such as political debates, newspaper articles, or online discussions.

III) **Annotating texts and developing a model for detecting moralizing practices in texts**. Using a word that expresses a moral value does not necessarily mean that the speaker/ writer moralizes in the discourse-strategic sense as described above. We therefore manually

categorize the retrieved text passages into instances that are moralizing practices, and instances that refer to moral values in a neutral manner. Subsequently, we use our annotated dataset as training data for BERT (Devlin et al. 2019), a neural transformer language model. We split our data into a training set (80%) and unseen test data (20%) and achieve high accuracy scores up to 75% (on the test set), indicating the feasibility of automatically detecting moralizing practices in texts.

IV) **Analyzing features of moralizing practices**. Finally, we take a closer look at the instances that have been annotated as moralizing practices. We analyze them linguistically with respect to syntactic patterns, semantics and pragmatic functions. The result is a set of linguistic features that are helpful for characterizing, analyzing and deeply understanding moralizing practices.

Concluding, our **contributions** can be summarized as follows: (1) We provide a multi-lingual dictionary which can be used for detecting moralizing practices in texts; (2) we release parallel datasets with texts from different languages and domains in which we annotate moralization practices; (3) we train a neural classifier that automatically detects moralization practices in texts; (4) we provide a list of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features which are characteristic for moralization practices, and compare the results across domains and languages; and (5) we provide a workflow for detecting and analyzing a complex, heterogenous and vague linguistic phenomenon, which can be adapted for similar phenomena.

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A MULTIMODAL COMPARISON OF BULGARIAN AND ISIZULU PRAGMATIC DEVELOPMENT IN ORAL NARRATIVES

Keywords Multimodality; pragmatic development; narratives; Bulgarian; isiZulu

Do speakers of different languages think differently? To what extent are certain linguistic phenomena underpinned by universal principles or language specific experiences? Over the past three decades or so, the study of language and thought has experienced an interesting revitalisation, largely thanks to conceptual and methodological advances since the time of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1988) seminal work on linguistic relativity and determinism (Slobin 1996, 2003). The evidence accumulated to date provides a nuanced picture of the relationship between language and thought, showing that language affects specific cognitive processes under certain conditions.

Oral narratives in face-to-face interaction include the use of both auditory (linguistic and prosodic) and visual (gesture) dimensions. This talk examines how discursive activity develops in children. We examine age related changes in the way children and adults conceptualize discursive behavior in both narration and gestural production. This leads us to better estimate the relative weight of social and cognitive factors in narrative development (Berman 1997).

The present research focuses on the role of culture in monologue oral discourse performed by typically developing Bulgarian and Zulu children aged between 5/6 and 9/10 years as well as adults. We employ a bimodal perspective in which we examine speech and co-speech gesture narrative behavior. This cross-linguistic study investigates if discourse development is universal across all languages as well as the effect of the type of language; Bulgarian is analytical and largely a satellite framed language (Talmy 1985, 1991) whereas isiZulu is agglutinative and verb-framed language (Kunene 2010).

Participants watched a speechless short cartoon and then were asked to retell the story they had seen to the interviewer (Colletta/Kunene Nicolas/Guidetti 2018). Narratives were annotated for language complexity; length and type of clause across the ages. Narratives were also annotated for gesture, type of gesture, function of gesture, temporal synchrony to speech and the form of gesture. The focus of this presentation will be on pragmatic speech acts and gesture development of children between the ages of 5/6 and 9/10 years.

Results show a significant age effect on the pragmatics of speech and gesture activities, which follows a universal pattern. Our analyses revealed a difference in the perception of the task by the two language groups, which in turn influenced the type of pragmatic clauses used by the speakers. Zulu narratives were longer and accompanied with more referential co-speech gestures than the Bulgarian narratives. The Bulgarian narratives were brief, synthetic accounts and accompanied by few gestures than the Zulu narratives. We aim to show that this difference is linked to culture; each language group perceived the task differently. Cognitive processes can be influenced by social and cultural behavior to a certain extent, as well as some universal trends that are non-language specific.

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ACADEMIC CERTAINTY STANCE MARKERS ACROSS LANGUAGES IN SPOKEN DISCOURSE

Keywords Certainty markers; cross-linguistic comparison; L1 Mandarin; English; academic corpus

The study of interactional metadiscourse has grown from both empirical and theoretical perspectives, including a focus on the functioning of engagement and stance in spoken discourse (e.g. Recski 2005; Qin/Uccelli 2019; Hyland/Zou 2021). Certainty markers (CMs), a widespread type of interactional metadiscourse markers, are often regarded as a signal for confirming the points being made by the speaker. The present study sets out to investigate the distribution and linguistic features of four typical CMs (*actually*, *in fact*, *really*, *indeed*) in two varieties of English (L1 English and English as a lingua franca – ELF) and four salient equivalents L1 Mandarin CMs (*qíshí*, *shíjìshàng*, *zhēnde*, *quèshí*) within academic spoken genres from a contrastive linguistics perspective, including syntactic distributions, semantic patterns, prosodic patterns, and discourse functions. The analysis was based on a collection of 119 scientific talks distributed as follows: the L1 Mandarin corpus consists of 101,427 running words; Likewise, 115,606 running words of L1 English corpus were derived and 107,693 running words were extracted from the English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings Corpus. The eight specific CMs were retrieved and annotated independently by two coders with a computer-assisted software program. A rigorous analysis was conducted taking the metadiscursive function into account, and statistical tests were run to assess deviations between the languages concerned.

Preliminary results indicate the predominant presence and functional diversity of CMs in Anglophone cultures as compared with ELF and Mandarin Chinese. Despite the high similarity in semantic meanings of the eight CMs, they exhibit distinctive characteristics in terms of distribution and individual structure owing to the differences in linguistic and academic norms. English CMs are more frequently used on the left-edge position to exploit a variety of discourse purposes that are more or less remote from their core meaning, whereas Mandarin CMs are rather complex in terms of discourse correlations. For instance, the adverb *quèshí* is commonly found in either the concluding clause or the antecedent clause of a compound sentence. Changing the position of *shíjìshàng* induces subjectivization and lexicalization. As far as CMs are concerned, ELF represents a distinct variety from L1 English. An example is that ELF certainty expressions are used more sparingly than they are in L1 English despite being functionally similar. The findings contribute to disentangling the usage of CMs in spoken performances as a descriptive schema, but also are of potential interest to inform future speech training by adjusting and applying this kind of tactic in academic communication. Future research could be expanded to a more in-depth discussion of comparison and/or contrast within spoken and written registers.

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COMPARING GRAMMATICAL DOUBTS IN GERMANIC AND ROMANCE

Cases of overabundance in the inflection of word-formation products

Unquestionably (or: undoubtedly), every competent speaker has already come to doubt with respect to the question of which form is correct or appropriate and should be used (in the standard language) when faced with multiple competing variants (e.g. Ger. *Pizzas*/*Pizzen*/ *Pizze* 'pizzas'; Dut. *de drie mooiste*/*mooiste drie stranden* 'the three most beautiful/most beautiful three beaches'; Swe. *större än jag*/*mig* 'taller than I/me'; Ita. *La maggioranza delle persone è cattiva*/*sono cattive* 'The majority of people is/are mean'). Such linguistic uncertainties or "cases of doubt" (cf. i.a. Klein 2003 and Schmitt/Szczepaniak/Vieregge 2019) systematically occur also in native speakers and do not necessarily coincide with the difficulties of second language learners. Most grammatical doubts can be attributed to processes of language change in progress, to language or variety contact, to gaps and rule conflicts in the grammar of every language or to psycholinguistic conditions of language processing. In present-day German, many uncertainties occur in the domains of inflection (plural formation, genitive allomorphy, weak masculines, strong/weak adjectival inflection, comparison forms, strong/weak verb forms, perfect auxiliary selection) and word-formation (linking elements in compounds, separability of complex verbs). As for syntax, there are often doubts in connection with case choice (pseudo-partitive constructions, prepositional case government) and agreement (especially due to coordination or appositional structures).

In order to obtain a more fine-grained typology of grammatical instabilities and their causes, this contribution takes as a starting point the rather well-researched situation of doubts in German and aims to present a contrastive approach to morphological and syntactic uncertainties in some contemporary Germanic and Romance languages characterized by an increasing genetic, typological and/or areal distance from German but comparable diasystematic conditions (pluricentric/pluriareal languages with marked dialectal/regiolectal variation etc.), namely Dutch, Swedish, and Italian. The data used for this objective stem from the respective largest collections of cases of doubt such as Duden vol. 9 (Duden Editorial Office), Taaladvies.net (Dutch Language Union et al.), Språkriktighetsboken (Swedish Language Committee/Council) and Consulenza linguistica (Accademia della Crusca), which constitute very valuable and comprehensive (qualitative) "corpora" on attested doubtful cases. A cross-linguistic comparison of critical areas in (closely) related languages and language families is an innovative and important contribution to the questions of 1.) which of the established (cross-linguistically valid) explanatory approaches can be applied to which phenomena, and 2.) whether the new data reveal further lines of explanation for the empirically observable (standard) variation (cf. Strobel 2023). For this purpose, the talk will discuss in more detail peculiarities, variation and changes in the inflectional behavior of word-formation products (especially compounds) compared to simple words, in particular:

– the plural formation of compound nouns (e.g. Swe. *datormöss*/*datormusar* 'computer mice/ mouses', showing a semantic differentiation between literal and figurative meaning, as well as the copulative/determinative compounds Dut. *ministers-presidenten*/*minister-presidenten* 'prime ministers' and Ita. *altipiani*/*altopiani* 'plateaus', displaying two vs. one plural marker),

– the competing comparison forms of adjectival compounds (adj.+adj./part. as in Ger. *höchstrangig*/*hochrangigst* 'most high-ranking' and Dut. *dieper gaand*/*diepgaander – diepst gaand*/*diepgaandst*/*meest diepgaand* 'more/most profound' or "double/multiple marking" of the superlative, especially with participles or semantically atypical adjectives as second constituents as in non-standard, mainly spoken Ger. *höchstgelegenst* 'highest situated', *größtmöglichst* 'greatest possible/utmost' etc.),

– the separability of complex verbs and inflection of verbal compounds – emerged through borrowing, noun incorporation, back formation etc. –, potentially undergoing reanalysis as a simple verb (cf. Ger. *downgeloadet > gedownloadet* 'downloaded', *schlussgefolgert > geschlussfolgert* 'concluded') and exhibiting distinct inflection patterns (strong/weak or irregular/regular) for compounds versus the corresponding simple verb (Ger. *saugte Staub*/*staubsaugte – Staub gesaugt*/*gestaubsaugt* and Dut. *stofzuigde – gestofzuigd* 'vacuum-cleaned' vs. *sog*/*saugte – gesogen*/*gesaugt* resp. *zoog – gezogen* 'sucked'; Dut. *glim-/grijnslachte – geglim-/gegrijnslacht* 'smiled / grinned' vs. *lachte*/*loech – gelachen* 'laughed'; Ita. *soddisfaccio*/*soddisfo* '(I) satisfy' vs. *faccio*/**fo* '(I) do/make' etc.).

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NP + INFINITIVAL AND PARTICIPIAL CLAUSAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN GERMAN, ENGLISH, ITALIAN, HUNGARIAN, AND POLISH

Keywords Small Clause; AcI; exceptional case marking; subject-to-object-raising

In G, E, I, and H there are constructions with accusative NPs being the external argument of an infinitival, (1) to (4). In P these accusative NPs can only co-occur with an adjectival participle, (5), a construction also occurring in E, (6). The talk compares the syntactic and semantic structure of these constructions focussing on the syntactic category of the non-finite clause, the status of the accusative NP, the status of the infinitive, restructuring effects, and embedding predicates (including aspect).

i. As to G, E, I, and H, the infinitival clause is regarded as a TP, i.e., a small clause. Its accusative NP and infinitival predicate form a unit – [4], [12], [8]. The AcI denotes, according to [4], an eventuality, which prevents it from being negated. Its subject is case marked by the matrix predicate, either by ECM or subject-to-object raising – [9] and [10]. AcI-constructions can show clause union effects, (7). H additionally allows Dative subjects in infinitive clauses, the latter only being licensed by impersonal predicates and co-occurring with an agreeing infinitive, (8a), – [3]. In case there is no agreeing infinitive, the Dative NP is the experiencer of the matrix clause, (8b). As for Italian, it allows Nominative subject NPs in the infinitive clause, (9a, b).

ii. As to P, small clause constructions differ structurally from E, G, I and H ones – [6], [7]. P small clauses are realizable by copula constructions with verbal *być* 'be' pronominal *to* 'it', (10), or "dual" copula elements, (cooccurrence of a pronominal and a verbal element, [1]), varying with respect to selectional restrictions (part of speech or case within complement phrases, extraction possibilities, [1]). The P counterpart to the AcI-constructions is the secondary predication over an accusative object via an adjectival present participle, (5), (11) and (12). The adjectival participle construction is systematically paraphrasable via clauses introduced by *jak* 'how' (11') and (12'). In Polish, adjectival phrases like *recytującego wiersz* 'reciting', (11), and *wracającego z podróży* 'returning', (12), clearly function as adjuncts of the accusative object *go* 'him'. In our talk, we will compare this P view to languages with typical AcI-constructions, where the AcI-clause is standardly analyzed as a complement of a matrix verb.

Examples

(1)   G: Ich höre [ihn kommen]

(2a)   E: They believe [him to be innocent].   [8]
(2b)   E: A reporter saw [Senator Sleaze leave Benny's Bunny Bar].   [8]

(3)   I: *Maria   ha   sentito   [Piero suonare il   pianoforte]*.
          Maria   have.3sg   hear.ptcp   Piero   play.inf   def   piano   [9]

(4)　H:　*Max　hallja　　　[a　fiút　　zongorázni]*
　　　　Max　hear.DEF.3SG　DEF　boy.ACC　piano play.INF

(5)　P:　*Ania　(u-)słyszała　　　　[go　recytującego　　　wiersz].*
　　　　Ania　(PFV-)hear.IPFV.PST.3SG.F　he.ACC　recite.PTCP.PR.M.ACC　poem

(6)　E:　Mary saw [Paul leaving the house].　　　　　　　　　　　　[5]

(7)　I:　*L'ho　　　　　visto　　uscire.*
　　　　M.3SG=have.1SG　see.PTCP　geh.INF

(8a)　H:　*Fontos　volt　　[Péternek　olvasnia].*
　　　　important　be.PST.3SG　Péter.DAT　read.INF.3SG　　　　　　[2]

(8b)　H:　*Jánosnaki　muszáj　　[PROi　otthon tártózkodni].*
　　　　János.DAT　necessary　home　stay.INF　　　　　　　　　[3]

(9a)　I:　*Ritengo　　[esser　Piero　　uno　　dei nostri più　validi　sostenitori].*
　　　　consider.1SG　be.INF　Piero.NOM　NDEF.3SG　DEF　1SG.PL　most　valuable　supporters

(9b)　I:　*Gianni　odierebbe　　[andare solo　lui　　　a　Milano].*
　　　　Gianni　hate.COND.3SG　go.INF　only　M.NOM.3SG　to　Milano　　　[11]

(10)　P:　*Magda　to　jest　　　　moja　ulubiona　baletnica.*
　　　　Magda　it　be.IPFV.PRS.3SG　my.F　favourite.F　ballet.dancer.F

(11)　P:　*Ania　(u-)słyszała[NP [NP　　　go [AP　recytującego　　　wiersz]]].*
　　　　Ania　(PFV-)hear.IPFV.PST.3SG.F　he.ACC　recite.PTCP.PR.M.ACC　poem

(12)　P:　*Zosia　widziała　[NP [NP go [AP　wracającego　　　z　podróży]]].*
　　　　Zosia　see.IPFV.PST.3SG.F　he.ACC　return.PTCP.PR.M.ACC　from　journey

(11')　P:　*Ania　(u-)słyszała　　　　　go　[jak　recytował　　wiersz].*
　　　　Ania　(PFV-)hear.IPFV.PST.3SG.F　he.ACC　how　recite.PST.3SG.M　poem

(12')　P:　*Zosia　widziała　　　go　　[jak wracał　　　z　podróży].*
　　　　Zosia　see.IPFV.PST.3SG.F　he.ACC　how　return.PST.3SG.M　from　journey

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CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS ON THE PRAGMATICS OF FRENCH AND CHINESE IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS: THE DEFROSTING

Keywords Contrastive linguistics; defrosting; fixdness; idiomatic expressions; French-Chinese

Fixedness is a polyfactorial phenomenon (Lamiroy/Klein 2005, p. 135) and "a linguistic process which, from a syntagm whose elements are free, makes a syntagm whose elements cannot be dissociated" (Gross 1996, pp. 3–4). MEJRI (2005, p. 184) specifies that "[…] fixdness can be only partial, which implies degrees in the process […]. This supposes […] a continuum between free sequences and constrained sequences". Thus, the main purpose of this paper is the comparative analysis of French idiomatic expressions (i.e. un coup de main [to give sb a hand], casser sa pipe [kick the bucket], etc.) with their Chinese counterparts or chéngyǔ (满面春风 mǎnmiànchūnfēng: shine with happiness/be smiling from ear to ear/look like a million dollars/one's face radiates happiness), both of which are characterized by a high degree of fixedness.

However, a frozen sequence can in turn be dis-frozen, i.e., lose some of its formal fixity (tout feu tout femme [all fire all woman], defrosting of être tout feu tout flamme [all fire all flames]; 随心所浴 suíxīnsuǒyù and its original chéngyǔ is 随心所欲 suíxīnsuǒyù for a bathroom advertisement) and its globality semantic (Elle fait deux poids deux mesures [She's double standards], in an advertisement for a weighing scale). This detour of fixdness, considered as "défigement" (defrosting)1 or 成语活用 chéngyǔhuóyòng (Chen 2021, p. 219) in Chinese, is quite often used in puns, humor and journalistic discourse. Defrosting thus defined represents an excellent tool for discourse creation. We are therefore interested in the particular phenomenon of defrosting in a contrastive perspective between French (Indo-European family, inflectional and derivational language) and Chinese (Sino-Tibetan family, isolating or analytical language), which can allow us to better deepen interlinguistic and intercultural study in the two countries insofar as fixedness is a "mechanism crystallizing the idiomaticity of a language" (Mejri 2008, p. 245).

Our corpus drawn from various sources (advertising, newspapers, blogs, social networks, forums, spontaneous exchanges, textbooks, etc.) allows us to show the vividness of the defrosting (especially the idiomatic expressions) whether "for metaphorical or playful reasons" (Gross 1996, p. 71) in both languages. The methodology is based on a purely linguistic comparative analysis on idiomatic expressions. We have already obtained results relating to formal defrosting (paradigmatic change: replacement of lexies/ syntagmatic change by addition, syntagmatic change by subtraction or reduction, syntagmatic change by modification of order, defrosting by fusion or separation), semantics (literal duality or figurative/ Remotivation by metalinguistic mention) and also on the differences between variation and defrosting in the two languages.

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IS THERE ANY SUCH THING AS CONSTRUCTIONAL EQUIVALENCE?

Keywords Constructions; constructicon; construction grammar; comparative concepts

One of the basic aims of the contrastive linguistics approach taken in the 1970s was that any comparison between two languages should be based on two independent descriptions of these languages (Burgschmidt/Götz 1974). While this claim no doubt holds true today, we will argue in this presentation that this is easier said than done.

One of the more recent frameworks developed in language typology is that of comparative concepts (Haspelmath 2010; Croft 2016). Croft (2022, pp. 19–25) argues that within a Construction Grammar approach three levels of constructions can be identified:

a) constructions of a non-language specific kind,

b) strategies employed by particular languages to express a particular meaning,

c) language-specific Constructions in the sense of form-meaning pairings.

In this presentation, we will argue that there is no immediate need to regard levels (a) and (b) as constructions. Instead, we consider it sufficient to identify as the top level of the model semantic functions that can be expressed in the languages under comparison (for instance, a semantic function such as reference to the 'future' in the case of, say, Latin and English). The strategies employed in these languages differ in that Latin makes use of inflexions, whereas English makes use of combinations of different verbs. It will be argued here that it is only the level of language specific constructions such as the WILL-MODAL CONSTRUCTION and the BE-GOING-TO-V CONSTRUCTION at which the term construction is justified since it is only at this level that a specification in terms of form and function can be made.

Taking the German DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTION and the English DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTION as an example, we will illustrate at what levels differences between these constructions need to be captured: one very obvious one is form (nominative – dative – accusative vs., in the canonical form at least, word order). What is equally important, however, is that the German and the English constructions have different collo-profiles. We see collo-profiles that show which verbs typically occur in a particular argument structure construction (*give* making up more than 50% of the occurrences of the ditransitive construction in the BNC) (Herbst 2020) as an integral part of the description of constructions in the sense of Goldberg (2019, p. 7).

The fact that verbs that are generally considered to be equivalent such as *erklären* and *explain* behave differently in that the former occurs in the ditransitive construction whereas the latter does not can be taken as an indication of the complexity of contrasting constructions across languages. We will argue that constructions expressing the same or similar semantic content (*She explained the problem to him*) will have to be considered together with, for instance, the ditransitive and that any contrastive analysis should be based on general semantic functions and argument roles, but not on "general" constructions.

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CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF ARTICLES IN ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND CROATIAN ON A PARALLEL CORPUS

Keywords Multilingual corpus; parallel corpus; Romance languages; Croatian; article

In the first part of our talk, we will present the construction of a singular new resource. *RomCro* is a parallel multilingual and multidirectional corpus of five Romance languages (Spanish, French, Italian, Portuguese, Romanian) and Croatian. The corpus, counting 15.9 million words, contains original sentences from literary texts from the 20th and 21st centuries, aligned with their translational equivalents in the remaining languages. Since the original sentence order has been scrambled, the corpus is available via platforms *Sketch Engine* and ELRC (under the license CC-BY-NC-4.0). This type of corpora has a wide use and is known for its application in different kinds of linguistic research (contrastive linguistics, translation studies, phraseology, lexicography, etc.) (e. g., Granger/Lerot/Petch-Tyson (eds.) 2003; Teubert (ed.) 2007), translation training (López Rodríguez 2016) and training of machine translation systems (Koehn et al. 2007), as well as terminology extraction (Lefever/Macken/Hoste 2009).

In the second part, we would like to present some of our research based on the data extracted from *RomCro*. We investigated similarities and differences between five Romance languages in the use of definite and indefinite articles (including the absence of article, i. e., zero article). Although most of the grammatical rules are similar in all Romance languages (especially when it comes to the definite article) (Academia Română 2008; Buzaglo Paiva Raposo et al. 2013; Grevisse/Goosse 2008; Real Academia Española 2009; Enciclopedia dell'Italiano), we observed some interesting differences (e. g., more common use of possessive in French instead of definite article or higher frequency of zero article in the so called peripheric Romance languages). However, what especially attracted our attention is the possibility of switching from definite to indefinite article and vice versa regardless of the language (we call it the "change of perspective") (Bikić-Carić 2020). We explain that feature by the fact (in our opinion, usually overlooked) that a noun in discourse can carry various characteristics regarding its determination and it is up to the author (or, in this case, translator) to choose which one they will highlight. It is interesting to notice that sometimes the translator does not follow the author's choice (regardless of the fact that such a possibility exists in the language).

We think that the application of *RomCro* can prove itself to be very useful in contrastive Romance linguistics, but also in the comparison of Romance languages and Croatian, a Slavic language that does not have articles as a morphological category. Our next aim is to determine the possible differences in the translation of a Croatian original to the Romance languages regarding the expression of the noun determination.

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A CONTRASTIVE APPROACH TO CONDITIONAL PERFECTION

Chinese vs. German/English

Bare conditionals (*if p,q*) can receive a ***conditional perfection*** (CP) interpretation (***iff p,q***), cf. (1) from (Geis/Zwicky 1971). CP is widely seen as a pragmatic (strengthening) inference (Geis/Zwicky 1971; van der Auwera 1997; Horn 2000; Herburger 2015 a.o.), with some recent work focusing on theoretical and experimental modelling. However, the crosslinguistic picture is still unclear. Our starting point is that within a given language, CP varies considerably due to construction-specific (grammatical) and contextual (pragmatic) properties. Based on this, we offer a crosslinguistic viewpoint with a case study comparing CP in Chinese vs. German and English, taking the latter two languages to be sufficiently similar in this respect.

Theory: We assume CP to be **gradable:** the more CP-favoring factors are satisfied, the stronger the CP-meaning becomes. Following (Fintel 2001), we take a CP-favoring factor to be linked to an implicit ***Question under Discussion* (QUD1)**, which has the form *under what conditions q?*. This QUD is **exhaustive** to the extent that it asks for all conditions under which the consequent q holds. By contrast, we take a CP-disfavoring factor to be linked to a **non-exhaustive QUD2**, which is about p's consequences (*what if p?*). A conditional *if p,q* is more likely to be perfected under QUD1 than under QUD2. The fewer favoring factors come together, the weaker the link to QUD1 becomes, and the weaker the CP-inference becomes. A plausible rule of thumb to identify the QUD is focus placement (Rooth 1992): with focus on p, we are likely to deal with QUD1; with focus on q, we are likely to deal with QUD2.

Crosslinguistic comparison: Our research questions are 1) what CP-favoring factors there are and 2) how they differ across languages. Zooming in on the contrast between Chinese and German, we find that i) both (groups of) languages behave the same under certain syntactic manipulations, e.g. of clause type. However, certain potentially favoring factors cannot be activated as easily in Chinese as they can be in German. Regarding these differences, we focus on ii) the position of the antecedent, iii) accent placement on conditional *then*.

i) Regarding CP, *conditionalized imperatives* (Schwager 2006), e.g. (2), behave like declaratives both in Chinese and in German/English. The switch from declarative to imperative is CP-neutral (neither favoring nor disfavoring), and the aforementioned rule of thumb applies: focus placement matters, see (2) vs. (3). In neither language does CP arise in conditional yes-no questions (Horn 2000), at least as far as the truthconditional level of meaning is concerned; see (4). We tend to think of such questions as explicit non-exhaustive QUD2s asking for the consequent (*what if p?*).

ii) In German/English, the position of the antecedent (left vs. right) may vary across discourse contexts (Fintel 1994). On our intuition, right-adjoined antecedents favor CP more than left-adjoined antecedents do. Indeed, (5-b) slightly more strongly suggests than (5-a) that mowing the lawn is the only thing the hearer can do to get $5 from the speaker. Right-adjoined antecedents are deviant in Chinese (Pan/Paul 2018). However, such conditionals may slightly improve depending on the choice of particle in the consequent q: in [q if p], a q with the particle *jiu* 'then; already' in it is slightly better than a plainly ungrammatical q with the particle *name* 'then' in it, see (6).

iii) Stressing *then*: (Schlenker 2004) observes that focus on conditional *then* has a CP-like effect, see e.g. (7) with German *dann*. For Chinese *jiu*, which tends to be translated as 'then' in conditionals, we notice an even more severe constraint than in section (ii). Chinese has stressed and unstressed *jiu*, which differ in meaning, cf. (Liu 2017a,b). Crucially, only unstressed *jiu* can occur in conditional consequents, and stressing *jiu* leads to ungrammaticality, see (8).

Summary: Our case study reveals language-specific restrictions on CP-inferences, see Table 1. It is too early to conclude that Chinese bare conditionals are not as easily perfectible as German (or English) ones, and a more complete picture needs to be gained by considering other grammatical or discourse factors. At the same time, we hold that the contrasts between these languages and beyond are important in developing theories of CP.

	English/German	Chinese
Antecedent left vs. right	yes	??
Stressed conditional *then*	yes	no
CT: declarative CT: imperative CT: question	yes yes no	yes yes no

Table 1: CP-inferences in German/English vs. Chinese: tentative answers to the question whether a CP-inference tends to occur in a given setting (left column) in the language; CT = 'clause type'

Examples

(1) If you mow the lawn, I'll give you $5.
  ~> If **and only if** you mow the lawn, I'll give you $5.

(2) **QUD1: Under what condition can the hearer stay?**
(2a) Stay if it rains$_F$, # but if it doesn't, feel free to stay too.
(2b) *Yaoshi xiayuF jiu liuxia ba;* *# yaoshi bu xiayu, ni ye keyi liuxia.*
  if rain$_F$ JIU stay IMP # if not rain you also can stay

(3) **QUD2: What if it rains?**
(3a) Stay$_F$ if it rains, but if it doesn't, feel free to stay too.
(3b) *Yaoshi xiayu, jiu liuxiaF ba;* *yaoshi bu xiayu, ni ye keyi liuxia.*
  if rain JIU stay$_F$ IMP if not rain you also can stay

Yes-no-questions

(4a) If Jerry comes, will Elaine go?
(4b) *Yaoshi Jerry lai, Elaine jiu qu ma?*
  if Jerry come Elaine PRT go Q
  ~/~> If Jerry doesn't come, will Elaine stay?

Antecedent left vs. right

(5a)　　If you mow the lawn, I'll give you $5.　　　　　　　[if p] q
(5b)　　I'll give you $5, if you mow the lawn.　　　　　　　q [if p]

(6)　　Women **{?jiu / *name}** qu sanbu, ruguo tianqi hao.
　　　　we **{?JIU / *NAME}** go walk if weather good

Stressing *then*

(7)　　Du bekommst dann$_F$ eine Belohnung, wenn du den Rasen mähst.
　　　　you get then$_F$ a reward if you the lawn mow
　　　　~> no sooner than you mow the lawn will you be rewarded

(8)　　*Women jiu$_F$ qu sanbu, ruguo tianqi hao.
　　　　*we JIU$_F$ go walk if weather good

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VERBS WITH AN INFORMATION-ACTION ALTERNATION IN ENGLISH AND IN GERMAN

Keywords Information-action alternation; syntax-semantic interface; finiteness; ambiguity and disambiguation; German; English

This talk compares the behaviours of verbs with an information-action alternation in English and German. Using corpora, I investigate whether the finiteness of the complement clause would always determine the interpretation of the embedding predicate. I further identify other factors that may influence the interpretation by inquiring about the intuition of native speakers.

Jackendoff (1985) pointed out that in English verbs like *convince* have two different readings as in (1) and that there are several verbs (2) whose complements display a similar distinction. Since the complements of the two readings describe information and actions respectively, in the following I will define all such alternations as *Information-Action* alternations.

(1a)   B convinced A that the sky is green.
        'B made A come to **believe** that the sky is green.'
(1b)   B convinced A to give up linguistics.
        'B made A come to **intend** to give up linguistics.'

(2a)   *persuade, advise, convince, say, tell …*
(2b)   *agree, decide, remember, forget, pledge, promise, propose, swear, insist, consider …*

Previous literature suggests a generalization for the relationship between the finiteness of the complement clause and its interpretation in English: Finite complements denote information, whereas nonfinite complements express actions (Jackendoff 1985; Dowty 1985; Grano 2019). However, empirical data do show some counterexamples. On the one hand, finite complements can also contribute to an action reading, especially when combined with certain modal verbs such as in (3). On the other hand, nonfinite complements may also convey information about a happened event as in (4).

(3)   Within minutes of meeting Dr. George, Mr. Friedman decided **that** he **would** take up Dr. George's invitation to see another side of India (...) (http://www.tgfworld.org/updates.html)
       = Mr. Friedman decided to take up Dr. George's invitation.

(4)   I remember **meeting him**, but I don't remember when <I met him>. (Saab 2022)

In German, the relationship between the finiteness of the complement clause and its interpretation is more flexible than in English as given in Table 1. Some German verbs like *beharren* ('insist') even allow both forms to express both readings, yielding therefore ambiguity of certain sentences like (5). Note that for the finite action variant in German like *Er beharrt darauf, dass sie Deutsch spricht* in (5), an overt modal verb like *müssen* ('must') is not obligatory, whereas it is in English (*He insists that she must speak/ *speaks German*).

	FIN: INFO	FIN: ACT	NFIN: INFO	NFIN: ACT
wissen ('know')	✓	✗	✗	✓
lernen ('learn') / lehren ('teach')	✓	✗	✗	✓
ab-/ermahnen ('warn')	✓	✗	✗	✓
erinnern ('remind')	✓	✗	✓	✓
vergessen ('forget')	✓	✗	✓	✓
ausreden ('talk out')	✓	✓	✗	✓
bestimmen ('decide')	✓	✓	✗	✓
beharren/bestehen ('insist')	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 1:   Interaction between the finiteness of the complement clause and its interpretation in German

(5)   *Er   beharrt dar-auf,   dass sie Deutsch spricht* / *Deutsch   zu   sprechen.*
      he   insists   there-on   that she German speaks / German to   speak.
      'He insists that she/he speaks German.' or
      'He insists on (her) speaking German.'

The ambiguity of sentences like (5) can be resolved by several factors such as tense/aspect (6a), deontic modals[1] (6b), verb mood (6c), sentence adverbs (6d), V_2 clause and complement fronting (6e), etc. They all force the information interpretation. Note that infinitival constructions like (6a/b/d) are ungrammatical in English, suggesting that the English infinitive is more restrictive than German.

(6a)   *Er beharrt dar-auf, dass sie Deutsch gesprochen hat* / *Deutsch gesprochen zu haben.*
        he insists   there-on that she German spoken   has / German spoken   to   have
        'He insists that she/he has spoken German.'
(6b)   *Er beharrt dar-auf,   Deutsch sprechen zu m*üssen.
        he insists   there-on German speak   to must
        'He insists that he must speak German.'
(6c)   *Er   beharrt dar-auf,   dass sie Deutsch   spreche.*
        he   insists   there-on that   she German   speak.SUBJ
        'He insists that she speaks German.'
(6d)   *Er   beharrt dar-auf,   dass sie gel*ücklicherweise *Deutsch   spricht* / *gel*ücklicherweise   .
        he   insists   there-on that   she lcukily   German   speaks / luckily
        Deutsch   zu   sprechen.
        German   to   speak
        'He insists that luckily she/he speaks German.'
(6e)   *Hoyzer sei   ein Einzelfall,   beharrt   der DFG* (…).
        Hoyzer be.3SG.SUBJ a   individual-case   insists   the DFG
        'Hoyzer is an individual case, insists DFB.' (ZAS 1732, DWDS BZ 2005)

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[1]   Finite complements with a deontic modal like *Er beharrt darauf, dass sie Deutsch sprechen muss* may allow both readings (claim or request), whereas the request interpretation of (6b) is odd because in that case we must interpret the sentence as the subject requests the other to set a rule that he must speak German, which is logically too complicated to access.

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Jörg Bücker

THE CIRCUMPOSITIONS OF GERMAN FROM A TYPOLOGICAL AND CONTRASTIVE POINT OF VIEW

German and other Germanic languages have two classes of circumpositions (cf. Bücker 2022). Denominal N-circumpositions have low type and token frequencies, always take the genitive, never have a spatial meaning and developed from PPs with possessive phrases as complements (cf. German *um – willen* in *um Peters willen* 'for Peter's sake' with a former possessive genitive on *Peter*, *willen* as a former possessed noun and *um* as a former preposition). Deadverbial A-circumpositions, on the other hand, form a larger class and can have higher type and token frequencies. Their case assignment is transparently controlled by their left part, they (almost) always have a basic spatial meaning, and historically they trace back to prepositional phrases modifying subsequent verb particles (cf. German *von – an* in *von diesem Moment an* 'from this moment on' with the dative *diesem Moment* governed by the preposition *von* and *an* as a former verb particle).

This presentation will first focus on how both classes of circumpositions reflect basic typological features of German. On the one hand, it will be shown that the diachronic rise of N-circumpositions is substantially embedded in the dependent-marking architecture of German possessive phrases (cf. Nichols 1986; Helmbrecht 2001; the possessive genitive on dependent possessor nouns was reanalyzed as an adpositional genitive). On the other hand, A-circumpositions arose essentially from the "satellite-framed" and "bracket-forming" architecture of German verbs and verbal phrases (cf. Ronneberger-Sibold; Talmy 1991; Slobin 2004; their heads are taken from the rich domain of syntactically detachable German verb particles as path-expressing "satellites"). After that, the presentation will address some differences between German circumpositions and circumpositions in other Germanic and non-Germanic languages. In particular, the presentation will try to explain from a typological and diachronic point of view why German has noticeably more A-circumpositions than many other Germanic languages (cf. present-day English, for instance, which is largely restricted to *from – on*(*wards*), *from – down*(*wards*) and *from – up*(*wards*)), and why German has no spatial N-circumpositions, while the grammaticalization of spatial N-circumpositions can be observed in some non-Indogermanic languages such as Ewe (cf. Greenberg 1980; Heine/Claudi/Hünnemeyer 1991; Ameka/Essegbey 2006; Wälchli/Zúñiga 2006).

The presentation is based on extensive corpus-based research on spoken and written German circumpositions both from a synchronic and a diachronic point of view. The examples from other Germanic and non-Germanic languages are taken from reference grammars and from corpus-based linguistic studies.

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HOW DIALOGIC ARE TAG QUESTIONS?
A contrastive study in British English and European Portuguese

The present study contrasts the frequency of use, type and function of tag questions (TQs) across dialogic and monologic texts in British English (BE) and European Portuguese (EP).

Based on data extracted from ICE-GB and CORAL-ROM, the distinction will be considered between variable TQ (VTQ) – (1) –, when the question tag (in italics) is structurally and lexically dependent on the anchor (underlined) and invariable TQ (ITQ) - (2) - when the question tag is not dependent on the anchor (Hudson 1975; Kimps 2018; Goméz González/ Silvano 2022). Additionally, following the model proposed in our previous work (Goméz González 2018; Goméz González/Dehé 2014; Goméz González/Silvano 2022; Silvano/Goméz González in press), TQ will be classified in eight functional types: informational, hortatory, facilitative, affective, challenging, focusing, phatic and regulatory. Informational, hortatory and facilitative are addressee-centred, but while the first aims at eliciting additional or confirmatory information (1a), the other two are action-seeking, hortatory TQ being used as demands or invitations (2a) and facilitative TQ as polite strategies to give the floor to the addressee (1b). Affective (2b) and challenging (2c) TQ, on the other hand, are speaker-centred, the former focusing on his/her opinions, emotions, and feelings towards the content of the anchor, and the latter operating as confrontational strategies. Finally, focusing (1c), phatic (2d) and regulatory (2e) TQ are centred on the exchange, requesting the addressee's attentiveness to what is being said (focusing), controlling contact (phatic), or self-regulating the exchange (regulatory)

Grounded on statistical significance tests, our findings revealed that, even though both VTQ and ITQ are more frequent in dialogic texts in the two languages, EP shows a statistically significant higher incidence of the two formal types both in monologic and dialogic texts across the eight functionalities. Moreover, our results confirmed that genre has an influence on the choice of the formal and functional type of TQ, although in different ranking orders.

Examples

(1a)   <u>You've seen Martin's hall</u> *haven't you*? < ICE-GB:S1A-073 #4:1:B> Goméz González/Silvano 2022)

(1b)   A: You've seen you've seen Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles haven't you?
         B: I have. Yes. We can get that out if you want. <ICE-GB:S1A-006 #159:1:B>

(1c)   But everybody talks about them you see? don't they? as being so marvellous <,> < ICE-GB:-S1A-016 #203:1:D > (Goméz González/Silvano 2022)

(2a)   <u>I'll give you a ring next time I'm down and we'll try and meet</u> *OK*? <ICE-GB:S1A-038#011:1:A> (Goméz González/Silvano 2022)

(2b)   Um colégio razoável, razoavelzinho, não é ? <CORALR ptelpv03>
         "A reasonable school, kind of reasonable, isn't it?" (Goméz González/Dehé 2014)

(2c)   Desde que a vossa caravela da, hhh, dos quinhentos anos não navegou, não é? <CORALR pfamdl04>
"Your caravel hasn't sailed since it turned five hundred years old, has it?" (Goméz González/ Dehé 2014)

(2d)   ORQ: fomos a um restaurante brasileiro // <<|está bem|>> ? <CORALRptelpv08> (Goméz González/Silvano 2022)

(2e)   (GRA: Dava então muitas aulas / só / a pessoas / já formadas // normalmente médicos / e engenheiros // <não é> ? <CORALRpfamcv03>
'GRA: At the time you taught many classes only to graduates normally doctors and engineers, right? Goméz González/Silvano 2022)

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ABSOLUTE AND CONSTRUCT FORM OF NOUNS: TYPOLOGICAL TENDENCIES SUPPLEMENTED BY NOVEL DATA FROM KIBIRI, A HIGHLY ENDANGERED LANGUAGE FROM PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Absolute and construct form (or state) of nouns is a morphosyntactic phenomenon found in Semitic, Berber (Mettouchi 2014), and in a number of African languages like Tswana and Wolof: it generally consists of head nouns bearing a marker in the case of nominal modification, in which case the noun is said to take the construct form. Outside of modification, the absolute (e.g citation form) form is used. In a typological survey, Creissels (2017), makes different cross-linguistic observations based on a larger sample which also adds other languages like Anejom from Oceania and Hungarian from Eurasia: There are no cross-referencing features of the modifier on the noun; the construct form can co-occur with other marked features of the noun (e.g. number); cross-linguistic variation exists in the type of modifiers that trigger the construct form and in the morphological nature of the construct marking.

This paper will present novel data from Kibiri, an underresearched severely endangered language spoken by 32 people at Kikori district in southern Papua New Guinea; it forms, with the dialect Porome [prm], the Kibiri-Porome isolate. So far, the phenomenon has only been identified in Porome among Papuan languages (Petterson 2019). Ongoing analysis shows that Kibiri also exhibits such a phenomenon and that it confirms the previous typological observations. However, what sets Kibiri apart is the fact that the absolute and construct forms are sensitive to word order and that they are optional in the case of modification with adjectives (1a,b), numerals (2) – (5) and quantifiers (6) – (7), but construct form is obligatory and word order is rigid in possessive (8), relative and compounding (9) constructions; also there are very rare cases where a construct-marked noun has been lexicalized as a verb (10).

The talk will be based on already existing descriptions of construct form from other languages (Anejom, Nêlêmwa, Eton, Hebrew, etc), with a comparison with new data from original fieldwork on Kibiri, taking a variationist approach (optionality and word order).

Examples

(1a)   ivari   mapi-ro
        big   house-CSTR
        'Big house' (*mapi-ro ivari* also possible)

(1b)   ivari   mapi
        big   house.ABST
        'Big house' (*mapi ivari* also possible)

(2) da   wakuteri wakuteri kima   eire-a
     3SG   three   three   head.CSTR see-3PRS
     'He sees six heads' (ABST *kimi*)

(3) wakuteri kotobiri   buai kumi   ikarawo-a
     three   frog.ABST two   dog.ABST chase-3PRS
     'Three frogs chase two dogs' (CSTR *kotobiro*/*kumo*)

(4) perui   buai iname ete-bo-ro
     year.ABST two   and   stay-3-FPST
     'Two years, and he stayed' (CSTR *peruro*)

(5) amakei kabo   buai
     1D   canoe.CSTR two
     'Our two canoes' (ABST *kabui*)

(6) keu   wai   kuro-bu
     many   NEG   village.CSTR-PL
     'A few villages' (ABST *kuri*)

(7) auapa kotobiri   wakuteri kumi   ikarawo-a
     all   frog.ABST three   dog.ABST chase-3PRS
     'All the frogs chase three dogs' (CSTR *kotobiro*)

(8) di-da   akei di-ro=ba
     coconut.ABST-DEF.SG 2D   coconut-CSTR=DECL
     'The coconut is your coconut' (**akei di*)

(9) oi   mapi-ro
     sick   house-CSTR
     'Hospital' (**mapi-ro oi, *oi mapi, *mapi oi*)

(10) a-pumuro   dabui-da
     1SG-heart.CSTR   place.ABST-DEF.SG
     'I like the place' (ABST *pumi*)

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COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF THE FUTURE IN ENGLISH, RUSSIAN AND GEORGIAN: SPEECH AND CO-SPEECH HAND GESTURE

Keywords Comparative analysis; gesture studies; corpus linguistics; multimodal analysis

The conceptual metaphor TIME AS SPACE has been shown to be at work across many languages (Haspelmath 1997; Radden 2003). Related research on temporal co-speech gestures has been done in experimental psychology, anthropology and corpus linguistics, but we still need to better appreciate universal and culture-specific nature of relations between speech and temporal gestures (Cooperrider/Núñez/Sweetser 2014). Our paper contributes to this scholarship by comparing future conceptualisations in English, Russian and Georgian. More specifically it investigates similarities and differences in linear conceptualisations of the future in oral communication in these languages by focusing on speech and co-speech hand gesture using a corpus-driven analysis of ecologically valid media data. There have been recent corpus studies done on temporal co-speech gestures using media data in English (Valenzuela et al. 2020) and in Russian (Grishina 2017). But to the best of our knowledge, there have not been any studies done on temporal co-speech gestures in Georgian or indeed no comparative analysis performed on future conceptualisations via co-speech gesture in oral communication in these three languages.

As a first step we researched depictions of the future engaging empirically in data-driven analysis of video snippets, each 4 seconds long from a number of TV talk-shows in English and Russian. Those were selected based on corpus searches for 'auxiliary verb 'will' + hands visible' for English and 'imperfective/perfective future + hands visible' for Russian and subsequent manual annotation in ELAN and Rapid Annotator. Only manual search of Georgian data and subsequent annotation in ELAN was possible due to the lack of NLP tools for it. At least two coders annotated all data for speech and co-speech gestural units marking future. Six categories of speech units were identified which mark future contextually in the analysed video data for all three languages: 1) verbs in the future tense; 2) conditional clauses and counterfactuals; 3) modal verbs; 4) time expressions, including future expression, and expressions and adverbs marking future in the context; 5) verbs in the present tense with future references; 6) words with 'future' semantics.

We analysed: 138 speech and 231 gestural units for English; 54 speech and 65 gestural units for Russian, and 68 speech and 90 gestural units for Georgian. The majority of analysed instances were produced by one host with the assumption that her multilingualism did not influence the way she conceptualised the future in communication in a specific language (including gesture) (see Azar/Backus/Özyürek 2020). Nevertheless, we performed small-scale comparisons using speech-gesture occurrences by other hosts (native speakers of languages under study) to check for potential interference between languages.

Our comparative analysis focused on the parameters of axis, direction and orientation of hand gesture co-occurring with speech 'future' units from the above-mentioned 6 categories. On these parameters it revealed no difference in how English, Russian, or Georgian speakers use co-speech temporal hand gestures in oral communication in TV shows. A particular gestural trait marking the future was found to be common to all three languages. We view this as a significant observation since English and Russian belong to different language groups and Georgian, unlike English and Russian, does not belong to the Indo-European language family.

The datasets we developed for this study will be made available with our paper once it is published.

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ON DISTRIBUTIONAL PATTERNS OF VERBS IN ENGLISH AND GERMAN

This paper addresses the distribution of verbs in English and German with a particular focus on infinitival constructions. One frequently mentioned area of contrast between English and German is a difference in nominal versus verbal patterns. Kortmann/Meyer (1992, p. 165) discuss a tendency of English to maximise the verb phrase, whereas German is said to expand the noun phrase, resulting in English being primarily verb-oriented and German being noun-oriented. However, such tendencies do not translate to an increased frequency of nouns when accounting for spelling differences of compounds (Berg et al. 2012, p. 280; Neumann 2020; also implicitly Gast/Borges 2023) this paper takes as its starting point the widely held assumption that German assigns a more important role to compounding than English. The notion of compound use is broken down into the three factors of (type and token. Against this background, Neumann (2020, p. 150) suggests that a difference in verb usage might be responsible for the perceived preference for nominal versus verbal patterns in the two languages. She speculates that German does not draw on non-finite verbs to the same extent in comparable grammatical contexts which involve similar numbers of nouns, explaining this by the limited additional information a non-finite verb may contribute. English, in turn, seems to express the procedural aspect of an event or state more congruently with the help of a verb.

This study sets out to test this claim with the help of a quantitative corpus analysis in English and German. It draws on the original parts of the CroCo Corpus (Hansen-Schirra/ Neumann/Steiner 2012). This balanced corpus contains original and translated texts in both translation directions from eight comparable registers. The original subcorpus comprises 500,697 words across 231 texts in the two languages and is annotated with part of speech (PoS) in-formation and indexed with the IMS Open Corpus Workbench (CWB; Evert/Hardie 2011). Different forms of verbs are extracted with the help of complex queries in the CQP query syntax (Evert/The CWB Development Team 2020) supported by the CWB. A particular focus of the analysis is on *to*/*zu* infinitives. In German, these are extracted both in the form infinitive marker followed by verb (*zu verstehen*) and as single verbs with the infinitive marker integrated morphologically (*aufzulegen*). All occurrences are normalised using a reasonable unit of measurement, such as the number of finites or sentences per text. Normalised by number of words, English texts generally contain more verbs as well as more *to*/*zu* infinitives, but similar numbers of finites than German texts. When compared by number of sentences, all three frequencies are clearly higher in English than in German. Linear regression models with these three features as response variables and language and register as predictors (sum-coded) and including an interaction term for language and register yield significant main effects for language and various individual registers. Additionally, the model for *to*/*zu* infinitives also retrieves interactions between language and register, indicating that registers display specific distributions in the context of German.

These results corroborate claims about the stronger verb orientation of English. Inspection of the query hits suggest that many of the occurrences can be explained straightforwardly

by constructions such as embedded clauses serving as postmodifiers within noun phrases, semi-modals such as *need to* and *have to* and the *going to* future. Frequent contexts also include phasal constructions with *continue* or *begin*. To explore possible equivalents for such constructions, the same query was applied to the aligned English-German translation pairs in the CroCo corpus. The results indicate that verbs expressing phase are often translated by adverbs such as *weiterhin* with the *to* infinitive translated by a finite verb. In such cases, the German clause contains only one instead of two verbs and the only remaining verb is finite, thus offering one explanation for the difference in frequency of verbs. The results suggest that German offers a wider range of distributional options corresponding to the English infinitival constructions. These options are reflected by the frequency difference in the formally corresponding construction and underline the importance of complementing system-based comparisons with usage-based data.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TARGET WORD ORDER VARIATION AMONG THE LOW-RESOURCE LANGUAGES OF NORTHWESTERN IRAN

Keywords Target; word order; Armenian; Azeri Turkic; Kurdish; Neo-Aramaic

The establishment of a basic "order of meaningful elements" of sentences manifesting itself in abbreviations like SVO (subject-verb-object), VSO (verb-subject-object), or SOV (subject-object-verb) has been a common procedure in typologizing natural languages since J. Greenberg's seminal article of 1963. As the abbreviations show, these types are usually restricted to the most salient elements of syntax, namely, the subject, the verbal predicate and a primary (direct) object; less salient elements such as indirect objects of verbs of giving or goals of motion verbs are usually not taken into account. More recently, the postverbal placement of these elements received special attention by the seminal work of Haig (notably 2015, 2017, 2022). Several more studies attempted to explain the postverbality of these elements, for example Stilo (2018), Bulut (2022), Jügel (2022), Korn (2022), Noorlander/Molin (2022), among others. In this study, I choose a different approach and following Asadpour (2022a, b, c), I summarize the objectives of this study under the term "Targets" and the word order of these elements is the focus of this research. Targets are just these elements and the syntactic positions they can take; this includes "Destinations", i.e., physical goals, of "MOTION and CAUSED-MOTION verbs", "Recipients of GIVE verbs", "Addressees of SAY verbs", "Beneficiaries of BENEFICIARY verbs", "Resultant-States of CHANGE-of-STATE verbs", and metaphorical Goals of SHOW and LOOK verbs, see examples below for illustration.

(1) Mukri Kurdish (Asadpour 2022c, TONI corpus, CS_124c)

V		P	T	
da-řo-m		**bo**	**madrasa-y**	
IPFV-go.PRS-1SG		**to**	**school-OBL**	

'(I) go **to school**.'

(2) Northeastern Kurdish (Asadpour 2022c, TONI corpus, AD_03)

V		P	T	
čū		**sa**	**dāy-e**	
go.PST.3SG		**on**	**tree-OBL**	

'(he) went **on top of the tree**.'

(3) Armenian (Asadpour 2022c, TONI corpus, 8-1.19a)

V		T	
ēt'um im		**dproç**	
go.PST COP.1SG		**school**	

'(I) was going to **school**.'

(4) Jewish Neo-Aramaic (Khan 2008: 428, J149A)

X		V	T	
yrəqli,		*ədyéli*	**belá**	
run.off.PST.1SG		come.back.PST.1SG	home	

'(I) ran off and came back home.'

(5)   Azeri Turkic, TONI corpus, 4-1 (Asadpour 2022c)
         | | v | т |
        bābā   *gēd-ax*   ***Mašhad-a***
        father   go.SBJV.PRS-1PL   Mašhad-DAT
        'Father, let's go to Mašhad.'

The languages investigated in this research are all located in northwestern Iran, a region that is indeed appropriate for such a study, given that we here meet Azeri, a Turkic language with an alleged SOV structure, Jewish Northeastern Neo-Aramaic (J. NENA), a Semitic language which is likely to have inherited a VSO order, and three Indo-European vernaculars whose basic order is less clearly determinable, namely, two Iranian varieties (Mukri and Northeastern Kurdish, NEK) and Eastern Armenian. In spite of the fundamental differences in syntactic structure that one would expect, all these "languages share a peculiarity in word ordering, viz. the placement of Targets in the immediate postverbal position" Asadpour (2022a, b, c); an observation that was the impulse of this research. In order to verify to what extent the languages behave similarly or differently with respect to the positioning of "Targets", to what extent the positioning can vary in the five vernaculars and whether language contact (Haig 2015, 2017, 2022) may be assumed to be a responsible factor (in the sense of an areal feature), I established a large database (the "TONI corpus") of recorded spoken materials in the five vernaculars, which I used as the empirical basis for my investigations; additional information was procured by inquiries with native speakers, partly via crowdsourcing. The personal field data has been accompanied by other sets of published narrative speech corpora (e.g., Khan 2008; Kıral 2001; Öpengin 2016). These data are additionally analyzed with respect to other identifying factors (e.g., morphosyntactic, semantic, discourse-pragmatic, and cognitive) to find out which one may trigger word order variation. The results show that there is no single, categorical factor which determines word order and none of the main categories such as information structure, semantics, or morphosyntax can be compared to each other neither can they be generalized cross-linguistically rather they are interconnected. Finally, the results of this study will be contrasted with the existing literature and I will offer a new perspective on typologizing the aforementioned languages in terms of their word order variation.

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GOING BEYOND 'HERE-AND-NOW'
Connecting misconduct to general rules across languages

Our everyday lives in any social community are shaped by rules (e.g., Roughley 2019; Schmidt/Rakoczy 2019). Rules (in a broad sense) are interactionally negotiated, monitored, enforced, and serve as an 'orientation value' in social life. If someone's behavior is treated as norm-violating or problematic in certain way, it may be therefore confronted. Confronting interlocutors can immediately stop, modify, or retrospectively reprimand the misconduct of others in a moralizing manner.

Such confrontations of a problem behavior occur commonly in informal interactions. On the basis of our corpus, specifically in informal interactions at the table, I observed that, for example, in Polish, German and British English, direct confrontations occur on average at least once every three minutes. Participants design these actions in a variety of ways, but like everything in interaction, the design is not arbitrary (Sacks 1984; Enfield/Sidnell 2019). A recurrent feature of such turns is connecting misconduct to some more general concepts.

It is evident from the data that e.g. speakers of German and Polish use 'generally valid statements' in problematic moments (cf. Küttner/Vatanen/Zinken 2022) to reach the closure of the problem sequence, also specifically dealing there with distribution of deontic and epistemic rights (Rogowska in prep.). I ask, when and for what purpose generality, that is, abstracting from a concrete behaviour, is used as a tool while confronting others. The focus is on sequential and linguistic features of abstracting in confronting moments in language comparison. What are the methods to achieve abstraction: i) defocusing the confronted, specific agent (cf. Zinken et al. 2021; Siewierska 2008), e.g. nur derjenige der dran ist der darf die bedingungen für den handel stellen (only the one whose turn it is may set the conditions for the trade); using ii) extreme case formulations (Pomerantz 1986), e.g. na siostrę zawsze można liczyć (you can always count on a sister); iii) referring to stable character traits, e.g. Matylda bardzo chetne by podala. (.) Ona jest taka skora do pomocy (Matylda would be very happy to pass (it to you). (.) She is so eager to help); or iv) broader categorizing of the given referent, e.g. do not build (.) do do not build do not build swastikas (when a) German guy is filming us? Sometimes, even several locus of abstraction are combined in the same turn. Can we identify language-specific and cross-linguistic patterns?

What are the interactional consequences: enforcing a compliant behavior in the future, eliciting an apology or cognitively simplifying complex problems? From a comparative perspective, I ask whether going beyond the here-and-now while confronting others is a practice that unites speakers across languages and is thus a human cognitive strategy to display normativity.

This ongoing study is based on new comparable data from four European languages from informal interaction during activities around the table (Kornfeld/Küttner/Zinken 2023; Küttner et al. in prep.). The phenomenon was coded systematically in each of the four lan-

guages as part of a larger, quantitatively oriented study with different questions (Küttner et al. submitted). In the talk, I will show exemplarily Polish and German evidence. I use the methods of Conversation Analysis (Sidnell/Stivers (eds.) 2012) and Interactional Linguistics (Imo/Lanwer 2019).

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SUBJECT-OBJECT BINDING DEPENDENCIES IN ROMANCE AND GERMANIC
The view from Romanian

Keywords Clitic doubling; differential object marking; binding dependencies

Introduction. This paper investigates an interesting contrast between Romance (Romanian, Spanish a.o.) and Germanic languages (English, German a.o.) with respect to the syntax and the binding properties of the direct object (DO). In the English example (1a) the subject *any husband* will bind the possessive within the DO *his wife*, while in (1b) the binding relation between the DO and the possessive now hosted inside the subject DP may no longer be maintained. If we compare the examples in (1) with their Romanian counterparts in (2), an interesting contrast arises: while (2a) patterns with (1a) in allowing the subject *any husband* to bind into the DO *his wife*, (2b) constrasts with (1b) in that the bound interpretation between the two arguments remains possible (Cornilescu/Dinu/Tigău 2017). The situation for English is straightforward and follows the principles of Binding Theory: the possessive in (1a) is bound by the c-commanding subject preceding it, while in (1b) the DO may not bind this possessive given that it does not c-command it. What is interesting, however, is the Romanian variant in (2b), given that it seems possible for the possessive to be bound by the DO, even if the latter does not precede it. What makes the situation even more interesting, is that only clitic doubled DOs (CDed DOs) give rise to this inverse binding. An undoubled DO does not allow for such effects: in (3), the only possible interpretation is an unbound one, where the possessive may pick up an antecedent from the larger context but definitely not *any client.*

Aim. This paper has a twofold aim: a) to present the results of an experiment on Subject-Object dependecies in Romanian investigating the possibility of the inverse binding in (2b); b) to provide a syntactic account for the experimental results.

The experiment. In order to test the observations above, we designed a forced choice experiment investigating the behaviour of unmarked and CDed DOs in binding configurations with the subject. We used 24 experimental items designed as in (4) in three conditions, as in Table 1: i) *Subject before CDed DO* with the subject binding the DO (as a baseline and a control), ii) *Subject before DO* with DO binding the subject, and iii) *Subject before CDed DO* with DO binding the subject. Each item was preceded by a context and then followed by an answer option probing for the bound interpretation between the two arguments. We obtained 72 experimental items (Table 1), which were distributed evenly into 3 lists, using the Latin square method. We also used 12 fillers (ditransitive configurations with binding dependencies between DO and the indirect object), so each list contained 36 items. At least 20 native speakers of Romanian answered each list.

Results. Our experiment is still unfolding so we do not yet have a clear perspective on the final results. If the results confirm the claims in the literature for Romanian, and prove that binding of the subject by a CDed DO is possible irrespective of the order between the two arguments, we will have to find an explanation for the fact that the DO may bind into a

preceding subject when doubled. In this configuration, it is not apparent from the surface word order that the DO c-commands the Subject so it is not clear how the bound interpretation obtains.

A tentative account. If our hypothesis regarding the possibility of binding between a CDed DO and the Subject in the configuration *Su before DO, DO binds into Su* is confirmed, we would like to posit that this lack of regard for c-command requirements is only apparent. We tentatively propose that CDed DOs leave their merge position inside the VP (López 2012) and reach a landing site wherefrom they may c-command the Subject DP found in its merge position. We think that what triggers movement for CDed DOs is their internal structure: the clitic contributes some feature specification that needs valuation against a higher projection in the tree hence the necessity for these DPs to leave the VP. The parametric difference between Germanic and Romance thus boils down to the internal make-up of DO; Romanian does pattern with the other non-CD languages, which rely on c-command to resolve binding dependencies.

Examples

(1a)   Any responsible husband$_i$ will help his wife$_i$ with the household chores.
(1b)   Her$_i$ husband will help any wife$_i$ with the household chores.

(2a)   Orice soţ$_i$ responsabil o   va   ajuta pe soţia   lui$_i$ la treburile   casnice.
       Any   husband$_i$ responsible her.cl will help DOM   wife.the his$_i$ at chores.the household
       'Any responsible husband$_i$ will help his$_i$ wife with the household chores.'
(2b)   Soţul   ei$_i$ o   va   ajuta pe   orice soţie$_i$ la treburile   casnice.
       Husband.the her$_i$ her.cl will   help DOM any wife$_i$ at chores.the household
       'Lit. Her$_i$ husband will help any wife$_i$ with the household chores.'

(3)   Consilierul său$_i$ bancar va sfătui orice   client$_i$ în aşa fel încât investiţia lui
       Councillor his$_i$ banking will advise any client$_i$ in such a way that investment his
       să aducă profit.
       SUBJ bing profit
       'His$_i$ banking councilor will advise any client$_i$ in such a way that his investment will be profitable.'

(4)   Context: In our university the relation between PhD students and supervisors is very close and the supervisors do everything they can to make sure that the PhD students succeed in their work. Consider the sentence below:
       Profesorul   său$_i$ îl   ajută pe orice   doctorand$_i$ cu   sfaturi şi   bibliografie.
       Professor.the his$_i$ him.cl helps DOM any PhD student with advice and   bibliography
       'His$_i$ professor helps any PhD student$_i$ with advice and bibliography.'
       Given the context, does the sentence above have the following meaning?
       Each professor helps his own PhD student.
       Circle: YES   or   NO

All conditions with Su < DO	Binding direction	CD of DO	Prediction
i) Subject binds CDed DO	Su > Do	+	Good
ii) DO binds Subject	DO > Su	-	Bad
iii) CDed DO binds suject	DO > Su	+	Good

Table 1:   Parameters – word order and binding

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HUMAN LANGUAGES TRADE OFF COMPLEXITY AGAINST EFFICIENCY

Keywords Language complexity; language efficiency; information theory; quantitative typology; quantitative linguistics

A central goal of linguistics is to understand the diverse ways in which human language can be organized (Gibson et al. 2019; Lupyan/Dale 2016). In our contribution, we present results of a large scale cross-linguistic analysis of the statistical structure of written language (Koplenig/Wolfer/Meyer 2023) we approach this question from an information-theoretic perspective. To this end, we conduct a large scale quantitative cross-linguistic analysis of written language by training a language model on more than 6,500 different documents as represented in 41 multilingual text collections, so-called corpora, consisting of ~3.5 billion words or ~9.0 billion characters and covering 2,069 different languages that are spoken as a native language by more than 90% of the world population. We statistically infer the entropy of each language model as an index of (un. To this end, we have trained a language model on more than 6,500 different documents as represented in 41 parallel/multilingual corpora consisting of ~3.5 billion words or ~9.0 billion characters and covering 2,069 different languages that are spoken as a native language by more than 90% of the world population or ~46% of all languages that have a standardized written representation. Figure 1 shows that our database covers a large variety of different text types, e.g. religious texts, legalese texts, subtitles for various movies and talks, newspaper texts, web crawls, Wikipedia articles, or translated example sentences from a free collaborative online database. Furthermore, we use word frequency information from the Crúbadán project that aims at creating text corpora for a large number of (especially under-resourced) languages (Scannell 2007). We statistically infer the entropy rate of each language model as an information-theoretic indexof (un)predictability/complexity (Schürmann/Grassberger 1996; Takahira/Tanaka-Ishii/Dębowski 2016). Equipped with this database and information-theoretic estimation framework, we first evaluate the so-called 'equi-complexity hypothesis', the idea that all languages are equally complex (Sampson 2009). We compare complexity rankings across corpora and show that a language that tends to be more complex than another language in one corpus also tends to be more complex in another corpus. This constitutes evidence against the equi-complexity hypothesis from an information-theoretic perspective. We then present, discuss and evaluate evidence for a complexity-efficiency trade-off that unexpectedly emerged when we analysed our database: high-entropy languages tend to need fewer symbols to encode messages and vice versa. Given that, from an information theoretic point of view, the message length quantifies efficiency – the shorter the encoded message the higher the efficiency (Gibson et al. 2019) – this indicates that human languages trade off efficiency against complexity. More explicitly, a higher average amount of choice/uncertainty per produced/received symbol is compensated by a shorter average message length. Finally, we present results that could point toward the idea that the absolute amount of information in parallel texts is invariant across different languages.
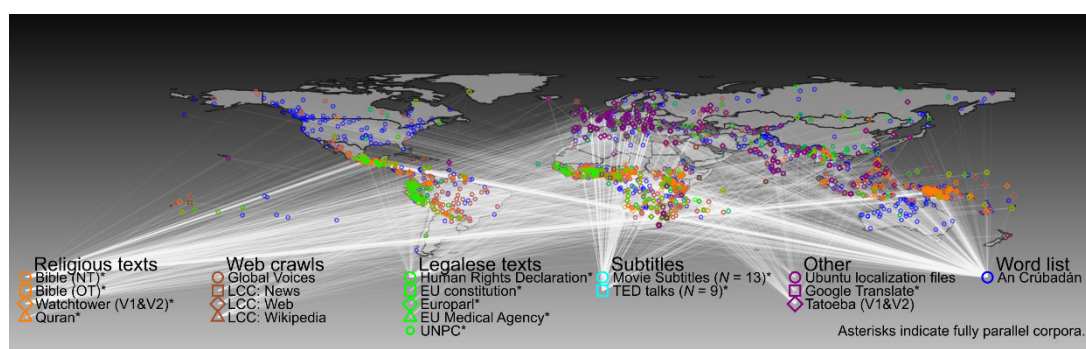
Fig. 1: Collected corpora and their geographical distribution

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"WHO DID WHAT TO WHOM"
Measuring and explaining cross-linguistic differences

Different languages use different linguistic cues to express "who did what to whom", helping the addressee to identify Subject and Object. These cues include case marking, agreement, semantics, and word order. Previous research has revealed that different cues can be correlated (Greenberg 1966; Sinnemäki 2010; Levshina 2021). For example, some languages express the roles with case (Latin, Czech) and relatively flexible word order, while others (English, Mandarin) use rigid word order and have no nominal case makers. The differences between the languages have been explained by sociolinguistic factors, such as population size and high proportion of L2 (non-native) users, which can lead to grammatical simplification – in particular, to loss of case (Lupyan/Dale 2010; Trudgill 2011; Bentz/Winter 2013; Koplenig 2019) and increased use of verb-medial order (Lev-Ari 2023). In this paper, we measure the differences between languages with the help of typological databases and corpus data, and explain these differences by learning potential causal relationships among linguistic and sociolinguistic variables with the help of cutting-edge causal inference techniques (Pearl 2000).

We used the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS) (Dryer/Haspelmath 2013), the parallel corpus of Bible translations (Mayer/Cysouw 2014) and word order data inferred from this corpus (Östling 2015). From these sources we obtained information about three variables: 1) "SO Entropy", the entropy of Subject and Object order based on the probabilities of Subject-Object and Object-Subject orders in the corpus; 2) "Case", whether case flagging helps to distinguish between the forms of Subject and Object; and 3) "Verb Final", whether the position of the lexical verb is final or non-final. We also used information about the population size from Koplenig (2019). Overall, we obtained linguistic and sociolinguistic data for 827 languages representing 78 language families.

Next, we performed correlational and causal analyses between the variables. To discover potential causal (ancestral) relationships among these variables, we applied the Fast Causal Inference (FCI) algorithm (Zhang 2008). FCI learns from data a Partial Ancestral Graph (PAG) that represents the class of all causal models, potentially involving unobserved confounders, that explain the observed conditional independencies, referred to as Markov Equivalence Class (MEC). Ancestral and non-ancestral relationships that are shared among all models in the MEC are represented in the PAG by non-circle edge marks (i.e., tails and arrowheads, respectively). Since our dataset includes variables of mixed types (numeric and categorical), we constructed a conditional independence test based on fitting mixed-effects regression models. The genealogical and geographic dependencies between the languages were controlled by treating the genera and macroareas as random intercepts.

A PAG representing plausible (non-)ancestral relationships between the variables is shown in Figure 1. The model indicates that population size is associated with Case and Verb Final, which is consistent with previous studies. Moreover, it suggests that Case and Verb Final are

not ancestors or underlying causes of SO Entropy or Population Size, which also aligns with prior research findings.
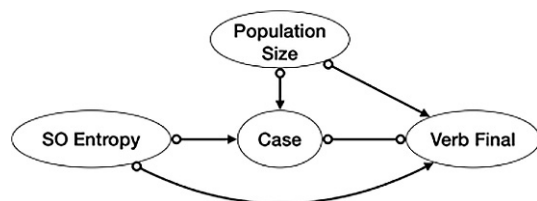
Fig. 1:   A Partial Ancestral Graph (PAG) resulting from our causal analysis describing the (non-)ancestral relationships among linguistic variables and population size

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SEGMENTATION AND ANNOTATION OF INTERPRETING UNITS FOR SEMANTIC TRANSFER ANALYSIS

The present paper focuses on methodological questions related to the analysis of HeiCIC (Heidelberg Conference Interpreting Corpus), a corpus of simultaneously interpreted (SI) speeches by interpreting trainees and professional interpreters. We are concerned with identifying a unit of interpreting that allows for quantitative and qualitative analyses and captures changes in semantic transfer between source text (ST) and target text (TT) segments as a function of cognitive load.

In interpreting studies, different identifying criteria for units that most accurately represent a chunk of speech processed as one have been proposed, drawing on research into spoken language as well as translation (Fiehler et al. (eds.) 2004; Grupo Val.Es.Co 2014; Alves et al. 2020). While researchers agree that functional units based on semantic criteria resemble most closely the units processed by interpreters (Setton 1999; Pöchhacker 2016), their identification poses challenges due to their subjective nature. Other approaches propose surface-level indicators based on e.g. propositions (Goldman-Eisler 1972; Dillinger 1994), clauses (Wehrmeyer 2020) or prosodic identifiers but do not account for simultaneity of cognitive processes and the use of interpreting strategies. To our knowledge, no SI corpora exist with comprehensive segmentation and alignment below the sentence level. Current research into SI considers word- or sentence-level features or individual phenomena, as applied e.g. in EuroParl, EPIC and EPTIC (Bernardini/Ferraresi/Miličević 2016; Dayter 2021; Gumul 2021; Lapshinova-Koltunski/Pollkläsener/Przybyl 2022; Plevoets/Defrancq 2021). While some of these features may highlight individual traits of cognitive load or ST and TT relations, they do not represent the magnitude of effects or relate features to types of cognitive processing.

The English-German subcorpus of HeiCIC in focus here contains transcripts in both directions and several interpretations of the same original (currently ca. 117h, 636.400 tokens). Segmentation and alignment are combined with multilayer annotation including automatic analysis (tokenization, POS tagging), semi-automatic extraction of problem triggers and manual feature annotation. Our current research objective is to investigate fine-grained variation in types of semantic transfer (e.g. subtypes of explicitation and implicitation) as a function of cognitive load (Kunz/Stoll/Klüber 2021). We cross-reference these results with interpreters' preparation strategies and their level of expertise.

Our notion of interpreting units (IU) brings together information chunks in the ST and TT and provides the basis for manual segmentation and alignment. To allow for a transfer analysis of the whole corpus that also yields information about cognitive requirements of simultaneous interpreting, IUs are defined on the basis of structural, semantic and functional/processing criteria. We consider IUs as self-contained units of information which can potentially be completely processed. For ST segmentation we make use of syntactic dependencies below the sentence and clause boundaries to identify interdependent elements. We further

analyse the semantic content of an ST segment to determine whether it fulfils the minimum criteria of an informative and independent unit whose understanding does not require further additions. Not all identified segments can fulfil our criteria of independent units, due to spoken language features and language contrasts between ST and TT. We therefore distinguish between segments that consist of a clause with all required constituents for syntactic completeness, segments that lack syntactic completeness, and segments that constitute optional additions. Segmentation below the clause boundary also helps us to model cognitive requirements of SI such as ST comprehension and short-term memory capacity.

ST Segment 1	addition	Basically, when we are looking at a star,
ST Segment 2	main segment	the light from the star is passing through a lot of gas and dust
ST Segment 3	addition	in our universe [ehm]
ST Segment 4	main segment	and this gas [ehm] scatters the blue light […]

Table 1: ST segmentation

ST units are aligned with TT units based on semantic indicators, so that structural transformations as well as semantic changes between ST and TT are revealed. This further allows to identify production efforts in the TT.

ST Seg 1	Basically, when we are looking at a star,	Wenn man sich einen Stern ansieht,	TT Seg 1
ST Seg 2	the light from the star is passing through a lot of gas and dust	dann wird das Licht durch Gas und Staub gebrochen.	TT Seg 2
ST Seg 3	in our universe [ehm]		
ST Seg 4	and this gas [ehm] scatters the blue light from the star,	Und das führt eben zu diesem blauen Licht,	TT Seg 3
		das wir sehen.	TT Seg 4

Table 2: TT alignment and segmentation

The greatest challenges for segmentation and alignment, which also inhibit automatic processing, are incomplete structures on different linguistic levels. These however may be related to language contrast, directionality or spoken language, or be indicative of cognitive processes of SI. For instance, we may capture differences in incomplete structures between interpreting outputs of trainees and those of professionals which are due to varying degrees of cognitive load and use of different types of interpreting strategies (Kalina 1998). Apart from our own research, our approach will permit research into other areas of interest and may serve to identify patterns for automatic extraction and analysis of parallel interpreting corpora. In the future, we plan to include an analysis of phonetic indicators, such as hesitation markers, to confirm processing units and analyse the development of interpreting units in relation to experience by further examining data produced by interpreting students and professional interpreters.

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VERBLESS SENTENCES
A multidimensional contrastive corpus study

This paper explores the theoretically controversial and often marginalized phenomenon of the verbless sentence, i.e. structures in which the typical syntactic marker of sentential status – the verbal predicate – is absent. Persuaded that linguistic constraints hidden from a monolingual perspective can emerge in cross-linguistic comparison, we examine the structures in two languages that have profoundly different typological characteristics regarding the verb: English and Russian. We develop a multidimensional methodological framework that combines contrastive linguistics with quantitative corpus-driven methods and fine-grained qualitative enunciative analysis, with the goal of (a) providing a corpus-based description of the semantico-pragmatic features associated with the absence of the verb in English and Russian and (b) exploring the theoretical implications of the results for linguistic models of the 'sentence'.

Highly influenced by the contrastive method of Guillemin-Flescher (2003), we analyse reoccurring translation patterns for language-specific typological regularities, further developing the approach. Taking advantage of digital corpora and statistical tools, we also push NLP boundaries in terms of the elusive search for absence and its translations. Potential pitfalls of parallel-text studies (raised by e.g. Nádvorníková 2017; Loock 2016; McEnery/Xiao 2008; Stolz 2007; Malmkjaer 1998) are addressed in the present corpus design and multidirectional analysis. Notably, we create a 1,4-million-word parallel-and-comparable corpus to enable both quantitative and qualitative contrastive analysis of the verbless phenomenon, automatically retrieved (as per Bondarenko 2021, 2019). Morphosyntactically tagged and sentence-aligned, the corpus of 19th–21st century translated realist fiction is analyzed from three perspectives. From a *monolingual* perspective, translations are treated as genuine language samples (following Zanettin 2013; Olohan 2002; Baker 1993; Biber 1993) and compared with originals in terms of specificity analysis (statistically-key forms, lemmas, morphosyntactic categories, n-grams, that are semantico-pragmatically classified). Secondly, we look for *reciprocal* patterns across multiple translations, texts and directions, paying attention particularly to *verbal* correspondences (and the correlation of the latter with manually annotated syntactic ellipsis, information structure and speech act). A *third-language* sub-corpus of Russian and English translations from French controls for source language interference.

Combining the strengths of contrastive and corpus methods makes it possible for us to lift data limits on previous research and push the boundaries of the existing descriptive accounts and theoretical perspectives on verbless structures (e.g. Elugardo/Stainton 2005; Merle (ed.) 2009; Weiss 2011; Goldberg/Perek 2019). Through contrastive corpus analysis we contribute new evidence that:

— Syntactic explanations do not account for the observed absence: syntactic-ellipsis is over-represented not in Russian, the more elliptically-productive language, but in English.

— Verbs that are pragmatically implicated by verbless sentences are a part of the informational focus. This finding challenges accounts of the phenomenon in terms of the omission of a predictable and reconstructable semantic element. Furthermore, it provides evidence that the bare constituents of a verbless sentence can themselves be sufficient to express a complete thought and satisfy the requirements for constituting full instances of predication.

— Pragmatic differences concerning topic activation and the marking of (in)direct speech acts explain some of the frequency differences in the use of the phenomenon in our languages.

— Verbless sentences are not as significantly affected by translation language, as by genre.

Taking a contrastive corpus approach gives us new empirical grounds for defending the sentential status of structures without a syntactic predicate, and leads us elaborate a model of the sentence that strives to be capable of accounting for the verbless phenomenon and emphasizes the communicative functions of language.

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THE INFLUENCE OF L1 DUTCH ON COHESION IN L2 GERMAN WRITING

Results from a contrastive corpus-based analysis of L1 and L2 students' writing in German

Keywords Second language acquisition; learner corpus; corpus linguistics; connectives; cohesion

Second language (L2) writers struggle with cohesion (Crossley/McNamara 2012). One of the reasons is that they tend to rely on native language (L1) strategies to create cohesive texts (Breindl 2016) which may differ from the strategy used in the L2 (e.g., Pit 2007). This challenge has been documented in studies into L2 English (e.g., Stemmer 1991; Johnson 2017; Appel/Szeib 2018). For example, Appel/Szeib (2018) investigated the influence of L1 Arab, L1 Chinese and L1 French on linking adverbials in L2 English and found differences in the use specific to the L1s, such as an overuse of appositional linking by L1 French writers and an overuse of contrastive linking by L1 Chinese writers. However, in stark contrast to the burgeoning research in cohesion in L2 English (e.g., Crossley/McNamara 2011, 2012; Das et al. 2018; Crossley/Kyle/Dascalu 2019) research into cohesion in L2 German has been scarce to date, with only a handful of studies into texts produced by writers with heterogeneous L1 backgrounds. These contrastive studies focus on, for example, the different uses of connectives (Walter 2007; Schmidt/Walter 2008) and pronominal adverbs (Belz 2005; Breindl 2016; Strobl 2020b) in L1 and L2 writing.

Our study aims to fill this gap by furthering research into contrastive studies of connectives in L1 and L2 German writing, focusing on L2 writers with a homogeneous L1 language background (i.e., Dutch). The contrastive analysis will be based on the Belgisches Deutschkorpus (Beldeko) (Strobl 2020a) and the German Summary Corpus (GerSumCo). These are two corpora that have recently been compiled to analyse cohesion in L2 language. Beldeko consists of 301 texts written by advanced students of L2 German in an academic writing course. GerSumCo is still growing and to date includes 47 texts written by L1 German students. The texts are summaries (of the same source texts) that were produced under comparable conditions. The corpora have been pre-processed and automatically annotated with part-of-speech tags and lemmas. Additionally, the connectives were automatically pre-annotated using DimLex (Stede 2002; Scheffler/Stede 2016), a database containing German connectives and their corresponding PDTB3 tags (Webber et al. 2019) After automated pre-annotation, the data were manually corrected and enriched using the online annotation platform Inception (Klie et al. 2018). The three trained annotators used our own guidelines for the annotation of connectives, which are based on PDTB3.

The preliminary analysis of the corpora via R revealed a higher density of connective use in L2 summaries than in L1 summaries. However, in terms of semantic types, we can see a similar distribution. Crossley and McNamara (2012) documented a similar overuse of connectives in L2 English writing by students with a lower language proficiency, in comparison with L2 English writing by students with a higher language proficiency. They found that

highly proficient writers tend to rely more on implicit cohesion (e.g., semantic overlap) than on explicit cohesion (e.g., connectives) which they called the 'reverse cohesion effect'. In our presentation, we will present the results of our first contrastive analysis of connective use in L1 and L2 German, discussing patterns in light of contrastive research on German and Dutch connectives (Pit 2007) and research on connectives use in L1 German (e.g., Kunz et al. 2021).

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A CONTRASTIVE-CONSTRUCTIONAL APPROACH TO (IN)SUBORDINATION

The case of hypothetical manner clauses in French and Spanish

This study investigates hypothetical manner (HM) clauses, i.e. clauses introduced by the conjunction *comme si* in French and *como si* in Spanish (both meaning 'as if'), as illustrated in (1) to (4).

(1)   Spanish – complement *como si*-clause expressing 'hypothetical qualification'
        *El seguro es de la antigua dueña. Es **como si no estuviera asegurada**.*
        'The insurance belong to the former owner. It is as if she didn't have any.'

(2)   French – bound subordinate *comme si*-clause expressing 'hypothetical manner'
        *Vous me parlez **comme si je connaissais le Wallon**.*
        'You talk to me as if I knew [something about] the Wallonian language.'

(3)   French – free subordinate *comme si*-clause expressing 'hypothetical cause'
        ***Comme si quelqu'un l'avait tirée de l'intérieur**, la porte s'ouvrit avant qu'il ne l'ait touchée.*
        'As if someone had pulled it from the inside, the door opened before he touched it.'

(4)   Spanish – insubordinate *como si*-clause expressing 'denial of an assumption'
        ¡Como si yo tuviese una cámara!
        'As if I had a camera!'

As previous studies have suggested, clauses introduced by conjunctions can display different degrees of syntactic-discursive (in)dependence (D'Hertefelt 2018, Sansiñena 2019), they can express a range of non-prototypical meanings (Lastres-López 2021), and these features may correlate with their prosodic behaviour (Elvira-García/Roseano/Fernández-Planas 2017). Thus, our study integrates these three dimensions and provides a fine-grained constructional account of *subordination* and *insubordination* (i.e. "the conventionalized main clause use of what […] appear to be formally subordinate clauses" (Evans 2007, p. 367)), ultimately aiming to investigate how the latter arises in discourse.

Our study draws on corpus data, including both written (n=900) and spoken (n=319) discourse. In total, 1219 instances of HM clauses were analysed in a three-fold way: i) by assessing the degree of **syntactic (in)dependence** *w.r.t.* their surrounding discourse, based on proportionality (Smessaert/Cornillie/Divjak/van den Eyde 2005) and preposability (Verstraete 2007); ii) by identifying their **functional features**, i.e. the semantic values they express and discourse functions they can serve; and iii) spoken data were also investigated in terms of their **prosodic features**, including pitch accent and intonation boundaries.

In line with earlier pilot studies (Royo-Viñuales/Van linden 2022), the results show that, small language-specific uses aside (i.e. two unique functional types only attested in Spanish), the two languages under study share a four-way functional typology of HM clauses, prototypi-

cally illustrated in (1) to (4). But, more interestingly, the results shed clear light on how insubordinate constructions arise in discourse when correlating functional behaviour with prosody. Crucial in this respect are bridging contexts (Evans/Wilkins 2000, p. 550) which contextually support both a 'manner' and a 'denial' reading, illustrated in (2). The analysis shows that, in the two languages, around 30% of subordinate clauses like (2) display a rising-falling prosodic configuration, which is also widely attested in insubordinate clauses conveying 'denial of an assumption'. This finding supports Van linden/Van de Velde's (2014) hypothesis of insubordination arising through a process of hypoanalysis (Croft 2000) and shows that speakers do reanalyse this contextual meaning as an inherent functional property of the subordinating conjunction, allowing insubordinate clauses to appear in discourse.

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CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF CLIMATE-RELATED NEOLOGISMS REGISTERED IN GERMAN AND FRENCH WIKIPEDIA

Keywords German; French; neologisms; contrastive analysis; climate; environment; Wikipedia; discourse analysis

Neologisms represent new social norms, tendencies, controversies and attitudes. They denote new or changed concepts which are constantly being negotiated between different members of the discourse community (Wodak 2022 and Catalano/Waugh (eds.) 2020). Neologisms help to identify new communicative patterns and narratives which illustrate different strings of discourse in everyday life. In recent years, many neologisms relating to the subject of the environment and climate have been emerging around the world mainly due to dominant discussions on climate change and the movement "Fridays for Future". In German, for example, neologisms such as *Klimakleber*, *klimaresilient* and *globaler Streik* and in French neologisms such as *éco-anxiété*, *justice climatique* and *écocitoyen* could be observed. These neologisms occur in many domains of life, for example in politics, media and also in advertising, which means that "l'importance croissante des enjeux environnementaux dans les discours politiques, médiatiques et publicitaires" (Balnat/Gérard 2022, p. 22) can be identified. However, it is not only the occurrence of environment- or climate-related topics that is increasing, but also the rising polarisation of the public debate. The polarisation within public discourse is based on the fact that there are opposing positions which are represented by new or recently relevant terms such as *activistes du climat* (or *Klimaaktivisten*) and *climatosceptiques* (or *Klimaskeptiker*) (Balnat/Gérard 2022, p. 22). Due to different identifications with one or the other side, one can also speak of an "affrontement idéologique" (Balnat/Gérard 2022, p. 23).[1]

The explosive nature and the high complexity of the debate on climate and the environmental issues mean that many words are naturally unfamiliar to people. This is especially true with regard to neologisms. In addition, it is often not only the new word itself but also the signified concept that is initially unknown. When people then look up words, they often do so on the Internet. Wikipedia as a "free encyclopedia" (Wikipedia 2023) is particularly well suited as an object of study with regard to neologisms, since factual knowledge is given special attention there. Furthermore, this reference guide is perceived as a regular source of agreed and common knowledge on all sorts of subjects. Hence, the descriptions found here represent social agreement on controversial terms and discussions to some degree.

In this paper, German and French neologisms from the subject area of climate and environment will be examined primarily in Wikipedia, but also in the neighbouring resource Wiktionary,[2] which is "a collaborative project to produce a free-content multilingual dictionary" (Wiktionary 2023). Since Wikipedia and Wiktionary are available in French and in German,

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[1] For similar discussions in different discourses also see Baker (2005) and Baker/Gabrielatos/McEnery (2013).

[2] Wiktionary offers the advantage that it can display the dictionary content sorted onomasiologically, so that, for example, the *Lexique en français de l'écologie* can be searched targetably.

both are equally suitable for the contrastive analysis. Thus, Wikipedia articles which are accessible in both languages (e.g. *Klimanotstand* and État d›urgence climatique) or Wikipedia articles about similar events and phenomena (e.g. *Letzte Generation* and *Dernière Rénovation*) will be compared. For example, we will have a closer look at other new terms specifying different thematic aspects of the discourse of climate and environment. We will mainly refer to those lexical items which can be found in the respective articles in both languages. Special emphasis will be on overlaps and differences, thematic foci, speaker's positions and evaluative terms.

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SYNTACTIC INDETERMINACY ON EITHER SIDE OF COMPLEMENTATION
Why can it be so persistent?

Slavic languages provide ample evidence for evaluative adverbs recategorized as complement-taking predicates (CTP) with finite clauses headed by default complementizers (COMP), e.g. Pol. że 'that' (see 1–2; Wiemer 2019, pp. 128–150). Such 'predicative adverbs' form a productive class. Many of them are highly frequent at least in Polish (Przepiórkowski/Patejuk 2021, p. 844), where this pattern (= P-I) extends to expressions of confirmation or denial (see 3). On the other hand, we encounter structures with an unequivocal CTP followed by an apparent complementizer and a directive-optative marker (DIR; Pol. *niech*, Russ. *pust'*); see (4). This pattern (= P-II) includes cases in which only clause-initial DIR follows on an unequivocal CTP, so that it resembles a complementizer (see 5). If P-II reads like a quotative construction, Pol. że hardly qualifies as a complementizer. Moreover, P-I and P-II can even be intertwined (see 6), so that, again, the evaluative lexemes may either be treated as sentence adverbs (i.e. propositional or illocutionary operators) or as CTPs on their own (as in 1–3), whereas COMP behaves like a quotative marker. While such different treatments are highly theory-dependent, and one wonders about their positions in CP-areas discussed in formal frameworks (e.g., Meyer 2007; Krapova 2021), they affect neither the scope relations between COMP, DIR and the evaluative lexeme, nor information structure. Probably this is why speakers do not have problems in (re)producing them.

All these patterns prove persistent over centuries in Polish, Russian and other Slavic languages. They show that clausal complementation can be indeterminate "on either side" of the juncture: sentence adverbs, on the "left side", unanimously become CTPs only if, on the "right side", a linking element acknowledged as complementizer (e.g., Pol. że) is used to flag the complement relation (= P-I). However the latter can also turn into a quotative marker (see P-II), while without this element DIR-morphemes acquire properties of complementizers if the left context contains an expression that suits as a CTP.

I will check whether the persistence of such indeterminacy applies particularly to less frequent patterns, which evade clear-cut syntactic categorization. I will propose a usage-based explanation, ask which approaches are able to capture this kind of indeterminacy, and present a comprehensive analysis of patterns P-I and P-II with data from Polish and Russian corpora of the 17th-21st centuries (see list under References). More specific questions to be pursued are: (i) Can the quotative behavior of Pol. że (see 4, 6) be identified with a stage before this morpheme "split" into different lexemes (żequot, żecomp, or even more) distinguished by their syntactic behavior (cf. Guz 2019, Ch. 4)? If yes, how did P-II come about in Russian, whose complementizer (čto) has a different history (as a WH-word)? (ii) How widespread has syntactic indeterminacy of sentence adverbs with clausal complements been? For this purpose, I will use random samples to compare their occurrence with and without COMP (see 7a–7b); indeterminacy obtains in the latter case, since the sentence adverb may alternatively be understood as a parenthetical comment (see 7b).

Examples

(1) Pol.	*Przykro* [*Źle / Smutno*], *że nie udało się uratować sosen.* sorry [bad / sad] COMP NEG Vfin 'I'm sorry [It is bad / sad] **that** we did not manage to save the pines.' (PNC; from Przepiórkowski/Patejuk 2021, p. 839, adapted)	predicative adverb **(P-I)**
(2) Pol.	*Smutna nasza rodzina... – Smutna, dlatego lepiej* **że** *nosisz inne nazwisko.* better COMP Vfin 'Our family is sad... – Sad, so **better that** you have a different surname.' (PNC; 1991)	
(3) Pol.	*Przyjdziesz dziś? – Oczywiście / Pewnie / Naturalnie,* **że** *przyjdę.* of course / certainly / naturally COMP Vfin 'Will you come today? – Of course / Sure, **(that)** I will come' (Wiśniewski 1995)	
(4) Pol.	*Stary* <u>*odpowiedział*</u>, **że** **niech** *nawet w więzieniu zgnije.* CTP COMP DIR Vfin 'The old man replied **that may** he rot even in prison.' (PNC; 1988 [1937])	COMP-DIR **(P-II)**
(5) Pol.	<u>*Powiedz*</u> *mu, niech jutro przyjdzie do kantoru.* CTP DIR Vfin '<u>Tell</u> him, **may** he come to the cantor tomorrow.' (PNC; 1898)	DIR = COMP ?
(6) Pol.	*doskonale* <u>*zdawał sobie sprawę*</u> **że** **lepiej niech** *pisze ksiażki* CTP COMP better DIR Vfin 'he was well aware that he had better write books' (lit. '...that better may he write books') (PNC; 2007)	**P-I + P-II**
(7a) Ru.	*Bylo* **vidno,** *čto ona serditsja.* be.PST.N obvious COMP Vfin 'It was **obvious** <u>that</u> she was angry.' (RNC; 2004)	+ COMP
(7b) Ru.	**Vidno,** *Fomičeva vyda*ёt *želaemoe za dejstvitel'noe.* obvious Vfin '**Obviously**, Fomičeva gives out wishful thinking.' (RNC; 2003)	– COMP

For online sources, please state the date of access in brackets (last access: 8 March 2023). Please activate all hyperlinks.

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CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF MODERN GREEK AND FRENCH CONVERBS

Keywords Comparative linguistics; grammaticalisation; converb; participle; verbal adverb; modern Greek; French

My research is a contrastive analysis of modern Greek and French converbs. The modern Greek converb is a descendant of the ancient Greek active present participle, which has become a non-finite verbal adverb, while the present participle has almost been lost. On the other hand, in French there are two verbal forms that can act as converbs, the gerund and (some uses of) the present participle. They both end with the suffix *-ant*, although they originate from distinct Latin verbal forms: the gerund comes from the ablative case of Latin gerund, while the present participle comes from Latin present participle; the two forms were confused until 17th century.

Although there is a rich bibliography as far as the two French verbal forms are concerned, the existent bibliography on Greek verbal adverb focuses mostly on its syntactic properties, while its meaning properties are not adequately explored. This seems to be a complicated issue, due to the verbal adverb's innate polysemy or vague meaning. Its interpretation in any utterance is accomplished along with other factors as well, such as the syntactic position, the informational weight, the tense, and the aspect of the main verb, the Aktionsart of the two interacting verbal forms and other pragmatic factors.

Therefore, the method I used was to make a list of possible interpretations of French gerund and present participle, according to the aforementioned co-textual factors, Then I analyzed a corpus of approximately 200 occurrences of Greek written and oral utterances containing a verbal adverb, in order to find out if they match the French meanings. The result is that Greek verbal adverbs have a very wide variety of semantic nuances (temporal, causal, resultative, intentional, conditional, concessional, concomitant meaning), which match the meanings of the French gerund, but also include the meanings of the French present participle, except from when it is used as a nominal modifier.

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IS GERMAN THE UGLIEST LANGUAGE IN EUROPE?

An empirical study about the aesthetic perception of languages

If you are alive, you are likely to have at the very least once taken part in a conversation about the pleasantness or unpleasantness of different languages. What hides behind this popular topic from a scientific point of view? Does the fact that some languages seem to be consistently judged more harshly (e.g. German) or more positively (e.g. Italian) than others mean that they are intrinsically uglier or more pleasant? Is French naturally beautiful and Dutch naturally unpleasant? And why does German seem to always be on top of the ugly-list?

Based on this set of observations and taking into account previous research on the topic, the study examines how German is aesthetically perceived in the European area and what lies behind this perception from a linguistics point of view (which social components play which role; whether there is something inherent). The German language is viewed from the external perspective of non-speakers and non-native speakers of German depending, among other factors, on their mother tongue, while also taking into account the self-perception of native speakers.

The study addresses the abovementioned research questions by combining qualitative and quantitative research methods. On the one hand, various instances of the phenomenon of linguistic judgements (e.g. from social networks, literature, magazines/newspapers, TV shows, movies) were documented, compared with existing cultural standards, stereotypes and historical circumstances and categorized accordingly. On the other hand, a Europe-wide online survey was carried out with 2296 subjects and a special focus on the UK, Poland, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Germany and Austria. The data collection was followed by a statistical evaluation.

Respondents with Polish mother tongue expressed particularly negative opinions about the aesthetics of the German language compared to the others. Most positive opinions came from Latvian and English native speakers. The data reveals a picture of the German language as a "logical", "systematic", "hard", "angular" and rather "unmelodic" language. When asked directly/explicitly, however, a positive general opinion of German prevailed among the participants. Moreover, the data showed a clear connection between the perception of shapes and languages. For example, the German language was consistently associated with angular shapes, and the French language, on the other hand, with round shapes. This evidence speaks for a reassessment of the previously rather discarded *inherent value hypothesis* (cf. Giles et al. 1974) and thus of the role of cognitive processes interacting with the socially constructed side of language perception in the formation of language attitudes.

This contribution is relevant to: 1) a better understanding of language-related cognition processes in general and a deeper awareness of their social implications and value; 2) the achievement of a better understanding of the social and political landscape of Europe and the perceived role of Germany through the indirect tool of research on language attitudes; 3) the determination of a methodological starting point for further surveys on the subject, which could form a basis for the future development of innovative methods, e.g. in the context of intercultural training or language didactics.

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PROPOSITIONAL ARGUMENTS IN ENGLISH, GERMAN, HUNGARIAN, ITALIAN AND POLISH

Keywords Propositional argument; clause union; English; German; Hungarian; Italian; Polish

Background and goal

In many European languages, propositional arguments (PAs) can be realized as different types of structures. Cross-linguistically, complex structures with PAs show a systematic correlation between the strength of the semantic bond and the syntactic union (cf. Givón 2001; Wurmbrand/Lohninger 2023). Also, different languages show similarities with respect to the (lexical) licensing of different PAs (cf. Noonan 1985; Givón 2001; Cristofaro 2003 on different predicate types). However, on a more fine-grained level, a variation across languages can be observed both with respect to the syntactic-semantic properties of PAs as well as to their licensing and usage. This presentation takes a multi-contrastive view of different types of PAs as syntactic subjects and objects by looking at five European languages: EN, DE, IT, PL and HU. Our goal is to identify the parameters of variation in the clausal domain with PAs and by this to contribute to a better understanding of the individual language systems on the one hand and the nature of the linguistic variation in the clausal domain on the other hand.

Phenomena and Methodology: We investigate the following types of PAs: direct object (DO) clauses (1), prepositional object (PO) clauses (2), subject clauses (3), and nominalizations (4, 5). Additionally, we discuss clause union phenomena (6, 7). The analyzed parameters include among others finiteness, linear position of the PA, (non) presence of a correlative element, (non) presence of a complementizer, lexical-semantic class of the embedding verb. The phenomena are analyzed based on corpus data (using mono- and multilingual corpora), experimental data (acceptability judgement surveys) or introspective data.

Selected results

i. As to finite DO clauses, they may exhibit complementizers that indicate subordination. Whereas DE *dass*/*ob*, EN *that*/*whether*/*if*, IT *che*/*se*, and PL *że*(*by*)/*czy* indicate additionally a clause type, HU *hogy* only marks subordination. While *that*, *che* und *hogy* are omissible under certain conditions, *dass* and *że*(*by*) are not. Regarding infinite clauses, DE and HU do not have any complementizer contrary to EN *for*/*whether*, IT *di*/*se* and PL *żeby*/*czy*. In DE, EN, IT, and HU, there are infinitives co-occurring with an accusative NP, forming thus a small clause. In PL, on the other hand, the accusative NP co-occurs with a present participle, just like in EN gerundial constructions.

ii. The main variation parameter in the field of PO clauses concerns the way the preposition is syntactically realized: it attaches either to the clause directly or to a pro-form, which syntactically relates to the clause. In the first case, a PO containing a clause is analogous to one containing an NP (North Germanic and Romance). In contrast to the latter case, prepo-

sitions in clausal POs can or must often be omitted. Since an omitted preposition can be made "visible" under certain conditions, EN and IT are to be subsumed under this type as well, e.g., (2), Gunkel/Hartmann (2020, 2021). In the second case, pronouns (HU, PL and other Slavic languages) or adverbs (DE) appear as pro-forms. Here, the main intra- and interlingual variation concerns the question, whether or not the pro-form forms a constituent together with the clause.

iii. The behavior of clausal subjects is very consistent across the compared languages as far as their pre-/post-verbal position and the embedding predicates are concerned. In all languages, cognition and emotion predicates occur most frequently with post-verbal subject clauses (3a), whereas the connective predicates show preferences for preverbal position (3b), (Fig. 1). This can be explained by the difference in the argument/thematic structure underlying these verb classes (experiencer=object / stimulus=subject vs. cause=subject / effect=object) (cf. Haiman 1980; Kaltenböck 2004; Diessel 2008 on the logical order of events and iconicity of sequence).

iv. In all languages investigated, PAs can be realized by expressions that show nominal properties (e. g. nominalized infinitives (4a, 5a), gerunds, verbal nouns). These are, to some extent, able to preserve verbal internal structures (5a). As with verbal PAs, complex structures with nominalized PAs can show a systematic correlation between both syntactic and semantic dimensions, although the mechanisms of verbal and nominal argument linking, and realization preferences are subject to variation both across and within languages (4, 5).

v. In a cross-linguistic perspective, there is a tendency for verbs of modality and evidentiality as well as temporal auxiliaries to undergo clause union. However, focusing on syntax, we must deal with different language features and, what's more, with diverging criteria used to posit a close or a loose connection between verbs constituting a verbal complex. HU modal *kell*, for instance, allows a finite clause with a complementizer (7), whereas corresponding DE *müssen* governs bare infinitive of the full verb (6).

Conclusions: The results confirm the hypothesis of the correlation between the syntactic and semantic dimensions of structures with PAs at a general level. At the same time, they show a number of variations on closer inspection.
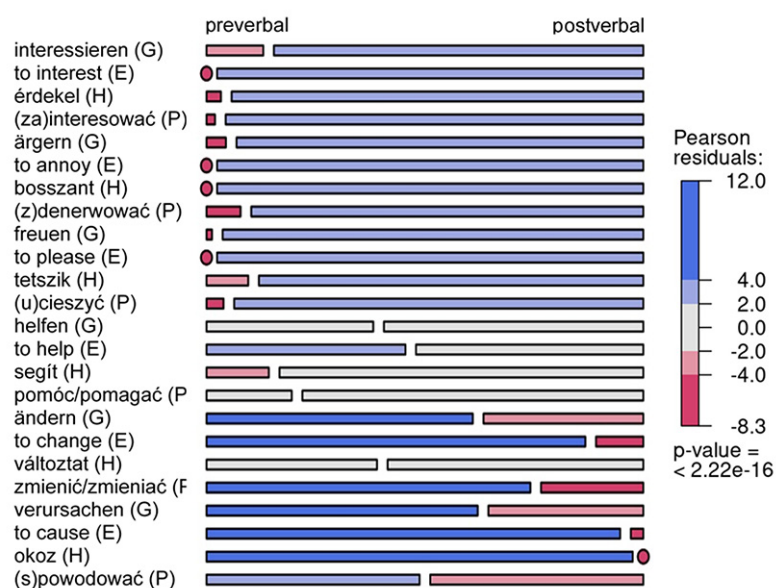
Fig. 1

Examples

(1)   I think [that you may be right].

(2a)   She insisted that he was innocent.
(2b)   That he is innocent was insisted on (by her).

(3a)   Then it pleases me to be the first.
(3b)   My son, to see you again causes my heart to soar like a hawk.

(4)   DE
(4a)   Das DRK ruft zum Spenden von Blut / zum Blutspenden auf.
        'The German Red Cross calls for donating blood.'
        *zum   Spenden   *(von) Blut   / Blutspenden*
        for:the:M   donate:INF of   blood blood_donate:INF
(4b)   […] ruft zur Spende von Blut / zur Blutspende auf.
        *zur   Spende   *(von) Blut   / Blutspende*
        for:the:F   donation   of   blood blood_donation

(5)   IT
(5a)   La terapia iperbarica consiste nel respirare ossigeno puro.
        'Hyperbaric therapy consists of breathing pure oxygen.'
        *nel   respirare   (*di) ossigeno*
        in:the:M   breath:INF   of   oxygen
(5b)   […] consiste nella respirazione di ossigeno puro.
        *nella   respirazione *(di) ossigeno*
        in:the:F   respiration   of   oxygen

(6)   DE
        Ich   muss   diesen Film   gucken.
        1SG   must;1SG   this   film   watch:INF
        'I must watch this film.'

(7)   HU
        Meg   kell   hogy   nézzem   ezt   a   filmet.
        PART   must   COMP   watch:SBJV:1SG.DEF   this:ACC   the film:ACC
        'I must watch this film.'

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FIGURATIVE POLYSEMY
Insights into the lexicon from a contrastive perspective

Figurative polysemy ((3a)/(3c) vs. (1a)/(2a)) is pervasive. Though often studied from a language specific or general cognitive (e.g., Lakoff/Johnson 2003) perspective, we show that contrastive data offers deeper insights. We explain similarities and differences in patterns of figurative verb polysemy in English vs. Spanish by distinguishing polysemy anchored in grammar (specifically the event- or scale-structure of the verb) vs. conceptual (or "root") content.

Rappaport Hovav/Levin (1998) and others argue that verbs have distinct "templatic" and "root" meaning. What these components correspond to and to distinguish them is a matter of debate, but one thing that is clear is that verbs that are uncontroversially treated as translation equivalents can vary in their respective event structures. For example, *sweep* and *barrer* are treated as equivalents in the IDS database (Key/Comrie (eds.) 2015), yet while *sweep* has the event structure of an activity verb (Levin/Rappaport Hovav 1991), *barrer* describes a complex telic event (Auza/Maldonado 2005). The difference is seen in (1b) vs. (2b): *sweep*, unlike *barrer*, only allows the locatum participant to appear as direct object in the presence of an additional resultative phrase (1c); moreover, (1a) and (2a) have subtly different implications concerning change in the location argument.

One reason to consider these verbs conceptual counterparts is their similar figurative extensions: e.g., both describe victory (3) or generic removal (4). However, we show that the differences in event structure as well as in options for event composition induce differences in figurative extensions. For example, variation in conditions on the licensing of a locatum object explains the contrast in (3) and the need for a resultative in the translation of (4).

However, sometimes two verbs in different languages share event structure and differ only in details of root content, e.g., in their selectional restrictions. In such cases, the verbs will be translation equivalents and describe the same types of situations only if their respective restrictions can be met. *Tear* and *rasgar*, which denote comparable changes of state resulting in some loss of integrity via separation, exemplify.

Though we have not found differences in their event structures *tear* and *rasgar* differ in the selectional restrictions on the affected object: for *rasgar*, it must be an unsubstantial material, excluding, e.g., thick substances (6c). *Tear* is not so restricted: It takes thick solids (6b), and strongly implies that the separation involves force in opposing directions – cf. the oddness of the translation with *tear* in (6a). These differences in root content surface in figurative meanings: While both verbs can describe figurative separation/destruction (if sometimes with a resultative in English, cf. (7)), only *tear* allows uses exploiting force in opposed directions, e.g., in describing contrary feelings (cp. (8a–b)) or figurative destruction (9).

A contrastive perspective is crucial to understanding crosslinguistic variation in verb polysemy. Our account highlights the need to treat event structural and conceptual content as distinct, if related.

Examples

(1a)   Patxi swept the floor
(1b)   #Patxi swept the sand
(1c)   Patxi swept the sand away/into a pile

(2a)   *Patxi   barr-ió   el   suelo*
    Patxi   sweep-PST.3SG   the   floor
    'Patxi swept the floor.'

(2b)   *Patxi   barr-ió   la   arena*
    Patxi   sweep-PST.3SG   the   sand
    'Patxi swept the sand.'

(3a)   *El   Madrid barr-ió   al   Maccabi (79-53)* (CdE)[1]
    The   Madrid sweep-PST.3SG the   Maccabi (79-53) 'Madrid beat Maccabi (79-53)'
(3b)   #Madrid swept Maccabi (79-53)
(3c)   To sweep a series at this time of year […] feels pretty good (COCA)[2]

(4)   *esa   revolución que barrer*-á   *todo vestigio   de esclavitud* (CdE)
    this   revolution that sweep-FUT.3SG   all   vestiges   of slavery
    'that revolution that will sweep #(away) all vestiges of slavery'

(5a)   Hungry sea lions tore the nets (COCA)
(5b)   *Rasg*-ó   *la   red   que   lo   reten*-ía (Internet)
    tear-PST.3SG   the   net   that   3SG.ACC   withhold-IPFV.3SG
    'He tore the net that held him'

(6a)   *si uno rasg-a   el barniz*   nuevo
    if   one tear-PRS.3SG   the varnish   new
    'If one scratches/#tears off the new varnish'
(6b)   When you tear a piece of bread (Internet)
(6c)   *#Cuando rasgas un trozo de pan*

(7)   *una discusión que rasg*-ó   *la   sociedad* (CdE)
    a   argument that tear-PST.3SG   the   society
    'an argument that tore the society apart'

(8a)   Martin was torn about the relationship (COCA)
(8b)   #Martin estaba rasgado por la relaci**ó**n

(9)   People tore the performance apart (Internet)

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MULTIPLE-MARKING SVCS
Multiple exponence vs. reduced adverbial clauses

The multiple realization of Tense, Mood, and Aspect (TMA) in multiple-marking serial verb constructions (SVCs) presents a challenge for the monoclausal analysis of such constructions, as inflectional morphology is commonly associated with clausal structures. Recently, Rolle (2020) shows that multiple TMA-marking in Degema (Benue-Congo) does not reflect underlying syntactic complexity such as a bi-clausal structure but is instead an instance of multiple exponence of a single TMA category on each verb in a monoclausal one governed by morphophonological constraints, e.g. by the presence of an intervening phonological "heavy" object (1) (cf. Harris 2017).

Based on existing corpus and novel data from the field, we revisit the status of multiple-marking SVCs from the perspective of the Oceanic language Daakaka in this talk. By examining their morphosyntactic and prosodic properties, we demonstrate that multiple-marking SVCs in this language are best analyzed as structurally reduced adverbial clauses, distinct from both monoclausal SVCs and "true" bi-clausal covert coordination. Cross-linguistically, we argue that multiple-marking SVCs are therefore not a uniform phenomenon (cf. Bickerton 1982), with further implications for the typology of multi-verb constructions.

Daakaka (Oceanic) exhibits both single and multiple-marking SVCs (von Prince 2015). In contrast to Degema, the distribution of single or multiple TMA-marking is not sensitive to the position of the object nor must the two TMA-markers share their values (3). This is illustrated in (4) where the initial verb is marked for realis while the non-initial verb is marked for irrealis mood, indicating that the resulting state has not been reached yet. Despite distinct TMA-marking, the non-initial verb does not exhibit full clausal properties as subject agreement or the assertion marker *ka* (3) are infelicitous (3) (cf. Miyagawa 2017; Krifka 2016). Therefore, we argue that multiple-marking SVCs in Daakaka involve the adjunction of a reduced adverbial clause.

Multiple-marking SVCs in Daakaka thus somewhat resemble clause-chaining constructions in languages like Matukar Panau (Oceanic) in which clauses are linked by dependent forms of TMA-markers instead of conjunctions (4) (Mansfield/Barth 2021; cf. Weisser 2017). Yet, both constructions differ in their prosodic integration: While Mansfield/Barth (2021) show that each dependent clause in a clause-chaining construction is mapped onto its own clause-level intonational phrase (IP), our pilot study on Daakaka multiple-marking SVCs suggests a IP; a defining property of SVCs (Givon 1991). As a result, multi-verb constructions form a continuum that can be established based on their syntactic and prosodic integration (Table 1), for which we offer an analysis at the syntax/prosody interface (Selkirk 2011).

Examples

(1)   Degema
(1a)   *ovó   nú   **mi=ḍúw**   tá=**an**?*
        who   that   1SG=follow   go=FACT
        'Who did I go with?' (Rolle 2020, p. 214)
(1b)   **mi=ḍúw=n**   *óvo   **mị=tá=an**?*
        1SG=follow=FACT   who   1SG=go=FACT
        'I went with who?' (Rolle 2020, p. 215)

(2)   Daakaka
(2a)   *Bong   **ma**   ta   mwelili-ane lee   ente.*
        Bong   REAL   cut.INTR   be.small-TR   tree   DEM
        'Bong made the tree small by cutting it.'
(2b)   *Bong   **ma**   te   (lee   ente)   **ma**   mwelili.*
        Bong   REAL   cut.TR   tree   DEM   REAL   be.small
        'Bong cut the tree small.'

(3)   Daakaka
        ***Mwe**   pyaos   vyan   #(ka)   **we**   tum~tum-ane   ar   an   […].*
        REAL   row   go   ASR   POT   RED~be.right-TR   place   ART
        'He rowed straight to the place […].' (von Prince 2015, p. 318)

(4)   Matukar Panau
        *i   samer   pilau-**ma**   i   y-a-**ma**   lul=te   i   tor-**ago**.*
        3SG   sago.leaf   put.on-D.HAB   3SG   3SG-go-D.HAB   beach=LOC   3SG   walk-I.REAL.IPFV
        'She puts on her sago leaf, she goes down to the beach, and walks around.'
        (Mansfield/Barth 2021, p. 423)

	single-marking SVCs	multiple-marking SVCs (mult. exp.)	multiple-marking SVCs (red. claus.)	clause-chaining construction	covert coordination
multiple TMA values	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
distinct TMA values	no	no	yes	yes	yes
independent TMA values	no	no	no	no	yes
bi-clausal prosody	no	no	no	yes	yes

Table 1: TMA and prosodic marking in various multi-verb constructions

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UNIPLEX/MULTIPLEX PAIRS AND FREQUENCY ASYMMETRIES IN GENERAL NUMBER LANGUAGES

Keywords Number; frequency; plurative; singulative; general number language

Background

This paper examines uniplex/multiplex pairs of nouns across languages. The terms *uniplex* and *multiplex* are used here as notional concepts (Talmy 1988). Uniplex nominals denote a single entity, while multiplex nominals denote a set of multiple entities. In number-marking languages, uniplex and multiplex nominals receive different marking. In English, for example, multiplex nominals are expressed by overt plurative forms, as in (1). In Welsh, by contrast, uniplex nominals are overtly marked by singulative forms, as in (2).

(1)　　　English
(1a)　　*dog-ø*　　　(uniplex meaning, basic form)
(1b)　　*dog-s*　　　(multiplex meaning, plurative form)

(2)　　　Welsh (Haspelmath/Karjus 2017, p. 1214)
(2a)　　*pys-en* 'pea'　　(uniplex meaning, singulative form)
(2b)　　*pys-ø* 'peas'　　(multiplex meaning, basic form)

Haspelmath/Karjus (2017) propose that these coding asymmetries can be explained with reference to usage frequency (see also Zipf 1935; Fenk-Oczlon 1991; Hawkins 2004; Haspelmath 2008). Namely, more coding is used for less frequent meanings: across languages, plurative-prominent meanings (i.e., noun meanings that are fre-quently expressed by plura-tive lexemes) tend to occur frequently in uniplex use, while singulative-prominent meanings (noun meanings that are frequently expressed by singulative lexemes) tend to occur frequently in multiplex use (Haspelmath/Karjus 2017, p. 1219). Empirically, Haspelmath/Karjus (2017) provide corpus evidence from five number-marking languages (English, Estonian, Latvian, Norwegian, and Russian).

Research questions

This paper is a replication and extension study of Haspelmath/Karjus (2017) from a contrastive linguistic perspective. Crucially, we test their hypothesis not only against languages with obligatory number marking but also against general number languages, "in which the meaning of the noun can be expressed without reference to number" (Corbett 2000, p. 10).

The present paper seeks to address two research questions.

[A] Is Haspelmath/Karjus' (2017) hypothesis replicated in other languages with obligatory number marking, including singulative languages such as Sinhala?

[B] Are singulative-prominent lexemes more frequently used with a multiplex meaning than with a uniplex meaning even in general number languages?

Methods

To answer these two questions, we examined large corpora from four number-marking languages (Hindi, Sinhala, Spanish, and Swedish) and seven general number languages (Bengali, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Tagalog, Turkish, and Quechua) (Table 1). Following Haspelmath/Karjus (2017), we analysed the frequencies of 18 lexemes in each language: EAR, LEG, LUNG, GLOVE, SHOE, SKI, APPLE, POTATO, STRAWBERRY, BEE, PIGEON, SHEEP, CHILD, BOY, GIRL, EUROPEAN, AMERICAN, SPEAKER OF (THE RESPECTIVE LANGUAGE). These lexemes are singulative-prominent in the sense that they crosslinguistically tend to receive singulative marking. In addition, we looked at 18 random lexemes in each language, with the hypothesis that random lexemes would not exhibit the same usage patterns as the 18 singulative-prominent lexemes.

Language	Language family	Language type	Corpus
Hindi	Indo-European	plurative	hiTenTen17
Spanish	Indo-European	plurative	esTenTen18
Swedish	Indo-European	plurative	svTenTen14
Sinhala	Indo-European	singulative	OpenSubtitles 2018
Bengali	Indo-European	general number	bnWaC
Indonesian	Austronesian	general number	tufs_web_2012
Japanese	Japonic	general number	BCCWJ
Korean	Koreanic	general number	koTenTen18
Tagalog	Austronesian	general number	tlTenTen19
Turkish	Turkic	general number	trTenTen12
Quechua	Quechuan	general number	Wikipedia

Table 1: Samples of languages analysed in this study

Coding and annotation

For number-marking languages, we counted the number of basic and derived (i.e., plurative or singulative) forms of nouns. For general number languages, we took 40 random samples of each noun from the corpus and manually annotated the counts of semantically uniplex and multiplex nouns.

To capture the difference between the counts, an "asymmetry index" with a range of −1…1 was used, where negative values indicate dominant uniplex usage, and positive values dominant multiplex usage (Haspelmath/Karjus 2017, p. 1225).

Results

The preliminary findings of our study are presented in Figures 1 and 2, where 'R' marks the random lexemes. Note that Figures 1 and 2 are tentative and subject to further analysis and validation.
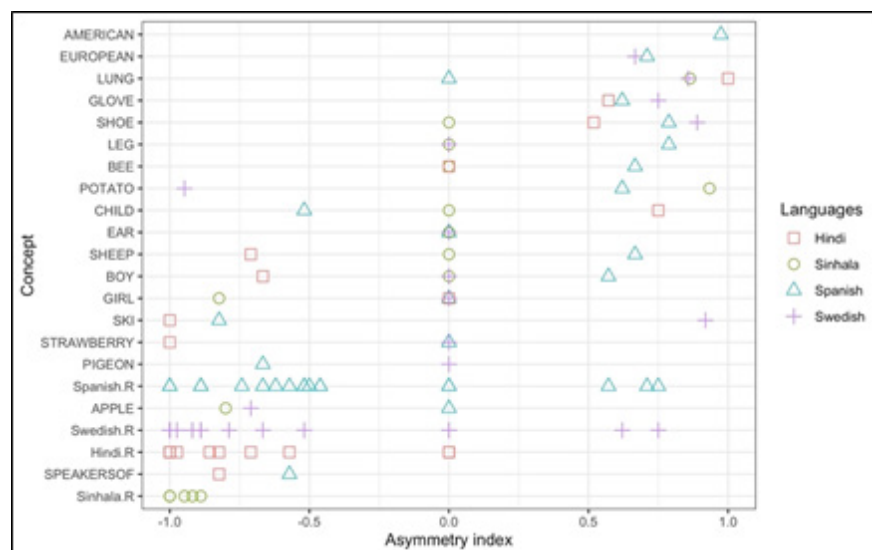
Fig. 1:   The asymmetry index in number-marking languages
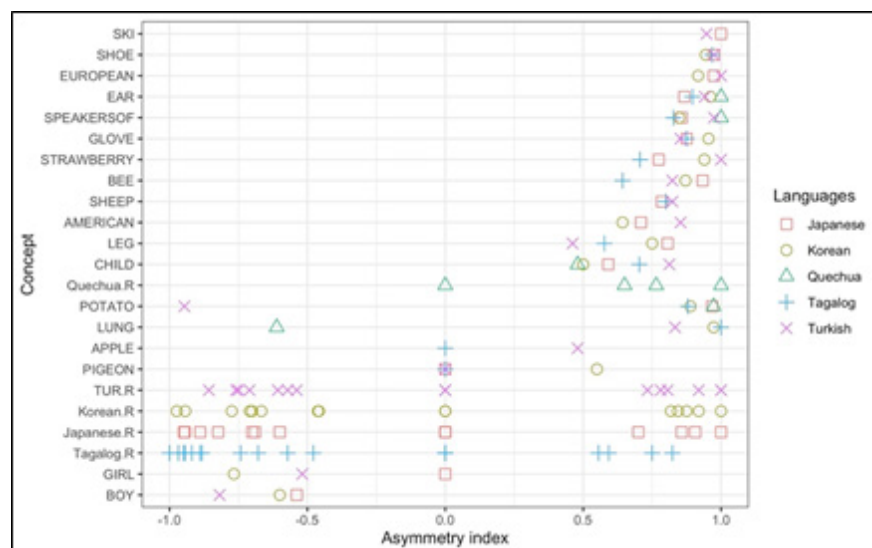
Fig. 2:   The asymmetry index in general number languages

Figure 1 shows that, in the number-marking languages we examined (Hindi, Spanish, and Swedish), most singulative-prominent lexemes tend to be more frequent in plurative forms than in basic forms, compared to randomly sampled nouns. It also indicates that, in Sinhala, the singulative-prominent lexemes tend to appear more frequently in basic forms than in singulative forms, compared to randomly sampled nouns.

Figure 2 summarises the results of the general number languages we examined (Japanese, Korean, Tagalog, Turkish, and Quechua). It shows that the singulative-prominent lexemes strongly tend to be more frequently employed in a multiplex sense than in a uniplex sense, compared to randomly sampled nouns.

Discussion

The above results show that the answer to both research questions [A] and [B] is yes. First, Haspelmath/Karjus' (2017) hypothesis is replicated in Hindi, Sinhala, Spanish, and Swedish and proves to be a robust hypothesis. Importantly, this is the first study to demonstrate that singulative-prominent lexemes are more frequently expressed by basic forms than by singulative (derived) forms in a singulative language like Sinhala. These findings are consistent with the predictions made by Haspelmath/Karjus (2017), providing further support for the validity and generalisability of their findings.

Second, this study also shows that general number languages exhibit the same kind of frequency asymmetries as number-marking languages, even though they lack form distinctions between uniplex and multiplex forms. Thus, by contrasting two different types of languages, this study suggests that frequency asymmetries between uniplex and multiplex nouns universally exist, although they do not always result in coding asymmetries.

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IS CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS POSSIBLE WITHOUT A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK?

This paper aims at discussing the relationship between Contrastive Linguistics (CL) and theoretical linguistic frameworks as viewed from an historical perspective.

The coiner of the term "contrastive linguistics", Benjamin Lee Whorf, is usually not mentioned in histories of CL. For instance, Carl James leaves out Whorf in his *Contrastive Analysis* (1980), probably because of the bad reputation of the so-called "Sapir-Whorf hypothesis". However, although in the following decades linguistic relativism is rejected in favor of a general theory of language, CL is mainly considered a means of comparison between languages that neither requires a theoretical framework nor can contribute to linguistic theory in an original way.

This tendency of regarding CL as neutral to theoretical frameworks can be traced back to Charles Fries' Preface to Robert Lado's (1957) *Linguistics across Cultures*, who says that "this book, arising out of [Lado's] long and fruitful experience, presents a practical approach to the kind of systematic linguistic, cultural comparisons that must form the basis of satisfactory teaching materials for the new approach", thus emphasizing the "practical" nature of contrasting languages. Many decades later, in formulating the essential components of CL König suggests that "[t]he challenge for Contrastive Analysis lies in discovering the contrasts and describing them in a maximally general way and not in the choice of a specific theoretical format. Its *explanandum* is the contrasts between languages" (2012, pp. 21–23). However, if this *explanandum* exists, there is need for an *explanans*.

The aims of the present investigation are: (a) to examine CL research since its beginning and discuss how different theoretical frameworks influenced the kind of contrastive linguistic work through time (see among others Ebeling/Ebeling 2013) and (b) to claim that comparing languages is impossible outside a theoretical point of view (functional, formal, or else) that each scholar or school of thought adopts, either explicitly or implicitly (a similar view is expressed by Coseriu 1970).

For (a) to be investigated, significant CL works from successive frameworks are examined, namely: a) Krzeszowski 1978; 1990; Van Buren 1980 and Lipinska 1980 in the context of generative theory, b) research in the context of functional typology (e.g. König 1996), following the "typological turn" and c) contrastive studies of discourse features (e.g. Lefer/Vogeleer (eds.) 2016), which result from the meeting of CL with corpus linguistics since the 1990s (cf. Enghels/Defrancq/Jansegers 2020, p. 1).

For (b) to be investigated, a case study of the definite articles in Greek and Italian is briefly discussed (Giannoulopoulou 2016). It is argued that the contrastive description of the different distribution of the definite article in each language depends on the theoretical framework applied. It is argued that the presence or the absence of the definite article (e.g. before proper names) is analyzed in different ways according to the framework followed (formal or functional), with important consequences both for linguistic explanation and further applications (e.g. in language teaching).

The relationship of CL to theoretical frameworks raises epistemological issues too and seems to prove Willems' (1997) assertion that the scientific study of language is "an unstable equilibrium between changing argumentation and undeniable historical roots".

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THE ENCODING OF INDEFINITE HUMAN REFERENCE
In Chinese/English aligned translation

This corpus-based investigation is concerned with the Chinese sequence *yǒu rén* [exist person(s)]. From both a structural and semantic-functional perspective, *yǒu rén* can be considered the minimal existential-presentational construction (for existential sentences see McNally 2011, p. 1830; Koch 2012; Bentley/Ciconte/Cruschina 2015; Creissels 2019; Sarda/Lena in press, and references therein). In this sense, it relates to the broader class of *yǒu* existential-presentational constructions, that may include other types of nominals in the postcopular position (see Chao 1968, pp. 727–729; Li/Thompson 1981, 510, among many others). On the other hand, *yǒu rén* is the unmarked option available in Chinese to express indefinite human reference, and as such it plays the role of indefinite pronouns in languages such as English. Due to its high frequency, Xiao/Rayson/McEnery (2009, pp. 292) classify *yǒu rén* as a common "compound word" with the SOMEONE meaning. The correspondence between *yǒu rén* and indefinite pronouns is only partial, however. In (1) the sequence forms an autonomous sentence, which cannot be translated by the indefinite pronoun alone. When it co-occurs with a locative expression (as in [2]), English can make use of both a canonical sentence with verb *be* ([2a]) or a *there*-construction ([2b]). By contrast, when *yǒu rén* occurs in biclausal constructions ([3a]), a monoclausal equivalent is strongly preferred ([3b]). Further, when it points to a generic-partitive human referent, ([4a]), it naturally translates as (*some*) *people* in this case ([4b]).

This study makes use of a parallel corpus consisting of 213 relevant hits extracted form Mo Yan's novels and their aligned English translations, to elucidate the interaction of discourse-pragmatic and semantic motivations for the use of *yǒu rén* in Chinese. Three major types of *yǒu rén* constructions were identified, i.e. locative-existential, eventive-presentational and generic-existential, according to predicate selection (if applicable), presence and function of the locative, and the co-dependent interpretation of the pivot. As expected, *yǒu rén* strongly tends to occur in biclausal constructions (92.4%), often with SAY-verbs (20.1%) in the post-pivotal position. The indefinite pronoun *someone* (29.1%), along with a verb in nonpresent tense, align with episodic constructions. Kind-referring expressions such as (*some*) *people* (13%) and the present tense of the verb are both strongly associated to the generic reading. The English translation with partitive NPs such as [*one/some* of N] brings out the cases where *yǒu rén* selects an instance of a discourse-old referential group. In turn, the relevant English referring expressions tend to be (preverbal) subjects in monoclausal constructions (64.7%), while rarely being pivots in a *there*-construction (only 5.1%, as in (2d)).

The underlying semantic property of all *yǒu rén* constructions is that they are linked, either to the spatiotemporal variables and/or to a discourse-old group, either to a generic set of entities. Despite their diversity, the situations they depict thus offer favorable contexts for the acceptance of discourse-new indefinite preverbal subjects in English (Leonetti 1998).

Examples

(1)   *Yǒu   rén!*
        EPP[1]   person
        '*(There's) someone!' (= 'Restroom occupied!') (Chao 1968, 727)

(2a)   *Jīnjú bù   zhīdào shēnhòu   yǒu   rén*, [...].
        Jinju NEG know   body.rear EPP   person

(2b)   *She didn't know **someone** was behind her.* (The Garlic Ballads)

(2c)   *... hòubian hái   yǒu   rén.*
        behind   also EPP   person

(2d)   *There's **somebody** behind me.* (Big Breasts & Wide Hips)

(3a)   *Yǒu rén   zài   mén=wài   yòng shénme dōngxī dǎo-zhe   tiěmén* [...].
        EPP person be.at door=outside use   some   stuff   beat-DUR iron.gate

(3b)   ***Someone** outside banged the door with a hard object* [...]. (The Garlic Ballads)

(4a)   *Yǒu rén   zǒu-xiàng   zhāoyáng, tā   zǒu-xiàng   luòrì.*
        EPP   person walk-towards rising.sun 3SG   walk-towards   setting.sun

(4b)   ***Some people** walk toward the morning sun; he was walking toward the setting sun.* (The Republic of Wine)

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[1]   The gloss "EPP" (Existential/Possessive Predicator) is Chappell's/Creissels's (2019).

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FRENCH ENUNCIATIVE PRAGMATICS MEETS GERMAN DISCOURSE LINGUISTICS BASED ON FOUCAULT

The concept of polyphony as an operationalization instrument of "voice" in discourse

Keywords Enunciative pragmatics; polyphony; voice; discourse linguistics; Foucault

The aim of the present contribution is to demonstrate how the largely parallel practices of discourse linguistics (cf. Angermüller 2014a, p. 111; Weiland 2020, p. 16) that are used in France and Germany can be interlinked via the concept of polyphony. The overall idea of polyphony is to challenge the modern linguistics postulate of the uniformity of the speaker and to reflect on the enunciative heterogeneity of utterances. The concept of polyphony has been used in France in the field of enunciative pragmatics (cf. Ducrot 1984), which is considered to significantly impact the French method of discourse analysis (cf. Angermüller 2014a, p. 111; Angermüller 2014b, p. 11; Maingueneau 2009, p. 67). Although the research field of German discourse linguistics that is based on Foucault recognizes the general importance of the concept of voice (cf. Warnke/Spitzmüller 2008, pp. 32–36), no fruitful dialogue appears to take place between the French and German national disciplines (cf. Angermüller 2014a, p. 111; Weiland 2020, p. 16). What's more, despite the potential for cross-disciplinary enrichment that has been articulated by different authors (cf. Weiland 2020; Landschoff/Münch 2020; Iakushevich 2021), no systematic integration or methodological operationalization of the concept of polyphony has yet taken place (cf. Warnke 2018; Niehr 2014).

Thus, my contribution will first try to create awareness of the enunciative dimension of Foucault's understanding of discourse (cf. Angermüller 2007), which got lost in the German and English translations of his work (cf. Angermüller 2014a, p. 113) in order to show that a "docking spot" – or compatibility – between a form of discourse linguistics that relies on Foucault and the concept of polyphony is consistent. In his definition of statements, Foucault dissociates between the author as the empirical instance of the world who transmits the signs (i.e., the "speaking subject" in terms of polyphony, cf. Ducrot 1984, p. 171) and the enunciating subject as a functional entity on the discourse level (i.e., the "locutor" in terms of polyphony, Ducrot 1984, p. 172). At this point, the integration of the polyphonic approach allows for a more fine-grained understanding and linguistic operationalization of the enunciative heterogeneity discussed by Foucault.

Second, my contribution will therefore present concrete tools for analyzing the role of polyphony in discourse. The presented typology is a mixture of Gévaudan's (2021) deductively generated categorization of types of polyphony and of my own inductively driven corpus analysis of polyphonic patterns in pandemic discourse of French politicians in power on Twitter from 2020. The aim of this corpus analysis is to demonstrate how the voice of "the French people" – who perceive a deep chasm in French society between the political elite and themselves (cf. Sciences Po CEVIPOF 2022) – is integrated into the political crisis

discourse in order to establish an alternative pattern of knowledge that frames French society as a unified nation. This constructivist element is highly compatible with Foucault's understanding of discourse (cf. Foucault 1972, p. 52).

The different types and categories of polyphony will be systematically presented and illustrated with concrete examples of French political crisis discourse in order to create a useful operationalization of the concept of voice as well as of its constructivist and perspectivizing functions for German discourse linguistics based on Foucault.

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A FRAME-BASED APPROACH TO THE PRAGMATICS OF "BEKANNTLICH" AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS

Keywords Frame semantics; pragmatics; pragmatic frames; translation

Within functional approaches to translation theory, the text is considered the primary unit of translation. Several models developed for describing the pragmatic features of a text (e.g. House 1997; Nord 2009) propose to derive individual translation choices from the functional characterisation of the text as a whole. However, not all pragmatic phenomena can be fully accounted for by textual factors. Instead, they may be rather independent of the overall text and be tied to specific lexical items or grammatical constructions.

A case in point is the phenomenon of a speaker referring to shared prior knowledge of the participants of the communicative interaction. This pragmatic function can be realised by formulaic expressions such as *wie Sie wissen* ('as you know'; cf. Staffeldt 2011) as well as the German adverb *bekanntlich*. The pragmatics of *bekanntlich* and its English translation equivalents will be sketched out using corpora and frame semantic annotation, proposing pragmatic frames as a tertium comparationis in translation analysis. The parallel corpora used to explore *bekanntlich* together with the English source language expressions it translates are DGT-TM (Steinberger et al. 2012) and Europarl UdS (Karakanta/Vela/Teich 2018), both consisting of German translations of primarily or exclusively English original EU texts.

We follow (Czulo/Ziem/Torrent 2020) in modelling the pragmatic content of the expression by means of frames as developed in the tradition of Fillmorean frame semantics (1982), and refer to these as 'pragmatic frames'. We assume *bekanntlich* to regularly evoke the pragmatic frame Common_ground[1] that models a SPEAKER claiming some CONTENT to be prior knowledge (with degrees of FAMILIARITY) shared by the COGNIZERS. Those are participants of the communicative interaction and necessarily include the utterance's addressee(s). The expressions evoking this frame differ with respect to which of these frame elements are realised in the text: most importantly, the COGNIZERS may be lexically specified, commonly by deictic person reference especially with *wie wir/Sie/alle wissen* (*as we/you/everybody know(s)*), or left to be inferred from the communicative context as is the case with *bekanntlich*.

Comparing the English source language equivalents of *bekanntlich* across the two corpora reflecting different registers, it appears that in Europarl UdS, the participants of the communicative interaction are more often than not lexically realised (1). In DGT-TM and the minority of cases in Europarl UdS, however, the COGNIZERS remain implicit and what is most interesting, do not seem to include the addressee ((2)–(3)). Instead, the COGNIZERS can (contextually) be inferred to coincide with the SPEAKER, with the translation pair (*is/are*) *known* – *bekanntlich* (4) expressing that the Speaker is aware of some fact. This usage of *bekanntlich* is motivated semantically rather than pragmatically and can be found to evoke the lexical-

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[1]   The frame is described in German as Gemeinsames_Vorwissen, see German FrameNet entry: https://gsw.phil.hhu.de/framenet/frame?id=1569 [2023-04-20].
Following conventions in frame semantics, frames are set in Courier, frame elements in small caps.

semantic frame `Awareness_status`. It could be assumed that this divergence in pragmatic versus semantic use is an influence of the source text. This assumption will be tested by contrasting the findings to the uses of *bekanntlich* in German original legal language.

Examples

Europarl UdS

(1a)   Eventually they will be competing directly with the US for ever-diminishing supplies, which is a forbidding thought and, <u>as we know</u>, fossil fuels are running out very quickly.

(1b)   Irgendwann wird sich China mit Amerika um die immer knapper werdenden Vorräte streiten, was nicht gerade ein beruhigender Gedanke ist, zumal die fossilen Brennstoffe <u>bekanntlich</u> rasch zur Neige gehen.

DGT-TM

(2a)   <u>It is recalled</u> that the authorities in Laos as well as potential producers/exporters in this country were informed of the ongoing investigation.

(2b)   <u>Bekanntlich</u> wurden die laotischen Behörden sowie potenzielle Hersteller/Ausführer in Laos von der laufenden Untersuchung in Kenntnis gesetzt.

(3a)   <u>It is known</u> that that nomenclature does not cover all special export refund cases but the Commission does not require that kind of detail.

(3b)   In diesem Verzeichnis sind <u>bekanntlich</u> nicht alle Sonderfälle bei den Ausfuhrerstattungen abgedeckt, die Kommission benötigt diese Details jedoch nicht.

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A CORPUS-BASED CONTRASTIVE APPROACH TO NAME BLENDING IN GERMAN AND ENGLISH

Whereas compounding and derivation have been investigated from the cross-linguistic perspective (cf. e.g., Fernández-Domínguez/Lefer/Renner (eds.) 2011), many marginal word-formation patterns remain under-researched with respect to their formal and semantic properties in different languages. This is especially true for word-formation units with proper names as constituents.

To bear on this issue, the paper investigates personal name blending (e.g., *Brangelina* from Brad and Angelina) in German and English. Personal name blends comprise two personal names and refer to the name beares as a couple or to their relationship. Contrary to lexical blends (cf. e.g., Renner/Maniez/Arnaud (eds.) 2012), the properties of name blends have not been systematically investigated from the perspective of contrastive linguistics. The paper aims to fill this gap by addressing several methodological and empirical questions that arise from the fact that proper names bear extralinguistic knowledge about name bearers and therefore pose a challenge for contrastive studies: 1) How can we account for the comparability of nonlinguistic factors, such as the collective knowledge of the speech community about the relationship between name bearers? 2) Which factors must be considered in defining the tertium comparationis on the semantic level and building comparable corpora given that the knowledge about name bearers contains culture-specific aspects? 4) Does the productivity of blends differ between language-specific name blends and those attested in both languages? 5) Can language-specific tendencies regarding the preferred blend structure and the order of constituents be identified? 6) How does the pattern develop over time and do the languages provide evidence for domain-specific differences?

The paper presents the results of a corpus-based contrastive study based on some 2000 types. To obtain comparable data, two strategies were applied. First, a list of names from three domains: politics, sport, and show business, served as a starting point for manual data collection in the German Reference Corpus (W-archive of written German) and the Digital Dictionary of the German Language (corpus WebXL) for German data and the iWeb, NOW, and COCA for English. In the second step, name blends were extracted semi-automatically from these corpora using search strings *couple* / *Paar*, *the Brangelina of* / (*die*) *Brangelina des* / *unter*, *new Brangelina* / *neue Brangelina*, *couple name* / *Paarname*. Regarding the comparison on the semantic level, the data have been manually coded in Maxqda for semantic readings (i.e., determinative, such as *Billary < Hillary* (*Clinton*) *is like Bill* (*Clinton*), additive: *Brangelina < Brad and Angelina*, or ascriptive: *Brangelina < the marriage of Brad and Angelina*, cf. Kotowski et al. 2021) on the basis of information about the relationship between the name bearers indicated in the context in which the blend occurs, namely the semantics of the verb that agrees with the blend in number (abstract, such as in *Brangelina is dead* / *Brangelina ist tot* or concrete: *Brangelina are coming to Berlin*) and the competitor forms from the context that refer to the relationship between the name bearers (e.g., *the famous couple*, *the cooperation*, *Brad and Angelina*, alternative forms, such as *Angelbrad*).

The results indicate that additive readings with concrete verbs in the plural and the names of both name bearers provided in the context are preferred in both languages. Furthermore, the analysis yields a limited set of formal and semantic patterns with a similar distribution of structural properties and semantic readings in both languages. Contrary to previous studies that define blending as a rather peripheral phenomenon (cf. Štekauer/Valera/ Körtvélyessy 2012), the results of the present study indicate that name blending is a productive word formation pattern in both languages (based on the number of types).

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CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS MEETS HERITAGE LANGUAGES

A cross-linguistic study on address forms in bilingual Russian speakers in Germany and Israel

Despite contrastive linguistics mainly deals with comparison of different baseline languages, migrant heritage languages (HL) offer a fertile ground for contrastive investigations as well. Within HLs, at least two language systems come in contact. Analysis of the emerging contact-induced results and their trigger mechanisms can shed light onto structural specifics of the languages in contact or onto pragmatic features of their usage. This is where the present paper comes in.

Previous research on the pragmatic skills of HL speakers has mainly concentrated on speech acts of making requests, in HLs in contact with English as a dominant Societal Language (SL) (Dubinina/Malamud 2017; Pinto/Raschio 2007). As first of its kind, the present paper 1) investigates the address forms in Russian HL in Germany and Israel and 2) compares pragmatic phenomena in contact situations of Russian with two typologically different languages.

The paper focuses on the formal speech based on the following hypothesis. As a result of the functional distribution of HL and SL (familiar resp official language), HL speakers mainly use only their SL in the formal communication. In turn, a functionally reduced use of their HL contributes to an uncompleted acquisition of its formal register(s) (Wiese/Yannick 2021). Accordingly, Russian HL speakers in line with the multilingual variation as a main feature of their communication (Francescini 1998) resort to a number of diverse strategies in the formal speech, based on SL, HL or on their own creativity.

The study describes these strategies and analyzes the pragmatic and linguistic factors influencing their choice, among others, regarding to the certain lacunae and divergences in the Russian address system itself.

The empirical data of the study were collected from 75 participants equally split into three groups: adult Russian-Hebrew and Russian-German bilinguals and a control group of Russian-speaking monolinguals. The participants' requests at the hypothetical communicative situations elicited by means of a speech-productive task were coded for the choice of the (a) pronominal (T resp V) and nominal address forms (form of address, title, first or second name etc. and diverse orms' combinations) and (b) their syntactic combinations.

The comparative evaluation of data from each experimental group shows that the choice (or creation) of concrete address forms in the formal speech is caused by both HL-gaps in HL-speakers and gaps in Russian address form's system itself. However, the strategies of filling these gaps are also related to the dominant address system (Hebrew or German), which exerts a linguistic but also pragmatic influence on HL. Moreover, the analysis of the

data shows that the specifics of the address forms' use emergent not only due to system-linguistic and contact-linguistic factors, but also due to pragmatically relevant factors (e.g., interpretation of status/power and distance/solidarity, individual social and cultural identity etc.).

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CAPPADOCIAN CONCESSIVE CONDITIONALS
Divergence from Greek and contact with Turkish

Keywords Concessive conditionals; Cappadocian Greek; language contact; typology

In this talk we present preliminary results from an ongoing investigation into concessive conditionals (CCs) in Cappadocian, a near-extinct variety of Greek spoken in Asia Minor until 1923–1924 which has been heavily influenced by Turkish. We investigate whether Cappadocian CCs deviate from their Standard Modern Greek counterparts and, if so, whether the deviations can be attributed to language contact with Turkish.

CCs are a special type of conditionals which express not one antecedent p, but a set of antecedents that all lead to the same consequent q: 'if $\{p_1, p_2, p_3, ...\}$, then q' (König 1986; Leuschner 2006, 2020). Three quantificational strategies are distinguished (ibid.): scalar concessive conditionals (SCCs) mention an extreme value p_n and imply that q also holds for other, less extreme values (cf. English *even if p_n*); alternative concessive conditionals (ACCs) express a disjunction which exhausts the scale at hand (cf. English *whether p1 or p2*); universal concessive conditionals (UCCs) express free-choice quantification over instantiations of a variable, often realized as an interrogative-like pronoun (cf. English *WH-ever*).

Under Haspelmath/König's (1998) typology of CCs in European languages, Turkish qualifies as uniformly-coding, i.e. as a language that encodes all CCs as conditionals, while Standard Modern Greek is differentially-coding, i.e. a language in which only SCCs have overt conditional coding, while ACCs and UCCs have primarily quantificational, e.g. interrogative-like, coding. This typological divide makes Cappadocian an interesting case study.

We investigate the coding strategies of Cappadocian CCs in a corpus of 58 folktales from 11 villages (ca. 50,000 words, the largest Cappadocian text collection to date). While Cappadocian CCs are differentially coded like their Standard Modern Greek counterparts, the actual coding is distinct between both varieties. In part, these differences are due to Turkish influence, as Turkish loan words are found in ACCs, e.g. *jáxot … jákot …* 'whether … or …' < Tr. *yahut* 'or, else', cf. example (1), and sporadically in UCCs, e.g. *-dak* in ótia-*dak* 'whatever' < Tr. *dek* 'until, as far as', cf. example (2). Mostly, however, Cappadocian CCs differ from their Standard Modern Greek equivalents in ways that cannot be attributed to Turkish. In Cappadocian SCCs, the focus particle *ke* 'even' (or one of its alternative forms *ge*, *ki* or *gi*) invariably follows the conditional conjunction *an* 'if', cf. example (3), whereas *ke* precedes *an* in SCCs in Standard Modern Greek (where *an ke* is purely concessive). And whereas Haspelmath/König (1998) suggest that Standard Modern Greek UCCs usually contain focus particles like *ðipote* 'ever' or *ke* 'even' and/or conditional *an*, Cappadocian UCCs lack any overt coding other than the WH-word in 68% of all instances, cf. example (4).

In future steps we will investigate whether these differences are a consequence of changes in Modern Greek, with Cappadocian preserving coding strategies from earlier stages of Greek due to its relative isolation from mainstream Greek since Byzantine times. We will also account for SCCs in the Floïta dialect, which are introduced by *an gi* like exceptive conditionals, cf. example (5). In the latter, *gi* is usually not analyzed as a scalar-additive

focus particle ('even'), but as a negator (e.g. Dawkins 1916, p. 412, 609). To our knowledge, concessive and exceptive conditionals are not coded identically in any other varieties of Greek nor, indeed, any other languages. We suggest this overlap can be explained either in terms of accidental homonymy or as scale/polarity reversal.

Examples

(1) alternative concessive conditional
Béjense éna *palikár,* [*jáxot patišaxjú perí=ne,*
choose.IMP.2SG ART.INDF young_man [or king.GEN.SG son=be.PRS.3SG
jáxot sadrazamnú=ne, *ja* ó-*tšina grévis.*]
or general.GEN.SG=be.PRS.3SG or REL-who.ACC.SG want.PRS.2SG
'Choose a young man, whether it's the son of a king or a general or whoever you want.'

(2) universal concessive conditional (WH-*dak*)
Sona [ó-*tia-**dak** málja* ítan,] éperén=*da.*
afterwards [REL-what-until goods be.IPFV.PST.3PL] take.PFV.PST.3SG=it.ACC.PL
'Afterwards, whatever goods there were, he took them.'

(3) scalar concessive conditional
[***An ge** axí dé pat s-o=patišáxo,*]
[if even soon NEG go.PRS.2PL to-ART.DEF=king]
ešít to=ksévrit, na ennit pišménis.
you it=know.PRS.2PL FUT become.SBJV.PFV.2PL regretful
'Even if you don't go to the king soon, you know it, you will regret it.'

(4) universal concessive conditional (no overt coding other than WH-word)
[Ó-***ti** na jení*] *az jení eki.*
[REL-what FUT happen.SBJV.PFV.3SG] HORT happen.SBJV.PFV.3SG there
'Whatever will happen, let it happen over there.'

(5) exceptive conditional (Floïta dialect)
[*Etó to=fšax **an gi** ksévrišken to=pulí,*]
[DEM ART.DEF=boy if not know.IPFV.PST.3SG ART.DEF=bird.ACC]
δ*en kóndanen s-o=kifáli=t.*
NEG perch.IPFV.PST.3SG on-ART.DEF=head.ACC=POSS.3SG
'Unless the boy knew the bird, it would not have perched on his head.'

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DE SCHLUSSAENDLICH ENTSCHEIDET ER SICH DOCH Z'SPRINGE

Contrastive linking in oral narratives in (Swiss) German and French

Keywords Information structure; monolinguals; bilinguals; film-retellings; language dominance; assertive particles; concessive adverbs

Applied research on information structure detected a 'German way' (assertion-oriented) and a 'French way' (entity/predicate/time-oriented) to highlight relations across utterances (e.g. Dimroth et al. 2010)Italian, Dutch and German. We distinguish the information units 'time', 'entity', and 'predicate' and specifically investigate how speakers mark the information structure of their utterances and enhance discourse cohesion in contexts where the predicate contains given information but there is a change in one or more of the other information units. Germanic languages differ from Romance languages in the availability of a set of assertion-related particles (e.g. doch/toch, wel; roughly meaning 'indeed', which arguably influences L2 learning (e.g. Benazzo/Christine/Santiago 2021).

In our talk, we focus on lexical markers (prosody measure was not reliable) used to enhance cohesion in contexts in which the same entity does not perform an action at first, e.g. *Mr. Red did not jump out of the window despite the fire in his flat*, but later does it, e.g.:

German		French		
(1a)	*Er ist <u>doch</u> gesprungen*	(1b)	*Il a <u>quand même</u> sauté*	(He still jumped)
(2a)	*Er hat <u>sich entschieden</u> zu springen*	(2b)	*Il <u>s'est décidé à</u> sauter*	(He decided to jump)
(3a)	*Er ist <u>schliesslich</u> gesprungen*	(3b)	*Il a <u>enfin</u> sauté*	(He finally jumped)

The frequently used contrastive particle *doch* (1.a) signals the polarity change of the action and has no equivalent in French. Thus, French speakers either use enrichments of the predicate (2.b), temporal markers (3.b), or, more rarely, concessive adverbs (1.b).

These differences between French and German adults in marking contrastive relations were described based on data from relatively small samples. In our study, we collected additional data which also represent a slightly different context: adult monolinguals in Switzerland (with French or Alemannic Swiss German as their L1) and bilinguals (Swiss German-French).

We replicated the study of Dimroth et al. (2010) with 20 Swiss-German and 20 Swiss-French monolinguals as well as with 71 bilinguals with diverse levels of education. Participants retold the segmented silent movie *Finite Story* in which three entities successively perform among other opposite actions. The bilinguals told it once in each language. The overall language dominance was measured with the *Bilingual Language Profile* (Birdsong/Gertken/Amengual 2012). Language proficiency was tested in the bilinguals using the *LexTALE* tests (Lemhöfer/Broersma 2012; Brysbaert 2013).

Regression analyses indicate that the language of retelling, rather than the participant profile, is the strongest predictor of the frequency of contrastive and concessive markers of the action (1), enrichments of the predicate (2), and temporal markers (3) in most cases (see Table 1). However, two results concerning the adverbial markers (1) are surprising and will be discussed in more detail:

1) A dialectal effect was observed with frequent use of the Swiss German word *glïch*, which meaning is more concessive than assertive (Schweizerisches Idiotikon). This opens the question of whether speakers of German varieties are really assertion-oriented or they just prefer particles, which are economic. To better understand this finding, we analyzed the intra-individual crosslinguistic choices for marking the change in the action by bilinguals.

2) Some Swiss German retellings by our monolinguals resemble more the French style (fewer adverbial markers and more enrichments of the predicate), whereas the bilinguals follow the typical monolingual trend described in Dimroth et al. (2010) in each language. By highlighting such differences between the model study and our replication we address the problems that arise when generalizations on 'languages' and their comparisons are made based on small samples.

Information marked and cohesive means used		DL1 (N=40)	CHDL1 (N=20)	CHDBIL (N=71)	CHFBIL (N=71)	CHFL1 (N=20)	FL1 (N=20)
Time		43 (37%)	19 (33%)	80 (42%)	98 (50%)	32 (57%)	34 (60%)
Action -Adverbials	**Contrastive**	*doch* (32) *wohl* (1) (28%)	*doch* (5) (9%)	*doch* (16) *wohl* (1) (9%)	–	–	–
	Concessive	–	*glich* (2) (4%)	*glich* (18) *trotzdem* (4) (12%)	*quand même* (23) (12%)	*quand même* (3) *tout de même* (1) (7%)	*quand même* (4) *tout de même* (1) (8%)
Action – Enrichments of the predicate		25 (21%)	20 (35%)	35 (19%)	68 (35%)	21 (38%)	26 (46%)
Numbers of segments analysed		117	57	189	196	56	57

Table 1: Numbers and percentages of retold video segments documented with a specific type of marker for each data sample (German monolinguals, Swiss German monolinguals, bilinguals in Swiss German, bilinguals in French, Swiss French monolinguals, French monolinguals). 3 narrative sequences were retold by each participant (6 for the bilinguals). The total number of segments varies proportionally with the number of participants and with the number of NA statements. The categories "Time", "Action -Adverbials" and "Action – Enrichments of the predicate" are not mutually exclusive, e.g. *mais il se décide quand même à sauter finalement* (but he still decides to jump finally).

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Hung-Hsin Hsu

A CORPUS-BASED CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF QUESTIONS IN MANDARIN AND FRENCH

The topic of questions has received relatively little attention in contrastive studies to date (Coveney 2011; Curry/Chambers 2017), especially in pairs involving languages other than English. This paper aims to fill this gap by examining questions in Mandarin and French, specifically regarding question types (i.e. polar questions, disjunctive questions, and *wh*-questions; see examples below extracted from my own corpus) and their respective question structures (e.g. declarative forms, subject-verb inversion, question particles *est-ce que* in French or *ma* and *ne* in Mandarin, A-not-A constructions, fragments.)

(1)   **Mandarin**

(1a)   *Nǐ   zài   gǎoxiào   ma ?*
        2SG   PROG   joke   Q
        'Are you joking?'

(1b)   *Jiàshǐ   shì   nán   de   nǔ   de?*
        driver   COP   man   DE   woman   DE
        'The driver is a man or a woman?'

(1c)   *Shénme rén   huì   chóushì lǎorén?*
        what   people   AUX   hate   elderly
        'What kind of people hate the elderly?'

(2)   **French**

(2a)   *Serons-nous   en   contact?*
        COP.FUT-1PL   PREP   contact
        'Will we be in contact?'

(2b)   *Était-il   en   migration lui   aussi   ou   en   fuite ?*
        COP.PST-3SG   PREP   move   3SG   also   or   PREP   run
        'Was he on the move too, or on the run?'

(2c)   *Qu'   y   a-t-il   là-dedans?*
        what   LOC   have.PRS-t-3SG   in-there
        'What is in there?'

Previous findings of a pilot study using Mandarin and French web data from the zhTenTen 17 and frTenTen 17 corpora (Jakubíček et al. 2013) show that in the two languages polar questions are more frequent than the other question types, which is in line with the theory of social economics of questions (Levinson 2012) and also with the results of studies devoted to English (Stivers 2010; Siemund 2017). Additionally, interesting cross-linguistic differences emerge from the web corpora, showing that *wh*-questions are significantly more frequent in French than in Mandarin, possibly due to the high number of different structures available in French to express *wh*-questions (i.e. inversion, declarative forms, *est-ce que* particle, *wh*-in-situ, and fragments). Admittedly, these different structures, with the exception of *wh*-in-situ, can also be used in polar and disjunctive questions. However, *wh*-questions have few more possible variations observed, such as cleft sentences (Guryev 2017; Larrivée/Guryev 2021). These various options provide language users with a wider range of choices when producing *wh*-questions. However, these findings remain tentative given the diversity of

registers included in web corpora, which may potentially jeopardize the cross-linguistic comparability of the data. Consequently, to get a better view of cross-linguistic differences and confirm the observations of the pilot study, I build a 1-milion-word self-compiled bilingual comparable corpus that comprises contemporary fictional texts, including detective and fantasy stories. The corpus was uploaded on Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014) for automatic extraction of questions in the two languages using the CQL query [word = "\?"] (see Biber et al. 1999 and Axelsson 2020 for a similar approach). The query returns over 3,000 occurrences in each language, as shown in Table 1. The questions are then coded for question type and syntactic structure. Based on the results of the pilot study of web corpora, two hypotheses are tested in the current study: (1) polar questions are the most frequent question type in the two languages and (2) *wh*-questions are more widespread in French than in Mandarin. In my presentation, I will report on the results of the analysis with a view to sketching the main commonalities and differences between questions in Mandarin and French.

	Mandarin	French
Raw frequencies	3,211	3,573
Relative frequencies per 100,000 tokens	770	649
Corpus size (tokens)	417,049	550,807

Table 1: Question marks in the self-compiled bilingual comparable corpus

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CONTRASTS IN THE SPANISH AND KOREAN EXTERNAL POSSESSION CONSTRUCTIONS
A construction grammar approach

Keywords External possession; construction grammar; Korean; Spanish; conventional implicature

The well-known external possession constructions (EPCs) introduce a possessor in a position separated from the possessed item (possessum), coding it as a core grammatical element of the main predicate. The constructions are prevalent in a variety of language families including Indo-European (IE) as well as Ural-Altaic (UA) languages like Korean and Japanese (Payne/Barshi 1999; Haspelmath 1999; O'Connor 2007; Deal 2017):

(1a) *Le   Toqu*é   *la   nariz.*   (Spanish)
     him.DAT   touched.1SG   the   nose
     'I touched his nose.'

(1b) *Na-nun   ku-lul   kho-lul   manci-ess-ta.*   (Korean)
     I-TOP   he-ACC   nose-ACC   touch-PST-DECL
     'I touched his nose.'

The EPCs here raise many empirical and analytic questions concerning verbal argument structure, cognitive event constural, and language processing. In this paper, we suggest a cognitive construction grammar approach in which the EP (external possessor) is an unselected argument. It is interpreted as a possessor as a consequence of a conventional implicature (CI) licensed through tight interactions among argument composition, inheritance network of constructions, and information structure. Our analysis overcomes some persistent issues with the derivational analysis of the EPC, accounting for generalizations in the face of typological differences between IE and UA languages. It is well-tested that the external possessor (EP), even though not semantically selected by the predicate, functions as an 'affected' syntactic argument, as seen from its promotion as the subject in the passive as in (2a):

(2a) *Ku-ka   pha-ul   kkocip-hi-ess-ta.*   (Korean)
     he-NOM   arm-ACC   pinch-PASS-PST-DECL
     'He was the one whose arm was pinched.'

(2b) **Na-nun   han ai-lul   pha-ul   kkocip-ess-ta*   (Korean)
     I-TOP   a child-ACC   arm-ACC   pinch-PST-DECL
     '(int.) I pinched a child's arm.'

In both Spanish and Korean, the EPC thus employs a special mapping in the argument realization: when the possessum is a relational noun with its own argument structure, its possessor (functioning as a reference point so that the possessor needs to be definite as shown in (2b)) can be realized as an additional syntactic argument of a predicate. The EPC also evokes a CI meaning such that there is an inalienable possession relation between the EP and the possessum. This CI meaning can be supported from its detachability, noncancellability, and embeddedablty (Potts 2005; Horn 2013). The EP can be detached from the possessum: (1) means that 'I touched him and I touched his nose'. It is quite unnatural to cancel the inalienability of the two, as evidenced from the following Spanish and Korean example:

(3a)   #Le lavé la cara, aunque no era la suya.
      'I washed her-DAT the face, even though it wasn't hers.'
(3b)   #Mimi-lul   kho-ul   capass-nuntey, Momo-uy   kho-i-ess-ta.
      Mimi-ACC   nose-ACC   hold-but,   Momo-GEN   nose-COP-PST-DECL
      '(int.) I hold Mimi's nose, but it was Momo's.'

Another evoked CI meaning is linked to the information structure: the EPC means the possessor is discourse-familiar to the interlocutors. This is evidenced from the impossibility of having the EP as an indefinite EP. Due to this CI meaning, the EP serves as a salient reference point for the states of affairs in question.

In addition to its own constructional form-function mapping relations, the EPC inherits shared properties from its macro/meso-constructions including the Possessive Construction, which has two subconstructions: the Attributive-Possessive and the Identifying Possessive. The former is irreversible and indefinite while the latter is reversible and definite (Halliday/Hasan 1985, pp. 112):

(4a)   Peter has a piano./*A piano is had by Peter.
(4b)   The piano is Peter's. vs. Peter's is the piano.

The EPC in both languages is a subtype of the Identifying Possessive, explaining some of its peculiarities.

Capturing such similarities of the EPC in Spanish and Korean, the suggested constructionist view could also address language variations between the two: the differences hinges on the formation of the constructional inheritance network: each has a slightly different family of macro and meso constructions of the EPC. For instance, Korean EPC can appear the Unergative as well as Unaccusative Intransitive Construction with a much less condition on the affectiveness. For instance, in the following unaccusative one, the foot is not an affected entity:

(5)   Mimi-ka/-uy   pal-i   khu-ta.
    Mimi-NOM/-GEN   foot-NOM   big-DECL
    'It is Mimi whose foot is big.'

In sum, the proposed constructionist approach allows us to resolve many remaining questions for the EPC found in typologically unrelated languages. The theoretical machinery of form-function mapping relations and inheritance network, in particular, enables us to address similarities as well as differences of the EPC in Spanish and Korean in a more feasible way than any existing analyses.

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ANIMAL PROVERBS
A cross-cultural perspective

Proverbs exist in a plethora of languages to express worldly wisdom, frequently in a metaphorical way. A number of proverbs are documented in more than one language since speakers adopt them from cultures they have been in contact with. The focus of the present study is on animal proverbs in English which show a foreign equivalent in another language, such as French, Latin, Ancient Greek, Japanese or Arabic. The Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs (henceforth referred to as the ODP), edited by Jennifer Speake in 2015, is a valuable source to collect the variety of animal proverbs which have become established in English over time.

For proverbs that are recorded in more than one language, it is often difficult to assess the direction of the borrowing process. For example, the introduction of a number of Latin and Ancient Greek proverbs into English and other languages was due to the publication of The Adages, a collection of classical proverbs compiled by the Dutch humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam during the Renaissance.

The present paper relies on a lexicographical sample of 42 animal proverbs which are listed in the ODP. The ODP developed from the Concise Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs, first released in 1982 (see also Speake 2015, p. v). The comprehensive linguistic evidence in the ODP was taken into account, in order to get an overview of the origin, meaning and use of the various proverbs from their earliest recorded use until today. To compare animal proverbs in English with their equivalents in other languages, a systematic corpus-linguistic study was undertaken to identify typical usage examples from a diversity of contexts, including informal language in social media. This has so far been neglected in existing investigations.

From the present study it emerges that the most common animals in the linguistic data are those that are native within the geographical boundaries of the language community in which the proverbs were coined. This might be due to the fact that these animals tend to be well-known by everyone; it may also be that they are often attributed stereotypical characteristics in the respective culture. For example, Sameer (2016) points out that from a cognitive point of view, the semantic 'molecules' of animals, i.e. the cultural and ideological associations with an animal, are usually reflected in proverbs through the use of metaphor. Similarly, Ibáñez Moreno (2005) draws attention to the fact that animal proverbs reflect cultural beliefs.

In terms of language contact, the amount of proverb borrowing between English and other languages seems to roughly correspond to the borrowing of loanwords (Durkin 2014, p. 35). However, it is surprising that after the seventeenth century, the ODP does not contain any animal proverb with a French or Latin equivalent, although the linguistic contact between these languages and English continues to this day.

From a semantic perspective, the animal proverbs emphasize above all the struggle for survival of animals as well as related topics such as risk, predation and hunger and meta-

phorically transfer these meanings to human behavior. A typical example is the Latin-derived proverb self-preservation is the first law in nature, which basically summarizes this attitude. This is also related to the significance of the Great Chain Metaphor, i.e. the hierarchy of human beings, and associated topics, such as predation, which can be used to analyse metaphors in proverbs.

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SYNTACTIC COMPLEXITY OF SANCTIONING TURNS ACROSS EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

Keywords Interactional linguistics; conversation analysis; informal interaction; spoken language; European languages

In this presentation I show first results from an ongoing study about syntactic complexity of sanctioning turns in spoken language. This study is part of a larger project on sanctioning of misconduct in social interaction in different European languages (English, German, Italian and Polish). For the study I use video recordings of different everyday settings (family breakfasts, board game interactions and car rides) with three or four participants. These data come from the Parallel European Corpus of Informal Interaction (Kornfeld/Küttner/Zinken 2023; Küttner et al. submitted).

I focus on sanctioning turns with more than one turn-constructional unit (see among others for TCUs: Sacks/Schegloff/Jefferson 1974; Clayman 2013). The study asks how often TCUs are linked to each other in the different languages, for what function, and how language diversity enters into this. Note that complex sanctioning turns do not always come as complex sentences. Consider the following example (1):

(1) PECII_DE_20160703_ 1421593:

```
01 DAD: dieter
02      (1.3)
03      ich möchte frühstücken
        I would like to have breakfast
04      hör bidde auf an meinem stuhl rumzuklettern
        please stop climbing my chair
```

By contrast, in the next example (2) we can see that Susanne links the second part (line 02) with a "weil" (engl. because) to the first part of the utterance (see e.g. Scheutz 2001 on *weil* in spoken German):

(2) PECII_DE_Brkfst_20161025_ 1573431:

```
01 SUS: und das ist jetzt unfair
        and that is now unfair
02      weil Timon jetzt schon was hatte und ich noch nicht
        because Timon now already had something and I haven't
```

The presented study explores complex sanctioning turns cross-linguistically, asking how they are formulated and when speakers link elements of a sanctioning syntactically. The study examines how frequently different elements of a sanctioning attempt are syntactically linked, and whether there are specific contexts for such syntactic complexity.

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THE MYTH OF THE WORD ORDER FLEXIBILITY DIFFERENCE IN ENGLISH AND GERMAN
A corpus-based analysis

Keywords Word order; corpus linguistics; inferential statistics

Clause structure and word order flexibility are often described as one of the main contrastive differences between English and German. German word order is traditionally regarded as relatively free while English word order is more fixed (König/Gast 2018, p. 188), and the main reason for this difference in word order flexibility is argued to be case marking. English has lost most of its inflectional morphology and thus has to rely on clause positions to express grammatical functions. Grammatical roles in German are expressed through case marking, which is why constituents in German can be moved around more freely to fulfill pragmatic and discourse functions rather than grammatical ones (Hawkins 1986, p. 42).

However, describing the German word order as generally flexible or inflexible is an oversimplification. German is a verb-second language, which means that the finite verb is typically in second position in German declaratives. If the finite verb is not conflated with the lexical verb, the German verb phrase is split up, and anything but the finite verb is moved to the back of the clause. These positions of the verb phrase divide the German clause into three fields: the forefield, the zone before the finite verb, the midfield, the zone between the finite verb and the lexical verb, and the postfield, the zone behind the lexical verb (Zifonun/Hoffmann/Strecker 1997). Each of these fields differs heavily in terms of the number and the kinds of constituents they can contain as well as how flexible their constituent order is. Forefield and midfield are the zones that are typically argued to be more flexible in their word order compared to English because a more diverse set of word order variations are theoretically possible in German (see for instance Götze/Hess-Lüttich 2002; Engel 2004; König/Gast 2018); yet very little empirical data is available on the distribution and probability of these theoretically-possible clause constructions.

In this study, these assumptions will be put to the test with the help of a corpus-based analysis of clause openings and clause progressions in English and German. The data is taken from the CroCo corpus (Hansen-Schirra/Neumann/Steiner (eds.) 2012), a bidirectional translation corpus of German and English, which includes German and English original texts from eight different registers. For this study, 1,000 declarative clauses per language are analysed regarding the content and order of their constituents. These annotations include syntactic functions, case, part-of-speech, and givenness. The results are analysed statistically with the help of regression analyses to gauge in how far language predicts word order deviations.

Preliminary results show that German appears to be more flexible regarding fronted constituents than English given that the number of objects and adverbials in early German clause position is considerably higher (36.5% to 20.6%), and the difference statistically significant. However, a more detailed analysis of adverbials, which make up the majority of marked clause openings, shows that this difference is not primarily caused by word order flexibility. In fact, a single adverbial in English and German has an almost identical likelihood of being

fronted and is thus almost equally flexible in its positioning. However, German clauses include a much higher number adverbials, regardless of position and it is this difference in general frequency and not a difference in word order that explains the discrepancy. Similarly, the analysis of English and German clause progression suggests that the two languages largely follow the same order principle of subjects before objects and given before new information. Deviations in the German midfield, while theoretically possible, are mostly negligible in terms of actual use. These results suggest that English-German differences regarding word order flexibility are, for the most part, overstated and more usage-based analyses are needed to truly discern the contrastive differences in clause structure between the two languages.

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SANCTIONING MISCONDUCT WITH CONTENT QUESTIONS
A cross-linguistic perspective

It is a ubiquitous phenomenon of everyday interaction that participants confront their co-participants for behaviour that they assess as undesirable or in some other way untoward. In a set of video data of informal interaction from the PECII corpus (Parallel European Corpus of Informal Interaction), cases of such sanctions have been collected in English, German, Italian and Polish data.

This study presents work in progress and focuses on interrogatively formatted sanctions, in particular on non-polar interrogatives. It has already been shown that interrogatives can do much more than ask questions (Huddleston 1994). They can also function as directives (Lindström et al. 2017) or, more specifically, as requests (Curl/Drew 2008), as invitations (Margutti/Galatolo 2018) or reproaches (Klattenberg 2021), among others. What makes them interesting for cross-linguistic comparison is that the four languages that are considered provide different morphological and (morpho-)syntactical ressources for the realization of interrogative phrases. For example, German provides the option of building in the modal particle *denn* that reveals a previous lack of clarity and obliges the co-participant(s) to deliver the missing information (Deppermann 2009). Of course, the other three languages have modal particles, too (e.g. *allora* in Italian or *though* in English), but they do not seem to convey the same semantic and interactional qualities as *denn*. From an interactional point of view, one could think that interrogatives are a typical and effective way of solliciting accounts, since formally they open up a conditionally relevant space for an answer or a reaction. But as the data shows, this does not guarantee that they are actually responded to. Another relevant aspect in the context of sanctions is that the interrogative format seems to carry a certain ‚openness‘ that might be seen as a mitigating effect and thus provides an interesting point of comparison with other mitigating devices.

This study uses the methods of conversation analysis and interactional linguistics. It is based on a collection of 148 interrogative sanctions (out of which 84 are non-polar inter-rogatives) covering the four languages. I draw on coded data from roughly 1000 cases to get a first overall idea of how the interrogative format might differ from other formats, and how it might interrelate with specific features – for example, if subsequently an account is delivered. Going more into depth, the interrogative sanctions will then be analyzed with respect to their formal design (e.g. polar questions vs. content questions vs. tag questions, Rossano 2010; Hayano 2013) and to their pragmatic implications. I also analyze reactions to such sanctions – both formally (cf. Enfield et al. 2019, 279) and, again, from an interactional perspective (e.g. acceptance/compliance vs. challenging/defiance; Kent 2012; Cekaite 2020). A more detailed zooming in on the sequential unfolding of some particularly interesting instances of sanctioning interrogatives will make the picture complete.

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CROSSLINGUISTIC AND CROSSCULTURAL PERSPECTIVES ON DESTINATION ADVERTISING
The case of German, French, Italian and Spanish destination ads

Destination advertising seeks to present a touristic place as a complex brand and as a unique destination with high recreational value using a wide range of semiotic resources (e.g., text, image, typography, music, noises) constituting a multimodal text. Destination ads are usually designed as continuous, pluri-thematic campaigns which makes them particularly suiTable for a contrasting perspective. Despite an increasing intensity of work in cross-linguistic research, the contrastive analysis of destination advertisements must still count as an under-researched area of study (but see e.g., Held 2008; Smykala 2015; Baumann 2018).

The present paper aims to fill this gap by comparing print and digital destination ads in German, French, Italian and Spanish. Campaigns of destination advertising are mostly distributed cross-culturally and supra-nationally which converts them into a special form of global advertising (cf. Held 2008, p. 96). The point of departure is an inter-lingual and inter-cultural perspective, i.e. various aspects of media texts realized in different languages are compared in order to reveal linguistic and pragmatic specificities of the compared languages as well as cultural differences (cf. Hauser/Luginbühl 2012, p. 2). The *tertium comparationis* are thus first and foremost linguistic features (e.g., lexicon, syntax and morphosyntax, semantics, pragmatics, register) but also visual (and vocal) elements embedded into the multimodal design of the advertising texture.

Another possible comparative constellation for destination ads is the inter-medial perspective, i.e. advertising in the tourism sector makes equal use of all potentially available media in the public space (print media, web communication, social media) (cf. Held 2008, p. 97). According to Hauser and Luginbühl (2012, p. 2), "comparisons in this field can reveal how constraints of different media influence the language use, but they also show how different media are used for different communicative purposes".

The present contribution describes the interplay of semiotic resources, text functions and media formats in the mirror of translation and cultural transfer and investigates how a specific multimodal design concept in destination ads variates among languages. The method is based on multimodal discourse analysis which focuses on the "meaning multiplication" (Bateman 2014a, p. 6) of text and image both contributing "to the overall meaning by forming a structural, discursive and rhetorical whole whose individual semantic contributions cohere and may be multiplied in the multimodal combination" (Stöckl 2020, p. 190; cf. also Bateman 2014b). The contribution offers an analytical (multimodal) toolkit to examine the transfer of text-image combinations in destination advertising campaigns from one language/culture to another as well as from one media format to another.

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THE GERMAN DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTION
A challenge for Italian learners

Many studies have dealt in full length with the ditransitive construction in different languages from a theoretical point of view (among others Goldberg 1995, 2006; Haspelmath 2004; Malkuchov/Haspelmath/Comrie 2007; Proost 2014; Willems 2020) but hardly with the difficulties associated with its learning in a foreign perspective. Our contribution focuses on the German ditransitive construction and the learning issues for Italian-speaking learners of German. In the German ditransitive construction prototypical verbs such as *geben* ('to give') are used, they express a transfer semantics and require a dative complement for the recipient and an accusative complement for the theme. However, some German verbs with a similar semantics, such as *lehren* ('to teach') or *abfragen* ('to interrogate') occur with two accusative complements. This is often problematic for learners who tend to overgeneralize (see Goldberg 2019; Mollica 2010), especially when these German verbs with two accusative complements correspond to ditransitive verbs in their mother tongue.

The first part of our presentation will describe a test with two tasks developed with a collection of ditransitive verbs and verbs with ditransitive semantics but without ditransitive argument structure, taken from the *Elektronisches Valenzwörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (E-VALBU). It was conducted with Italian bachelor and master students at the University of Milano with the aim to define the challenging issues related to the learning of German ditransitive constructions. Both tasks revealed that a mere functional description of the ditransitive construction and its constituents is not satisfactory to explain the idiosyncratic use of German verbs, as it is not always predicTable in which construction verbs expressing a transfer occur. Moreover, the correct order between both objects cannot be explained with functional principles either, especially for objects in pronominal form whose order is fundamentally different in Italian.

The second part of our presentation will focus on the issues related to the use of verbs expressing a transfer but with two accusatives, e.g. *lehren* ('to teach') or *abfragen* ('to interrogate') and the pedagogical applications. As we will show, grammar books and teaching manuals (like Dreyer/Schmitt 2009; Helbig/Buscha 2013; Hentschel/Weydt 2021) do not address the specificities of these verbs in an efficient way for learners of German. Starting from the observation that these verbs with two accusatives are sometimes used with a dative complement for the recipient/beneficiary instead of an accusative (see also Lang 2007 and Wegener 1985), we want to propose a more differentiated picture about the use of these verbs by looking at corpus data from the Sketch Engine that can provide more authentic evidence about the usage possibilities (e.g. sentence in active vs. passive; nominal vs. pronominal complements, etc.).

For the learning of the German ditransitive construction, we advocate a usage-based approach which involves corpus data and frequency figures (see also De Knop forthc. 2023) to make better decisions about the use of this construction and its specificities.

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CAN A LEARNER-LED CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS BE CONDUCTED IN THE L2 CLASSROOM?

One of the well-known applications of contrastive linguistics to second language (L2) learning and teaching is Contrastive Analysis (CA). It aims at "producing inverted [...] two-valued typology" (James 1996b, p. 3) by identifying systematic structural differences between languages to predict or explain errors induced by L1 (mother tongue). Early CA was suggested as a tool for developing teachers' awareness of learners' difficulties (Kramsch 2007, p. 141), guiding curriculum design, and supporting L2-only policy within the general trend toward protecting learners from contrasting/confusing L1 and L2 (Butzkamm/Caldwell 2009, p. 101). CA turned towards the learner and cross-linguistic L2 instruction with the emergence of the *Cognitive Turn in Contrastive Analysis* (Kupferberg 1999), under the influence of (neuro) cognitive conceptions viewing L2 acquisition as a brain transformation process based on "cross-linguistic interaction" (Herdina/Jessner 2002, p. 29). CA has been redefined as a cognitive process that occurs "when two languages come into contact in the bilingual brain" (James 1996a, p. 143), while traditional teacher-focused pedagogical application of CA has been extended to an explicit instructional method dubbed "*contrastive teaching*" (CT). In CT, the teacher engages students in comparing L2 and L1 features to facilitate the development of cross-lingual awareness (James 1996b, Chap. 6.3.3; Kivistö-de Souza 2015). James (n.d.) even claims that "now **the learner can become her own contrastivist** since the two languages coincide in one individual at this cognitive [...] level" (p. 14). However, in CT, as described in the literature, it is the teacher who provides learners with cross-linguistic information, and, to our knowledge, CA has never been described as a *learner-led practice*.

Can a learner-led contrastive analysis be conducted in the L2 classroom?

We suggest an affirmative answer relying on our experience of implementing a **foreign accent modelling activity based on learner-led phonetic-phonological CA** in Russian L2 classrooms taught to French-speaking learners (Bondarenko 2023). During the activity, learners act as language experts on a movie set and advise an actor who plays a role in which he speaks learners' L1 (French) with a Russian accent (learners' L2). Learners must conduct a CA of L1/L2 phonetic-phonological systems to identify the differences inducing possible negative interferences and produce a list of practical advice for the actor. The activity lets students deepen their previous knowledge of L2 phonetics within a real-life problem-solving context through reinforcing their phonetic-phonological awareness and increasing their self-esteem as bilingual persons by capitalizing on their expertise in L1 and L2. Classroom observation and data from learner experience surveys demonstrate the positive students' attitude towards using such activities in L2 classrooms.

This paper focus on **linguistic rationales of the *learner-led phonetic-phonological CA***. We explore transfer errors typology (Odlin 2022; Weinreich 1953/2011) and compare the "phoneme-and-allophone" (or structural) CA and the "generative phonology" CA model (Kenstowicz/Kisseberth 1979; Wardhaugh 1967) in terms of their compatibility with the principles of the explicit CT of L2 phonetics.

We conclude that for a learner-led context, the most suiTable is a simplified eclectic version of phonetic-phonological CA that combines features of both the "phoneme-and-allophone" model (contrasting the L1 and L2 repertoires of phonemes) and "generative phonology" models (contrasting phonological features and generative rules), and mainly focused on substitution errors.

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APPLYING THE NEWLY EXTENDED EUROPEAN REFERENCE CORPUS EuReCo
Pilot studies of light-verb constructions in German, Romanian, Hungarian and Polish

It is well known that the distribution of lexical and grammatical patterns is size- and register-sensitive (Biber 1986, and later publications). This fact alone presents a challenge to many corpus-oriented linguistic studies focusing on a single language. When it comes to cross-linguistic studies using corpora, the challenge becomes even greater due to the lack of high-quality multilingual corpora (Kupietz et al. 2020; Kupietz/Trawiński 2022), which are comparable with respect to the size and the register. That was the motivation for the creation of the European Reference Corpus EuReCo, an initiative started in 2013 at the Leibniz Institute for the German Language (IDS) together with several European partners (Kupietz et al. 2020). EuReCo is an emerging federated corpus, with large virtual comparable corpora across various languages and with an infrastructure supporting contrastive research. The core of the infrastructure is KorAP (Diewald et al. 2016), a scalable open-source platform supporting the analysis and visualisation of properties of texts annotated by multiple and potentially conflicting information layers, and supporting several corpus query languages.

Until recently, EuReCo consisted of three monolingual subparts: the German Reference Corpus DeReKo (Kupietz et al. 2018), the Reference Corpus of Contemporary Romanian Language (Barbu Mititelu/Tufiş/Irimia 2018), and the Hungarian National Corpus (Váradi 2002). The goal of the present submission is twofold. On the one hand, it reports about the new component of EuReCo: a sample of the National Corpus of Polish (Przepiórkowski et al. 2010). On the other hand, it presents the results of a new pilot study using the newly extended EuReCo. This pilot study investigates selected Polish collocations involving light verbs and their prepositional / nominal complements (Fig. 1) and extends the collocation analyses of German, Romanian and Hungarian (Fig. 2) discussed in Kupietz/Trawiński (2022).

KorAP NKJP1M-SGJP

`{1:[nkjp/l="da(wa)?ć"]} []{,5} {2:do zrozumienia}`

in **a virtual corpus ▾** with **Poliqarp ▾** ☐ Glimpse ❓

7 matches

NKJP/NKJP/200-1-000018 cym szantażem. **Dano nam, mianowicie, jasno do zrozumienia**, że jeśli nam zależy na docencie Dołowym i jego wszechstronnym rozwoju, to musimy się zgod

NKJP/NKJP/030-2-00000... nownym gestem **dał komuś do zrozumienia**, że skoro już w pobliżu znalazła się restauracja, nie szkodziłoby zjeść w niej śniadanie, i z obojętną, znudzoną miną

Dinah zamknęła drzwi i usiadła na krześle obok łóżka. Spojrzała na delikatną twarz mężczyzny. – To bardzo ważne, że się obudziłeś, ale chyba wszyscy oczekiwaliśmy zbyt wiele... Dwoje oczu mrugnęło, jakby mężczyzna **dawał do zrozumienia**, że nie pojmuje, o co właściwie chodzi. Wyczekał, aż prorok – a wyglądał dzisiaj zgoła po pańsku, niczym karmazynowy kogucik w srebrzystym żupanie, purpurowym kontusiku, czapce z czaplim piórkiem i wysokich butach z

Foundry	Layer	,	jakby	mężczyzna	dawał	do	zrozumienia	,	że	nie	pojmuje	x
nkjp	l	,	jakby	mężczyzna	dawać	do	zrozumienie	,	że	nie	pojmować	
nkjp	m			case:nom gender:m1 number:sg	aspect:imperf gender:m1 number:sg	case:gen	case:gen gender:n number:sg				aspect:imperf number:sg person:ter	
nkjp	ov	,	jakby	mężczyzna	dawał	do	zrozumienia	,	że	nie	pojmuje	
nkjp	p	interp	comp	subst	praet	prep	subst	interp	comp	part	fin	
ud	l	,	jakby	mężczyzna	dawać	do	zrozumienie	,	że	nie	pojmować	
ud	m	ype:comm	conjtype:comp	animacy:hum case:nom gender:masc number:sing	animacy:hum aspect:imp gender:masc mood:ind number:sing tense:past verbform:fin voice:act	adptype:prep	aspect:perf case:gen gender:neut number:sing polarity:pos verbform:vnoun	puncttype:comm		polarity:neg	aspect:imp mood:ind number:sing person:3 tense:pres verbform:fin voice:act	pur
ud	p	UNCT	SCONJ	NOUN	VERB	ADP	NOUN	PUNCT	SCONJ	PART	VERB	

Metadata Tokens Relations TEI P5 encoded version of sample(s) of "Esensja"   [NKJP/NKJP/200-4-000000507]

NKJP/NKJP/200-4-00000... raz w tygodniu, i **da Zbyszkowi do zrozumienia**, co może stracić w jej osobie. W inteligentny sposób Jagienka porówna się do dziewczyn, które jej do pi

NKJP/NKJP/130-5-00000... owego DAX 30, i **dał do zrozumienia**, że grupa będzie chciała pozbyć się papierów niektórych niemieckich spółek.

Fig. 1: Light verb constructions in Polish: concordances and PoS-annotation of *da(wa)ć do zrozumienia* (= to give sb. to understand)

<pune> în <NN> / CoRoLa		
NN	**logDice**	**EN (~DeepL)**
pericol	11,16	Danger
aplicare	10,74	Application
mișcare	10,63	Move
discuție	10,07	Discussion
funcțiune	9,97	Function
evidență	9,64	Highlight
practică	8,95	Practice

in <NN> <setzen> / vc_drukola	
<NN>	**logDice**
Gang	10,84
Szene	10,59
Brand	10,12
Kenntnis	9,55
Bewegung	9,44
Verbindung	9,16
Marsch	9,07

LVC example	EN (DeepL)	logDice
nyilvánosságra hozott	disclosed	12.4
hozzuk nyilvánosságra	we publish	12.3
hoznak létre	are created	11.5
helyzetbe hozza	puts you in a position	11.3
Malév-pilóta hozta Budapestre	Brought to Budapest by a Malév pilot	10.7
világost hozza előnybe	worldly preference	10.5
pótegyezményt hozott ajándékba	a replacement convention as a gift	10.3
szégyent hozott Magyarországra	brought shame to Hungary	10.1
forgalomba hozott	placed on the market	10.0
rendbe hozni	fix	10.0

Fig. 2.: Light Verb Construction comparison Romanian-German (left) and analysis Hungarian (right) using DeReKo, CoRoLa, HNC and the KorAP-APIs

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'CAN' AND 'MUST'-TYPE MODAL VERBS IN THE DIRECT SANCTIONING OF MISCONDUCT ACROSS EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

Deontic meanings of obligation and permissibility have mostly been studied in relation to modal verbs, even though researchers are aware that such meanings can be conveyed in other ways (consider, for example, the contributions to Nuyts/van der Auwera (eds.) 2016). This presentation reports on an ongoing project that examines deontic meaning but takes as its starting point not a type of linguistic structure but a particular kind of social moment that presumably attracts deontic talk: The management of potentially ‚unacceptable' or untoward actions (taking the last bread roll at breakfast, making a disallowed move during a board game, etc.). Data come from a multi-language parallel video corpus of everyday social interaction in English, German, Italian, and Polish. Here, we focus on moments in which one person sanctions another's behavior as unacceptable. Using interactional-linguistic methods (Couper-Kuhlen/Selting 2018), we examine similarities and differences across these four languages in the use of modal verbs as part of such sanctioning attempts.

First results suggest that modal verbs are not as common in the sanctioning of misconduct as one might expect. Across the four languages, only between 10%–20% of relevant sequences involve a modal verb. Most of the time, in this context, speakers achieve deontic meaning in other ways (e.g., infinitives such as German *nicht so schmatzen*, ‚no smacking'). This raises the question what exactly modal verbs, on those relatively rare occasions when they are used, contribute to the accomplishment of deontic meaning. The reported study pursues this question in two ways: 1) By considering *similarities* across languages in the ways that modal verbs interact with other (verbal) means in the sanctioning of misconduct.; 2) By considering differences across languages in the use of modal verbs. Here, we find that the relevant modal verbs are used similarly in some activity contexts (enforcing rules during board games), but less so in other activity contexts (mundane situations with no codified rules).

In sum, the presented study adds to cross-linguistically grounded knowledge about deontic meaning and its relationships to linguistics structures.

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EXISTENTIAL AND LOCATIVE CLAUSES ACROSS GERMANIC LANGUAGES
A corpus-based contrastive view

The notion of existential construction or existential statement is frequently used in the description of languages in relation to expressions like English *there is/there are* or German *es gibt.* But this raises considerable issues difficulties if we go beyond these few prototypical examples. One of the most blatant cross-linguistic issues here is: How can we distinguish between locative and existential clauses? And should we? The contribution explores this question drawing on insights from McNally (2016), Creissels (2019), Haspelmath (2021).

In Germanic V2 languages, syntax is extremely sensitive to information-structure. Dutch and Danish display an existential construction that superficially mirror English there is (*er is* in Dutch, *der er* in Danish), but where the bleached locative marker (*er*, *der*) is much less strictly bound to the preverbal slot, so that the constructionalisation of the existential phraseme with respect to the free syntactic expression of something being somewhere. In Swedish, the constructions at hand have different origins (*det er*, *det finns*), like in High German (*es gibt*). The study of the parallel corpus Europarl reveals that these constructions are not cross-linguistically equivalent.

The findings of the sudy are actually threefold:

1) existential and locative clauses should be considered parts of the same semantic domain, and in Germanic V2 langages, that domain still displays a high degree of homogeneity;

2) the variations in the constructional realisation of locative-existential meaning are dependent on the constructional autonomy of the information-structural syntactic module (e.g. via scrambling): the more a language can resort to scrambling to mark information structure, the less its existential constructions are separated from the more general realm of locative predication;

3) while 1 and 2 were rather expected, the corpus also shows that the availability of subjectless passives is a crucial factor in the cross-linguistic comparison. In the face of the results from the corpus, it appears that this role of impersonal passives has to do with the ontology of processes: existential constructions can be used in sentences introducing higher-order entities as new discourse referents in languages like English, whereas High German will typically resort to other thetical impersonal constructions, most prominently subjectless passives. Thus, the study suggests the existence of a cross-Germanic accessibility hierarchy for existential constructions: in the Dutch and High German parts of the corpus, existential clauses are mostly restricted to first-order entities; higher-order entities are introduced via thetical clauses, mostly involving passives; Danish and Swedish expand the use of existential clauses to second-order entities. English can construct any kind of entity in an existential clause.

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TWO IS BETTER THAN ONE
Lexical reduplicates in Russian and their equivalents in German

Reduplication is a universal mechanism exploited for various purposes in natural languages. In its narrower sense, reduplication is the immediate repetition of a word or a morpheme for grammatical or semantic purposes, which may, for instance, result in form building (e.g., plural marking), or word formation (e.g., diminutive marking) (Rubino 2013).

In a broader sense, reduplication also includes reduplicative patterns serving pragmatic functions (e.g., emphasis, creativity) and non-immediate (syndetic) repetition of elements. This kind of reduplication is particularly widespread in semi-formulaic idiomatic expressions, such as *boys will be boys*, *Fragen* über *Fragen* 'very many questions' (German), or *guljat' tak guljat'* 'a walk is a walk' (Russian).

Our presentation focuses on a kind of immediate (asyndetic) idiomatic type of reduplication that has come to be known as "contrastive focus reduplication" (CFR) (Ghomeshi et al. 2004), "double" (Dray 1987; Horn 1993), "lexical cloning" (Huang 2015; Horn 2018), or "word iteration" (Stolz 2008). CFR has been described primarily from the perspective of English (Ghomeshi et al. 2004), but is available also in other languages, including Russian:

(1)   Ona takaja kisa-kisa.
        'She is such a kitty-kitty.'

(2)   U vas prjamo svad'ba-svad'ba byla, ili vy ograničivalis' registraciej i uzkim semejnym krugom?
        'Did you have a wedding-wedding, or did you limit yourselves to civil ceremony and a small family circle?' (Giljarova 2010, p. 92)

Russian CFR does not necessarily imply a contrastive focus (cf. example (1)), which is why we prefer the label "Lexical Reduplicates" (LR). In (1), the reduplication intensifies the property metaphorically attributed to the subject referent. Example (2) illustrates a newly emerging type of reduplication in Russian, which indicates a prototype reading of the referent denoted by the reduplicative form. Although the above examples cannot be translated by means of LR into German, examples like (3) do occur in German as well (contra Ghomeshi et al. 2004, p. 312):

(3)   Ich will Kaffee-Kaffee und nicht diese Instantbrühe!
        'I want a coffee-coffee and not this instant brew.' [small caps in original] (Bross/Fraser 2020, p. 3)

Our talk presents the new, "prototype reading" of Russian LR, which, just like the German example given in (3), seems to be motivated by the productivity of this pattern in English. LR in German are much less wide-spread than in Russian, which is why instances of Russian LR cannot usually be translated as LR in German.

Specifically, we will address to the following questions:

1) What semantic types of LR can be distinguished in Russian and German?
2) What formal types of LR can be distinguished in these languages? This includes an account of what modifications, accent patterns and parts of speech are available in LR.
3) When can Russian LR be translated as LR in German, and what are the alternatives when a LR is not available in German?

Methodologically, we make use of authentic language material taken, if available, from parallel corpora. As LR are rare, a bottom-up approach raises a number of questions related to the methodology of corpus linguistics and translation studies, some of which will be addressed in our talk.

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REVISITING NEGATION IN STANDARD ARABIC: AN INTRA- AND INTERLINGUAL ENUNCIATIVE APPROACH

There is ample cross-linguistic evidence that negation is a universal grammatical category which natural languages codify in various linguistic forms. In distant languages like English and Standard Arabic (SA) where negation is expressed in at least six formal operators in SA and only one in English, such marked variation often becomes a recurring nightmare for translation trainees and learners of English and Arabic as foreign languages, and creates challenges for teachers and computational linguists. What induces confusion about how negation works in SA, compared with English, is that traditional approaches to language, which continue to exercise unquestioned authority in pedagogical grammar, have reduced the function of negators to an extralinguistic chronological value: negation in the past, the present and the future.

The aim of this study is to revisit negation in SA from an Enunciative intra- and interlingual perspective that takes into consideration the role of the speaker/writer and the contextual factors intervening in the production and reception of negative utterances. The approach draws on the assumption that the speaker's processing strategy in discourse is the key to understanding the logic of negating in natural languages. Compared with English, and in spite of its metalinguistic richness, Arabic negation has not triggered any significant research that accounts for the working of the six formal negators *lam*, *leisa*, *maa*, *laa*, *lan* and *lammaa*. Whether approached from a prescriptive, descriptive, functional or typological perspective, negators have been assigned the function of time locators of the predicative relation. The study fits within the larger Metaoperational framework (Adamczewski 1982, 1991, 2002) where contrastivity is envisaged as a domain of linguistic investigation, rather than a mere methodological procedure.

Findings suggest that the working of the six negators is governed by an underlying binary microsystem: phase-1 negators, codifying a speaker-detached strategy, and phase-2 negators which have a metalinguistic status and work to codify a speaker-intervenient strategy in discourse. This opposition is not only intra-operational, i.e. within negation, but also inter-operational, i.e. between negation and affirmation as its polar correspondent (Phase 1 vs. Phase 2 affirmators). The following tables recapitulate the key findings of the study.

Introduction

This paper claims that the metalinguistic richness of negation in Standard Arabic (abbreviated SA) has not triggered any significant research that distances itself from the traditional account of negation. Rather, traditional approaches to Arabic syntax still dominate the grammatical landscape and continue to exercise absolute authority in pedagogical grammar. Whether approached from a prescriptive, descriptive, explicative or typological perspective,

pre-verbal and pre-nominal negators have been treated essentially as conveying a temporal value that accounts for their working in discourse: negation in the past, in the present, and in the future.

Based on a corpus of utterances collected from different sources, such as the International Arabic Corpus, the Quran, and literary texts, this study questions the chronological treatment of negation in the dominant theoretical and pedagogical grammar. It also shows that negators in SA do not function as time locators of the predicative relation (R) or work in free variation. Rather, they constitute a micro-system of interrelated units governed by an enunciative logic and contextual factors.

A metaoperational analysis of negation in SA

Lam, maa, leisa, lammaa, laa, and *lan* constitute the nucleus of the Arabic negation system and behave as a micro-system governed by inter-related binary oppositions. These oppositions are not only intra-operational, i.e. within negation, but also inter-operational, i.e. in symmetry with their functional correspondents in affirmation. Consequently, intra- and inter-contrastivity is the approach adopted to investigate the working of the following pairs: (*lam* vs. *maa*), (*lam* vs. *lammaa*), (*leisa* vs.*maa,)* and (*laa* vs. *lan*).

Table (2) and (3) recapitulate the key findings related to the application of the binary microsystem underlying discourse:

Intra-operation contrastivity			Inter-operation contrastivity		
Negation			**Negation**	vs.	**Affirmation**
Phase 1	vs.	**Phase 2**	lam	vs.	Ø + v + past
lam	vs.	maa	maa	vs.	ʻinna
lamma	vs.	no equivalent	lamma	vs.	laqad
leisa	vs.	Maa	laa	vs.	Ø + v + imperf.
laa	vs.	Lan	lan	vs.	sa-/sawfa
laa	vs.	Kallaa	maa…bi…	vs.	ʻinna…la…
leisa…bi…	vs.	maa…bi…	laa	vs.	naʻam
			ʻajal	vs.	kallaa

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NOT TO MENTION "POR NO DECIR": A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF A COMPLEMENTARY ALTERNATION DISCOURSE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH

Keywords Complementary alternation; not to say/por no decir; corpus analysis

English has several complementary alternation discourse constructions where two elements X and Y are presented in contrast within an entailment scale, with Y representing a stronger element in the scale, and considered to be more (or less) likely to occur: X if not Y, X, let alone Y, X never mind Y, among others (Fillmore/Kay/O'Connor 1988; Ranger 2007; Penner 2018; Erviti 2015; Sawada 2003; Capelle/Dugas, Edwige/Tobin 2015; Ron Vaz 2021, 2022).

This paper focuses on one such construction "X not to mention/say Y" and contrasts it with the Spanish construction "X por no decir/mencionar Y". These constructions may present the Y element as an additional element to be interpreted (and highlighted), as in (1)–(2), or the two elements are presented in contrast with one being considered more or less likely to occur than the other, as in (3)–(4):

(1)   One of the best and memorable experiences is seeing the underwater beauty of this island. Through this you would be able to know the different kinds of creatures under the sea. This adventure is very perfect for this place since the water is clear and blue not to mention the unique and beautiful creatures under the water.

(2)   La publicidad es bastante aburrida, por no decir que cada vez dura más y más.

(3)   But beyond the shiny exterior, my impressions found a city whose social fabric is a bit unsustainable, not to mention inadequate to hold together the dreams and aspirations of the size of this city's

(4)   Miles de hogares están sin electricidad porque las compañías les han cortado el suministro, otras miles, por no decir millones, hacen malabares para pagar el dichoso recibo de la luz más cara del mundo …

A corpus analysis contrasting American English data from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (Davies 2008–) and European Spanish data form the Corpus del Español (Davies 2016–) has been conducted focusing on two distinct goals: (a) a characterization of the relationship(s) between the X and Y elements; and (b) the analysis of the discursive function(s) of these constructions. The results shows that these two factors are interrelated and that the nature of the relationship and whether an actual entailment scale is presented affects the interpretation and use of the construction.

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VERBS FOR EXPRESSING THE MODIFICATION OF OBJECTS
Lexicalisation strategies and preferences in German and Italian

Since Talmy (cf. 1985) we know that languages show very different lexicalisation preferences when verbalising motion events and that Italian, as a Romance language, prefers to express the direction of movement, PATH in Talmy's terms, in its verbs (e.g. in *salire*), whereas German, as a Germanic language, tends to outsource this semantic component to a satellite and encodes the type of movement (MANNER) in the verb itself instead (e.g. in *hinaufgehen*). Following on, studies on other semantic classes of action verbs (cf. e.g. Talmy 2000; Herslund 2007; Korzen 2016 and 2018) have shown that Germanic languages also have a high "manner salience" (Slobin 2004) in this verbs, while Romance languages tend to focus on the RESULT of an action and prefer generic verbs (cf. Moneglia/Panunzi 2010) with a high extension for many actions, which are characterised precisely by the absence of the MANNER component (cf. Korzen 2018). Also, German verbs seem to have a higher variation in expressing concrete actions, not least due to its possibilities of verbal word formation with preverbs (besides *wischen*, for example, we find *abwischen*, *aufwischen*, *wegwischen*, cf. Donalies 2011).

The proposed paper takes a look at the semantic subclass of verbs for expressing the modification of an object and specifically for expressing drying and cleaning events, which are particularly characterised by the semantic components MANNER (How is an object cleaned/dried?) and RESULT (What is the processed object like after the action?). It asks not only what kind of verbs or verbal expressions with what semantic features the two languages provide for this subclass, but rather what kind of verbs speakers of German and Italian actually prefer in a given context.

To this end, an online experiment was conducted between 2019 and 2020 in which the participating test subjects were shown a total of 20 short videos or animations in which a person could be seen performing a specific activity. For each video, the participants were asked to answer the simple question: What is the person you see doing? The sample drawn consisted of 30 test persons per language, originating from different regions of the Italian and German speaking areas and comparable in terms of age and educational background. For this study, their response sentences to a total of nine videos (see figure 1) showing a person cleaning or drying an object were evaluated. There were therefore 270 responses per language.

The research questions were: What variation can be found in the verbalisation of drying and cleaning events by verbs in German and Italian? Which semantic features are encoded particularly frequently by the languages in each case and in which part of the verbal expression (especially for German, more in the base verb or in the satellite) and what role do the different word formation possibilities play in this?

The evaluation yielded the following results: The German sample uses a total of 43 verbs or verbal expressions to describe the nine short video animations, while the Italian sample uses only 24 for the same scenes. The variation is thus significantly higher in German, which is also related to the different verbal word formation possibilities of this language.

As expected, the German verbs prefer to express the MANNER component. A total of 69.6% of the verbs mentioned contain it, alone (24.8%) or in combination with other components (besides RESULT, also PRIVATION, among others). In contrast, the component RESULT is most frequent among the Italian verbs. It is found in a total of 48.1% of the answers, in 45.9% as the only component, namely in the high-frequency general verbs *asciugare* and *pulire*. German combines semantic features in its (complex) verbs significantly more often than Italian. In the German sample, the responses contain an average of 1.5 features, in Italian 1.1.

Awareness of these different lexicalisation strategies is of high importance also for the applied disciplines closely related to contrastive linguistics, such as foreign language teaching and translation and its didactics.
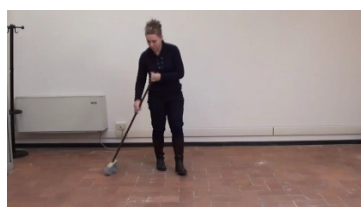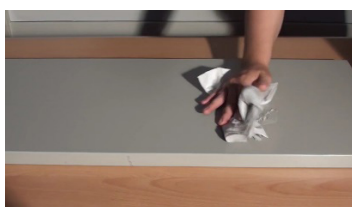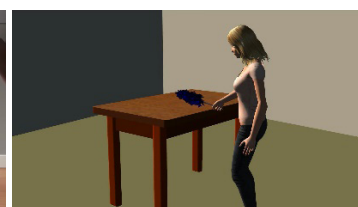
Scene 1　　　　　Scene 2　　　　　Scene 3
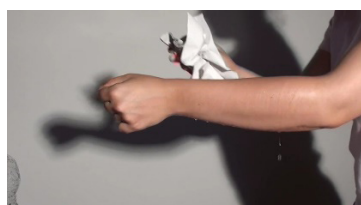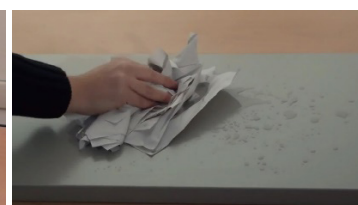
Scene 4　　　　　Scene 5　　　　　Scene 6
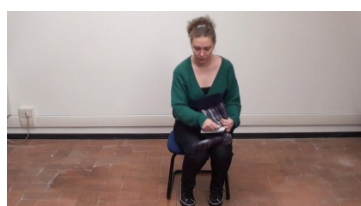
Scene 7　　　　　Scene 8　　　　　Scene 9

Fig. 1:　Scenes *drying and cleaning-events* (www.imagact.it)

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EXPRESSING THE DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE AND ATTITUDE IN CZECH AND GERMAN

We present a corpus study investigating how different stance markers are translated from English to Czech and German. In the latter two languages, speakers may express their degree of confidence or their attitude with modal particles.[1] We define these particles as noninflected sentence modifiers that add expressive meaning to an utterance (Zimmermann 2011; Nekula 2017), see (1). In this example, the particle indicates that in the opinion of the person answering in (1a-b), the speaker asking the question already knows (or should know) Paul is sick. Our definition of stance follows the definition given by Biber et al. (1999): Stance markers convey a speaker's feelings, attitudes, and judgments.

(1)   Didn't Paul want to be here? (slightly adapted from Nekula 1996)
(1a)   Pavel je *př*ece nemocný.
(1b)   Paul ist *doch* krank.
        'Paul is PART sick.'

Between 1980 and 2010, there has been some research on the equivalence of (modal) particles in Czech and German. Researchers identify and discuss equivalent pairs of particles in both languages, sometimes based on corpora of translated literature (Masařic 1982; Birckmann 1991; Spěváková 1992; Nekula 1996; Rinas 2006, 2010). While most of the existing literature focuses on the comparison of German *denn*, *doch*, and *ja* to possible Czech equivalents like *přece*, *vždyť*, *však*, and *copak*, other pairs have been studied less frequently. One of these combinations is the German particle *wohl* and its possible equivalents *snad* in exclamative (Rinas 2010) and *asi* in declarative (Masařic 1982) sentences.

Since previous corpus studies have been based on corpora of translated literature, we conduct a corpus study comparing the use of the modal particles *asi* and *snad* in Czech and *wohl* in German using the recent TED2020 corpus. TED2020 contains transcripts of TED and TED-X talks from July 2020 that have been translated by volunteers to many different languages[2] and aligned on a sentence level. The parallel data are available through the open parallel corpus OPUS (Tiedemann 2012).[3] In total, the parallel corpus of Czech and German transcripts contains 154,626 sentence pairs (~4.49M tokens). We use a sub-corpus of 600 sentence pairs (200 sentence pairs per particle, 13,486 tokens).

This corpus allows us to study how speakers of different languages translate a speaker's degree of confidence and attitude expressed in English into Czech and German. We use the aligned transcripts to contrast the different translations, comparing whether a sentence that is translated to Czech using *asi* or *snad* is translated to German using *wohl* or any

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[1]   Other frequently used terms are 'discourse particles' in English, 'Abtönungs-', 'Diskurs'- or 'Modal-partikeln' in German or 'částice modifikační' in Czech.

[2]   https://www.ted.com/participate/translate.

[3]   https://opus.nlpl.eu/index.php.

other type of stance marker. In the same way, we compare sentences with *wohl* to the Czech translations.

Our results show that there is variety in the marker of confidence or attitude translators choose, ranging from the expected (or other) modal particles to adverbs, phrases, or no realization at all, see Table 1 for an overview on parallel translations of *snad.*

	snad	wohl	vielleicht	other particles[4]	other adverbs	phrases[5]	other[6]	none
declarative	163 (81.5)	7 (3.5)	48 (24.0)	7 (3.5)	37 (18.5)	13 (6.5)	17 (8.5)	34 (17.0)
question	37 (18.5)	0	1 (0.5)	11 (5.5)	3 (1.5)	1 (0.5)	3 (1.5)	18 (9.0)
total	200 (100)	7 (3.5)	49 (24.5)	18 (9.0)	40 (20.0)	14 (7.0)	20 (10.0)	52 (26.0)

Table 1: Translations chosen in German for sentences that were translated to Czech using *snad.* Absolute and relative count, divided by sentence type

This corpus study cannot be compared to a translation task that asks translators to choose the most literal translation, and therefore cannot account for whether native speakers would translate a Czech sentence containing *snad* with *wohl* in German or not. However, it shows the variety of stance markers used when translating a sentence from English, and that modal particles are used, even though English itself does not use modal particles for expressing confidence or attitude (cf. Grosz 2022).

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[4]   Including other modal particles, focus particles, and intensifying particles.

[5]   E.g., *denke ich* ('I think'), *ich hoffe* ('I hope'), *wenn nicht sogar* ('if not (even)'), etc.

[6]   E.g., using a different sentence mode, tag questions, etc.

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CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE IDIOMATICITY OF IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS IN FRENCH AND CHINESE

Keywords Idiomaticity; idiomatic expressions; Chéngyǔ; French-Chinese

I propose a communication aiming at the comparative analysis of the idiomaticity (民族性 *mínzúxìng*) of French idiomatic expressions (ex: avoir la tête dans les nuages) with their Chinese counterparts: 成语 *chéngyǔ*,[1] both characterized by a high degree of fixity. It is "a construction specific to a language, which has no exact lexical or syntactic equivalent in another language, and which cannot be translated literally" (Neveu 2004).

Our theoretical methodological analysis focuses on three aspects of idiomaticity: linguistic, cultural and stylistic. This study is based on a corpus (of 2400 entries) established from specialized monolingual and bilingual dictionaries in Chinese and French. I have already obtained the following results:

Linguistically, IEs and *chengyǔ* are characterized by their polylexicality, semantic non-compositionality, lexical and syntactic fixity. However, the idiomaticity (intra- and inter-linguistic) of IEs and *chéngyǔ* presents some differences. Indeed, the former do not present such a specific structure as in Chinese where the quaternary rhythm (or quadrisyllabism) dominates.

From the cultural point of view, IEs and *chengyǔ* are loaded with implicits carrying the idiosyncrasy of a culture, a state of society, a collective way of seeing things, a certain historicity and conventionality. Nevertheless, most French IEs come from a popular and oral tradition. They have inherited all the connotations that this implies: familiarity and banality, among others (González Rey 1997, p. 291). The *chéngyǔ* on the contrary are mainly in the bookish realm (Shi 1979; Doan 1982; Sun 1989; Wang 2006), and have acquired their letters of nobility through the pen of a famous writer.

In both languages, they have a rich stylistic value through their use of rhetorical figures (metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy, etc.), which generates a certain lexical and semantic opacity. The higher their metaphorical degree, the more difficult they are to understand. I thus study from the explicit to the implicit comparison, or "abbreviated comparison" (metaphor) according to the term of González Rey (2002).

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[1] For example: 佛口蛇心 *fókǒu-shéxīn* (Buddha+mouth+snake+heart): Buddha's words, serpent's heart/ honeyed words but evil mind.

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IMPERSONAL ACTS OF SPEAKING AND THINKING IN A PARALLEL CORPUS OF TURKISH AND KURMANJI KURDISH ACADEMIC WRITINGS

Based on an aligned parallel corpus of academic writings published simultaneously in Turkish and Kurmanji Kurdish, this paper looks at passivisation and nominalisation as two of several strategies used to achieve effects of impersonality in academic writing.

Turkish and Kurdish, which are in close contact through the bilingualism of the Kurdish speakers, belong to different language families (Turkic versus Iranian) and are typologically quite distant from each other. Turkish uses nominalised verbs both derivationally and inflectionally, the latter to build semi-finite subordinate clauses. Kurdish subordination is finite, but it uses verbal nouns in nominal style. Turkish nominalised verbs carry voice and person information; this is not the case in Kurmanji Kurdish. Therefore Kurdish nominalised verbs lend themselves to use for effects of impersonalisation, where Turkish uses other strategies, often passivisation.

In contemporary academic writing, actants at the level of knowledge and text creation (observers and authors) tend to be backgrounded in an otherwise specific situation in order to achieve stylistic effects of objectivisation and abstraction (Hohenstein 2012; Kameyama 2012), at the expense of subjective intentionality or volitionality. Crosslinguistically, there are various ways of doing this (Malchukov/Ogawa 2011; Akar 2011 for Turkish; Jahani/Viberg 2010 for Iranian). Relevant functional concepts referred to in this connection are subject- and agenthood (Siewierska 2008), actant representation (Johanson 1990), agent demotion (Blevins 2003), and specificity (Johanson 2006).

Data analysis so far suggests that the preferred strategy for impersonalisation in Turkish are passives, whereas Kurmanji Kurdish prefers nominalisation. The present study makes use of the parallel structure of the corpus in order to compare functional equivalents. The data are approached from two sides: looking at impersonal passives in the Turkish version in oder to see how they were rendered in the Kurmanji Kurdish translation and looking at impersonal verbal nouns in the Kurdish versions in order to see which strategy was used in the Turkish original. Example (1) illustrates one instance of verbal noun use in the Kurdish version (1b) where a passive was used in the Turkish version (1a):

(1a)   Turkish
Çalışma-nın   üçüncü ve   dördüncü bölüm-ün-de,   bir saha
study-GEN   third and fourth   chapter-PSS3-LOC one field
*çalışma-sı ve   bunun **değerlendir-il-me-si** yer   al-mak-ta-dır.*
study-PSS3 and this-GEN evaluate-PAS-VN-PSS3 place take-VN-LOC-COP
'In Chapters three and four of the study a field study and its evaluation take place'

(1b)   Kurmanji Kurdish
Beş-ên   sêyem û   çarem ên   xebat-ê   hat-in-e
chapter-EZF.PL third and fourth EZF.PL study-OBL.F come.PST-PL-DIR

*terxankir-in ji.bo lêkol-în-eke meydan-î û **nirxand-in-eke***
dedicate-vn for study-vn-ezf.ind.f field-adj and evaluate-vn-ezf.ind.f
li.ser vêlêkol-în-ê.
about this-obl.f research-vn-obl.f
'The third and fourth chapters of the study have been dedicated to a field study and an evaluation of this research'

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GRAMMATICAL GENDER IN THREE GERMANIC VARIETIES

Pennsylvania Dutch (PD) is a German variety spoken in North America. It originates from German-speaking immigrants of various groups and origins. Though PD is the result of dialect leveling, the Palatinate dialect spoken in the eastern part of the state of Rhineland-Palatinate in Germany (*Vorderpfalz*) is the continental German dialect that bears the greatest resemblance to PD (Ferré 1994). Contemporary Yiddish (CY) – a minority language primarily spoken by ultraorthodox Hasidic Jews – differs from pre-war varieties due to World War II and post-war conditions (Belk/Kahn/Szendrői 2022). Like other Germanic languages, each of these varieties inherited a three-way gender system consisting of masculine, feminine, and neuter. Gender agreement is marked on determiners, adjectives, and pronouns. However, each variety does not fully adhere to their respective prescribed paradigms. How are we to understand this variation?

The PD data come from linguistic tasks – elicitation and acceptability judgments targeting determiners, adjective inflections, and pronoun use – conducted with 8 Amish native speakers from Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Palatinate data are taken from written sources such as Karch (1975) and from online corpora and language atlases (Wenker 1889–1923; Bellmann/Herrgen/Schmidt 2002). CY data are provided by recent journal publications (e.g., Belk/Kahn/Szendrői 2022).

Formal (grammatical) gender can be linked to a noun's morphological and/or phonological shape (Corbett 1991). Assignment of grammatical gender is, however, difficult to establish when agreement markers are inconsistent. PD – as spoken by the Amish in Lancaster – has undergone extensive case syncretism (Ferré 1994) and also shows signs of gender syncretism. Neuter marking is drastically reduced (only 14.69% of neuter nouns appeared with the neuter definite article) and masculine *der* and feminine/plural *die* definite articles are difficult to distinguish. Interestingly, gender marking is better maintained on adjective inflections (over 70% were target-like) though some evidence of syncretism is found in the overextension of masculine {-*er*} to both feminine and neuter. Palatinate, like Standard German, maintains a clearly tripartite system of gender. However, the shortened definite article *de* is attested both for masculine *der* and feminine *die* (Karch 1975, p. 23) and adjective inflections are variable (Bellmann/Herrgen/Schmidt 2002) showing that gender marking is not as rigid as grammar paradigms typically suggest. Belk/Kahn/Szendrői (2022) consider determiners and adjectives and conclude that grammatical gender and case have been lost in CY.

In accordance with Corbett's (1991, p. 226) agreement hierarchy, semantic gender – governed by biological sex and animacy – regulates pronominal reference more than attributive aspects like adjective inflection. Krogh/Petersen (2019) for example show that the CY neuter pronoun is commonly used to refer to masculine and feminine inanimate nouns while the masculine and feminine pronouns can be used in violation of grammatical gender for biological male and female referents. This pattern is also attested in PD (the neuter pronoun was preferred for inanimates).

Examining Palatinate shows that PD did not inherit a rigid, invariable gender system though it was tripartite. By considering CY (comparable to PD in its connection to an ethno-religious group identity, complicated history of formation, and status as a minority language), we see that a variety similar to PD can undergo extensive gender syncretism culminating in the loss of gender. These findings shed light on the origins of this PD gender system which is clearly in flux, illuminate its potential trajectory, and have implications for the development of gender systems more broadly.

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WEATHER NOUNS IN FRENCH AND RUSSIAN
From structural possibilities to semantic particularities

Keywords Weather nouns; binominal constructions; atmospheric uses; metaphorical uses

It is commonly admitted that weather nouns form a well-delimited semantic class characterized by a particular syntactic behavior (Ruwet 1990; Eriksen/Kittilä/Kolehmainen 2010). Moreover, almost all weather nouns authorize properly atmospheric and metaphorical uses. The aim of our presentation is to verify the particularity of their syntactic and semantic behavior when they are accompanied by a complement in French and Russian. Our research is based on the empirical analysis of the use of ten weather nouns ('rain', 'drizzle', 'snow', 'hail', 'wind', 'fog', 'heat', 'thunder', 'lightning', 'storm') in two comparable corpora, i.e. the Russian National Corpus and Frantext. We will examine to what extent the specific behavior of weather nouns is language specific and can be linked to the structural possibilities available in a given language.

For the present study, we limited our investigation to one particular sub-construction in French, namely *un* N *de* N, which authorizes both metaphorical and properly meteorologic uses of weather nouns. Moreover, when appearing as N1, weather nouns allow almost the entire spectrum of interpretations available in this binominal construction (Bartning 1987, 1996; Flaux 1999; Strnadová 2010), next to some additional ones possible solely with this semantic class of nouns. Indeed, when the weather noun functions as the phrasal head, the complement can acquire a characterizing reading, as in (1), an intensive reading, as in (2), a mix of the two, as in (3), or even function as a sort of cognate object, as in (4), interpretation proper to weather nouns.

(1)   Un vent d'est, âpre et froid, soufflait. (G. Flaubert, Bouvard et Pécuchet, 1881)
        'A wind from the East, harsh and cold, was blowing.'

(2)   Il faisait une chaleur de plomb [&]. (P. Fournel, Besoin de vélo, 2001)
        'It was blazingly hot.'

(3)   Une pluie de déluge ! (E. Sue, Les Mystères de Paris, 1843)
        'A deluge rain!'

(4)   […] ; tandis que, du centre du pouf, un jet colossal de fleurs montait, une gerbe de tiges parmi lesquelles retombaient des roses, des œillets […] pareils à une pluie de gouttes éclatantes. (É. Zola, Son Excellence Eugène Rougon, 1876)
        '[…]; while, from the center of the footstool, a colossal jet of flowers went up, a spray of stems among which fell roses, carnations […] like a rain of bright drops.'

When a weather noun functions as a complex determiner, it does not function as a mere quantifier but stays a qualifier, another exclusively weather-noun-particularity, emphasizing various facets of meaning inside a weather noun, such as manner of movement and intensity, as in (5), or its material characteristic, as in (6).

(5)   Maître Saval prit le balai [...] et se mit à frotter maladroitement le parquet en soulevant un ouragan de poussière. (G. de Maupassant, Contes et nouvelles, 1833)
'Mr. Saval took the broom [...] and began to scrub the floor clumsily, raising a hurricane of dust.'

(6)   A peine séchés, nos bras et nos jambes se couvraient d'un givre de sel fin. (Colette, La Naissance du jour, 1928)
'Barely dry, our arms and legs were covered with a frost of fine salt.'

In Russian, most weather nouns can be modified by three different morphological structures in which the weather noun always functions as a syntactic head: they can be followed by a noun in the genitive case, as in (7), by a prepositional phrase using the preposition *iz*+genitive, as in (8), and by an adjective, as in (9).

(7)   [...] puskaj na našej svad'be budet vertolët i puskaj on sbrosit na gostej celyj dožd' rozovyx kamelij. (RNC)
'[...] let there be a helicopter at our wedding and let it drop a rain of pink camellias on our guests.'

(8)   A požar vyzval dožd' iz pepla, na neskol'ko dnej pokryvšij gorod gustym tumanom. (RNC)
'But the fire caused a rain of ashes, which enveloped the city with a dense fog for several days.'

(9)   Železnyj vixr' vyl vokrug blindaža, kosil vsë živoe [...]. (RNC)
'An iron whirlwind howled around the dugout, mowing down every living thing.'

Our data reveal language specific tendencies with respect to the frequency of weather nouns in different constructions, and their preference for properly meteorologic and metaphorical uses.

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SEMANTIC MAPS AND ACTION FORMATION
The case of response tokens

In Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics, a lot of knowledge about social actions and their formation across a variety of languages has accumulated. The structure and status of action in relation to e.g. linguistic form is a current topic of interest (Deppermann/Haugh 2022), while another growing concern is the comparability of interactional descriptions based on different languages, discussed within and relevant for Pragmatic Typology (Rossi/Floyd/Enfield 2020).

This paper considers the question whether semantic maps may be useful for action description, and how it can inform interactional and contrastive linguistics. A semantic map (Haspelmath 2003) is a way to visualize or formulate relations between functions or meanings, and can be used to convey implicational hierarchies and relations between functions of certains forms, such as how they overlap or are distinctive. Given the amount of interactional descriptions of different actions, it may be possible to structure this knowledge through semantic maps to gain systematic overview.

The paper will for Danish use a combination of descriptions from existing literature (e.g. Sørensen 2020) and conversational collections from corpora, of response tokens. This will be contrasted with relevant descriptions of response tokens in English (on the basis of e.g. Stivers 2022 and Couper-Kuhlen/Selting 2018). Response tokens are particular words whose primary function is to perform responsive actions, such as confirmation, compliance, continuation and receipt. They are well-studied as examples of responsive action (Stivers 2022). The main basis for the paper are cases from everyday conversations and comparisons between specific words such as *ja* 'yes', *nej* 'no', *nå*, approx. 'oh', and *okay* and potentially more. Each word will be given its own semantic map, and the semantic maps will be 'classic'. The resulting description shows that these words vary a lot, but that some of the variation can be conveyed through a semantic map of action. The paper will discuss this as a proof-of-concept while also considering interactional research into comparable words and phenomena in other languages.

By combining the conversation analytic focus on detailed description of the understanding of linguistic elements with contrastive description, the method may be able to empirically ground functional concepts in participants' understanding and offer perspectives on unifying action terminology for contrastive purposes. These observations can also inform linguistic and typological description and future interactional studies.

The potential of this method must also be understood in relation to its limits. Creating a semantic map of action builds on conversation analytic description, but also involves a fair amount of interpretation and calibration of studies of varied material, where some precision may be lost. The results also open the question of granularity, how distinctive contrasts in a map may be to participants under which circumstances, and how to account for the role of context when comparing. The discrete nodes on a map may not always be realized as

categorical units in interaction (also see Zinken/Küttner 2022). It may also be discussed whether such maps are still "semantic" rather than pragmatic, which plays into discussions of the relation between semantics and pragmatics and the status of such notions.

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WHAT ARE THE LINGUISTIC TABOOS ON THE TABOONESS OF INCEST?

A cross-linguistic research to query the universality of the incest taboo

Keywords   Cross-linguistic corpus-assisted discourse analysis; taboo language; incest; media discourse

Taboos have been prevalent in all societies throughout history. Taboos prescribe behaviours related to death, food, and sexuality, and one of the primary sexual taboos is incest. Incest is worth exploring from a sociolinguistic perspective as it is both a social and linguistic taboo. Incest is defined as a prohibition of marrying within a kinship and is said to be universal (Lévi-Strauss 1949).

Therefore, we aim to investigate whether the same social taboo is reflected in similar linguistic taboos across different languages and cultures. To achieve this, we will conduct a cross-linguistic study comparing the treatment of the incest taboo in British and French newspapers. A corpus was compiled through the keyword incest from 2017 to 2022, starting from the #MeToo outburst up to the first collection day.

To begin with, we will discuss the methodological challenges of using corpus linguistics to study cross-linguistic taboos. Cross-linguistic studies are an under-explored area of corpus linguistics (Freake/Gentil/Sheyholislami 2011; Vessey 2013; Taylor 2014; Nardone 2016). Conducting a cross-linguistic study involves three main methodological issues. The first consideration is to ensure equivalent keywords in both languages across unparallel yet comparable corpora. The second issue is a 'translation-related challenge' (Partington et al. 2013, p. 190). The final consideration is that not all cultural elements are transferable from one context to another, which implies a 'cross-cultural variation' (ibid., p. 191). For instance, the French newspapers are divided into national and regional publications, unlike the British press, split into tabloids and broadsheets.

Finally, we will analyse the use of language, including keywords (Baker 2004; Baker/ Gabrielatos/McEnery 2013; Brookes/Baker 2021) and discourse prosodies (Baker 2006; Partington (ed.) 2013; Taylor/Marchi 2018; Tranchese 2023), to discuss incest in these two cultures. The linguistic similarities and differences will be closely examined to question the universality of the incest taboo.

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EVALUATION IN LEGAL DISCOURSE
The case of judicial English and Polish Eurolects

This paper examines evaluative linguistic devices in two Eurolects, more specifically the English and Polish judicial Eurolects, from a comparative corpus- and genre-based perspective. It focuses primarily on two interconnected genres, namely: Advocate Generals' (AGs') opinions and judgments issued by the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU). The paper addresses two main questions: to what extent AGs' opinions and CJEU judgments are evaluative and what are the (quantifiable) characteristics of their evaluative language when contrasted with non-translated national varieties of English and Polish?

Evaluation (cf. Hunston 2007) is operationalized as the manner in which AGs and judges express their stance in legal argumentation which is generally viewed as objective. Despite AGs' opinions being impartial and independent, they are not binding for CJEU judges. Nevertheless, AGs' arguments are oftentimes assessed by the court, which might result in the (in)direct "transfer" of evaluation. Therefore, the interplay between both AGs' opinions and CJEU judgments constitutes a compelling research topic, especially considering the importance of evaluation in legal argumentation. Eurolects have been observed to depart from certain conventions of national (legal) languages (cf. Biel 2014), while evaluative linguistic devices have been found to act as a distinctive feature of the English Eurolect (Biel/Koźbiał/ Müller 2021). However, evaluation has not been studied extensively as part of contrastive research on two interrelated genres in the judicial context and languages. It has been studied mainly based on judgments drafted in English (e.g. Mazzi 2010; Goźdź-Roszkowski 2022), Polish (e.g. Koźbiał 2020a,b), Italian (Goźdź-Roszkowski/Pontrandolfo 2013), and, only to a certain degree, across legal systems (e.g. Cheng/Cheng 2014; Goźdź-Roszkowski 2017), as well as, to a limited extent, based on AGs' opinions written in English (e.g. Szczyrbak 2017).

The study uses corpus methods, along with a manual qualitative analysis of selected evaluative linguistic devices and their context. The comparable corpus of judicial texts is made up of four subcorpora: English language versions of AGs' opinions, English language versions of CJEU judgments issued following an AG's opinion, Polish language versions of AGs' opinions, and Polish language versions of CJEU judgments issued following an AG's opinion. The reference corpus, which acts as a reference for translated English and Polish judicial language, is made up of UK Supreme Court Judgments (UKSC) which represent non-translated English judicial language, and judgments issued by the Polish Supreme Court (PLSC) which represent non-translated Polish judicial language. The comparable corpora of judgments are representative of the respective judicial varieties of legal language; CJEU and PLSC judgments exemplify the civil law legal tradition, whereas UKSC judgments are representative of the common law legal tradition. The findings generally confirm the high reliance on evaluative devices by judges. There are, however, intra-generic and inter-systemic differences in the patterning of evaluative language, as translated CJEU legal texts deviate from non-translated language of UKSC and PLSC judgments. This contributes to the divergent textual fit to comparable non-translated texts. Overall, the study contributes to the linguistic, corpus-assisted study of evaluation in the judicial variety of legal language.

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CONTRASTING ENGLISH NOUN-PHRASE COMPLEXITY WITH GERMAN AND SWEDISH

From *marshmallow experiments* to *Highclere gardeners*

The noun phrase (NP) is one of the prime sites where languages show different preferences. A key issue is that while some languages like English and German typically place a lot of information before the NP head, others, such as Swedish, seem to prefer the postposition (e.g., Ström Herold/Levin 2019). This study targets English noun premodifiers, also referred to as noun sequences (e.g., Biber/Grieve/Iberri-Shea 2009; Biber/Gray 2016; Smitterberg 2021). Two examples are given in (1) and (2) with their German and Swedish translations:

(1)

a	*BBC*		*photographer*	(LEGS; En. original)
ein-en	*BBC-Fotograf-en*			(Ge. translation)
a-M.ACC	BBC-photographer-M.ACC			
'a BBC photographer'				
en	*fotograf*	*från*	*BBC*	(Sw. translation)
a-N-N	photographer	from	BBC	
'a photographer from the BBC'				

(2)

bumblebee habits				(LEGS; En. original)
die	*Verhaltensweisen*	*von*	*Hummeln*	(Ge. translation)
the-DEF.ART.PL	habits-PL	of	bumblebees-DAT.PL	
'the habits of bumblebees'				
humlors		levnadsvanor		(Sw. translation)
bumblebees-GEN.INDEF.PL		habits-PL		
'bumblebees' habits'				

As illustrated above, noun sequences may contain proper (*BBC*) or common nouns (*bumblebee*), and the translations showcase different correspondence types, ranging from compounds to prepositional phrases (PPs) and genitives. Although there is an abundance of monolingual research on English noun sequences, contrastive studies are largely lacking (recent exceptions being Berg 2017; Ström Herold/Levin 2019 and Kosmata/Schlücker 2022). In our study we explore English noun sequences through the lens of German and Swedish correspondences, addressing the following research questions:

– What are the German and Swedish correspondences of English noun sequences, and how are these distributed?
– How do the categorial status of the modifiers (common or proper noun) and the semantic relationship between modifiers and heads affect the distributions of correspondences?
– What do the German and Swedish correspondences tell us about language-specific preferences, and/or translation-related effects, such as explicitation and implicitation (Baker 1993)?

Our data originate from the five-million-word bidirectional *Linnaeus University English-German-Swedish* corpus (LEGS). The corpus consists of contemporary non-fiction texts, such as popular science and history. The condensed and information-focused nature of these texts make them optimal for our study. We extracted noun sequences in English originals and translations from tagged text files (3,000 tokens in all), and classified them according to formal and functional features. Contrary to our initial expectations, 3+-part sequences are rare (10%), and thus we focus mainly on 2-part sequences.

Our study shows that the most common correspondence type – regardless of language and translation direction – is the compound noun (cf. Berg 2017). No significant difference is attested between German and Swedish translations in this respect. A significant difference nevertheless emerges in the strong Swedish preference for postmodification. We found that the categorial status of the premodifier is a relevant factor for the correspondence type, common noun premodifiers favouring compounds. Proper noun premodifiers instead favour genitive phrases and PP postmodifiers. As for semantics, the most prevalent relationships between heads and modifiers in the English originals are KIND and PURPOSE, the latter being particularly associated with compounding in translations (*war elephants* > *Kriegselefanten* (Ge.) / *stridselefanter* (Sw.)). However, a wide range of correspondence types appears in our data. Among these, we find cases of omission of the premodifier (*drug connoisseurs* > *Connaisseure* (Ge.)). Such examples can be seen as instances of implicitation (Baker 1993). Explicitation (ibid.), on the other hand, is exemplified in the addition of a specifying premodifier (*juice* (Sw.) > *fruit juice*).

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A VERB CLASSES MODEL IN A CROSS-LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

Keywords Causatives; anticausatives; change of state verbs; degree achievements; argument structure; valency alternations; analysis of comparative concepts

Introduction. The talk compares the behavior of (anti-)causatives, in particular of change of state verbs (CoS) (*open*, *close*) (Fillmore 1970; Levin, 2013) and degree achievements (DAs) (*dim*, *dry*) (Kennedy 2001; Kennedy/Levin 2008), reflexives and middles (Abraham 2005; Schäfer 2008; inter alia) in German, English and Greek. Verbs expressing a change-of-state take agents and/or causers as external argument; they have a use that lacks an external argument syntactically and semantically (Levin/Rappaport Hovav 1998; Reinhart 2002). In German, verbs undergoing the causative alternation, can appear: (a) as morphologically unmarked i.e., unmarked anticausatives (see 1a,b), and (b) as (reflexively) marked anti-causatives, in case they appear with the reflexive pronoun 'sich' (Schäfer 2008; Alexiadou/Anagnostopoulou/Schäfer 2015; Haspelmath 2019; inter alia) (see 2a,b). DAs can be either morphologically marked (with the reflexive pronoun 'sich') or unmarked (see 3), while middles (4a) and reflexives (4b) show up with the reflexive 'sich'. (Anti-)causative CoS verbs in Greek can appear: i) with a morphological marking (5a) (s. Alexiadou/Anagnostopoulou/Schäfer 2015; inter alia), ii) without a morphological marking (5b), iii) with an optional marking that correlates with a difference in interpretation (Alexiadou/Anagnostopoulou/Schäfer 2015, p. 88) (see 5c), while middles (6a) and reflexives (6b) remain always morpho-logically marked (Schäfer 2008; Alexiadou/Anagnostopoulou/Schäfer 2015, p. 64).

Aim: The aim of the talk is to propose a model that introduces an analysis of comparative concepts of the verbs under investigation (Sioupi 2019, 2021, 2022), relating morpho-syntactic and semantic information to each other.

Methodology: The proposed model views valency alternations (Herbst 1992, 2011; Herbst/Schüller 2008; Zanchi/Combei/Luraghi 2022) and argument structure as a primary means identifying verb class alternations (Sioupi 2019, 2021, 2022, 2022). The analysis is built on different levels: (a) the argument structure (argument variables) level $(x, (y))$, (b) the valency patterns level $[NP_{NOM}, (NP_{ACC})]$, (c) the semantic (theta-) roles level (x: agent, (y: theme)), (d) the syntactic level assuming the distinction between structural and lexical cases (x: NOM, (y: ACC)), (e) the grammatical functions level (subject, (object)), (f) the semantic decompo-sition level (Dowty 1979); it provides details about verb-formation that help us explain the different patterns found in these three languages (Sioupi 2019, 2021, 2022; Sioupi/Grigoriadis under review).

Results: The model is expected to have both theoretical and typological implications. It contributes to the typological research (Hartmann/Haspelmath/Taylor (eds.) 2013) and updates the theory of verb classes in all three languages — resulting in better models for language learning. The perspectives of morphosyntax and semantics can help L2 learners to understand the syntax-semantics interface.

Examples

(1a) *Die Sonne   schmilzt die Kerze.*   (*causative*)
the sun-NOM melts   the candle-ACC[1]
'The sun melts the candle.'

(1b) *Die Kerze   schmilzt.*   (*unmarked anticausative*)
the candle-NOM melts
'The candle melts.'

(2a) *Ana schließt die   Tür.*   (*causative*)
Ana closes   the   door-ACC
'Ana closes the door.'

(2b) *Die Tür   schließt sich.*   (*marked anticausative*)
the door-NOM closes   REFL
'Die Tür schließt sich.'

(3)   (Alexiadou/Anagnostopoulou/Schäfer 2015, p. 94, ex. 58a,b)

(3a) *Das Wasser   kühlte (sich) eine Stunde lang   ab.*   (*DA*)
the water-NOM cooled REFL   one hour long   down
'The water cooled down for one hour.'

(3b) *Das Buch   liest sich   gut.*   (*middle*)
the   book-NOM reads REFL easily
'The book reads easily.'

(4a) *I   supa   kegete.*   (*anticausative*)
the soup-NOM burns-NAct
'The soup burns.'

(4b) *I   porta   eklise*   (*anticausative*)
the door-NOM closed-Act
'The door closed.'

(4c) (Alexiadou/Anagnostopoulou/Schäfer 2015, p. 89, ex. 47a, 50)
To   ktirio   gremise/gremistike   se ena simio.   (*anticausative*)
the building-NOM collapsed-Act/NAct   in one spot
'The building collapsed in one spot.'

(5a) *To vivlio   diavazete   efharista.*   (*middle*)
the book-NOM   reads NAct   with pleasure
'The book reads with pleasure.'

(5b) *I   Ana   plenete.*   (*reflexive*)
the Anna-NOM   washes NAct
'Ana washes herself.'

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[1]   Abbreviations: Act=active, NAct=non-active, NOM= nominative case, ACC=accusative case.

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DUTCH EXPLETIVES: ANOTHER SANDWICH?

Keywords Adverb; pronoun; expletive

Expletives can be encompassed in two different groups depending on their source morphemes, whether they come from the pronominal or the adverbial set. Projected onto a contrastive picture involving English, Dutch and German, we obtain a nice correlation, with pronominal expletives being used for core-grammatical functions (besides pronouns used in ascriptive constructions, true expletives like with meteorological verbs) and adverbial expletives in existential and presentational constructions also used for more peripheral functions (locative, oblique), as shown in Table 1 (see Gaeta 2023 for details).

Along this continuum, the turning point is given by the PART function, namely the usage as expletive in existential and presentational constructions. Dutch sides with English against German which exploits a pronominal expletive as shown in (1).

On the other hand, Dutch stands out against its sister languages having developed at least one adverbial expletive in a clear core-grammatical function, namely to introduce a subject-less clause as shown in (2) (see Bech 1968; Donaldson 2008, chap. 15).

While in English the locative expletive does not represent a viable grammatical alternative to the pronominal one, in German the locative adverb *da* behaves rather like a text connective. In fact, *da* can only serve as a textually marked alternative to the pronoun *es* which functions as unmarked place-holder of the first sentence position. In Dutch the locative expletive *er* has fully acquired an expletive function and therefore contrasts both with the English expletive *it* which is generalized for the subject role and with the German place holder which disappears if another constituent occupies the first sentence position, as shown in (3).

Thus, Dutch locative expletives have developed their own structural profile which clearly contrasts with the different distribution of pronominal expletives occurring in English and German.

Function	English	Dutch		German
ascriptive	*it*	*het*		*es*
expletive	*it*	*er*	*het*	*es*
PART	*there*	*er*		*es*
locative	*there*	*er*		*da*
oblique / partitive	*there-*	*er*		*da-*

Tab. 1:   The functional space of expletives in English, Dutch and German

Examples

(1)   G   *Es gibt eine Maus in der Ecke.*
       D   *Er zit een muis in de hoek.*
       E   *There is a mouse in the corner.*

(2) G *Es / Da wird gesagt, dass sie nicht da ist.*
   D *Er / Het wordt gezegd dat ze er niet is.*
   E *It / *There is said that she is not there.*

(3) G *Heute wird gesagt, dass er ein neuer Gott ist.*
   D *Vandaag wordt er gezegd dat er een nieuwe God is.*
   E *Today it is said that he is a new God.*

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CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS AS PILOT TYPOLOGY
The case of concessive conditionals

Keywords Concessive conditionals; language typology; pilot typology; competing motivations

While contrastive linguistics and linguistic typology are distinct disciplines (König 2012), one purpose of contrastive linguistics is to serve as pilot typology (van der Auwera 2012). In our contribution, we demonstrate how contrasts among a small sample of genetically unrelated languages generate tesTable hypotheses for a large-scale typology of concessive conditionals (= CCs). CCs are a variety of conditionals in which the consequent is presented as true under a whole set of antecedent conditions: if {$p1$, $p2$, $p3$, …, pn}, then q (König 1986). Since the set needs to be quantified, concessive conditionals both within and across languages display an unusual diversity of forms which can be grouped into three types of strategies (Haspelmath/König 1998): a single, contextually extreme value that implies a scale of other, less extreme values (English *even if*); a disjunction of maximally distinct values along some semantic parameter (English *whether … or*); and free-choice quantification over instantiations of a variable (English *wh-ever*, *no matter wh-*).

Our paper begins with a survey of the methodology of contrastive linguistics as pilot typology (including the preference for three rather than two languages, van der Auwera 2012) and an introduction to CCs. Next, we offer a contrastive comparison of CCs in three genetically unrelated languages: English, Japanese and Samoan (cf. data below). It gives rise to three working hypotheses: a) the marking of CCs varies along a scale between uniform marking of the three strategies (Japanese, Samoan) and differential marking (English), with English representing the Standard Average European pattern; b) actual marking strategies are the result of competing motivations such that they reflect either the basic meaning of CCs, i.e. conditionality (Japanese *-te*, English *if*), or the quantificational feature that distinguishes CCs from 'if'-conditionals, with quantification often expressed by interrogative-like forms (cf. the Samoan interrogative particle *pe/po* and the various *wh*-expressions of English); c) the marking of CCs reflects a distinction between primary and secondary marking strategies and an associated typological asymmetry such that primary conditional marking tends to combine with secondary quantificational marking (cf. Japanese *te mo*, English *even if*) whereas quantificational marking does not require secondary conditionality marking to serve its purpose of expressing concessive conditionality (Samoan *tusa … pe/po* 'be.the.same … INT', English *whether … or*, *wh-ever*, *no matter wh-*).

We then present preliminary results, taken from the grammars and other descriptive studies of an original worldwide sample of 55 languages, of an on-going typological research project designed to test these hypotheses. They largely confirm hypotheses a)–c), but with important refinements. As to a), if in a given languages only two of the three strategies are marked uniformly (as e.g. in English), they tend to be 'even if' and 'whether …or' strategies or the 'whether … or' and 'wh-ever/no matter wh-' strategies. The resulting semantic map is matched by the observation, relevant for hypothesis b), that the 'wh-ever/no matter wh-' strategy is least often marked for conditionality crosslinguistically. As to c), we find that

languages like Japanese and also e.g. Turkish which uniformly mark CCs for conditionality also tend to have alternative, quantification-based CC constructions, whereas the reverse is rarely ever the case. (English, e.g., does not have conditionality- marked alternatives for 'whether … or' and 'wh-ever/no matter wh-' CCs.) This is in turn matched by the observation that conditional marking is optional in the 'even if' strategy in some languages like Buwal, where quantificational marking ('even') is mandatory. However, there are also languages like Mauwake where this type of CC has the form of a single-antecedent conditional and any quantification must be inferred from scalarity effects in the respective context.

Our paper ends with a survey of methodological challenges and the overall role of fine-grained comparisons of pilot samples of languages in our project. Consequences for the status of pilot typology vis-à-vis other applications of contrastive linguistics are also highlighted.

Examples

English – maximally differential marking

(1)   ***Even if*** *it rains, we'll go outside.* (primary conditional, secondary quantificational marking)

(2)   ***Whether*** *it rains **or** not, we'll go outside.* (interrogative-like quantificational marking)

(3)   ***Whatever*** *the weather is like, we'll go outside.* (interrogative-like quantificational marking)

Japanese – uniform, primary conditional marking with secondary quantificational *-te mo*

(4)   *Benkyoo si-**te**   **mo** doose   dame   daroo.*
        study   do-COND even anyway bad   MOD
        'Even if we report this, there will be no result.' (Fujii 1994, p. 196)

(5)   *Benkyoo si-**te**   **mo** si-naku-**te**   **mo** onazi daroo*
        study   do-COND even do-NEG-COND   even same   MOD
        'Whether I study or not, it will be the same.' (ibid.)

(6)   ***Doko***   *o   sagasi-**te**   **mo**   mitukara-na-i   yo.*
        where   ACC   Look-COND   even   find-NEG-NPST   PTL
        'No matter where you look, you won't find it.' (ibid., p. 199)

Samoan – uniform quantificational marking with *tusa … pe/po*

(7)   *E   leai   se   ala   e   tatau   ai   ona*
        GENR not.exist ART reason GENR appropriate ANAPH CONJ
        *ma   le   ola   filemu   e   **tusa**   lava   **pe***
        1.EXCL.DU not   live   peaceful GENR be.the.same PTL   INT
        na   te   soli   l-o-u   togalaau
        3SG GENR tresspass ART-POSS-1SG garden
        'There is no good reason why we shouldn't live in peace, even if he steps into my garden.'
        (Mosel/Hovdhaugen 1992, p. 664)

(8)   *'Ole'ā   fai-a   e   **tusa**   lava   **pe**   timu   **pe**   leai*
        FUT   do-ERG GENR be.the.same PTL   INT   rain   INT   not.exist
        'It will be done whether it rains or not.' (ibid.)

(9)   ***Tusa***   *lava   **po**   o   **a**   ni   faafiafianga*
        be.the.same PTL   INT   PRS what   ART   entertainment
        malie   e   le   ata
        funny   GENR not   laugh
        'Whatever funny entertainment is done, she does not laugh.' (ibid., p. 665)

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TOWARDS A CONTRASTIVE FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR FOR NON-NATIVE LEARNERS: A COMPARATIVE CORPUS-BASED APPROACH TO POSSESSION IN CZECH AND POLISH

> *Possession can be expressed in a number of ways even in a single language, let alone cross-linguistically; what still remains to be worked out in sufficient detail is the exact nature of the variation and the relationships among the variants.* (Fried 2009, p. 213)

Many types of possessive constructions (Haspelmath 1999; Heine 1997; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2003) are attested also across Slavic languages (Fried 2009; Stefan 2016). Interestingly, even languages within the West Slavic subfamily differ in the distribution of these constructions. This is where L2 learners of a language closely related to their L1 often stumble (Amenós-Pons/Ahern/Guijarro-Fuentes 2019; Dušková 1984). Typical differences include possessive forms in Czech, where Polish prefers genitive postmodifiers, while dative adjuncts are common in both languages. A single parallel concordance (split into two examples) shows a dative adjunct in Czech translated as a genitive modifier in Polish (1) and a Czech possessive form translated as a dative adjunct in Polish (2).

(1)   Boučková (2008, 2017); quoted from InterCorp v.15
    Přestěhovala jsem   *Matějovi*   *pokoj*   […]   (cs)
    rearrange.PST.1SG.F   Mat.DAT   room.ACC
    Przemeblowałam   *pokój*   *Matěja*   […]   (pl)
    rearrange.PST.1SG.F   room.ACC   Mat.GEN
    'I re-arranged Mat's room …'

(2)   ibidem
    […]   *přestěhovala*   *Lukášův*   *pokoj*   […]   (cs)
        rearrange.PST.1SG.F   Luke.POSS   room.ACC
    […]   *poprzestawiałam*   *Lukášowi*   *meble*   […]   (pl)
        rearrange.PST.1SG.F   Luke.DAT   furniture.PL.ACC
    '… [I] rearranged Luke's room …'

Existing contrastive studies of possession in Czech and Polish, which could not benefit from a corpus-based analysis, only provide a partial picture (Lotko 1997, p. 45). Our remedy is to use available corpora to analyse a wide range of patterns of expressing possession i) within a noun phrase – as an attribute or argument of a participle – or ii) as an argument of a verb.

Our key research questions are: How Czech and Polish agree and differ in the expressions of possession and their distribution? How are they reflected in non-native written production? What methodological suggestions for teaching Czech and Polish as a L2 can we draw from the answers?

The analysis of differences is based on the reference corpora: the Czech National Corpus[1] and the National Corpus of Polish,[2] and a parallel corpus – InterCorp[3]. The quantitative and qualitative analysis of L2 acquisition patterns (including error analysis) is based on the two available learner corpora – CzeSL[4] and PoLKo[5]. The Czech and Polish data and the CEFR proficiency levels (Council of Europe, 2020) are analysed separately.

The comparative function-based analysis links contexts of possessive expressions with up to eight main lexicogrammatical patterns (including those exemplified above), used in specific functions (e.g., ownership, kinship, body-part). The analysis is followed by a systematic description of the function-pattern correspondences. The description is evaluated in large data samples. The use of learner corpora helps to identify the most likely pitfalls L2 learners encounter in specific communicative contexts. The result serves as a preliminary of a larger project aimed at building a contrastive functional[6] grammar to support Polish and Czech learners of Czech and Polish.

Our preliminary findings indicate that although multiple patterns are available for most functions in either language, L2 leaners even at the more advanced B2 level often use a pattern marked as foreign or even ungrammatical for both syntactic and lexical (collocational) reasons, including cases of redundant use of possessive or dative pronouns. The findings underline the need for a targeted description of the function-pattern correspondences across the two languages.

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ENGLISH TOUGH CONSTRUCTIONS AND THEIR ANALOGUES IN FRENCH AND RUSSIAN: A PARALLEL CORPUS INVESTIGATION

The languages of the world present great variability in form-to-meaning mappings. Such diversity comes out clearly when one examines how constructions are used. For instance, evaluative constructions involving Tough predicates (e.g., This road is difficult to cross) present atypical mappings and vary greatly across languages: in some languages (e.g., English/French), speakers typically use so-called tough constructions (TC) – constructions involving sentences in which the syntactic subject NP of the matrix is logically the missing object of an embedded non-finite verb (Chung 2001; Guérin 2006, but see Van de Velde 2020 on the functional alternatives French offers); in others such as Russian (RU) – a language without such syntactic property – speakers opt for a variety of functional analogues (e.g., impersonal constructions, use of passives, deverbals) (Comrie/Matthews 1990; Paykin/Van Peteghem 2020).

Despite a growing interest in TC asymmetries and this great crosslinguistic variability, little is still known about the involvement of the semantic aspects of such evaluative constructions (e.g., the scope of the adjective, the animacy of the involved NP, or the degree of transitivity of the non-finite verb) and their role in across- and within-language variation (Becker/Estigarribia/Gylfadottir 2012; Boutault 2020; Kim 2014; Tayalati/Mostrov/Van de Velde 2020).

The aim of this paper is to explore and contrast the syntactic and semantic features of TC and their analogues in French and Russian based on a parallel corpus, identify the most typical patterns across these systems, and investigate how specific semantic properties (NP animacy, adjective scope, transitivity) relate to specific evaluative configurations.

The corpus study, based on the Opus corpus subtitles database (Tiedemann/Thottingal 2020), allowed to extract target English TC as source patterns using attribute expressions that contained two of the most frequently occurring adjectives within TC (difficult and easy) which were further mapped and compared with the corresponding aligned translations in French and Russian. In total, 375 target segments were identified (125 with difficult and 250 with easy).

The results show that even though English and French have been thought to belong to the same language type, French seems to allow a multitude of functional equivalents (e.g., reflexive uses, deverbals, compact suffixed adjectival predicates) that co-exist with typical TC, as previously suggested by Van de Velde (2020). With respect to Russian, this language offers mainly constructions involving a predicative (Comrie/Matthews 1990; Shcherba 2004), passive uses (Paykin/Van Peteghem 2020) and alternatively some compact adjectivals, deverbals and some other functional analogues (e.g., distributive adjectival uses, impersonnals). Additionally, the data suggest that, although French and Russian offer similar functional

patterns, their contexts of use differ to some extent. More specifically, the analysis showed that the animacy of the NP as well as the adjective-type do not influence much the choice among different functional analogues, as opposed to the degree of transitivity of the English embedded infinitive, which had a differential impact in the translations: although highly-transitive verbs allowed for great functional variability in both Russian and French, less prototypical contexts for evaluatives (low-transitive ones) led to an almost unique functional strategy in Russian translations (use of predicatives).

This parallel corpus study allowed an in-depth investigation of a grammatical phenomenon that is only little discussed for Russian, and mainly explored from a syntactic point of view in English and in French. The findings support a multidimensional account of evaluative constructions that takes into account their inherent semantic properties, and further suggest a classification on a cline of tough-predication according to their degree of compactness.

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