



49. Österreichische Linguistiktagung

5.–8. Dezember 2025

Universität Klagenfurt / Celovec

Current Issues in Syntax, Semantics and Pragmatics

6./7./8. Dezember 2025 | Raum 2

Workshop programme: Current issues in syntax, semantics and pragmatics

Location: HS A (602)

Saturday, Dec. 6th

TIME	TITLE	PRESENTERS
9.00-9.30	Eternity Effects with Temporal Quantifiers	Daniel Büring & Justina Schindler
9.30-10.00	Simple Past in Bangla: Not that Simple!	Sumedha Gupta
10.00-10.30	Perfect participles in German passive constructions - Corpuslinguistic analyses based on the amc	Claudia Mattes
10.30-11.00	<i>Coffee break</i>	
11.00-11.30	Swiss German Existential Clauses: An Interplay between Semantics and Pragmatics	Eyal Liron Dolev
11.30-12.00	Sentence Processing of Unexpected Dialectal Verb Forms	Matthew Cummins
12.00-13.30	<i>Keynote</i>	
13.30-15.00	<i>Lunch break</i>	
15.00-15.30	Scope and Interpretation of Focus and Contrastive Topic in Czech Polar Questions	Anna Staňková
15.30-16.00	Czech Auxiliary Clitics	Michaela Čakányová
16.00-16.30	<i>Coffee break</i>	
16.30-17.00	Reexamining the Role of Affectedness in Differential Object Marking in Spanish	Ekaterina Levina
17.00-17.30	Object Agreement in Hungarian and other Uralic Languages with Camouflage Constructions	Alberti Gábor & Judit Farkas
17.30-18.00	Georgian ‘-savit/...savit’ as a Metalinguistic Device	Nino Amiridze

Sunday, Dec. 7th

TIME	TITLE	PRESENTERS
9.00-9.30	From noun to name: Semantic bleaching and syntax in Phoenician	Kata Heller
9.30-10.00	Licensing Left Branch Extraction: Revisiting the Role of Morphology	Yasaman Sanei
10.00-10.30	POV: High Negation as a Speaker-Oriented Evidential Morpheme in English	Shohei Nagata & Masatoshi Honda
10.30-11.00	<i>Coffee break</i>	
11.00-11.30	Adjective Preposing in French: From stylistic to emphatic fronting	Petra Sleeman
11.30-12.00	Syntacticizing a Discourse Marker in Tunisian Arabic	Mohamed Jlassim
12.00-13.30	The Role of the 1SG Dative Clitic in Epistemic Expressions Derived from Verbs (in Italian)	Eva Maria Remberger
12.30-14.30	<i>Lunch break</i>	
14.30-15.00	High and Low Applicatives in Late Archaic Chinese	Edith Aldridge
15.00-15.30	Exploring the Forward-Looking Potential of Differential Object Indexing in Bulgarian	Paul Compensis
15.30-16.00	Chenchen Transitivity Concord as Restructuring	Philip Shushurin
16.00-16.30	<i>Coffee break</i>	
16.30-18.00	- individual break time -	
18.00	Workshop dinner	

Monday, Dec. 8th

TIME	TITLE	PRESENTERS
9.00-9.30	Focus and Inversion in English: 'so-' and 'so too'- Inversion at the Syntax-Information Structure Interface	Masatoshi Honda
9.30-10.00	Common Ground revision in odd scalar sentences	Maria Buyko
10.00-10.30	That blurred Line between the Recognitional Demonstrative and the Determiner Demonstrative in Relative Clause Constructions	Éva Dömötör
10.30-11.00	<i>Coffee break</i>	

Full Frame Effects with Temporal Quantifiers

Daniel Buring & Justina Schindler, University of Vienna

We present original observations on the interpretation of *immer/always* and *nie(mals)/never* in German (and English), which provide crucial insights into the correct semantic analysis of tense.

Central Data: Surprisingly, sentences of the form *never will Q* don't just quantify over future occasions, but also strongly imply that *Q never was* true either, (1a); parallel effects are observed with *never+past* tense and *always+past/future* (u =utterance time of (1)/(2)).

- (1) a. Ich werde nie den Dom sehen. \rightsquigarrow no seeing the cathedral before u
I will never the cathedral see
 'I will never see the Cathedral.'
- b. Dieses Jahr wird sie immer gewinnen. \rightsquigarrow no losses before u this year either
this year will she always win
 'This year she will always win.'
- (2) a. Dieses Jahr war sie nie Nummer 1. \rightsquigarrow she won't reach #1 this year after u
this year was she never # 1
 'This year she was never Number 1.'
- b. Er hat immer geholfen. \rightsquigarrow he won't stop helping after u
he has always helped
 'He always helped (us).'

Dieses Jahr in (1b)/(2a) provides an explicit FRAME restricting the TempQAdv; in the absence of overt TempAdv or context, the frame seems to default to the subject's life time. The 'full frame effect', then, is that TempQAdv quantify over past, present and future occasions within the frame, regardless of tense; this is completely unexpected under existing theories of tense.

Analysis (illustrating using (1b)): We assume that tenses are presuppositional (blue color in (3)); to derive the full frame effect from that, presuppositions must be implemented in a specific way: the sentence as a whole is felicitous in a context CX if in any $w \in CX$, its truth value *with* the tense information is the same as without (i.e., the tense information is redundant in CX), (4).

$$(3) \quad \lambda w. \forall t \left[\begin{array}{l} t \in \text{year.of}(u) \\ \text{match}_w(t) \\ u < t \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \exists e \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{win}_w(e)(\text{she}) \\ \tau(e) \subseteq t \end{array} \right]$$

$$(4) \quad \forall w \in \text{CX} \left[\begin{array}{c} \overbrace{\left[\forall t \left[\begin{array}{l} t \in \text{year.of}(u) \\ \text{match}_w(t) \\ u < t \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \exists e \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{win}_w(e)(\text{she}) \\ \tau(e) \subseteq t \end{array} \right] \right]}^{\text{with tense information}} \\ \longleftrightarrow \underbrace{\left[\forall t \left[\begin{array}{l} t \in \text{year.of}(u) \\ \text{match}_w(t) \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \exists e \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{win}_w(e)(\text{she}) \\ \tau(e) \subseteq t \end{array} \right] \right]}_{\text{without tense information}} \end{array} \right]$$

(4) will be met if the truth conditions of ‘she win every match this year’ are the same, whether one considers matches before ut or not. This is the case if she played no games this year so far. Additionally (4) is also met if she won all past games this year, in which case the truth of (1b) solely depends on future matches): full frame derived!

Impact: The full frame effect is a novel observation, whose derivation crucially informs our treatment of both tense (especially in quantified sentences, see Bäuerle, 1979, von Stechow, 1991, 2002) and presuppositions. While unfamiliar, we argue that our specific treatment of presuppositions is actually just another way of cashing out the intuition that the presupposed parts of sentence denotations are redundant in any context that makes the utterance felicitous.

References

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Simple Past in Bangla: Not that Simple!

Sumedha Gupta

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This study investigates the semantic and pragmatic properties of the simple past tense in Bangla. While traditionally it was described as marking recent past events, the Bangla simple past marker (-l-) exhibits a range of interpretive nuances that extend beyond mere temporal reference. The study reveals that Bangla simple past can convey ongoing result-state relevance, similar to the English present perfect. However, it differs from other properties of 'English present perfect'. It entails completion and its distribution shows compatibility with narrative progression and incompatibility with certain adverbials (e.g., still, ever) - typical diagnostics for perfectivity.

A central claim of this study is that the distribution of -l- is sensitive to the speaker's epistemic commitment. Empirical data show that speakers prefer the simple past when they have direct evidence for the event. For instance, in scenarios where the speaker only infers an event from indirect cues, the present perfect form is used, while the simple past becomes felicitous only with direct perceptual evidence. Cross-linguistically, negative and polar interrogative sentences are incompatible with direct evidence intuitively. The presence of simple past morphology in those constructions in Bangla demands for speaker's expectation towards the event, in other words the high likelihood of the occurrence of the event in speaker's doxastic state. So, in negation, it is inferred as expectation failure and in polar questions is typically used as bias or echo questions.

However, the interaction of -l- with other aspect morphology shows that these inferences are absent in non-perfective environments, suggesting the perfective aspect, rather than the tense morpheme itself, triggers that not-at-issue evidential content. This raises broader theoretical questions about how aspectual morphology interacts with evidentiality and epistemic scales in natural language.

Furthermore, in embedded contexts, the evidential inference associated with -l- does not project globally but shifts to the attitude holder's (here Maya's) perspective.

Taken together, this study rejects two traditional views of the Bangla simple past—recency and underspecification for aspect. It advances three novel claims—(i) it shows how 'ongoing relevance' better captures the behavior of Bangla past tense than recency; (ii) perfectivity tests, pointing to a covert perfective aspect; and (iii) it describes for the first time the link between evidentiality and speaker's commitment with the form -l- in Bangla. This evidential restriction with quirky inference of speaker's expectation cannot be fully explained by existing spatial ((Faller, 2004), (Chung, 2007)) or temporal ((Lee, 2013), (Smirnova, 2013)) models of evidentiality. Instead, a commitment-based approach (Murray, 2010) is taken here to account for it.

Perfect participles in German passive constructions - Corpuslinguistic analyses based on the amc

In addition to the default variants of the passive in German with *werden* (processive passive) and *sein* (static passive) (see, among others, Welke 2012; Zifunon 1992), there are also non-canonical constructions, for example with *bekommen* or *kriegen* (recipient passive) (see Askedal 2005; Lenz 2013) or *gehören* (normative passive) (see Szatmári 2002; Stathi 2010; Lasch 2018; Mattes 2024) as auxiliaries, which have syntactic peculiarities and/or other functional and semantic aspects (apart from passivity).

- Default processive passive with *werden*: *Dem Mann werden die Tiere weggenommen.*
- Recipient passive with *bekommen*: *Der Mann bekommt die Tiere weggenommen.*
- Normative passive with *gehören*: *Dem Mann gehören die Tiere weggenommen.*

Examples based on Szatmári (2002: 182)

The perfect participle is an important component of the respective constructions: In the *belong* passive, it is assumed that – syntactically – the same verbs are permitted as in the *become* passive, although this theory has not yet been examined in detail (cf. Cysouw 2023: 505), while in the passive with *bekommen*, further semantic and syntactic restrictions – such as the preference for trivalent verbs – are expected due to the recipient orientation (cf. Askedal 2005: 222-223).

The data basis for examining these theses is provided by samples of the three passives mentioned above from the Austrian Media Corpus (amc), a collection of texts from the Austrian (print) media landscape (cf. Ransmayr, Mörth & Ďurčo 2017). Specifically, collocation analysis (Stefanowitsch 2013) and the consideration of hapax legomena (Pierrehumbert & Granell 2018) are used as possible methodological approaches to identify similarities and differences between the constructions based on the perfect participles used. In this way, a corpus-linguistic-empirical look will be taken at what is syntactically and semantically possible and common within the constructions by comparing the frequency ratios in Covarying Collexeme Analysis (cf. Stefanowitsch 2013: 302), in particular which perfect participles emerge as particularly typical for a passive construction – or perhaps only occur once as hapaxes.

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Swiss German existential clauses: an interplay between semantics and pragmatics

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Swiss German has two existential construction types: *es hät*, lit. ‘it has’ and *es git*, lit. ‘it gives’. Both are grammaticalized, and they consist of an obligatory expletive element – the 3SG neuter pronoun *es* ‘it’ – and a desmanticized verb in its 3SG form –*hät* from the *haa* ‘have’; or *git* from the verb *gëe* ‘give’. The two constructions are competing and semantically distinct, and exhibit only limited interchangeability.

- 1) *Brot het-s gnueg da. Danke.*
bread has-it enough here Thanks
‘There’s enough bread here. Thanks.’
(“What’s Up Switzerland”, doc 16459)

- 2) *Ich weiss es git viel lüt wo so komischi SMS schribed*
I know it gives many people REL such weird SMSs write
‘I know that there are a lot of people who write such weird SMSs.’
(“What’s Up Switzerland”, doc 6338)

Based on examples collected from observations (corpus, TV shows) and a survey conducted with native speakers (N=91), I analyze and interpret the distinction between the two types as corresponding to the well-established distinction between the pragmatic and the objective planes on which language operates, as introduced by Benveniste (1971). *Es hät* is accordingly a pragmatic, speaker-oriented existential construction: it is used to state the existence/presence of instantiated entities extant in the speaker’s deictic space, see Example 1. *Es git*, on the other hand, belongs to the objective plane: it is used to state the existence, presence, or emergence of entities generally extant in the world, but inaccessible from the pragmatic situation, see Example 2.

The contrast between *es hät* and *es git* coincides with several linguistic categories: genericity, referentiality, modality, and evidentiality. *Es hät* has an object reference and is obligatorily transparent, it has a realis modality, and it marks epistemic certainty and knowledge as firsthand. *Es git* has a kind reference, it is opacity inducing, it has an irrealis modality, and it marks epistemic uncertainty and knowledge as non-firsthand.

The case of Swiss German existentials is thus an outstanding example for the interplay between semantics and pragmatics, as well as for the convergence of linguistic categories.

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Sentence Processing of Unexpected Dialectal Verb Forms

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Tyneside English (TE) speakers have a grammar where certain verbal forms are syncretic between past and participle constructions (*I have sang vs. I sung*) (Cummins & Fehringer 2025). This experiment investigates how TE speakers process constructions that appear dialectally ambiguous when focussing on these syncretisms. Participants completed a self-paced reading test where the first conjunct is dialectally ambiguous, followed by a verb form only acceptable for TE speakers, e.g. *George and Sadie played and swum in the lake every summer* (cf. *George and Sadie played and swam in the lake every summer*). *Played* is identical in TE and SE, whereas *swum*, as a simple past, is only acceptable for TE speakers. The goal here is to determine how speakers of this dialect process information where it is not immediately clear which variety of English is being used. **Hypothesis A:** Participants process information serially, starting with either their dialectal or standard grammar (Frazier & Fodor 1978; Frazier 1979; Frazier & Rayner 1982 a.o). **Hypothesis B:** Participants process structure in parallel, building standard and dialectal structures concurrently until encountering confirmatory information (MacDonald et al 1994; Trueswell & Tanenhaus 1994 a.o.). For hypothesis A, we expect TE speakers to show a peak in reading times for either SE sentences or TE sentences. For Hypothesis B, TE speakers should not show a peak for TE verbs. Since these changes may show a delayed effect, three spill over regions (SPR) were also tested (Just et al 1982).

Results

	First Conjunct	Critical Region	SPR 1	SPR 2	SPR 3
Dialect	0.455	0.321	0.648	0.028*	0.003*
Age	0.116	0.472	0.992	0.168	0.292
Gender	0.365	0.353	0.878	0.443	0.181

Table 1 P-Values of Predictors

	SE sentence	TE sentence	Difference	P-value
First Conjunct	374	385	-11.5	0.423
Critical Region	429	423	5.98	0.749
SPR 1	429	433	-3.7	0.808
SPR 2	379	408	-28.1	0.030*
SPR 3	395	382	12.3	0.399

Table 2 Mean Reading times (ms) of TE speakers by region and sentence dialect

	SE sentence	TE sentence	Difference	P-value
First Conjunct	415	400	14.9	0.294
Critical Region	468	492	-24.3	0.227
SPR 1	435	424	10.9	0.545
SPR 2	409	416	-6.68	0.620

SPR 3	429	437	-8.13	0.647
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Table 3 Mean reading times (ms) of non-TE speakers by region and sentence dialect

Table 1 shows Dialect has a significant effect on reading times in the spillover regions. Tables 2 and 3 show the mean reading times for TE and SE speakers. Table 2 shows a significant increase in reading times for TE speakers when confronted with a TE verb (SPR 2). This indicates that Hypothesis A could be correct.

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Scope and interpretation of focus and contrastive topic in Czech polar questions

Anna Staňková (Charles University)

The status of information-structural elements that induce alternatives in polar questions (PQs) has recently been debated by Kamali & Krifka (2020), who argue they are ambiguous between a focus (F) and a contrastive topic (CT) reading. This contribution examines these elements in Czech PQs. By applying several tests I will show that while in positive (PPQs) and negative (NPQs; standard negation), the element might receive both the F or CT interpretation (depending on the context), PQs featuring outer negation (ONPQs; Ladd 1981, Romero & Han 2004) are restricted in expressing these categories. The interpretation of the element depends on the position of polarity focus (POL-F), which is necessarily present in ONPQs and located on the negated verb. Assuming a scope-based approach to CTs and Fs (Tomioka 2010, Wagner 2012, Constant 2014), I propose that when the verb stays in situ and POL-F is interpreted low, a CT can scope over it. Once the verb undergoes fronting, POL-F is interpreted too high in the left periphery for a CT to outscope it; therefore the alternative-inducing element must be interpreted as a focus (see (1)). Experimental evidence from a naturalness judgment task will be presented to support the F-CT distinction.

(1) A: Magda si dala k obědu pizzu.

Magda REFL had for lunch pizza
“Magda had a pizza for lunch.”

B: A [Petr]_{CT/*F} si náhodou [nedal]_{POL-F} nějakou pizzu? V in situ; CT > POL-F
and Petr REFL NAHODOU.PRT NEG.had PPI.DET pizza
“A Petr didn’t have some pizza for lunch?”

B’: A [nedal]_{POL-F} si náhodou [Petr]_{F/*CT} nějakou pizzu? V fronting; *CT > POL-F
and NEG.had REFL NAHODOU.PRT Petr PPI.DET pizza
“And wasn’t it Petr who had a pizza for lunch?”

The obligatory POL-F in ONPQs can be compared to the inherent focus on *wh*-words in *wh*-questions (*wh*-Qs; Truckenbrodt 2012, Eckardt 2007). As shown by Kamali & Krifka (2020), the additional alternative-inducing element in these tends to be interpreted as a CT. However, while a CT can freely scope over the focused *wh*-word in *wh*-Qs, the scope relations in ONPQs are restricted. It will be argued that this difference follows from the relative positions of POL-F vs. the focus on *wh*-word – the former involves speaker-oriented import (weak epistemic bias; Sudo 2013), and is thus positioned above CP, while the latter involves an ordinary alternative set without reference to the speakers’ beliefs about the proposition.

References:

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Czech Auxiliary Clitics

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This paper deals with the properties of Czech auxiliary clitics, such as the AUX *být* ('be') used for past tense, present conditional mood and past conditional mood. It follows the studies of Lenertová (2004), Hana (2007), Veselovská (2008), Dotlačil (2008) and Kulik (2023) for the description of their basic properties and puts them into comparison with their non-clitic counterparts, namely the conjunctions *aby*, *kdyby* and the lexical (copular) and non-clitic AUX verb *být*. The paper uses examples from the Czech National Corpus, Oral part (Kopřivová et al. 2017) and Syn2020 part (Křen et al. 2020) and runs morphosyntactic tests to show if and how these categories differ, including syntactic operations such as clitic climbing, gapping in coordinate structures, and their ability to appear in chains. The aim is to clearly describe the properties of AUX clitics in Czech and see how this description fits under the umbrella term of clitics in general, including their usually listed properties such as their inability to carry stress, their inability to appear in isolation, their fixed order, their morphological simplicity, their lack of selection demands on their host, and their ability to be combined with other members of the clitic class (Uhlířová et al. 2017). By carrying out the tests the study shows how the AUX conditional clitic differs from its non-clitic affix counterpart only in the fact that the former is a free-standing morpheme. With the past tense clitic, the difference from the copula is syntactic. By pointing out some key properties of the analysed clitics, the study tries to show that the general term "clitic" is ignoring some important morphosyntactic properties. Namely it speaks only about the dependent nature of clitics when it comes to their phonology/prosody/FSP. The reason for their dependence seems, however, different for each sub-type. The results can be summarized in the following table.

Table 1 Categories of verb *být* ('be') and their syntactic properties

Category	Function	Position	Reduced form	Carry NEG	Isolated	Mostly C2	Fixed in clitic cluster	Status
Lexical V	existential	V	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Word
Lexical AUX	future	V	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Word
Linking v	copula	V, v ¹	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Word
Voice AUX	passive	v	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Word
Mood AUX	condition	T	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Clitic
Tense AUX	past	T	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Clitic
<i>a-by/kdy-by</i>	COMPL	C	No	No	No	Yes ²	Yes ³	Affix

¹V + INSTR, v+NOM

² the host is always *a-* or *kdy-*

³ true for the present-day Czech, but rarely they do not form an uninterrupted cluster

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Reexamining the Role of Affectedness in Differential Object Marking in Spanish

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Affectedness, the result state of the undergoer entailed by a verb, has been argued to play a role in differential object marking (DOM) in Spanish, a system in which direct objects are selectively marked for semantic and pragmatic properties such as animacy in (1) (von Heusinger and Kaiser 2007, 2011; Heredero and García 2023). This paper presents a quantitative analysis of DOM with verbs of different degrees of affectedness (Beavers 2011). Based on Google Books Ngram Viewer data, it shows that contrary to previous claims, affectedness is not among the properties that trigger DOM. Instead, the findings support the view that the principal cross-linguistic motivation for DOM is disambiguation between subject and object participants (Comrie 1979; Aissen 2003).

- (1) a. *Conozco a esta chica.* b. *Conozco esta película.*
 know:1SG DOM this girl know:1SG this movie
 ‘I know this girl.’ ‘I know this movie.’

In Spanish, DOM depends on *individuation*, an object property resulting from the interaction of definiteness/specificity, animacy, and topicality (Torrego Salcedo 1999; Leonetti 2004; von Heusinger 2007). The lower the object’s individuation, the less likely it is to receive DOM. Affectedness has also been claimed to correlate with DOM, but problematic data and methodological limitations weaken this claim. For instance, perception verbs like *oír* ‘hear’ show higher DOM rates than verbs with greater affectedness such as *matar* ‘kill’. Moreover, earlier work doesn’t disentangle affectedness from referential status or animacy, both correlated with DOM.

We adopt Beavers’s (2011) fine-grained affectedness scale, replacing binary classifications, and cross three nominal types (definites, indefinites, bare nouns) with animacy and number. Using 24 verbs across different affectedness degrees, we compared [+DOM]/[-DOM] ratios in collocations with their most frequent objects. If affectedness correlated with DOM, higher affectedness should yield higher DOM ratios. This prediction was not borne out.

Our results show that in Spanish, affectedness doesn’t correlate with DOM. This challenges transitivity-based accounts, which predict more DOM with highly affected objects (Hopper and Thompson 1980; Næss 2004). Instead, they support disambiguation-based accounts, which treat DOM as an economical case-marking strategy used when subject–object disambiguation is required, typically when participants coincide in animacy and/or referential status (Comrie 1979; Aissen 2003).

Selected references: Aissen. 2003. DOM: Iconicity vs. economy; Beavers. 2011. On affectedness; Comrie. 1979. Definite and animate direct objects: A natural class; Heredero & García. 2023. DOM in Spanish: The effect of affectedness; Hopper & Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse; Leonetti. 2004. Specificity and DOM in Spanish; Næss. 2004. What markedness marks: The markedness problem with direct objects; Torrego Salcedo. 1999. El complemento directo preposicional; von Heusinger. 2007. Accessibility and definite noun phrases; von Heusinger & Kaiser. 2007. DOM and the lexical semantics of verbs in Spanish; von Heusinger & Kaiser. 2011. Affectedness and DOM in Spanish.

Object Agreement in Hungarian and other Uralic Languages with Camouflage Constructions

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With 1SG subjects, three types of objects can be differentiated in Hungarian by conjugation (1a), in contrast to the cases of 2SG or 3SG subjects, when there are only two different conjugations according to objects (1b-c). It is also a puzzle why the accusative pronouns *engem* (I-?-1SG) ‘me’ and *téged* (you-?-2SG) ‘you_{SG}’ have the strange “possessed” forms I-?-1SG and you-?-2SG (Den Dikken 2004).

(1) Subject- and object-agreement suffixes of verbs in Hungarian (a-c) and in Basque (d)

- a. én [foglak₁→₂ téged] / [fogom₁→₃ őt] / [fogok₁→₄ valakit]
 I hold-2OBJ.1SG you_{SG}-ACC / hold-DEFBJ.1SG (s)he-ACC / hold-1SG someone-ACC
 ‘I hold you_{SG} / [him/her] / someone’
- b. te [fogsz₂→₄ engem/valakit] / [fogod₂→₃ őt / magad] 2→1?
 you_{SG} hold-2SG I-ACC / someone-ACC / hold-DEFBJ.2SG (s)he-ACC / yourself
 ‘you_{SG} hold me / someone / [him/her] / yourself’
- c. ő / valaki [fog₃*→₄ engem / téged / valakit] / [fogja₃*→₃ őt] 3*→1/2?
 (s)he_{SG} / someone hold-3SG I-ACC / you_{SG}-ACC / someone-ACC / hold-3SG (s)he-ACC
 ‘(s)he / someone holds me / you_{SG} / [him/her]’

The intricate Hungarian pattern of conjugation can be accounted for by following Bárány (2017) in analyzing Hungarian as a *person-hierarchy sensitive* language (Béjar&Rezac 2009) in which transitive verbs show agreement with objects only in *direct* contexts, and not in *inverse* contexts (É. Kiss 2013: 8).

Languages may also be such that inverse contexts are marked by placing some affixes on objects (Bárány 2017: 107–108). As the appearance of the puzzling first- and second-person accusative personal pronouns is strongly linked to inverse contexts (1b-c), we feel motivated for taking a stand against Bárány’s analysis by claiming that inverse contexts in Hungarian are primarily indicated not on the morphology of verbs but on that of objects.

We follow É. Kiss–Mus (2022, 50-51) in assuming that “...the -g- morpheme intervening between the pronominal stem and the possessive suffix in the Hungarian *en-g-em* ‘me’, *té-g-ed* ‘you-acc’ is ... a residue of *-ki*, a Proto-Uralic noun meaning ‘shape, form, soul’ (Xelimskij 1982)],” cf. *št* in Selkup →. These pronouns are such that, despite their *reference* to conversational participants due to their first- or second-person possessor-components, they function in the grammar as low-prestige *avatars* of the highest-prestige interlocutors; they are *camouflage constructions* according to the terminology proposed by Collins et al. (2008).

1SG	<i>man</i>	<i>šim ~ mašim</i>
2SG	<i>tan</i>	<i>šinti ~ ta šinti</i>
3SG	<i>tap</i>	<i>tapim</i>
1DU	<i>mee</i>	<i>šimɪ ~ meešimɪ ~ šimɪ ~ meešimɪ</i>
2DU	<i>tee</i>	<i>šintu ~ teešintu</i>
3DU	<i>tapääqi</i>	<i>tapääqim</i>
1Pl	<i>mee</i>	<i>šimit ~ meešimit ~ šimit ~ meešimit</i>
2Pl	<i>tee</i>	<i>šintit ~ teešintit</i>
3Pl	<i>tapit</i>	<i>tapitim</i>

As certain accusative pronouns also appear “camouflaged” as possessive constructions in other Uralic languages (e.g., Mari and Erzya), our study is extended to the Uralic language family in the talk. We also raise a hypothesis that the coincidence of the accusative with the genitive (observed in Finnish and the Mordvinian languages) is also a phenomenon in the background of which the hypothesized ancient strategy of camouflaging objects may stand.

Bárány 2017: *Person, Case, and Agreement*, Oxford UP ♣ Béjar&Rezac 2009: Cyclic agree. *LI* 40(1) ♣ Collins&Moody&Postal 2008: An AAE Camouflage Construction, *Language* ♣ Den Dikken 2004: Agreement and ‘clause union’, in *Verb Clusters*, Benjamins ♣ É. Kiss 2013: The inverse agreement constraint in Uralic languages, *FULL* 2/3 ♣ É. Kiss&Mus 2022: The reflexive cycle, *JUL* 1(1) ♣ Xelimskij 1982: The oldest Hungarian–Samoyedic language parallels [in Russian], *Nauka*

Georgian *-savit* / . . . *savit* as a metalinguistic device

This talk deals with the sequence of originally nominal suffixes *-savit* ‘like’, ‘as’ in Georgian (consisting of the postposition *-vit* ‘like’, ‘as’, ‘similar to’ and the marker *-sa* of the dative case it governs). The sequence is normally used to form generic equative and similative (Haspelmath and Buchholz (2011)) (see Example (1)).

(1) Georgian

gela-sa-vit maγal-i.
Gela-DAT-like tall-NOM

‘as tall as Gela.’

As a relatively new phenomenon for modern Georgian, when added to fully inflected verb forms, the *-savit* expresses reduced intensity, hesitation, uncertainty (Japaridze (1963); Jorbenadze et al. (1988)), or approximation (Amiridze (2022); Kamarauli (2023), GNC) depending on the event or state referred to by the verb form to which it is attached (cf. (2a) vs. (2b)).

(2) Georgian

- a. *mčvrtnel-ma gund-i daalaga-savit.*
coach-ERG team-NOM (s)he.arranged.it-*savit*
‘The coach kind of arranged the team.’ (tried to put
(kind of put, almost put) the team in order)
- b. *mčvrtnel-ma gund-i daalaga.*
coach-ERG team-NOM (s)he.arranged.it
‘The coach arranged the team.’ (put the team in order)

In typological literature, nominal markers used with verbs mainly represent subordinators (Blake (1999), Anderson (2002), Rose (2003)), affecting clause syntax (Example (3)).

(3) a. Pitta-Pitta (Pama-Nyungan, Australia), (Blake, 1999, p. 305)

Tatyi-ka-inya, mutyi-ka nganytya
eat-PAST-ABL sleep-PAST I

‘After eating, I slept.’

b. Burushaski (Language isolate, Pakistan), (Anderson, 2002, p. 549)

γaliz bay-a-m-ulu K^hudá-e-re duá et-a-m
ill be-1-AOR.PART-INESS God-OBL-DAT prayer AUX.TRANS-1-AOR.PART

‘When I was ill, I prayed to God.’

The Georgian suffix *-savit* applied to verbs, however, represents similative, attenuative and approximative uses, affecting the reading of verbs, their pragmatics, modality but not clausal syntax. Further, apart from the previously identified uses, disproximative (Cappelle et al. (2023)) reading of the suffix as well as the clause-final debonded use (4) will be discussed.

- (4) Georgian, posted on 6.08.2007 at
<https://forum.ge/?showtopic=33758767&view=findpost&p=6336527>

ḱalas-tan *šedarebit* *netrebko* *ubralod, mγeris, ra...* *savit* [smiley]
[Maria]Callas-to comparing [Anna]Netrebko simply she.sings PART *savit* [smiley]

‘Comparing to Callas, simply Netrebko sings... well... kind of. [smiley]’
(i.e., comparing to Callas, Netrebko’s singing only looks like singing.)

Languages have different kinds of tools to express attenuation, approximation, disproximation and/or similarity (Masini et al. (2023), Anderson (2013), Bauer et al. (2013)). Some of those devices in those languages differ by the morphosyntactic context they appear in. For instance, they may be restricted to certain word classes or be transcategorially used. Some devices function as autonomous, non-bound items, while others are exclusively bound ones.

In this talk, I will look at the use of the Georgian transcategorial suffix *-savit* and its debonded variant ... *savit* and compare them to some of those devices known from the literature (Masini et al. (2023)) to argue that it represents a metalinguistic device (à la Bochnak and Csipak (2014)).

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The Semantic Network of Mental Verbs

Mental verbs are classified, following Croft (1993), into three categories: perception, emotion, and cognition. These definitions are hereditary; however, both the labels for the categories themselves and for their constituent elements vary considerably (cf. Croft 1993; Biber, Conrad & Leech 2002; Israel 2008; Tolcsvai Nagy 2017).

In Hungarian cognitive semantic research, mental verbs have received relatively little attention. They appear under various labels (cf. Tolcsvai Nagy 2017; Kugler 2024), and Croft's classification is rarely applied in full. Although text-based analyses of mental verbs can be found (cf. Pavlenko & Suetina 2024; Heller 2024), a corpus-based study addressing the specific properties of these verbs remains a desideratum.

Hereby, I introduce a segment of my ongoing doctoral research, conducted on the *Hungarian Lyric Corpus* (Horváth, Simon & Tátrai 2021), focusing on the phenomenon of Hungarian mental verbs. Using the MAXQDA software, the study addressed two central research questions: (a) How effective is Croft's tripartite classification for identification? and (b) To what extent can these categories be considered closed, or do the verbs instead form a network according to a centre-periphery model?

The annotation of mental verbs was carried out on *the Hungarian Lyric Corpus*, taking into account Croft's categories, the contextual meaning of each verb, and, in ambiguous cases, definitions from *the Comprehensive Dictionary of Hungarian* and *the Hungarian Dictionary*. Based on this analysis, in addition to Croft's three categories, I introduced an *other* category to accommodate items that fell outside the predefined system. In total, including duplicates, 3970 instances of mental verbs were classified (a selection of which is presented in the table below).

prototypical elements			inter-category elements			peripheral elements
perception	emotion	cognition	perception & cognition	cognition & emotion	all three	mental verbs & other verb categories
see (lát)	love (szeret)	know (tud)	pay attention (figyel)	like (tetszik)	feel (érez)	dare (mer)
watch (néz)	fear (fél)	want/must (kell)	notice (észrevesz)	demand/wish (kíván)	interested in (érdekel)	seem (tűnik)
hear (hall)	hate (utál)	believe (hisz)	look back (visszanéz)	desire (vágyik)	excite/agitate (izgat)	get used to (szokik)

The findings indicate that there are prototypical instances of mental verbs. At the same time, Hungarian mental verbs contain peripheral items that suggest the plausibility of a network arrangement to other verbal categories. The research will be continued with the involvement of additional annotators, with the aim of enabling a more precise definition and recognition of mental verbs.

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An unexpected pattern: Left Branch Extraction in Persian

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This study aims to refine the established correlation between rich nominal morphology and the possibility of Left Branch Extraction (LBE) (Mathieu & Sitaridou 2005 a.o), by focusing on novel data from Persian. Persian allows for only one LBE-pattern: a numeral+classifier complex (NCC) may be extracted, despite the fact that Persian has no nominal morphology.

NCCs in Persian. In spoken Persian, numerals have to be accompanied by at least one classifier. There are two types of classifiers: semi-lexical (e.g. *šāxe* ‘stem’) and functional (only *tā*). These two can appear together (1a), but numerals cannot appear alone (1b). The modified noun does not bear plural morphology. (Shirzad & Darzi 2023).

- (1) (a) *do (tā) šāxe gol* (b) *do *(tā) gol*
two CL CL flower two CL flower ‘two flowers’

There is one exception to this general pattern: *yek* ‘one’ can be a bare numeral; i.e. it can appear without classifiers, as in (2b).

- (2) (a) *yek šāxe gol* (b) *yek gol*
one CL flower one flower ‘one flower’

LBE-puzzle. Persian allows for extraction and fronting of the numerals for information structural reasons (pied-piping the classifiers), except for when the numeral *yek* appears without classifiers:

- (3) (*haft tā*)/**yek_i* *diruz* (___)_i *film did-im*
seven CL/one yesterday movie watch:PST-1PL
‘we watched seven movies/one movie yesterday’

Analysis. The contrast shown in (3) and other constituency tests show that NCCs are constituents, while *yek* as a bare numeral is not. Based on this, I propose that NCCs are merged as the specifier of a functional category, unlike the previous proposals that assume numerals and classifiers are heads on the nominal spine. (Shirzad & Darzi 2023; Gebhardt 2009 a.o.) This explains the extractability of NCCs. *yek*, exceptionally, can be part of two configurations: it can either be nested within an NCC or when it is a bare numeral, it can merge as a projecting head [Num⁰] that takes the modified NP as its complement. This predicts the impossibility of extraction and other phenomena.

Discussion: Persian data show that the absence of nominal morphology does not necessarily correlate with the unavailability of LBE. This contradicts Bošković (2013) that suggests the difference between Slavic languages and others without definite articles is the absence of concord. An interesting line of inquiry might be to look at other factors that play a role in licensing/blocking LBE in languages without definite articles and rich morphology.

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POV: High negation as a speaker-oriented evidential morpheme in English

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This talk examines *high negation questions* (HNQs) such as *isn't he left-handed?* These questions involve preexisting speaker bias (Ladd 1981; Sudo 2013): the above example is felicitous when the speaker suspects the person is left-handed based on contextual information. This requirement, the *epistemic bias* condition, characterizes HNQs, but its connection with high negation *n't* is debatable (Romero & Han 2004; Goodhue 2022), partly because its meaning is not fully established. We report a novel observation that HNQs are sensitive to the type of evidential adverb (hearsay vs. direct perception):

(1) [A is in a windowless office; the forecast predicted rain. B enters from outside:]

A: # Hey B, you don't look wet at all, but *isn't it reportedly raining outside?*

(2) A: I saw Mary two weeks ago, and I heard she's been tired.

B: Yeah, *isn't she visibly pregnant?*

The asymmetry hints that besides the speaker's bias, the respective information source merits investigation to elucidate the semantic contribution of high negation.

We propose that *n't* is an evidential marker meaning "from my experience". This is compatible with the following, where G does not taste the food:

(3) [A grandmother sees her daughter's family enjoying dinner on FaceTime and asks:]

G: #You look happy to eat it. *Isn't it tasty?*

Following Krifka (2014) and Woods (2016), we assign a morphosyntactic status to *n't*, analyzing it as a head of Illocutionary Act Phrase (IAP), a position hosted by elements that "convey information about the speaker's intentions" (Woods 2020: 134) such as evidential adverbs and vocatives:

(4) [S_(peech)A_(ct)P [SA' [IAP [IA' iS_i+n't [CP [IP it t_i tasty]]]]]]?

"**From my experience**, I suspect it is tasty. Am I right?"

Woods (2020: 138) adduces a suggestive fact: HNQs resist sentence-initial (but align with sentence-internal) *please*, which she independently analyzes as an IA head:

(5) ([?]Please) can't you (please) take a shower when you get home?

Furthermore, we discuss how our analysis yields the bias condition and address negative exclamationatives such as *isn't syntax easy!* from the evidentiality perspective.

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Adjective preposing in French: from stylistic to emphatic fronting

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This paper presents the results of an investigation of adjective preposing in French over time, with the adjective occupying a sentence-initial position. It is argued that adjective preposing did not disappear, but that its character changed. The first argument is based on the literature and the second one on an empirical research in a literary database.

Adjective preposing to a sentence-initial position, such as the anteposition of *perilleuse* in (1), is a fronting mechanism productively occurring in Old French that Mathieu (2006) claims to be Stylistic Fronting:

- (1) *Bien ot les cos de la bataille*
well have.PAST.3SG the causes of the battle
qui perilleuse_i est t_i et vilainne,
that perilous — be.3SG and ugly
'Going into battle was justified, a battle which was perilous and ugly.'
(*Yvain, Le Chevalier au Lion* 5608–5609)

According to Mathieu, Stylistic Fronting has no bearing on the interpretation. Furthermore it is not restricted to root clauses and root-like subordinate clauses.

Sleeman (2012) investigated adjective preposing of *rare* 'rare' and *nombreux* 'numerous' in Contemporary French. It was claimed that this type of fronting is due to emphatic focalization, the adjectives expressing a high or low degree on a scale. Furthermore it was claimed that *rare*- and *nombreux*-preposing is a root phenomenon (Emonds 1976), occurring only in root clauses and root-like subordinate clauses.

- (2) *Rares sont les clients qui savent exactement ce qu'ils veulent.*
Rare are the clients who know exactly what they want
'Clients who know exactly what they want are rare.'

The interpretational and syntactic differences suggest that Stylistic Fronting and *rare* and *nombreux* preposing are different phenomena.

This is supported by a recent empirical diachronic investigation. I used the French literary database Frantext. The results show that fronting of qualitative adjectives like *vrai* 'true', *maudit* 'cursed' or *malheureux* 'unfortunate' increasingly disappeared in the course of time, although relics can still be found until the end of the 20th century. Interestingly, adjectives like *rare* and *nombreux*, but also similar adjectives like *innombrable* 'innumerable' and *immense* 'immense', occur in clause-initial position essentially after 1900. The diachronic analysis supports the claim that adjective preposing is not lost, but that its characteristics changed.

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Syntacticizing a Discourse Marker in Tunisian Arabic (TA)

Mohamed Jlassi

TA frequently employs discourse markers (DMs) to structure utterances and signal nuanced speaker-hearer relations. This study investigates *maw*, a multifunctional DM that displays notable syntactic flexibility and interpretive richness across clause positions and contexts. Drawing on examples from the Tunisian Arabic Corpus (McNeil & Faiza 2010–) as in (1), *maw* reveals three interrelated properties: interpretive effects, syntactic distribution, and functional categorization—each implicating the syntax–discourse interface.

- (1) a. قصدتك في قضية على خاطر **ماو** تعرف راس الشهر و عائلة و مصروف
qʂad-ti=k fi: qaɖyia ʕala xa:tir **maw** ta-ʕrif ra:s e-ʃʃhar u ʕa:yla u
seek-PFV.1S=CLI for favor on sake DM IPFV-know.2S head the-month and family and
maʂru:f
expenses
'I came to ask you for a favor — **you know how it is**, end of the month, family, and expenses...'
- b. يا سيدي **ماو** خدمو ناس تقري بالانجليزية تعاونكم
ya: sidi: **maw** xadm-u: na:s t-qra: b-il-injliziya t-ʕa:win=kum
VOC sir DM IMP. hire-3P people IPFV-read.3PL in-the-English IPFV-help=CLI
'Sir, **why don't you** hire people who speak English to help you?'
- c. **ماو** يقولوا اذا الكذب ينجي الصدق انجي وانجي
maw yi-qu:l-u: ʔiða: il-kiðb yi-najj-i: e-ʂidq ʔanja: u ʔanja:
DM IPFV-say-3P if the-lying IPFV-save-3S the-truth safest and safest
'**Don't they** say that if lying saves, honesty saves even more.'
- d. أنا كيف مشيت نبنيلو **ماو** لقيت الماعون لكل عندو
ʔana: ki:f mʃ-i:-t ni-bni:-l=u **maw** lqi:-t il-ma:ʕu:n il-kull ʕand-u
I when go-PFV.1S IPFV.build-1S-to-CLI DM find-PFV.1S the-tools the-all with=CLI
'When I went to build for him, **turns out** he already had all the tools.'
- e. مصطفى شبيك **ماو** لا يباس عمري ما شفتك في ها الحالة
muʂfa: **maw** la:ba:s ʕumri: ma: ʃuf-t=k fi: ha:-l-ʕa:la
Mustafa DM **no harm** never NEG see-PFV.1S=CLI in such-the-state
'Mustafa, **what's wrong?** I've never seen you like this.'

In different contexts, *maw* signals shared knowledge (1a), implies advice or critique (1b), frames cultural wisdom (1c), marks narrative surprise (1d), or expresses emotional stance (1e). Crucially, *maw* does not alter truth conditions but functions procedurally—encoding speaker attitudes, evidentiality, or inferential relations. I argue that *maw* is a grammaticalized discourse head projecting a Discourse Marker Phrase (DMP) above CP. This model builds on Speas and Tenny's (2003) Speech Act Projection (SAP), extending it to capture syntactically active discourse markers in Arabic. Whether sentence-initial or intersentential, *maw* scopes over the clause and mediates speaker-hearer roles structurally. Consider (2).

(2) [_{VOC} VOC *ya: sidi:* [_{DMP} Speaker DM *maw* [_{DMP} DM [_{CP} *xadmu: na:s tqra: bilinjliziya tʃa:win=kum*]]]]

In (2), *maw* is merged in the DMP's head, selecting an embedded CP. The vocative checks the hearer's pragmatic role (p-role), while the utterance checks the theme p-role, following SAP theory. This structure accounts for *maw*'s interpretive variability and its interactional salience.

This study contributes to ongoing efforts to formalize the syntax–discourse interface (Ross 1970; Rizzi 1997; Cinque 1999; Haegeman 2014; Wiltschko 2021), while addressing gaps in Arabic DM research (Jarrah et al. 2019; Alshamari & Holmberg 2024). By modeling *maw* syntactically, I argue that discourse variability and speaker orientation are not external to syntax but internally encoded in clause structure.

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The role of the 1SG dative clitic in epistemic expressions derived from verbs (in Italian)

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This work attempts to understand the nature of the 1SG dative clitics with three Italian epistemic expressions, i.e., *mi sembra* ('it seems to me'), *mi pare* ('it appears to me'), *mi sa* (lit. 'it tastes to me', cf. also Serianni 2012), all roughly expressing the speaker's partial commitment (Giannakidou & Mari 2021). The clitics under discussion pronominalize the experiencer or perceiver of evidential verbs. For *mi pare* and *mi sembra* these pronouns can alternate with overt preverbal dative DPs and be argued to represent quirky experiencer subjects. The case of *mi sa* is different, since it is a fixed invariable expression that doesn't inflect at all and hardly allows other than the 1SG clitic (some speakers allow *ti sa*, with the 2SG clitic, at least in – often rhetorical – questions). Moreover, benefactive, ethical, and experiencer datives usually can control into infinitival clauses; yet, clauses introduced by epistemic *mi sa* only take infinitive clauses as their complements in very restricted contexts: If they do, the infinitive is mostly past tense (*Mi sa di aver capito* 'I have the impression that I understood/?understand.' vs. *?Mi sa di capire*), sometimes a copula (*mi sa di essere l'unica* 'I have the impression that I'm the only one.'). We argue that the 1SG dative clitic originally represents a high applicative (Folly & Harley 2006, Roberge & Troberg 2009).

However it be, all three epistemic expressions mentioned above unitarily are possibly used as reduced parentheticals (Schneider 2007). By means of naturalistic data from the corpus of spoken Italian *KIParla* (and, additionally, *Repubblica*, *ItTenTen20*), this work aims at understanding the role of the expression of the point of view holder (also: judge, attitude holder, perspective holder, epistemic authority etc.) expressed by the dative pronoun in the parenthetical use of epistemic verbs/phrases.

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Applicatives and PPs in Late Archaic Chinese

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Late Archaic Chinese (LAC, 5th – 3rd centuries BCE) exhibited an interesting alternation in word order involving the morpheme *yǐ*. YI was followed by a DP and could appear in preverbal (1a) or postverbal (1b) position.

(1) a. (*Mencius*, Liang Hui Wang 1)

Hé kě fèi yě? Yǐ yáng yì zhī.
 what POT stop STAT YI sheep change 3

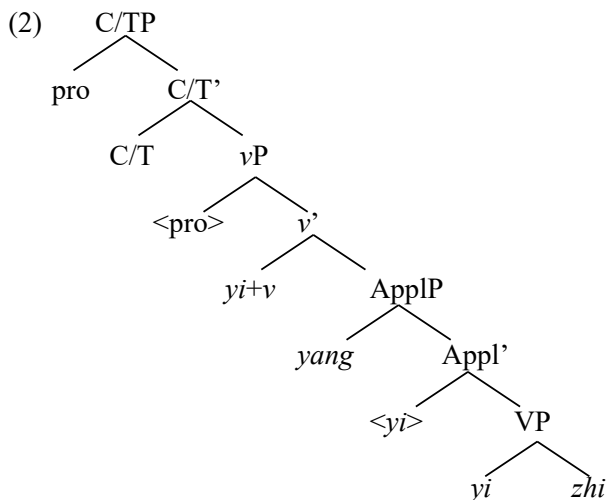
‘How could we discontinue (the sacrifice)? Exchange it for a sheep.’

b. (*Mencius*, Liang Hui Wang 1)

Wǒ fēi ài qí cái ér yì zhī yǐ yáng yě.
 I not.be love 3.GEN cost CONJ change 3 YI sheep STAT

‘It is not that I care about the cost and exchanged it for a sheep.’

Aldridge (2012) proposes that YI headed a high applicative phrase and selected the DP in its specifier. YI came to precede this DP by moving to *v*. This accounts for the word order in (1a). The word order in (1b) is derived by fronting the VP to the edge of *v*P.



One argument supporting the applicative analysis is the fact that the VP can be coordinated to the exclusion of YI, demonstrating that YI and the following DP do not form a constituent. This contradicts the traditional view of YI as a preposition.

(3) Yǐ [dà jiāngjūn Wú Hàn wéi dà sīmǎ]

YI great general Wu Han be great commander

[piān jiāngjūn Jǐng Zhōu wéi piào jì dà jiāngjūn].

lesser general Jing Zhou be cavalry great general

‘(The emperor) made General Wu Han commander in chief of the military and Lieutenant General Jing Zhou commander of the cavalry.’ (5th C. CE; *Hou Hanshu*)

However, there is a serious problem for the VP movement analysis. The modal *kě* induces movement of an internal argument to subject position, as in (4). Assuming that

a moved constituent is an island to extraction, then VP fronting cannot be taking place in (4).

(4) *pro* kě dé *t_{pro}* yǐ fù yě. (Hanfeizi 49)
can obtain YI wealth STAT
'(They) can be obtained with wealth.'

Instead of the VP fronting analysis, I propose that the postverbal YI heads a PP within the VP, with the DP as its complement. This accounts for the word order alternation in (1), maintains the constituency in (3), and allows movement of the object in (4), assuming that the object is merged in the specifier of the low ApplP.

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Exploring the forward-looking potential of differential object indexing in Bulgarian

In Bulgarian, object arguments can be optionally indexed by using a co-referential pronoun, a syntactic phenomenon called *differential object indexing* (DOI; traditionally known as *clitic doubling* or *object reduplication*). While earlier accounts attributed the use of DOI to case disambiguation or definiteness-marking, more recent work demonstrated a strong interaction between DOI usage in Bulgarian and discourse factors (Compensis, 2022; Leafgren, 1997, 2002; Ovcharova, 2018).

In particular, Compensis (2022) showed that DOI is primarily used to (re-)establish or elevate the discourse status of a P referent whose status is less predictable from previous discourse, in particular less prominent referents (who played a minor role or lost their status), as in example (1). There, a previously highly prominent referent (*Jesusa*) lost its discourse status due to the introduction of other referents and is then re-activated, signalled by DOI.

- (1) Context (translated): In my family we've always had a speedy metabolism. **My sister Jesusa**, may God rest her soul, **was**_i capable of eating a six-egg omelette with blood sausage in the middle of the afternoon and then **tucking**_i in like a Cossack at night. **Poor thing**. She **was**_i just like me, you know? Same face and same classic figure, rather on the lean side. A doctor from Caceres once told my mother that the Romero de Torres family was the missing link between man and the hammerhead, for ninety percent of our organism is cartilage, mainly concentrated in the nose and the outer ear. ...

Jesusa često *ja* bǎrkah-a s men v seloto ...
Jesusa often her confuse.PST-3PL with me in village ...
'Jesusa was often mistaken for me in the village ...' (Ruiz Zafón 2007 [2001]: chapter 26)

While this backward-looking function is well-established, it remains less clear whether—and for how long—the (re-)established referent maintains an elevated discourse status (i.e., its forward-looking potential). For instance, in the example above, after being re-activated, *Jesusa* remains the most prominent referent over six sentences.

To empirically test the forward-looking potential and to further shed light on discourse functions of DOI in Bulgarian, I present results from two (currently ongoing) paragraph continuation studies in which participants read context sentences and then write five continuation sentences. In study 1, a less prominent referent is instantiated by a pronoun, a noun, or both (= DOI) while in study 2, a less prominent, the most prominent, or a non-prominent (inferable) referent are each marked by DOI. I hypothesize that DOI generally increases the discourse status of a cross-indexed referent for a relatively larger section of discourse (reflected in re-mentions in the continuations) and that this effect is more pronounced for the less prominent referent.

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Chechen Transitivity Concord as Restructuring

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Intro This paper argues that the Transitivity Concord Construction (TCC) in Chechen is a (novel) type of restructuring relation. TCC is analyzed within Bryant, Kovač, and Wurmbrand's (2023) framework with modifications.

Data In Chechen, the transitive verb *d'a-dʉola* 'begin' (also *čekx-dʉala* 'finish') only embeds transitive (1), not intransitive structures (2) (TCC). The matrix subject must be Ergative-marked; the direct object (DO) is cross-referenced on both verbs (agreement prefix *j-* in (1)). Note that the matrix verbs *d'a-dʉola* (and *čekx-dʉala*) are strictly transitive (3-4).

- (1) Asa kniga j-eša d'a-j-ol-ira
I.ERG book F-read PRF-F-begin-RPST
'I began reading the book.'
- (2) *So/*Asa ida d'a-d-oli-ra
I.ABS/I.ERG run PRF-N-begin-RPST
'I began running.'
- (3) Asa urok d'a-j-oli-ra
I.ERG lesson PRF-F-begin-RPST
'I began the lesson.'
- (4) *Urok d'a-j-oli-ra
lesson PRF-F-begin-RPST
int. 'The lesson began.'

Unlike plain complementation (8-10), in TCC (a) the occurrence of causative and negative morphology in embedded complements is prohibited (5-6); (b) an *antireconstruction* effect is observed (8).

- (5) *Asa cynga kniga j-eši-ta d'a-j-oli-ra
I.ERG he.ALL book F-read-CAUS PRF-F-begin-RPST
int. 'I began making him reading a book.'
- (6) *Asa kniga-š ca-j-eša d'a-j-oli-ra
I.ERG book-PL NEG-F-read PRF-F-begin-RPST
int. 'I began not reading books.'
- (7) Asa derriga kyuraš della ca d'a-j-ol-ira
I.ERG all windows open NEG F-read-CAUS
int. 'I didn't begin opening all windows' *NEG>>ALL; ALL>>NEG
- (8) So cynga kniga j-eši-ta haeži-ra
I.ABS he.ALL book F-read-CAUS try-PST
'I tried making him reading a book.'
- (9) So kniga-š ca-j-eša haeži-ra
I.ABS book-PL NEG-F-read try-PST
'I tried not reading books.'
- (10) Asa derriga kyuraš della ca haeži-ra
I.ERG all windows open NEG try-PST
'I didn't try opening all windows' NEG>>ALL; ALL>>NEG

Analysis We suggest that the the embedded DO in TCC agrees directly with the matrix *v* (supported by antireconstruction analysis in Bobaljik&Wurmbrand (2007)) (11). The ungrammaticality of (2) arises due to the matrix verb's inability to find a suitable phi-goal for agreement (12). The *v* and Voice are assumed to be featurally bundled (cf. general voice inertness in Chechen, e.g. Dotton&Wagner (2017)). Chechen is assumed to have deficient (restructuring) Voice_R (13). In TCC, the matrix Voice (upon getting phi-features from coindexation with *v*) passes its phi features and ID feature Pietraszko (2021), Bryant, Kovač&Wurmbrand's (2023) down to the embedded *v*/Voice (ensuring sameness of Agent) cf. downward valuation in voice restructuring in German LDP per Wurmbrand (2016), a.o. The DO's phi-features end up crossreferenced on the matrix *v* (by agreement), as well as on the embedded *v* (by downward valuation + coindexation with Voice_R). The inavailability of Causative and Negative morphology in TCC is due to embedded clause's reduced size. The full derivation of (1) assuming feature coindexation (Pesetsky&Torrego (2007)) of *v* and Voice is provided in (13).

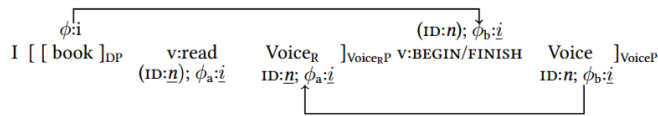
(11) I [[book]_{DP} read]_{VoiceP} BEGIN]_{VP} (matrix v phi-agrees with emb. DO)

(12) I [[run]_{VoiceP} X BEGIN]_{VP} (matrix v fails to find phi-goal)

(13) **Featural makeup of Voice and Voice_R in Chechen**

Voice: ID:*n*; ϕ :₋
 Voice_R: ID:₋; ϕ :₋

(14) **Restructuring in TCC:** matrix V (v/voice) (1) *phi-agrees* with emb. DO then (2) *passes down* phi and ID to the embedded v/Voice; v and Voice in both clauses are coindexed; arrows indicate the direction of the valuation



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Focus and inversion in English:

So- and *so too*-inversion at the syntax-information structure interface

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Drawing on corpus-based evidence, this presentation examines the extent to which the information structures of *so*-inversion and *so too*-inversion (e.g., (1a, b)) diverge, despite the broad equivalence in their propositional semantics.

- (1) a. John plays guitar, but so does Mary.
= John plays guitar, but so too does Mary. (Wood 2008: 305)
- b. Just as some children ignore their parents, so do some parents ignore their children.
= Just as some children ignore their parents, so too do some parents ignore their children.
(Wood 2008: 305)

As previous studies (e.g., Klima 1964; Quirk et al. 1985) have shown, *so*-inversion exhibits the semantic characteristics of affirmative polarity (e.g., (2)) and additive focus (e.g., (3)), which Wood (2008) argues can be analytically reduced to the internal composition of the sentence-initial operator, namely, *so* and a phonologically null \emptyset (cf. (1a, b)).

- (2) * John doesn't play guitar and so do I. (Wood 2008: 304)
- (3) You asked him to leave, and so did I. [= I asked him to leave, too] (Quirk et al. 1985: 882)

Wood's proposal is theoretically significant in that it provides a unified account of *so*-inversion and *neither*-inversion (e.g., *Neither does John.*) by positing a shared operator structure consisting of a polarity-bearing element (e.g., *so* or *n-*) and a covert or overt additive focus marker (e.g., \emptyset /*too* or *either*). Given that *so*-inversion and *so too*-inversion share an identical syntactic structure, differing only in the morphological realization of their sentence-initial operators, a fundamental question arises regarding their distributional and information-structural divergence: What motivates the existence of two formally analogous constructions that convey the same propositional content?

To address the research question outlined above, building on Toda (2007), Culicover & Winkler (2008), and Kim (2010), this study posits three distinct types of *so* (*too*)-inversion constructions according to the presence or absence of VP ellipsis and the weight of the subject:

- (4) a. Type A: [so (too)]-[inverted auxiliary]-[pronominal (or information-light) subjects]-[VP Ellipsis]
(e.g., Mary plays guitar, and so too do I.)
- b. Type B: [so (too)]-[inverted auxiliary]-[lexical (or information-heavy) subjects]-[VP Ellipsis]
(e.g., Mary plays guitar, but so too does Jane.)
- c. Type C: [so (too)]-[inverted auxiliary]-[subjects]-[VP, either fully or partially overt]
(e.g., Just as some children ignore their parents, so too do some parents ignore their children. / As infections increased in women, so too did infections in their babies.)

Based on data from the British National Corpus, this study confirms the validity of the aforementioned classification and investigates which structural configurations are preferred with *so*-inversion and *so too*-inversion. We find that *so*-inversion is compatible with Type A and Type B, whereas *so too*-inversion is more frequently associated with Type B, suggesting that the information structures of even structurally similar affirmative polarity inversion constructions can be systematically influenced by subtle differences in the sentence-initial operators.

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Common Ground revision in odd scalar sentences

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Abstract

[1] claims (1a) is odd because its Scalar Implicature (SI) (1b) is computed obligatorily and blindly to our Common Ground (CG) that all countrymates come from the same country; hence, the name Blindness Mismatch Hypothesis (BMH). The strengthened meaning (1c) clashes with the CG, causing oddness.

- 1) a. #Some Italians come from a warm country.
b. Not all Italians come from a warm country.
c. Some but not all Italians come from a warm country.

[2], [3] build on BMH but claim (2a-b) are non-odd, explaining this pattern by recasting SIs as presuppositions and treating scalar oddness as presupposition failure; hence, the name Ps-mismatch Hypothesis.

- 2) a. Some but not all lions are mammals.
b. Some lions are robots.

Ps-mismatch predicts that:

- i) sentences are odd only when SIs are presupposed (must be derived), like (1a);
- ii) sentences are false but not odd when SIs are asserted (stated overtly) as in (2a) or
- iii) when VPs express an unexpected property, like lions being robots in (2b).

Both hypotheses are based on introspective judgements. Moreover, neither considers how easy it is to revise the relevant CG, although (3b) seems less acceptable than (3a).

- 3) a. #Some marbles floated in the water.
b. #Some triangles have three sides.

Experiment 1 (CG in (3a)) and Experiment 2 (CG in (3b)) were conducted to:

- i) test the predictions of Ps-mismatch and
- ii) examine how the level of CG entrenchment influences acceptability.

Both experiments show that (Fig. 1-4):

- i) acceptability worsens when SIs are asserted regardless of VP;
- ii) acceptability worsens when VPs are unexpected regardless of SI's status.

Their comparative analysis (Fig. 5-6) revealed that how deeply the problematic information is entrenched in the CG influences acceptability the most.

These results argue against treating SIs as presuppositions and highlight the importance of information structure (CG entrenchment) when discussing oddness.

Figures

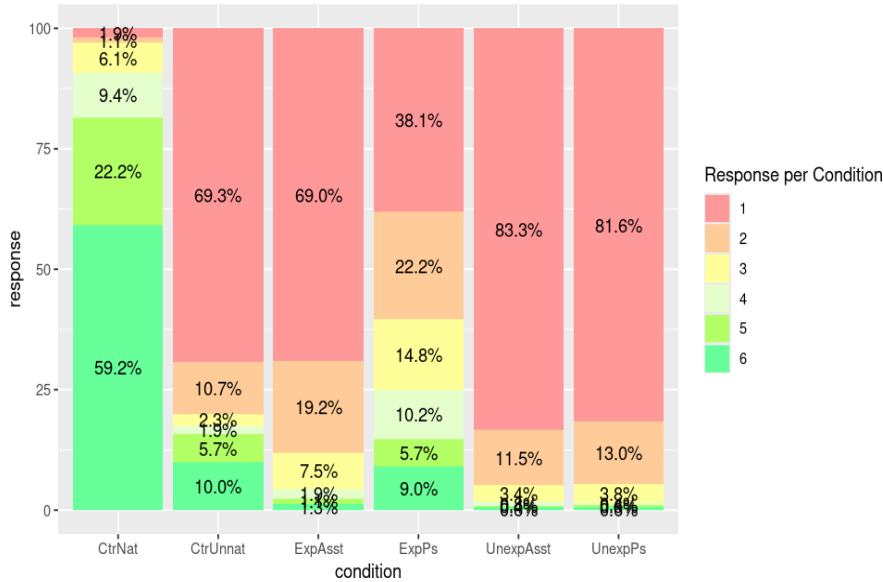


Fig.1 Experiment 1 with the CG entrenched in math and biological laws. Count of responses on Likert scale where 1 is the least and 6 is the most natural. Conditions: CtrNat – natural controls, CtrUnnat – unnatural controls, ExpAsst – targets with expected VPs and asserted SIs, ExpPs – targets with expected VPs and presupposed SIs, UnexpAsst – targets with unexpected VPs and asserted SIs, UnexpPs – targets with unexpected VPs and presupposed SIs.

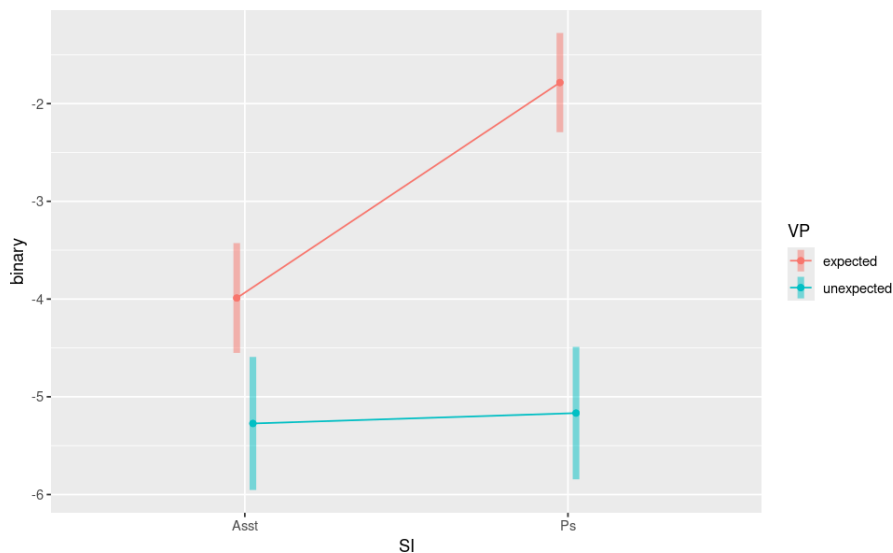


Fig.2 95% Confidence Intervals of a mblogit model fitted for data analysis for Experiment 1.

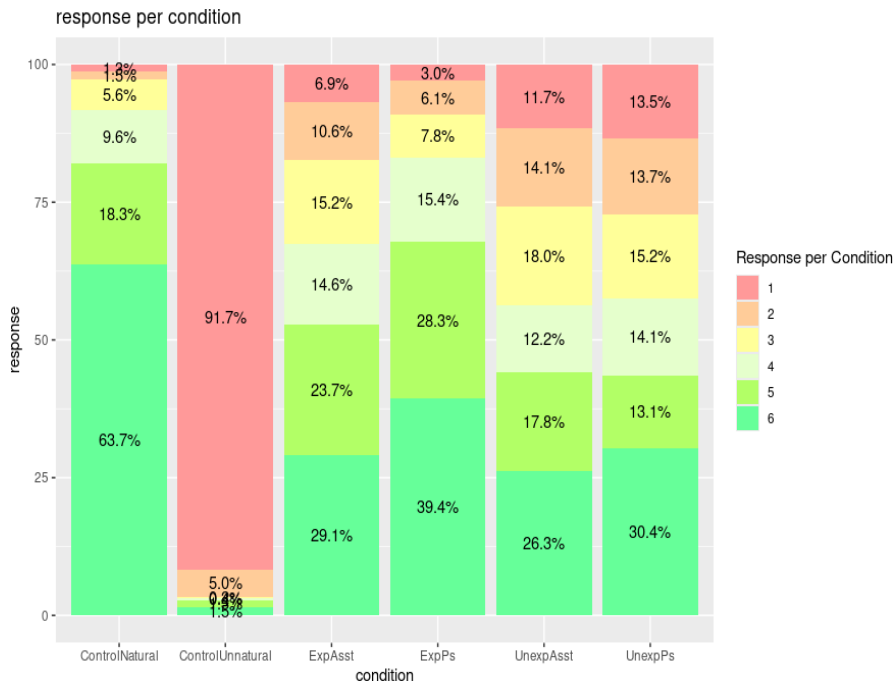


Fig.3 Experiment 2 with the CG entrenched in expectations about which object must float and sink. Count of responses on Likert scale where 1 is the least and 6 is the most natural. Conditions: CtrNat – natural controls, CtrUnnat – unnatural controls, ExpAsst – targets with expected VPs and asserted SIs, ExpPs – targets with expected VPs and presupposed SIs, UnexpAsst – targets with unexpected VPs and asserted SIs, UnexpPs – targets with unexpected VPs and presupposed SIs.

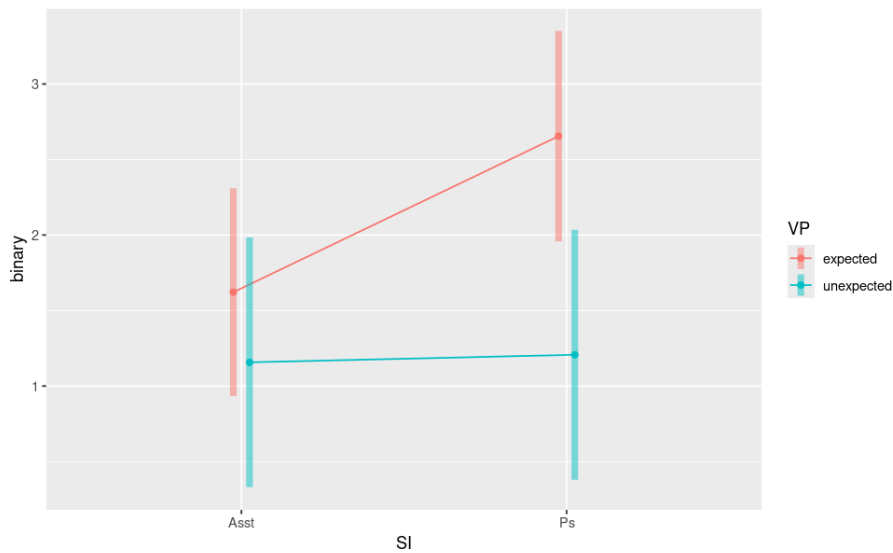


Fig.4 95% Confidence Intervals of a mblogit model fitted for data analysis of Experiment 2.

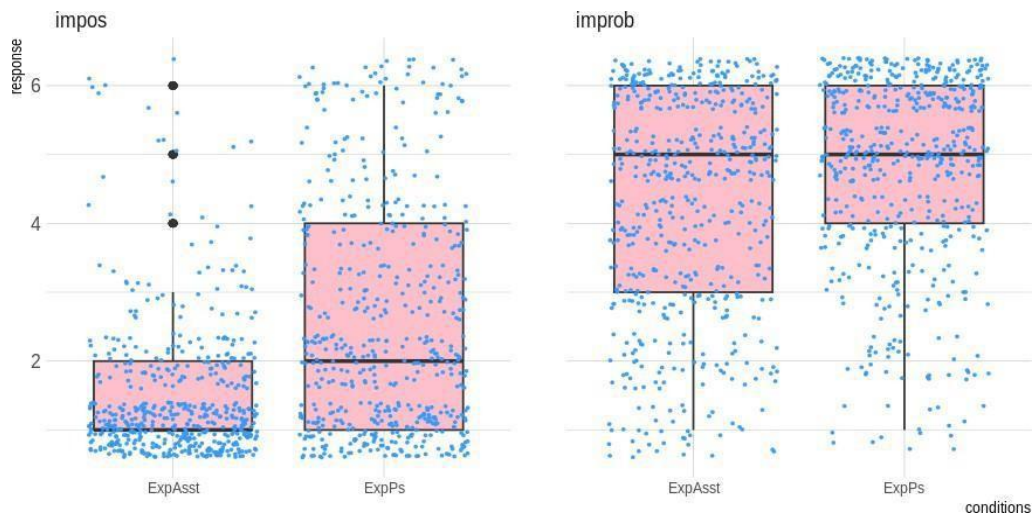


Fig.5 Distribution of responses with jitter in Experiment 1 (left) and Experiment 2 (right) based on the comparative analysis for which target conditions ExpAsst and ExpPs were used.

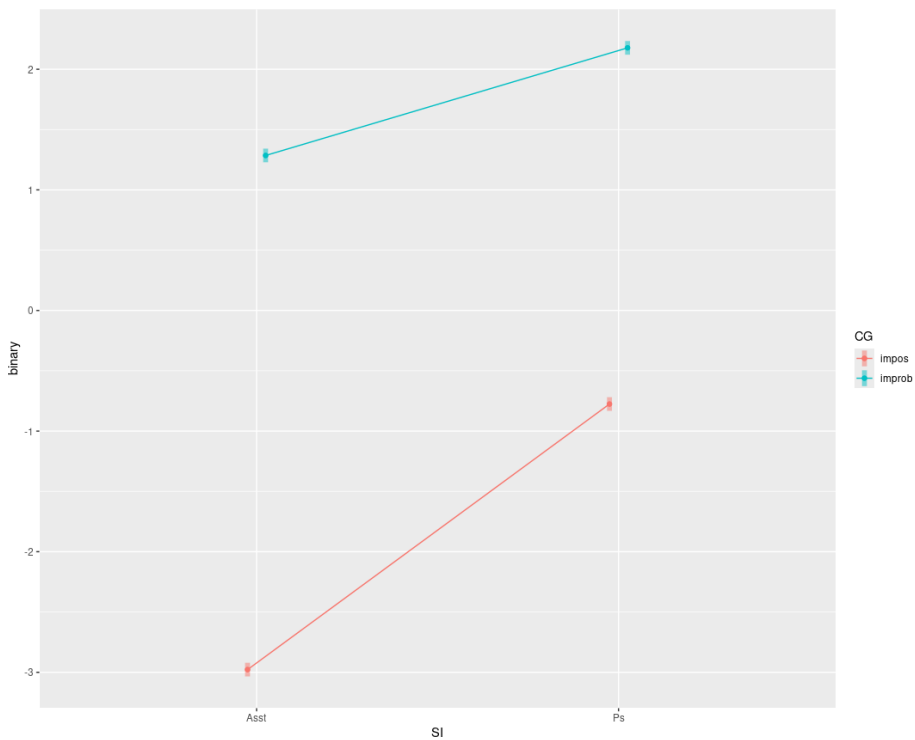


Fig.6 95% Confidence Intervals of a mblogit model fitted for comparative data analysis of two experiments. Red line—CIs of Experiment 1; Blue line—CIs of Experiment 2.

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That blurred line between the recognitional demonstrative and the determiner demonstrative in the relative clause construction

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The aim of the paper is to define and distinguish two syntactically overlapping Hungarian demonstrative constructions on semantic and pragmatic grounds: the recognitional demonstrative construction, and the adnominal demonstratives as heads of nominal relative clauses (i.e. correlatives).

Both recognitional and correlative demonstrative constructions involve distal demonstratives. The recognitional construction is subject to an additional syntactic constraint: it is restricted to adnominal position, forming a DP in combination with a nominal phrase. The correlative demonstrative occurring in the matrix clause of a relative construction may occur both in pronominal and adnominal positions.

In the recognitional use referents are neither mentioned previously nor accessible via the discourse situation. Instead, they activate specific shared knowledge (Diessel 1999, Himmelmann 1996).

(1) *Megint **azzal a lánnyal** lógtál?!*

Again that.INS the girl.INS hang.Past.2Sg

‘Were you hanging out with that girl again?!’

Since the speaker cannot be certain that the hearer will correctly identify the intended referent in a recognitional construction, there is a tendency to supplement the construction with a relative clause to make the referent more accessible.

(2) *Megint **azzal a lánnyal** lógtál, **aki** tönkretette a mobilodat?!*

Again that.Ins the girl.Ins hang.Past.2Sg who ruin.Past.3Sg the cell_phone.Poss.2Sg

‘Were you hanging out with that girl again – the one who ruined your cell phone?!’

However, involving a relative clause makes the construction syntactically indistinguishable from the adnominal demonstrative as the head of a relative construction.

(3) *Megint **azzal a lánnyal** lógtál, **aki** tönkretette a mobilodat?!*

Again that.Ins the girl.Ins hang.Past.2Sg who ruin.Past.3Sg the cell_phone.Poss.2Sg

‘Were you hanging out again with the girl who ruined your phone?!’

Based on a corpus-based investigation focusing on the overlapping structure of the recognitional and the correlative use (2)–(3), I found that,

- regarding their structure, recognitional demonstratives overlap only with restrictive relative constructions, since non-restrictive constructions do not include demonstratives in Hungarian;
- however, their pragmatics overlaps with non-restrictive constructions given the information status encoded by the relative clause.
- Consequently, the recognitional demonstrative construction occupies a special position within the network of all Hungarian constructions (i.e., the constructicon), as it overlaps formally with the restrictive type and functionally with the non-restrictive type of the correlative clause construction.

The data are interpreted and analysed within the Construction Grammar framework.

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