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Diversity of indefinite pronouns in Northern Tungusic: variation between and within languages and dialects

Languages differ considerably in how they express indefinite pronouns, not only in what elements form the base of the pronoun and the marker of indefiniteness (Haspelmath 2013, Van Alsenoy & van der Auwera 2015), but also in the way in which the semantic space of indefinites is divided between different forms (Haspelmath 1997, Beekhuizen et al. 2017). As will be shown here with data from three closely related Northern Tungusic languages, this variation extends to differences between the dialects of a language (cf. Bulatova 2003 for Evenki) and even to diversity within dialects.

As is cross-linguistically common (Haspelmath 2013), the Tungusic languages of northeastern Russia derive indefinite pronouns from interrogatives. For this they use various clitics, many of which have functions beyond this domain (cf. Alonso de la Fuente 2019: Table 1). We base our study on oral corpora of 11 different Evenki dialects (Däbritz & Gusev 2021, Kazakevich et al. 2023, Mamontova et al. 2023), two geographically and linguistically distinct Even dialects, namely Lamunkhin Even from Central Yakutia and Bystraja Even from Kamchatka (Pakendorf et al. 2010), and Negidal (Pakendorf & Aralova 2017). Working with narrative data enables us to uncover variation that is not described in grammars and to obtain estimates of the frequency with which individual items are used (cf. Beekhuizen et al. 2017). We classify the data following Haspelmath's (1997) functions, even though it has been pointed out that this approach conflates syntactic and semantic functions and does not tease apart the meanings of the items themselves and the meanings obtained in context (Denić et al. 2022, van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy 2011). However, since it is hard to identify the knowledge base of the speaker in narratives, we do not distinguish between "specific known to the speaker" and "specific unknown to the speaker" (cf. Beekhuizen et al. 2017).

Evenki dialects are traditionally divided into an Eastern and a Western (Northern and Southern) group (Vasilevič 1948). Western Evenki dialects have two series (Table 1): *=βal* is used for both specific and non-specific indefinites, whereas *=da* forms free choice and negative indefinites (with the latter also being expressed by *=mat*). In contrast, Eastern Evenki has three series: *=ka* or *=la* is used for specific indefinites, *=βal* is used for non-specific indefinites and *=da* forms negative and free choice indefinites. Negidal indefinite pronouns are split into three series which are marked with the same forms as those found in Eastern Evenki (Table 1): *=ka* is used for specific indefinites, *=βal* is used for non-specific indefinites, and *=da* forms negative and free choice indefinites. The two Even dialects included here differ greatly in their coding of indefinite pronouns, with the exception of negative indefinites, which in both dialects are derived with the common Tungusic clitic *=da*. This clitic is additionally used in the Lamunkhin dialect to derive free choice indefinites, while it derives non-specific indefinites in the Bystraja dialect. Like Eastern Evenki and Negidal, the Bystraja dialect makes a distinction between specific and non-specific indefinites (derived with *=βut(ta)* and *=da*, respectively), while in the Lamunkhin dialect both specific and non-specific indefinites are derived with a single marker (*=gol*), as found in Western Evenki dialects. In addition to the semantic differences found between the dialectal groups/languages we find extensive formal variation in the inventory of markers within each dialectal group/language, irrespective of the identical division of the semantic space. For example, in Western Evenki *=da* and *=nun* occur in non-specific contexts, in Negidal *=da* occurs in specific and non-specific contexts, and in Bystraja Even *=da* occurs in specific contexts and *=βut(ta)* and *=ka* in non-specific contexts,.

Table 1. Main markers of indefinite pronouns (languages/dialects arranged from West to East)

	W. Evenki	Lamunkhin Even	E. Evenki	Negidal	Bystraja Even
specific	*=βal*	*=gol*	*=ka / =la*	*=ka*	*=βut / =βutta*
non-specific	*=βal*	*=gol*	*=βal*	*=βal*	*=da*
free-choice	*=da*	*=da*	*=da*	*=da*	*?=βul*
negative	*=da / =mat*	*=da*	*=da*	*=da*	*=da*

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Timofey Arkhangelskiy

"God knows what"-kind indefinite pronouns in Udmurt and Tatar

Indefinite expressions with 'taboo intensifiers' (Kehayov 2009), such as English 'God knows what', and 'dunno' indefinites exist in many European languages (Kehayov 2009, Wierzbicka-Piotrowska 2007, Béguelin 2009, Grosz 2016). While all of them undergo initial stages of grammaticalization, their strongly grammaticalized versions have not been attested so far (Haspelmath 1997: 131-133).

It turns out that Udmurt (Permic < Uralic) and Tatar (Kipchak < Turkic) have full series of strongly grammaticalized indefinite pronouns of the 'dunno' kind, some of which exhibit properties characteristic of the European expressions with taboo intensifiers. In Tatar, this is the pronominal series in *ællæ-*, and in Udmurt, this is the series in *olo-/ollo-/o-* (depending on the dialect). In certain contexts, members of these series acquire a scalar component, referring to something that is high on a contextually salient scale. Example (1) shows an Udmurt context where an *olo*-pronoun cannot be replaced by a member of any other indefinite series.

(1) Standard Udmurt (*Udmurt duńńe* 23.04.2010 with further elicitation)

So-os	*pajm-em-zes*	*vera-lo:*	*mali̯*	*mil'emi̯n*	*kivalton-e*
s/he-PL	surprise-NMLZ-ACC.POSS.3SG	say-PRS.3PL	why	we:INS	board.of.directors-ILL

***olo-kin-e* /**	***#kin-e-ke* /**	***#kot'-kin-e* /**	****no-kin-e***	*puk-t-o?*
INDEF-who-ACC	who-ACC-INDEF	INDEF-who-ACC	NEG-who-ACC	sit-CAUS-PRS.3PL

'They [the workers at an enterprise] are voicing their surprise: why do they place God knows who on the board of directors together with us?'

The fact that these pronouns have a different diachronic source than the European "God knows what"-kind expressions may have played a role in their more successful grammaticalization. The prefix of the Udmurt series was simply borrowed from Tatar – just as a handful of other indefinite prefixes in the Volga-Kama area. The Tatar series originated from a combination of a modal particle *ællæ*, which indicates certain shades of doubt, and interrogative pronouns. The particle, in turn, was earlier borrowed from Arabic (although there are different opinions as to its exact source).

Due to the absence of direct, grammaticalized equivalents in the widely used metalanguages, e.g. Russian, pronouns like these are surprisingly easy to overlook in typological studies, even in relatively well-described languages. Therefore, it is possible that more languages in fact have a series like that.

I must admit that right now, I have more questions than I have answers. After I present the data at my talk, I would like to discuss the following problems:

- Do we have to expand Haspelmath's (1997) set of 9 functions of indefinite pronouns?

- How to look for such pronouns in the field if there is no direct correspondence in the metalanguage?

- In Udmurt, a combination of an *olo*-pronoun with the scalar additive particle *=no* yields the sense 'all kinds of' and often has a free-choice reading (e.g. *olo-ma=no* INDEF-what=ADD 'all kinds of things / anything'). This makes sense if the scalar component is there: if *x* can be "even God knows what", it can be anything. However, with most series members, I am only attesting the scalar component in the standard language, but not in any of the spoken dialects I worked with. The combinations with the additive particle *=no*, on the other hand, seems to work in all dialects.

- In Tatar, all speakers accept contexts where an *ællæ*-pronoun has a negative connotation, but only some accept it with a positive connotation. Is there some kind of distribution at play (i.e. dialectal), or did I do something wrong during elicitation?

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(Post)Velar consonants in Dolgan: factors of phonetic realizations

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As in other Turkic languages, the posterior consonants /k g/ have a wide spectrum of realizations in Dolgan. Our corpus-based study tries to look into the details of their distribution, which are known to differ from the closely related Sakha (Yakut) but have not been addressed systematically on spoken data. We analyze a selection of the sound recordings from the INEL Dolgan Corpus [Däbritz et al. 2022a], in particular the time-aligned subset released within the DoReCo project [Däbritz et al. 2022b].

The range of known allophones includes: [k kx x q qχ χ] for /k/ and [g ɣ ɢ ʁ] for /g/.

The basic distribution as described by [Ubryatova 1985] and [Däbritz 2022] is as follows. Two phonemes must be distinguished, the voiceless /k/ and the voiced /g/, although the contrast is limited. Word-initially, [k] is the default, [g] being found in roots *gini* 's/he' (pronoun), *gɨtta* 'with', *gɨn-* 'to make' and a few others. In syllable coda including word-finally only the voiceless [k] is found. Intervocalically, [k] is restricted to a few lexemes like *haka* 'Dolgan', *ulakan* 'big', *ɨ͡arakan* 'heavy'; elsewhere, the voiced allophones appear, cf. *bügün* 'today', *tik-* 'to sew' – *tiger* 'sewing'. There is contrast word-medially after sonorants, e.g. *čeːlke* 'white' – *ɨlgɨn* 'little', *turkarɨ* 'during' – *hɨrga* 'sledge'.

Before and after low back vowels /a o/ as well as after diphthongs /ɨ͡a u͡o/, the place of articulation generally changes to uvular, and the manner may change to affricate or, rarely, to fricative. [Däbritz 2022] lists four allophones in this position: [k ~ q ~ qχ ~ χ]. This is in contrast to Sakha (Yakut), where unaffricated stops do not appear next to low vowels (back or front), the main allophones being [qχ ~ χ]. Finally, intervocalic /g/ most often turns into a continuant [ʁ ~ ɣ] when flanked by low back vowels.

The analysis of spoken recordings shows that this basic phonological pattern, on the one hand, is not absolutely rigid, and on the other hand, it can be influenced by a number of factors: morphological (root vs. affix; part of speech), lexical (loans vs. native words; specific lexemes), discourse-related (speech rate), speaker-related (dialect, age). In our talk we will address some of these issues.

The following preliminary observations will serve as a starting point:

- Continuant allophones show much wider distribution. Intervocalically, they are not restricted to the context between low back vowels; e.g. *igɨr-* 'to call' occurs with [ɣ] roughly as often as with [g]. Syllable-finally, [x χ] are also common after front and/or high vowels.
- While nouns and verbs seem to only show stops word-initially, the postposition *gɨtta* 'with' can have either [g k] or a continuant [ɣ x], which appears after vowel-final nouns.
- The three common roots with intervocalic /k/ behave differently. While *haka* 'Dolgan' most often has a stop, *ulakan* 'big' and *ɨ͡arakan* 'heavy' have a continuant [χ~ʁ], with a consistent stop only in a song collected from a young boy.
- Intervocalic /k/ is also found in some affixes, e.g. in the borrowed Evenki diminutive/intensifier suffix -*kVːn*. Dative/Locative is normally -*gV* after vowels (*d'ie͡ge* 'house-DAT/LOC'), but -*ke* in personal pronouns, interrogative 'who' and in the word *kihi* 'human': *kim͡ie-ke* 'who-DAT/LOC', *kih͡ie-ke* 'human-DAT/LOC' [Däbritz 2022: 144].
- Intervocalic /g/ can be realized as a weak approximant [ɣ̞] or (in fast speech) as zero, coming close to /h/ realized as a weak voiced [ɦ] or also zero. Questions arise: to what extent and in what conditions are they reliably distinguished, and what are the respective acoustic cues.

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Valency/voice markers in Ika (Chibchan, Colombia)
Vielfaltslinguistik 5

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Abstract

Ika (ISO 639-9: arh) is an understudied Chibchan language spoken by approx. 25,700 people (number from 2018, DANE (2021)) in Colombia. As part of my ongoing dissertation project (Bajorat, forthc.), I am also investigating argument structure alternations and, therefore, function and properties of mainly four productive valency/voice changing prefixes. These markers only had been described in Frank's dissertation (1985) and follow-up publications (e.g., Frank, 1990, 2008) (and partly also by Landaburu (2000)) and are urgently in need of updating and complementing. First, there is the prefix *rinha-* that serves both as a reflexive and reciprocal marker and intransitivises the verb. Then, there are two applicative markers that both open a slot for another argument: *kɨ-* (also possessor-raising function), and *nh- ~ i-* (applicative expressing benefactive, malefactive, and instrumental). Lastly, Ika shows the marker *ɨn-*, which has been described as '(point of) reference' marker by Frank (1985, 1990), and as a reflexive marker by Landaburu (2000: 740). I will put forward new data of its cluster of functions together with analyses of transitivity and valency to test two hypotheses, namely whether *ɨn-* can be described as a middle marker (e.g., Inglese, 2021; Kemmer, 1993) or an antipassive marker (e.g., Polinsky, 2017; Janic & Witzlack-Makarevich, 2021) - the data (up to the date) is unfortunately still fuzzy. The data is particularly interesting against the background that Ika is a morphological ergative language with respect to case marking (flagging). At the talk, I will present the properties of the four markers in terms of transitivity (changing operations), morphosyntax, semantics, and overall functions with a special emphasis on a reinterpretation of the marker *ɨn-*.

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The Totoli clitic *=ga*: understanding the link between 'just', 'still' and 'again'
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Totoli, a western Austronesian language spoken in Indonesia, may express aspectual meanings by means of three different enclitics: *=mo* (completive)*, =po* (incompletive) and *=ga* (restrictive). Among these clitics, *=ga* poses a challenge to the semantic analysis because it expresses at least three different and seemingly disparate meanings. These include a restrictive meaning ('just, only'), exemplified in (1), a temporal durative meaning ('still'), given in (2), and a repetitive meaning ('again'), illustrated in (3).

(1) *itumoga   dei   ppikilanna   itu*
    itu=mo=**ga**   dei   RDP1-piki'-an=na   itu
    DIST=CPL= RSTR   LOC   RDP1-think-NMZ=3SG.GEN   DIST
    'there was only this in his mind'

(2) *kami   nogumbangga*
    kami   nog-umbang=**ga**
    1PL.EXCL   AV.RLS-run=RSTR
    'we still ran'

(3) *njan   bobongi   <magang->   mogumbanggako   ituko*
    injan   RDP1-bongi   mog-umbang=**ga**=ko   itu=ko
    after   RDP1-night   AV-run=RSTR=AND   DIST=AND
    'in the middle of the night (s/he) runs here again'

Despite the link between the three meanings is not apparent, similar polysemies are attested cross-linguistically, as for example between 'just' and 'still' in Australian languages (Schultze-Berndt 2002) and Papuan languages (e.g. Yarapea 2006; Döhler 2018) or between 'still' and 'again' in German (*noch*) and Catalan (*encara*). In light of this, in this talk we propose that the that the expression of these three meanings by the same morphological form is not a matter of chance but is semantically motivated.

First, as argued by Krifka (2000) and Schultze-Berndt (2002), we show that both 'just' and 'still' are operators that restrict alternatives. For example, a proposition such as *she is just working* excludes any activity other than working, just like *she is still working* excludes that the referent *she* has moved on to something else. To this observation we add that a difference between the two restrictors is that the alternatives excluded by 'still' must immediately follow the eventuality at stake. That is, *it still rains* does not merely exclude that it does not rain, but that it has *stopped* raining.

The relation of 'still' to the final boundary of the event also provides the bridge to understand the semantic extension to the meaning 'again'. In line with Ieppolo 2004, we argue that that both 'still' and 'again' express the addition of an eventuality. *She is still sleeping* implies more sleeping just like *she shot again* implies more shooting. The difference between the two, however, lies on the fact that 'still' expresses the addition of more of the same unfinished event, whereas 'again' denotes the addition of another completed event of the same type.

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Die Stellung ausgewählter europäischer Gebärdensprachen im Standard Average European-Sprachbund

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Unter dem Begriff „Standard Average European" versteht man den europäischen Sprachbund indoeuropäischer und nicht-indoeuropäischer Sprachen, die durch einen weit zurückreichenden, historischen Sprachkontakt Konvergenzerscheinungen entwickelt haben, die nicht durch die Zurückführbarkeit auf einen gemeinsamen Vorfahren zu erklären sind. (Haspelmath, 2001; S. 1492)

Während sich diese Untersuchungen bisher ausschließlich auf europäische Lautsprachen bezogen haben, aber Gebärdensprachen weder im Hinblick auf eine mögliche Zugehörigkeit zum SAE noch zu einem lautsprachlich erforschten Areal untersucht wurden, habe ich in meiner Masterarbeit vier europäische, repräsentative Gebärdensprachen ausgewählt und sie auf ihre Stellung im SAE hin analysiert. (Behrens, 2022) Diese GSen (BSL, DGS, LSF, LSE) sind alle nicht miteinander verwandt, sodass ich ähnliche Eigenschaften durch Verwandtschaft größtenteils ausschließen kann.

Hierfür muss die Annahme des Universalismus auch auf GSen ausgeweitet werden, denn in bisherigen Gebärdensprachuntersuchungen konnten sie mithilfe der gleichen linguistischen Werkzeuge analysiert und verglichen werden. Zudem spricht nichts gegen eine Plausibilität der Zugehörigkeit von GSen zum SAE, da sie seit Jahrhunderten nachgewiesen sind (Vogel, 2011; S. 47) und im steten Austausch mit den LSen stehen, meist sogar als Lernervarietät mit intendierter LS-Grammatik. (Desloges, 1779; S. 26) Daher lassen sich heute viele Kontaktphänomene finden. (Eichmann, 2012; S. 237)

Ich habe 22 Features untersucht, die für SAE beschrieben sind. Von Haspelmaths (2001) 12 Hauptfeatures mit meist genügender Quellenlage habe ich zwei nicht analysieren können, dafür aber weitere 12, die als wahrscheinlich für SAE gelten. Folgend ein Beispiel:

Feature 2: Post-nominales, kongruierendes, einleitendes, wiederaufnehmendes Relativpronomen

1.   DGS (Pfau, 2005; S. 514)
        [MANN (INDEX-3a) [REL-3a FRAU INDEX-3b 3a-HELFEN-3b]$_{CP}$]$_{DP}$
        "der Mann, der der Frau hilft"
        * *"der Mann, dem die Frau hilft"*

DGS weist also in (1) ein SAE-kanonisches Relativpronomen auf, das Kongruenz anzeigt. Eine gleiche Struktur lässt sich, nebst anderen, auch in LSF finden, aber nicht in den anderen GSen. Ein Relativsatz mit internem Kopf findet sich aber in LSF, LSE und BSL, was somit wahrscheinlich die unmarkiertere Struktur ist. LSF und DGS, deren nationale LSen auch den Kern von SAE bilden, weisen hier also eine SAE-Eigenschaft auf, die, so kann man vermuten, durch Sprachkontakt entstanden ist.

Allerdings zeigt sich in der Analyse, dass die untersuchten GSen eine höchstens marginale bis außenständische Stellung im SAE-Sprachbund haben. Von den untersuchen 22 Features weist LSE nur vier, BSL fünf, LSF sechs und DGS sieben auf. Eine engere Analyse von 8 der 12 SAE-Haupteigenschaften nach Haspelmath (2001) zeigt, dass BSL keinerlei Eigenschaften teilt, LSE nur eine und DGS und LSF jeweils zwei. Sie stehen daher ähnlich marginal wie die keltischen oder finnopermischen Sprachen. Während das obige Relativpronomen möglicherweise SAE zur Quelle hat, sind andere positive SAE-Eigenschaften wie der Komparativ höchstwahrscheinlich nicht im SAE-Sprachkontakt zu finden, sondern entweder das Produkt eines Zufalls oder der fehlenden Grundlagenforschung von GSen.

Abkürzungen und Glossen:

BSL	Britische Gebärdensprache	SAE	Standard Average European
DGS	Deutsche Gebärdensprache	INDEX-	Zeigegebärde für Lokusmarkierung
LSE	Spanische Gebärdensprache	-3(a, b)	Loki verschiedener dritter Personen
LSF	Französische Gebärdensprache	REL-	Relativpronomen
GS	Gebärdensprache	CP	Complementizer phrase
LS	Lautsprache	DP	Determinizer phrase

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Christoph Bracks

Referring to Space in Totoli

Eliciting Frames of Reference (FoR) in Totoli.

The Man and Tree & Space Games stimulus was developed as a tool to "investigate frame-of-reference choice" (Levinson & Wilkins 2006a:11). Based on observations of at least 12 languages of different language families, Levinson (2006b) developed a framework for the description of grammars of space. In particular, he claims that grammar of space of all languages of the world can be adequately described by making use of three FoR: a) intrinsic FoR, b) relative FoR, and c) absolute FoR.

This talk reports on observations drawn from 7 recordings of the Man and Tree & Space Games elicitation task (Levinson et. al 1992) with speakers of the Austronesian language Totoli (12 speakers; Age: 26-65; 4:12 h of recordings). In particular, I focus on the description of photos of the set 4 which involve each two persons.

The analysis of the recordings show that all speakers make use of all three FoR in the description of the photos: the identification of a search domain is always stated by using a relative FoR, the internal orientation of the person is stated with an intrinsic FoR, and facing information / orientation of the figurines is stated by making use of an absolute FoR. This system appears to be highly conventionalized, whereby speakers use ad hoc chosen landmarks for expressing the absolute FoR, similar to Seri, Yucatec (Bohnemeyer & O'Meara 2012) and Kilivila (Senft 2001).

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Zustände im Zentralpame (*šiʔui pame*)

„States are the simplest situation type" (Smith 1997: 19)
„State verbs are the most puzzling of the aspectual classes" (Filip 2012: 730)

Beide Aussagen sind trotz ihrer mutmaßlichen Gegensätzlichkeit auch für die indigene mexikanische Sprache Zentralpame wahr. Die Forschungslage ist besonders zu dieser Otopame-Sprache auch nach mehr als 250 Jahren seit den ersten belegten missionarischen Auseinandersetzungen (Soriano 1766/2012; Valle s.d. [1989]) äußerst dünn: die Beschreibung der Realisierung von Zuständen naturgemäß eingeschlossen (vgl. Brunner & Hurch In press).

Die Basis für die vorliegende Annäherung an das Phänomen bildet die Graz Database on Pame (gdp), die Feldforschungsmaterial aus den Jahren 2012–2022 enthält. Der Vergleich dieser Daten mit jenen aus der Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts aus dem Kreise des SIL (D. Olson, D. Bartholomew, L. Gibson) erlaubt eine profunde linguistische Analyse.

In der Demonstration dreier Möglichkeiten zur grammatischen Kodierung von Zuständen im Zentralpame sowie der Klärung jener Faktoren, welche die Festlegung auf einen Ausdruck begründen, liegen die Ziele meines Beitrags. Das heißt, Trennlinien zu definieren zwischen jenen Zuständen, die

(a) als Verben vollumfänglich in das Aspektsystem integriert und im Default-Fall als imperfektive Prädikate realisiert sind

Zustand[1]:		vs.	Activity:			
la-caoʔ	*sunhẽʔẽ*		*Kauk*	*ndéo*	*(mas)*	*la-súk*
1S.IPFV-sentir	triste		PP1S	TEMP	ESP	1S.IPFV-amarrar
Ich bin traurig/Ich fühle mich traurig.			Ich fischte früher viel öfter.			

(b) absolutiven Substantiva entsprechen und keine Veränderung des Zustands einschließen (Property Concepts)

Zustände			Substantiva		geteilte Morph.	
Typ	**Deutsch**	**Zustände – S/PL**	**Deutsch**	**Sub. im Abs. – S/PL**	**NUM**	**PERS**
DIM.	groß	**ngu**tué/**ndue**ʔt	Zigarre	**ngu**dúhein/ **ndú**hin	ŋgo-/M-	-k
COLOUR	schwarz	**na**mbú/**lam**bú	Hund	**na**dú/**la**dút	na-/la-	-k'
VALUE	gut	**ma**hao/**wa**hao	Ellbogen	**ma**ndóung/**wa**ndoun	ma-/wa-	#/-p'

(c) eigenständig grammatikalisiert aus telischen Prädikaten hervorgehen (Resultative).

verhexen		vs.	**verhext sein**	
ka	la-túʔu		kauk	**ma**-túʔu-k
PP1s	1S.IPFV-embrujar		PP1s	RES-embrujado-1s
Ich	verhexe (jemanden)		Ich bin verhext	
hũĩ	wu-túʔu		hũĩ	**ma**-túʔu
PP3s	3S.IPFV-embrujado		PP3s	RES-embrujado.3s
Er/Sie/Es verhext (jemanden)			Er/Sie/Es ist verhext	

Hinsichtlich ihres aktionalen Charakters sind allen Typen dieselben definitorischen Werte zuzuschreiben. Sie alle sind [+stativ, +durativ, -telisch].

Die offene Frage hinsichtlich einer potentiellen Wortklasse „Adjektiv" muss ebenfalls im Zuge einer Auseinandersetzung mit Zuständen im Zentralpame diskutiert werden. Sie ist eingebettet in die Darstellung der Grammatik einer Sprache, in welcher Nomina und Verben aufgrund der universell relevanten Kategorien Person und Numerus sowie dem Stamm als Grundlage der Wortformation vergleichsweise nahe beieinanderliegen.

Ein Blick in die Sprachfamilie (Nord- und das ausgestorbene Südpame, Otomí, Mazahua, Matlatzinca, Chichimeco und Tlahuica) hilft, umfassendere Regularitäten, aber auch Unterschiede innerhalb der Otopame-Sprachen zu erkennen.

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Josefina Budzisch

Anaphorische Referenz im Nenzischen: Der Gebrauch von Possessivsuffixen im Waldnenzischen

Die Studie hat zum Ziel, empirisch den Gebrauch von Possessivsuffixen im nicht-possessiven Gebrauch im Waldnenzischen hinsichtlich der Einsatzmöglichkeiten zur Markierung von anaphorischer Referenz zu untersuchen. Waldnenzisch ist eine Varietät des Nenzischen, einer nordsamojedischen (<Uralisch) Sprache. Die Untersuchung basiert auf einem Korpus, das derzeit an der Universität Hamburg erstellt wird; die präsentierten Ergebnisse sind die Erkenntnisse einer Pilotstudie (ca. 21.000 Tokens; 3.530 sentences).

Für uralische Sprachen ist als typisch anzusehen, dass Possessivsuffixe nicht ausschließlich zur Markierung prototypischer Possessivität genutzt werden, sondern auch weitere Funktionen erfüllen; dazu gehört unter anderem auf zuvor in einem Diskurs erwähnte Entitäten zurückzuverweisen (siehe z. B. Nikolaeva 2003). Diese Verwendung ist ebenfalls für die samojedischen Sprachen beschrieben (u.a. Nordsamojedisch: Siegl 2015, Enzisch: Siegl 2013, Nganasanisch: Zayzon 2015, Selkupisch: Budzisch 2021); auch für das Nenzische (Körtvély 2010, Nikolaeva 2014) finden sich bereits Untersuchungen, wobei in den vorliegenden Studien ausschließlich Tundranenzisch als Referenz genutzt wird, das Waldnenzische ist in dieser Hinsicht als unerforscht anzusehen.

Es lässt sich mittels der vorliegenden Daten zeigen, dass im Waldnenzischen – wie auch im Tundranenzischen – vor allem das Possessivsuffix der zweiten Person genutzt wird, um auf bereits bekannte Entitäten zu verweisen; das folgende Beispiel zeigt die Markierung an *n'e* ‚Frau', die Figur wurde innerhalb des Diskurses bereits eingeführt:

(1) *Kad'a,*   *n'e-ł*   *ŋeta-ŋa-ta,*   *ŋeta-ŋa-ta.*
go.3SG.S   woman-**NOM.SG.2SG**   wait-CO-3SG.SG.O   wait-CO-3SG.SG.O
'He went away, but his wife is still waiting for him.' (TPG_2002_PakFamily_flk)

Aus dem Kontext ist ersichtlich, dass es sich hierbei nicht um prototypischen Besitz handeln kann, eine Markierung mit POSS3SG wäre ansonsten angebracht. Hinsichtlich des Gebrauchs lässt sich aufgrund der ersten Auswertungen sagen, dass der Gebrauch des Possessivsuffixes denen eines Demonstrativdeterminiers (vgl. u.a. Diessel 1999) ähnelt und es scheint als würde das Possessivsuffix vor allem genutzt, einen Referenten zu reaktivieren und wieder ins Bewusstsein des Hörers zu bringen: Es finden sich nahezu keine Beispiele, in denen ein Possessivsuffix an einen Referenten angefügt werden, der im unmittelbaren Vorlauf (d.h. im vorherigen Satz) genannt wurde, es handelt sich vielmehr nahezu immer um Verweise auf Referenten, die zwar im Diskurs eingeführt wurden, allerdings nicht mehr aktiv sind.

Für das Waldnenzische gilt, wie für die anderen uralischen Sprachen allgemein, dass der Gebrauch eines Possessivsuffixes in dieser Funktion immer optional ist; Ziel der Studie ist nichtsdestotrotz mögliche Regeln zum Einsatz der Suffixe in nicht-possessiver Verwendung aufzustellen und Einblicke in die Diskursstrategien des Waldnenzischen zu erhalten.

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Chris Lasse Däbritz (Uni Hamburg)

Informationsstruktur von Lokativ- und Existentialprädikationen

Wenngleich allseits anerkannt wird, dass Lokativ- und Existentialprädikationen eng miteinander verbunden sind, herrscht in der Literatur kein einheitliches Verständnis dieser Domäne. In diesem Beitrag wird davon ausgegangen, dass Lokativ- und Existentialprädikationen die Präsenz/Absenz eines Referenten X (FIGURE) an einem Ort Y (GROUND) ausdrücken. Den Ansätzen von u.a. Lyons (1967), Hengeveld (1992), Creissels (2019) folgend wird also davon ausgegangen, dass Lokativ- und Existentialprädikationen eine gemeinsame semantische Struktur haben. Ihre Unterscheidung erfolgt durch ihre kognitive Strukturierung: In Lokativprädikationen wird der vorliegende Sachverhalt aus der Perspektive der Figure beschrieben, während in Existentialprädikationen vom Ground bzw. dem Sachverhalt als Ganzen ausgegangen wird (Creissels 2019: 37). Der vorliegende Beitrag diskutiert, wie sich diese kognitive Perspektivierung in der Informationsstrukturierung von Lokativ- und Existentialsätzen niederschlägt.

Informationsstruktur(ierung) – verstanden als ein pragmatisch determiniertes Ordnungsprinzip im Satz (Lambrecht 1994, Junghanns 2002) – geschieht auf drei Ebenen, welche sich den drei Größen in Bühlers (1934) Organonmodell zuordnen lassen: 1. Topik-Kommentar-Gliederung bezogen auf die Sachebene; 2. Fokus-Hintergrund-Gliederung bezogen auf die Senderebene; 3. Informationsstatus bezogen auf die Aktivierung von Diskursreferenten auf der Empfängerebene (Däbritz 2021: 119–120). Hier wird argumentiert, dass die kognitive Perspektivierung von Lokativ- und Existentialsätzen ihren Niederschlag in der Fokus-Hintergrund-Gliederung finden muss, da in beiden Fällen ausgedrückt wird, was de*r Sprecher*in wichtig erscheint, worauf ihr Fokus liegt. Daraus folgend wird argumentiert, dass die Figure im Lokativsatz nicht zur Fokusdomäne gehören darf, im Existentialsatz jedoch zur Fokusdomäne gehören muss. Der Ground gehört meistens zur Fokusdomäne in Lokativsätzen, oft jedoch auch in Existentialsätzen. Zur Unterscheidung der Satztypen ist daher v.a. die Figure und ihre (Nicht-)Fokussierung relevant. Weiter wird argumentiert, dass beobachtbare Tendenzen in der Topik-Kommentar-Gliederung sowie im Informationsstatus (v.a. die (Nicht-)Topikalität und (In)definitheit der Figure in beiden Satztypen) korrelieren mögen, aber nicht kausal sind.

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Katharina Gayler (Universität zu Köln)

On H tone scaling in Yali

This talk presents a small qualitative pilot study investigating H tone scaling in two Yali pear stories to generate hypotheses on its function or functions.

Yali is a Papuan language of the TNG phylum. Its major tonal event is a pitch rise/LH tonal configuration occurring regularly on word-final syllables, which could be analysed either as a lexical pitch accent or as an edge tone of a small constituent, e.g. of the prosodic word. Together with a L%, this tonal configuration accounts for most of the pitch contours observable in Yali data. Thus, most phrases can be described as a sequence of L H tone alternations.

Additionally, however, there are interesting phenomena of H tone scaling in Yali: both upstep and downstep of H tones can be observed, as well as the absence of either throughout whole intonation units. This is demonstrated in figures (1)-(3).
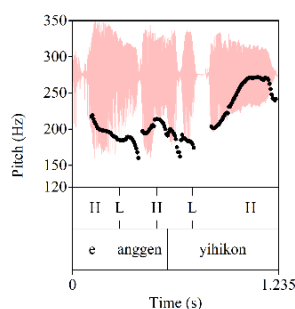

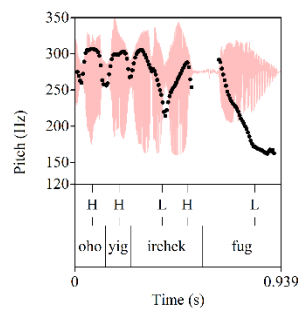Figure 1: upstepped H on *yihikon*

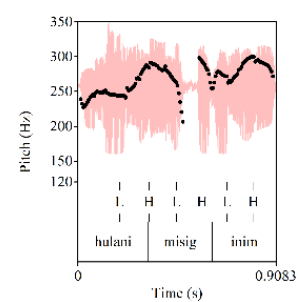Figure 2: downstepped H on *irehek*

Figure 3: level H tones over an intonation unit

Informed by investigations of other languages (e.g., Ladd 1988 on English, Féry & Truckenbrodt 2005 on German, Buchholz 2021 on Huari Spanish, Prieto et al. 1996 on Mexican Spanish), the talk will start from the hypothesis that H tone scaling in the Yali data serves to implement prosodic structure, i.e. that it can be seen as a function of (simple or complex) prosodic phrasing. Thus, downstep of H tones will be expected to be governed by some prosodic domain or domains (e.g., H tones within a given prosodic domain might decline regularly, possibly at multiple levels, or H tones might be downstepped with boundaries of prosodic constituents, again possibly at multiple levels), while upstep, on the other hand, is expected to occur at phrase edges and be attributable to H boundary tones.

Evidence for (or against) this hypothesis will come from the alignment of up- and downstep with other prosodic boundary cues, as well as with syntactic structure.

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Tom Güldemann & Jan Junglas (HU Berlin)[?]

The tripartite semantics of tripartite number marking

Since the pioneering article by Dimmendaal (2000), the concept of so-called "tripartite" number marking is frequently used to describe the number systems of a variety of languages in northeastern Africa. The essential components of such systems is illustrated in Table 1 by means of the Kadu language Krongo.

Encoding type	Lexeme	Singulative	Unmarked base	Plural
Unmarked base/Plural	'house'		*còorì*	*nóo-còorì*
Singulative/Unmarked base	'mosquito'	*tìn-kíiŋ*	*kíiŋ*	
Singulative/Plural = Replacement	'lion'	*tì-kàamù*		*à-kàamù*

Table 1: Tripartite number marking in Krongo (Reh 1985)

In our talk, we will show that the term "tripartite" for a system as in Table 1 has multiple interpretations. In order to make this more transparent, we restate the system in a more abstract form in Table 2.

Encoding type	Base + SG	Unmarked base	Base + PL
Plurative = P pattern		Unmarked Singular	Plurative
Singulative = S pattern	Singulative	Unmarked Plural/collective	
Replacement = R pattern	Singulative		Plurative
Tripartite = T pattern	Singulative	Unmarked General number	Plurative

Table 2: Tripartite number and its possible meanings

Dimmendaal's meaning of tripartite referred to the existence of three distinct encoding types represented in the three central lines of Table 2 (cf. the frame in the leftmost column). One can also perceive of tripartiteness systemically concerning the formal paradigmatic system, namely the opposition of the three form types of unmarked vs. singulative vs. plurative, as seen by the three relevant columns of Table 2 (cf. the frame in the first line). Finally, at least in some relevant languages (particularly of the Cushitic family), tripartiteness can also be identified lexically, when individual lexical items have all three distinct forms of the system, as schematized in the last line of Table 2. In discussing the three different meanings of "tripartite" number, we try to show the relevance of these interesting number systems for cross-linguistic research and propose to refine number-related terminology in general.

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The use of numerals and numeral classifiers in contemporary Belizean Mopan Maya

Nicole Hober (University of Bremen)

It is well known that numerals and numeral classifiers are particularly susceptible to contact-induced change (Comrie, 2005). Historically, many languages of Mesoamerica, including the Mayan languages, had a vigesimal numeral system and make use of an array of numeral classifiers indicating the quality or measure of the entity they refer to. But, as a result of the influence of European languages, these systems have changed considerably (Robbers, 2021).

In this talk, I present findings from fieldwork conducted on Mopan Maya from August 2022 to April 2023 in Belize, the only English-speaking country in Central America. The focus lies on variation and change in the use of numerals and numeral classifiers. The elicited production data come from 30 Mopan Maya speakers from three different areas in Belize (urban, rural, and remote) with different degrees of exposure to and proficiency in English (and Belizean Kriol). The same set of visual stimuli was used with all speakers, and detailed data on language background was collected.

In the literature, Mopan Maya speakers in Guatemala were reported to use the first 10 Mayan numerals and some 70 numeral classifiers (Hofling, 2011). The results of this study, however, show that 95% of the speakers use Mayan numerals only up to 3, i.e. *hun*, *ka'*, and *ox*, and only a fraction of the classifiers is employed. The results reveal considerable inter-speaker variation which seems to be determined by extra-linguistic factors. Aspects of variation include:

i.   English numerals above 3,
ii. Degree of reduction of classifiers system,
iii. Generalization of the inanimate classifier *-p'e(el)*,
iv. Classifier omission above 3, and
v.   De-grammaticalization of classifiers with transparent lexical source.

Although Mopan Maya numerals and numeral classifiers had already changed substantially due to Spanish influence, they continue to change due to the influence of English. I argue that the findings support an activity-based explanation (cf. Matras, 2009: 201) given English as the language of education, commerce, and government in Belize, and given the acculturation of Mopan Mayas into the larger Belizean society.

While the contact-induced change of numerals and numeral classifiers has been widely observed, I offer insights into the factors and circumstances of contact-induced variation and change based on data from a widely understudied language and a unique contact situation. Moreover, I compare the findings to the developments in other Mayan languages to offer a contrastive perspective.

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Describing a recently extinct language: The case of Longjia (Sino-Tibetan)

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Longjia is an extinct Sino-Tibetan language formerly spoken in Guizhou, Southwest China. During the 20th century, the speakers, now classified as Bai minority, have undergone language shift to Southwestern Mandarin. There is only very limited information about this language. Previous descriptions are restricted to a short sketch (GMSWSB 1982: 22-43) as well as four brief word lists (Zhao et al. 1985 [1926]: 362f., CGZZ 2004, Duan & Zhang 2008: 3057-3059, Hsiu 2013). All of these materials contain countless typographic problems, which makes them very unreliable. The occasional use of Chinese characters for transcription furthermore led to the loss of phonological information (e.g., tones, prenasalization). Given this fragmentary nature of information about the language, it was not included in any comparative studies of Sino-Tibetan (e.g., Thurgood & LaPolla 2017). To this day, the grammatical structure and the position within the language family remain unknown.

This study reports the rediscovery of handwritten fieldnotes with data from the Longjia language from the 1980s. These were collected in 1982 among the last speakers in Dafang county, western Guizhou, by two well-known Chinese linguists named Zhang Jimin 张济民 and Li Juewei 李珏伟. These materials are not only more reliable than the available studies mentioned above but are also much more extensive. They encompass about 175 pages of lexical items, phrases, and sentences with a rudimentary Chinese glossing (Hölzl 2021).

The present study describes the ongoing analysis of these materials. The aim of this investigation is to produce a *Grammar of Longjia* (to be completed this year) as well as a *Dictionary of Longjia* (planned for next year) that will make the language available to other linguists and the former speech community. The study describes the manifold problems with this undertaking, ranging from difficulties deciphering the Chinese handwriting to the problem of describing the phonological system of an extinct language.

The talk will also present some of the preliminary findings of this investigation concerning typologically interesting features (e.g., tone change as morphological device) and the classification within the language family. Preliminary evidence suggests that Longjia is related to the nearby Caijia language that is still spoken by a small speech community (Lü 2022). As such, it seems to belong to the most archaic branch of Sinitic (Lee 2022). In the forthcoming grammar, some of the gaps in our knowledge of Longjia will be filled with data from Caijia. However, unlike Caijia, or any other Sinitic language for that matter, Longjia preserves even more conservative features, such as prenasalization, which often can be traced back to Old Chinese morphology. For instance, the prenasalized consonant in $(a^{33})n\mathfrak{t}u\eta^{55}$ 'to ascend' is the reflex of a prefix in Old Chinese *Cə-daŋʔ 上 'to ascend' and offers previously unknown evidence that this derivational prefix may have contained a nasal element (Hölzl 2022).

A description of the Longjia language can also contribute to the preservation of the vanishing linguistic diversity of the region, which is undergoing rapid language shift to Mandarin Chinese.

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Die Semantik personenmarkierter Adpositionen und ihre Häufigkeitsverteilung –

eine crosslinguistische Analyse

Im Burushaski können nicht alle, sondern nur ein Teil der Adpositionen Personenmarker annehmen: Im Beispiel (1a) erscheint die Adposition *pʌči* ‚mit' mit einem Personenmarker, während *gʌnɛ* ‚für' in (1b) ohne Personenmarker auftritt (vgl. Bakker 2005: 199; Siewierska 2004: 145).

(1) Burushaski (Lorimer 1935: 96, 97)

a. Ja aˑ-pʌči huruˑt.
   I 1SG-with stay

   ‚Stay with me.'

b. Xʊdaˑ-ɛ gʌnɛ.
   God-GEN for

   ‚For God's sake!'

Auch im Fidschi zeigt sich die Personenmarkierung nur bei bestimmten semantischen Funktionen und zwar im ADESSIVE, ILLATIVE, ABLATIVE und COMITATIVE (vgl. Dixon 1988: 151–152). Im Spanischen hat nur die komitative Adposition diese Eigenschaft (vgl. Siewierska 2004: 145; Bakker 2005: 199). Diese Befunde führen zu der Frage, ob bestimmte semantische Funktionen, wie zum Beispiel COMITATIVE, prädestinierter für Personenmarkierungen sind als andere. Die bisherigen Studien (Siewierska 2004; 2011) weisen darauf hin, dass eine Verallgemeinerung, dass die Möglichkeit der Personenmarkierung eventuell mit dem semantischen Charakter der Adpositionen zusammenhängen könnte, schwierig ist (vgl. Siewierska 2004: 147). Welche semantischen Funktionen von Adpositionen sind jedoch besonders häufig personenmarkiert? Welche eher selten? Diese Fragen wurden bislang nicht untersucht. Dieser Vortrag stellt das semantische System personenmarkierter Adpositionen und deren Häufigkeitsverteilung in einem Sample von 15 Sprachen dar und versucht, mögliche Implikationen abzuleiten. Vor allem werden Kriterien für das Auftreten der Personenmarkierung an Adpositionen betrachtet sowie ein Überblick über die Typen der Personenmarker gegeben. Dabei wird diskutiert, inwieweit der mögliche Ursprung der Adpositionen und ihre Semantik mit der Personenmarkierung zusammenhängt. Als Grundlage für diese quantitative Studie im Rahmen meiner Masterarbeit dient das semantische System der Adpositionen von Hagège (vgl. 2010: 261–262). Bei den Auswahlkriterien der Sprachen wurde der Aufsatz „Person marking on adpositions" (2005) von Bakker berücksichtigt. Die Erhebung der Daten basiert auf den Grammatiken der jeweiligen Sprachen.

Abkürzungen

1= 1st person, GEN = genetive, SG = singular

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ATR-harmonische Muster im Mbum (Adamawa, Kamerun)

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Mbum ist eine im nördlichen Kamerun gesprochene Kebi-Benue-Sprache, die dem Adamawa-Zweig des Niger-Kongo Phylums zugeordnet wird. Unter den Sprachen der Adamawa-Gruppe gehören die Kebi-Benue-Sprachen zu den am besten beschriebenen (Elders 2006: 47). In diesem Vortrag werden aktuelle Sprachdaten aus Ngan-ha (Adamawa Region, kulturelles und linguistisches Zentrum der Mbum) präsentiert, die auf das harmonische Auftreten von [-ATR]-Vokalen hinweisen. Es handelt sich um eine nur schwach ausgeprägte Harmonie, die insbesondere den [-ATR]-Vokal [ɔ] betrifft. Sie tritt nur unter bestimmten morpho-phonologischen/phonotaktischen Bedingungen auf: 1) Das Lexem verfügt i. d. R. über zwei Silben; 2) die Silben sind i. d. R. offen; 3) der initiale Konsonant der zweiten Silbe ist ein /k/ oder ein /r/. Nach einer Präsentation der Daten und deren Stand der Analyse werden die aktuellen Aufnahmen mit bestehenden, älteren Beschreibungen des Mbum (Hagège 1970; Fløttum 1974) verglichen und vor diesem Hintergrund diskutiert. Zudem werden grammatische Beschreibungen nah verwandter Adamawa-Sprachen hinzugenommen. Dabei soll der Frage nachgegangen werden, ob es sich bei den harmonischen Mustern um Spuren einer zu einem früheren Zeitpunkt ausgeprägteren ATR-Vokalharmonie handeln könnte, oder hingegen um eine Harmonie, die womöglich im Entstehen ist.

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Analyzing the toponymic landscape of the Taz River basin using manuscripts and modern cartographic data

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The Taz is a river that flows through the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug in western Siberia. Throughout ages its wide-spread basin has welcomed numerous indigenous peoples to nomad, settle down and give names to the geographical objects on their way. With Russian territorial exploration of Siberia, the map of the Taz basin was enriched with toponyms of Russian origin. All this has made the toponymic landscape around this river highly versatile. On the other hand, cartography of Northern Eurasian languages is still abundant with blank spaces (Koriakov 2020) as there are few written sources shedding light on historical distribution of languages spoken in the area. As geographical names tend to retain inert over time, they can serve as a fruitful source to learn about ethnological history of a region, detect and reconstruct sociolinguistic contacts between the local folks and their routes through the landscape (Zamorschchikova, Khokholova 2018). Therefore, analyzing the toponymic data of the Taz tributaries and adjacent territories could help to bridge those gaps and to better understand the geolinguistic shape of the region.

The toponymic data of the Taz basin map is derived from A. I. Kuzmina's archive of the Selkup language materials maintained by the project INEL (Lehmberg 2020). The map – originally a sketch scattered over 18 separate pages – has been recently digitized and first attempts at differentiating of the found geographical names have been taken (Lazarenko, Riaposov 2022). In this talk we would like to report about the current state of analysis of the retrieved toponymic data. The map comprises 580 objects, such as rivers, lakes, settlements, islands, etc. At the moment the origin of 428 objects have been at least vaguely determined, 157 of which have undergone a close-up etymological analysis. The biggest toponymic layer of the region is the Selkup one – ca. 78% of the toponyms are of Selkup origin. Toponyms of the Russian origin form the next big group of ca. 16% of 428 objects. Three more layers are names of Khanty, Nenets and Ket origin and account for ca. 6% of 428 objects. During the presentation we will discuss the geographical distribution of the analyzed toponyms, their meanings in source languages, touch upon what they could tell us about the lifestyle of the peoples dwelling in the region, as well as compare the manuscript data with the modern toponymic data retrieved from open-access cartographic resources.

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Lehngenus in slavischen Sprachen

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Bei der Integration von Lehnwörtern werden die Entlehnungen aus der Quellsprache dem System der Replikasprache angepasst (Haspelmath 2009: 42). Daher werden in Genussprachen Lehnsubstantive in die Genussysteme der Replikasprachen eingeordnet, d.h. einer Genusklasse zugewiesen. Dabei sind grundsätzlich zwei Strategien möglich (Corbett 1991):

a) Genuszuweisung nach regulären Kriterien, also nach den gleichen Regeln wie die Erbwörter und

b) Genuszuweisung nach besonderen Kriterien, die ausschließlich bei Lehnwörtern verwendet werden können.

Falls die Quellsprache kein Genus im substantivischen Bereich hat (z. B. in der Kontaktsituation Englisch-Polnisch), erhalten die Lehnwörter ein Genus nach den Zuweisungsregeln der Replikasprache. Im Falle von Entlehnungen aus einer Genussprache (z.B. Kontakt-situation Deutsch-Russisch), kann die Genuszuweisung durch die Quellsprache beeinflusst werden. Bei dieser Genuszuweisungsstrategie handelt es sich um Lehngenus bzw. Genuskopie, wobei das Lehnsubstantiv das Genus der Quellsprache übernimmt, wie in (1).

(1)   Moliseslavisch   Italienisch   [Breu 2013: 103]
        kvadr (M)   <   *quadro* (M)
        pròblèm (M)   <   *problema* (M)
        čipul[a] (F)   <   *cipolla* (F)

In ihren empirischen Studien hat C. Stolz (2005, 2008, 2009) gezeigt, dass Genuskopie als Genuszuweisungstrategie besonders häufig in "sociolinguistically challenged contact situations" vorkommt (C. Stolz 2009: 351), z.B. im Maltesischen und in germanophonen Varietäten in Enklaven – Zymbrisch und Hunsrückisch. Es stellt sich die Frage, ob Genuskopie eine mögliche Genusstrategie auch in nicht so herausfordernden Kontaktkonstellationen ist und falls ja, wie häufig davon Gebrauch gemacht wird.

Für meine empirische Studie habe ich ein Korpus zusammengestellt, das ca. 500 substantivische Internationalismen (im Sinne von Wexler (1969: 77)) besteht, die in 15 slavischen Sprachen (Standardvarietäten) nachgewiesen sind. Auf dieser empirischen Grundlage wird bestimmt, welche Kriterien für die Genuszuweisung bei Lehnnomina von gleichem (meistens gräko-lateinischen) Ursprung in einer homogenen Gruppe der eng verwandten und typologisch ähnlichen Sprachen verantwortlich sind und wie gewichtig dabei die Rolle der Genuskopie ist.

Abkürzungen: M = Maskulinum, F = Femininum

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A cross-linguistic comparison of content interrogatives

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Almost every human language uses a universal class of function words, content interrogatives, to ask for missing information. However, it is broadly attested that content interrogatives differ across languages at nearly all linguistic levels (cf. Dixon 2012:400-420). Compared to previous studies that normally put the emphasis on the syntax, e.g., *wh-*movement or word order in interrogative clauses, the semantic properties of content interrogatives have much less been the focus of typologists.

This study aims at investigating the cross-linguistic diversity of semantic features of content interrogatives and identifying typical instantiations of each interrogative category. The investigation employs the approach of a *Massively Parallel Text*, which particularly refers to a text that is available in translations in a large number of languages (Cysouw & Wälchli 2007:95). Based on a massively parallel text, linguistic structures can be surveyed in a consistent context across languages with ample contextually-embedded instantiations throughout the text. The data of this research is collected from translational equivalents of the New Testament in the *Parallel Bible Corpus*. Instead of the traditional way to manually conduct a comparison, instantiations of content interrogatives are automatically classified into different groups on the basis of the (dis-)similarity via the quantitative method of *Partitioning Around Medoids* (Kaufman & Rousseeuw 2009:69-72). The contextual distribution of content interrogatives is then visualized in the graphical form by the technique of *Multidimensional Scaling* based on which patterns within the dataset can be interpreted (van der Klis & Tellings 2022).

It is expected that the underlying semantic distinctions will be uncovered by observing the contextual realization of content interrogatives. Moreover, by showing which contexts are prone to be identically denoted in most different languages, it is possible to generalize representative exemplifications of content interrogative categories.

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Rechtssprachliche Strategien des Reference-trackings in „Pro-drop"-Sprachen

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In der Sprache der Gesetze kommt es auf Klarheit und Eindeutigkeit an, das betrifft in besonderem Maße die Identifizierbarkeit von Referenten in Rechtstexten. Sprachen, die – unter unterschiedlichen Bedingungen - grammatisch keine overten Partizipantenausdrücke erfordern, bergen theoretisch ein höheres Risiko der Fehlinterpretation von Referenten, was in Rechtstexten zu Rechtsunsicherheit führen kann.

Rechtsakte der Europäischen Union sind in allen ihren 24 Amtssprachversionen authentisch, bilden nur zusammen ein Original und sind gleichermaßen rechtsverbindlich, was ein höchstes Maß an semantischer Konvergenz bei ihrer Abfassung erfordert, die typischerweise durch Übersetzung aus einer Sprache und vergleichender Finalisierung aller Sprachfassungen vorgenommen wird (Biel 2022, Sobotta 2015). Die von den legislativen Organen angenommenen Rechtsakte bilden ein besonderes Parallelkorpus mit einem Höchstmaß an Vergleichbarkeit und eignen sich daher sehr gut, strukturelle Strategien und Präferenzen in Lexik, Syntax und Pragmatik in den betreffenden Sprachen zu analysieren. Idiomatismen und Sprachkontaktphänomene lassen sich gut erkennen und von den jeweiligen nationalen Rechtssprachen und Allgemeinsprachen abgrenzen (vgl. Mori 2019).

Ein Bereich syntaktischer Strategien betrifft die Verwendung und Nichtverwendung von Ausdrücken der Koreferenz (vgl. Mattissen 2022). In den EU-Rechtstexten zeigt sich, dass die verschiedenen EU-Amtssprachen, die – unter unterschiedlichen Bedingungen - grammatisch keine overten Partizipantenausdrücke erfordern („Pro-drop"-Sprachen, hier: Finno-Ugrisch, Romanisch, Slavisch), in ihren Europarechtssprachen unterschiedlich vorgehen, um Klarheit und Eindeutigkeit zu gewährleisten. Diese Strategien unterscheiden sich ebenfalls von der jeweiligen Allgemeinsprache oder nationalen Rechtssprache.

Die Rechtstexte bieten eine sehr gute Basis, sowohl die Leistung der einzelnen Referenzmittel wie auch deren Akzeptanz in der jeweiligen Sprachgemeinschaft zu untersuchen. Der Vortrag stellt Beispiele dazu aus den synoptischen Sprachfassungen vor. Erkenntnisse daraus erlauben ihrerseits einen Vergleich mit anderen sogenannten „Pro-drop"-Sprachen und deren Strategien des Reference-trackings.

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Temporal Relations of Clauses in the Oceanic Language Teop

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In Teop, temporality, aspectuality and modality are signified by 10 optional TAM markers in the verb complex (VC). My analysis of the temporality of clauses with TAM-marked VCs, unmarked VCs, and non-verbal predicates makes use of three categories of time that have first been defined by Reichenbach (1947: 287-298) and later been modified by Comrie (1981, 1985). As I use them as empirical parameters for the analysis of the temporality of clauses, I modified their definitions and names[1] as follows: The **Utterance Time** (UT) is the moment at which a clause is uttered or otherwise produced. The **Situation Time** (SitT) is the time span in which the situation encoded by the clause occurs. The SitT is located relative to the UT or relative to some other time span given by the context. The **Reference Time** (RefT) is the time that the SitT is related to. The RefT is either simultaneous with the UT or with the SitT of some other situation before the UT or after the UT.

The distinction between UT, RefT and SitT and the variable location of RefTs and SitT result in nine distinct kinds of temporal relation, as illustrated by examples in Table1.

Table 1: The nine temporal relations with translations of Teop examples

	RefT before UT	RefT simul UT	RefT after UT
SitT before RefT	*Their parents <u>had died</u>.*	*Once upon a time there <u>lived</u> two brothers*	*He comes, when the woman <u>will have prepared</u> the food.*
SitT simul RefT	*We <u>were living</u> in T., when the war came here*	*Today I <u>live</u> in H. We<u>'re just sitting</u> here.*	*When I'm dead, there <u>won't be</u> anybody <u>teaching</u> songs.*
SitT after RefT	*She said she <u>would bring</u> greens.*	*I<u>'ll tell</u> a story about two brothers.*	*Go ahead, I<u>'ll follow</u>.*

In Teop none of the TAM markers signifies a past tense, present tense or future tense, i.e. a relation between a SitT and a RefT that is simultaneous with the UT. Instead they all signify a relation of anteriority, simultaneity or posteriority between a SitT and a variable RefT. In discourse the RefT may shift from clause to clause. If clauses encode a sequence of situations, the first clause sets the RefT of the second clause, and the second clause may set the RefT for a third clause, etc. Consequently, the actual location of a situation in time relative to the UT is only understood from the context or the speech situation.

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[1] Reichenbach's terms are *point of speech*, *point of the event*, *point of reference* (1947:287-298); Comrie's terms are *moment of speech, moment of event, reference point* Comrie (1985:122-130).

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Nikita Muraviev (Universität Hamburg)

Northern Khanty: approaching a language with a hybrid basic alignment type

Northern Khanty (Ob-Ugric, Uralic) is traditionally described as a language whose basic alignment is accusative (Nikolaeva 1999: 38). Its nominal system does not distinguish A- and O-argument marking on full noun phrases, see example (1), but has a marked accusative form for personal pronouns, as in (2), and the verb has an obligatory A- and optional pragmatically conditioned O-indexing, cf. (1) and (2).

(1) pux   an   šʉkat-əs
    boy   cup   break-PST[3SG]
    'A boy broke a cup.'
(2) λʉw   mănətti   χătśə-s / χătśə-s-λe
    he   I.ACC   hit-PST[3SG] / hit-PST-3SG>SG
    'He hit me.'

However, certain morphosyntactic features suggest comparisons to hierarchical proximate-obviative allignment patterns found across the indigeneous languages of North America, cf. similar observations on another Uralic language, Tundra Nenets (Nikolaeva, Bárány 2019). One such feature is passive voice which appears to be sensitive to person, animacy and definiteness hierarchies, having typologically much in common with inverses, see (Zuñiga 2006), cf. (3a, b) below where passive is the only acceptable option with an inanimate A 'wind' and animate O 'girl'.

(3) a.   wot-ən   ewi   iλ   păwət-s-a
        wind-LOC   girl   down   drop-PST-PASS[3SG]
    b.   *wot-en   ewi   iλ   păwt-əs
        wind-POSS.2SG   girl   down   drop-PST[3SG]
        'The wind dropped a girl down.'

Another feature is the nominal possessive 2SG marker -en used as a definite article and appearing in this particular function only once in a clause and mostly with noun phrases in the subject position, which is typical for proximative marking in hierarchical systems, see e.g. (Aissen 1997), cf. example (4) below with a definite or proper possessive marked subject 'dog' and a proper possessive marked direct object 'bone'.

(4) amp-en   λuw-en   šʉwəλ-əs
    dog-POSS.2SG   bone-POSS.2SG   notice-PST[3SG]
    'The/your dog saw your bone.' / *'The dog saw the bone.' / *'Your dog saw the bone.'

This talk presents these and several other observations on the Kazym Khanty morphosyntax based on the elicited field data from Kazym village (2021-2022) and addresses them from a descriptive point of view. The main question is whether the apparently intermediate basic allignment type in Kazym Khanty should be described in the conservative accusative terms or whether the conceptual framework for hierarchical languages should be applied instead or whether a description should combine both. As it appears, the exact solution will vary depending on the purpose (language-particular, genetic or areal, broad typological study etc.), genre (comprehensive grammar, grammatical sketch, article etc.), relevance (dedicated study, work on some other phenomenon) as well as possible theoretical implications.

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Abbreviations

ACC — Accusative, LOC — Locative, PASS — Passive, POSS — Possessive, PST — Past, SG — Singular.

Ausprägungen der *Toponymischen Sondergrammatik* jenseits räumlicher Relationen

Julia Nintemann, Universität Bremen

Spätestens seit der Veröffentlichung zweier Monographien (Anderson 2007; van Langendonck 2007) sind Onyme nicht mehr ausschließlich Gegenstand der Onomastik, sondern auch mehr in das Interesse der Linguistik gerückt. Obwohl Onyme traditionell zu den Nomen gezählt werden (vgl. van Langendonck 2007: 17), zeigt die rezente Namensforschung, dass Onyme häufig morphosyntaktische Eigenschaften aufweisen, die sie von Appellativa (APP) unterscheiden (z. B. Handschuh 2022). Auf der Grundlage von Daten aus dem Deutschen führen Nübling et al. (2015: 64) daher das Konzept der *Onymischen Sondergrammatik* (OSG) ein.

Onyme verhalten sich jedoch nicht immer einheitlich. So führen Stolz et al. (2017a, 2017b) in Anlehnung an die OSG und ergänzend zu den bisher primär anthroponymisch geprägten Arbeiten in ihrer Forschung zu morphosyntaktischen Eigenschaften der Toponyme (TOP) das Konzept der *Toponymischen Sondergrammatik* (TSG) ein. Dass die prototypisch in lokativischen Rollen verwendeten TOP in Konstruktionen räumlicher Relationen häufig anders (nämlich nicht overt) kodiert werden als Anthroponyme (ANTH) und das Gros der Appellativa, ist in den letzten Jahren vermehrt festgestellt (wenn auch aus typologischer Perspektive noch nicht ausreichend untersucht) worden (vgl. u. a. Stolz et al. 2014, 2017a, 2017b; Haspelmath 2019). Jedoch können auch TOP außerhalb der Domäne räumlicher Relationen verwendet werden, sodass sich ein vollständiges Bild der TSG erst zeichnen lässt, wenn TOP auch in anderen grammatischen Konstruktionen untersucht werden.

So unterscheiden sich im Imonda beispielsweise TOP und APP[-menschlich] von ANTH und APP[+menschlich], wenn sie als Ground (vgl. Talmy 1978) in räumlichen Relationen vorkommen. Während TOP und APP[-menschlich] direkt mit dem Lokativmarker *-ia* suffigiert werden können, müssen ANTH und APP[+menschlich] zunächst den Possessivmarker *-na* tragen, bevor *-ia* suffigiert werden kann (Seiler 1985: 71). Dass sich TOP aber nicht wie alle APP[-menschlich] verhalten, wird deutlich, wenn man einen Blick auf die Modifikation durch Adjektive wirft. Anders als die gesamte Klasse der APP können die beiden onymischen Kategorien TOP und ANTH nicht durch Adjektive modifiziert werden (Seiler 1985: 38). Tabelle 1 illustriert die Einteilung der appellativischen und onymischen Kategorien aufgrund ihrer distinktiven morphosyntaktischen Eigenschaften im Imonda.

	Modifikation durch Adjektive möglich	Modifikation durch Adjektive nicht möglich
direkte Suffigierung von *-ia*	APP[-menschlich]	TOP
keine direkte Suffigierung von *-ia*	APP[+menschlich]	ANTH

Tabelle 1: Kategorisierung nach distinktiven morphosyntaktischen Eigenschaften im Imonda

Das Beispiel des Imonda verdeutlicht, dass weder Onyme noch Appellativa eine homogene Klasse bilden müssen und dass es daher durchaus sinnvoll ist, keine einheitliche OSG anzunehmen. Zudem wird ersichtlich, dass sich TSG auch außerhalb der räumlichen Relationen finden lässt. So wird das Bild der TSG im Fall des Imonda erst dadurch vervollständigt, dass die Toponyme auch in anderen grammatischen Konstruktionen betrachtet werden.

Der Vortrag gibt einen Einblick in die grammatischen Domänen, in denen TSG belegt ist. Dazu werden einzelsprachliche Beispiele aus verschiedenen Sprachfamilien und Weltgegenden gegeben. Es wird deutlich, dass TSG weder ein vereinzeltes noch ein räumlich oder auf einzelne Phyla begrenztes Phänomen ist, und dass sie immer wieder auch grammatische Konstruktionen außerhalb der Domäne der räumlichen Relationen betrifft.

Abkürzungen

APP = Appellativa, ANTH = Anthroponyme, OSG = Onymische Sondergrammatik, TOP = Toponyme, TSG = Toponymische Sondergrammatik

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Maria Ovsjannikova (University of Potsdam)

Conditional converb markers in Forest Enets: distribution across generations of speakers

In Forest Enets (< Northern Samoyedic < Uralic), there exist several formal variants of the conditional converb marker: *bune*, *buʔ*, and *b*. The variant *bune* is used only with possessive markers cross-referencing the clause subject, the variant *buʔ*, mostly with possessive markers, and the variant *b*, only without them. This study is concerned with the choice between the variants *bune* and *buʔ* (with possessive markers), see the forms *tobuneduʔ* and *lɛubutuʔ* in (1). In particular, I will explore the change in their distribution in the speech of two different generations of Enets speakers.

(1)   *nar-no-ju,*   *manʲ,*   **to-bune-duʔ,**   *axa,*
      spring-ADV-RESTR.ADJ say   come(pfv)-CVB.COND-OBL.3PL   yeah
      lɛu-bu-tuʔ,   *tʃike-z*   *manʲ*   *zdɔrɔvajta-goɔ-ʔ*
      cry(ipfv)-CVB.COND-OBL.3PL   this-NOM.PL.2SG say   greet(pfv)-DUR-3PL.S
      'In spring, say, when they come, when they cry, say, they say hello'.

The study is based on the corpus of glossed oral texts in Forest Enets (appr. 115 000 words), which comprises both legacy and modern recordings. The legacy recordings mainly document the speech of Forest Enets speakers born in the 1910–1930s, and the modern recordings, of those born in the 1940–1960s. The time range covered by the corpus provides an opportunity to explore small-scale change in the use of the morphological variants discussed above.

Sorokina (2010: 346) describes the allomorph *bune* as used for a condition temporally preceding the future event denoted by the main clause. According to Siegl (2013: 441), constructions with this allomorph have "a hypothetical interpretation with future reference". The corpus data do not lend support to these analyses, as there are examples of use of the variant *bune* both for events with past time reference and generic events in the conditional clause.

The quantitative analysis of the corpus data shows that the variant *bune* is used by the younger speakers much more frequently than by the older speakers. There are also differences in the motivation for the choice between the variants in the text by the two generations of speakers. In the texts by the older speakers, the variant *bune* is more frequent in the clauses describing habitual or present condition. In the texts by the younger speakers, the two variants are much more evenly distributed with respect to construction semantics. Here, their choice is likely to be conditioned by the phonological shape of the stem, viz. the variant *bune* is mostly used with monosyllabic roots, as is cross-linguistically observed for the longer variants of some markers. Alternatively, the choice of the variants is lexically conditioned, since these verbal stems mostly belong to a restricted set of high-frequency verbs (*ɛ* 'be', *to* 'come').

In the talk, I will analyse the interaction between the speaker's year of birth and the above-mentioned linguistic factors underlying the distribution of the variants and discuss whether the differences between the two generations can be interpreted in terms of the mechanisms underlying the observed change, viz. the reanalysis as opposed to a gradual change.

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Vladimir Panov (Vilnius University)

Moving away from structuralism: Linguistics, sociological theory, and 4E cognitive science.

In this talk, I develop interdisciplinary metatheoretical reflections on convergent patterns in the development of linguistics, sociological theory and cognitive science in recent decades. Currently, the dialogue between these fields of research is very weak but I argue that establishing common tendencies might potentially strengthen each of the fields if one takes a broad interdisciplinary perspective. From the point of view of language sciences, I argue for the necessity of a decisive move away from an individualist, representationalist and eventually structuralist view of human linguistic activities.

I first argue that despite its internal diversity, contemporary linguistics is largely based on a set of often tacit assumptions about the nature of language and communication. These can be roughly defined as structuralist and include (1) the dichotomy between language and speech, (2) the stress on the study of the former understood as a personalized "cognitive" representation of linguistic knowledge, (3) the view of language as a thought-code aimed at conveying messages. For instance, both the Chomskian and Lakoffian-Langackerian traditions largely share these assumptions, though disagreeing on the exact nature of personal linguistic knowledge (innate or representing "domain general" cognitive capacities).

At the same time, alternative views on language and communication are recently gaining popularity which question all or some of the aforementioned assumptions. This family of approaches is not uniform and can be illustrated by paradigms such as emergent grammar (Hopper 1987), usage-based linguistics (Lund, Kristine et al. 2022), conversation analysis and interactional linguistics (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2017), and practice theory approach in linguistic anthropology (Hanks 1996). On the one hand, they are inspired by earlier work by Wittgenstein, Merleau-Ponty, Bakhtin, and Vygotsky, among others. On the other hand, some of the authors working in these frameworks rely overtly on sociological theory, e.g. ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1984) or practice theory (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1979). All these approaches share the general assumption about language as a subtype of human activity and social behavior.

I subsequently show that while the mainstream structuralism-inspired linguistics largely conforms to the cognitivist (computationalist and representationalist) stance of mainstream cognitive science, the approaches described above are in accordance with the recent turn in cognitive science known as 4E cognition (embodied, embedded, extended, enacted). A few scholars of language have recently made this connection explicit (Linell 2009; Di Paolo, Cuffari & De Jaegher 2018; Steffensen & Cummins 2021).

In the concluding part, I discuss particular linguistic phenomena which are best accounted for from the interactional and 4E point of view, namely deictic reference, distributed agency, and the allocutive (non-argument addressee) which have so far been peripheral to mainstream linguistics. I argue that as elsewhere in science, exceptions tell us more about the nature of the phenomenon than standard cases do. Subsequently, the traditional language-as-a-code model can be seen as an adequate account of a subset of linguistic activities but not the whole story.

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Something old, something new, and something borrowed: evolving grammatical gender systems in Juǀ'hoan

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Grammatical gender is found in over half of the world's languages and Africa is a hotspot not only with respect to the distribution of grammatical gender systems but also the typological diversity of such systems (e.g., Nichols 1992). In Kalahari Basin Area languages (aka 'Khoisan'), gender systems exhibit two systemically opposed typological profiles. In languages of the Kx'a and Tuu families, gender is largely insensitive to number and sex, a profile rarely found in Africa. This stands in sharp contrast to gender in Khoe languages–important contact languages–which is sensitive to both number and sex (cf., Güldemann 2000).

This presentation focusses on Juǀ'hoan (Kx'a) and its pronominal gender system which amongst other things encodes a culturally salient distinction between 'in-group' humans, including kin and other fellow local forager groups, and all other animates. This presentation describes the evolution of the gender systems in particular speech communities, detailing an important typological change to the gender system with the innovation of sex-specific genders due to contact with Khoe languages. In addition to observing system internal changes, such as the recycling of agreement material to increase the number of genders from five to seven (see Figure 1), there are significant insights to be gained from this case study.

First, the innovative sex-based genders apply uniquely to 'in-group' humans. This contact-induced change actually increases the linguistic markedness of an important sociocultural opposition and arguably promotes its retention. Second, this case study provides an opportunity to observe the secondary development of a sex-based distinction in a gender system with a primordial animacy opposition (cf. Güldemann, in prep). As such, this study details an interesting case of feature retention promoted by language contact and typological change and emphasises the contribution of the micro-level investigation of lesser studied languages to historical linguistics and linguistic typology.
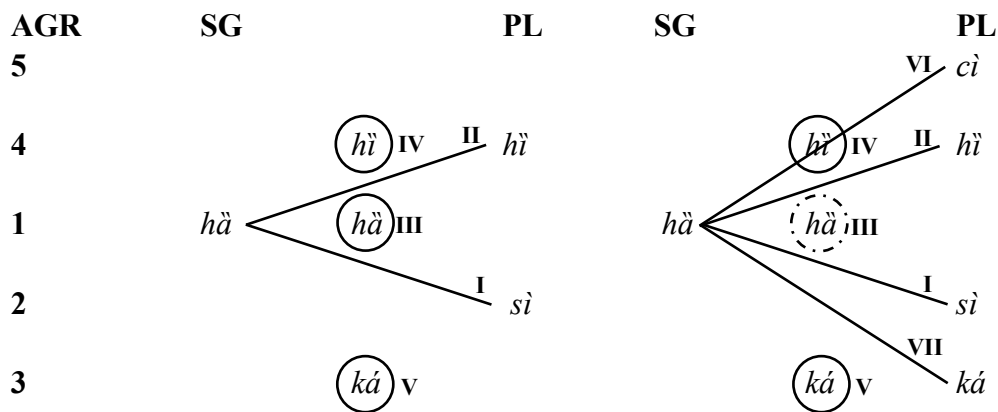

Figure 1 Gender systems in Juǀ'hoan A (left) and in Juǀ'hoan B (right). Arabic numerals stand for agreement classes (AGR). A pairing of singular (SG) and plural (PL) agreement classes form a gender, enumerated by Roman numerals. Circles represent transnumeral genders (cf. Pratchett 2021)

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Sergey Say (University of Potsdam)

Plural formation in NENA varieties spoken in Russia: towards superirregularity

Modern settlements with a significant number of Northeastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) speakers, who identify themselves as Assyrians, appeared in Russia and the South Caucasus following several waves of (largely involuntary) migrations in the 19th and 20th century. In many locations, including the village of Urmiya, which is the only settlement in Russia where "Assyrians" constitute the majority, speakers of different origin, e.g. descendents of settlers from Iran and the present-day Turkey, live together so that their dialectal affiliation gets blurred. Besides, many NENA varieties undergo attrition under the pressure from Russian or other dominant languages.

My goal was to document nominal plural formation in the speech of NENA speakers in Russia and Armenia. Well-described NENA varieties, such as the Urmi variety in Iran, which was documented in great detail by Khan (2016), display a complex system of nominal plural formation with several competing patterns. The choice between pluralization patterns is generally not predictable from the noun's phonological form, grammatical features (gender) or meaning. My ultimate goal beyond the descriptive level was to trace the mechanisms that affect morphological distributions in extreme sociolinguistic situations.

The data I used come from 4 sources. i) Available grammatical descriptions. ii) Data obtained from 6 speakers representing all major groups of speakers in Urmiya (199 nouns) as part of a dialect-oriented sound dictionary. iii) Data elicited from further 40 speakers using a questionnaire containing 34 nouns. iv) Spontaneous data retrieved in a smallish spoken corpus. I arrived at the following findings.

i) Even though the range of pluralization models attested in my data is the same as reported in Khan (2016) and other sources, their lexical distributions deviate drastically from the expected distributions, which indicates rapid diachronic shifts.

ii) The main mechanism behind observed changes is analogy. However, there are many instances of non-proportional analogy, which provides evidence for the use of product-oriented (Bybee 1995) pluralization schemas by the NENA speakers.

iii) Shifts from the default *-ə* pattern to minor patterns are almost as frequent as shifts in the opposite direction. The main factor affecting the likelihood of a shift is the frequency of the plural form with more frequent forms being more conservative. This is indicative of the divergent probabilities of producing these forms by rule vs. by rote.

iv) While phonological shapes of the actual morphological forms (e.g. *baxtátə > baxtáyə > baxtáy > baxtá* 'women') clearly correspond to the speaker's reported dialect and age, the choice of the very morphological model is almost unpredictable based on the reported dialectal affiliation of the speaker. Even if originally the lexical distributions of competing models were associated with dialects and waves of migration, the situation observed presently is fragmented to the level of individual idiolects.

The overall observation is that the system of nominal plural marking in the NENA varieties analyzed has become extremely irregular. This is an unusual scenario: the more common scenario in the development of irregular mophology is in the opposite direction, that is, towards higher regularity and simplification (Anderson 1988: 326; Hock 1991: 173). In my talk, I am going to speculate upon possible reasons for this unusual development in the severe sociolinguistic conditions characteristic of the present-day NENA varieties in Russia and the South Caucasus.

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Andrey Shluinsky (University of Hamburg)

From description to typology: adnominal ditransitive constructions in Enets and Akebu

In my presentation, I will propose a comparison of adnominal ditransitive constructions (ADCs) in two completely different languages – Enets (< Samoyedic < Uralic, North Asia) and Akebu (< Ka-Togo / Ghana-Togo Mountain < Kwa, West Africa). Being chosen for my descriptive work due to unrelated reasons (each of the languages is understudied in its group), both languages happened to feature a rather rare pattern of ADCs. In ADCs, a recipient is coded like a possessor in the theme/patient NP, not as a ditransitive verb's argument on its own, as shown in (1)-(2).

(1) Tundra Enets
niɔ-da   *mu-ku-z*   *teza-da*
child-GEN.PL.3SG   food-DIM-DEST   bring-FUT.3SG
'He will give some food to his children.'

(2) Akebu
wɔ́   *ŋ̀-kòònū*   *ásūkūŋā*   *lá*   *gà-kɔ̄*
and   3SG-give   Cunning   POSS   meat-CL
'And he gave the meat to the Cunning one.'

While ADCs are known cross-linguistically and mentioned by researchers of both possessivity (Creissels 1979: 567–574) and ditransitive constructions (Malchukov et al. 2010: 14–15), only Malchukov (2018) published a cross-linguistic study of ADCs, which dealt with ways of disambiguation between possessors and recipients, but not with different types of ADCs themselves. There is no wide typology of ADCs so far, but having conducted in-depth descriptive studies both of Enets (Khanina & Shluinsky 2014; 2020) and Akebu (Makeeva & Shluinsky 2020) I am able to compare them. This comparison makes sense, as on the one hand ADCs are cross-linguistically rare, and on the other hand, ADCs in Enets and ADCs in Akebu are in fact very different patterns.

The main differences are summarized, as follows. First, Enets features a dedicated destinative marker used in ADCs, but not in possessive constructions. Second, at the same time, while in Enets, recipients in ADCs are clearly NP-internal syntactically, syntactic evidence for Akebu is ambiguous. Third, in Enets, ADCs are normally associated with a particular noun phrase specificity pattern and are used when the recipient is specific and the theme is indefinite. Akebu features no restrictions of this type. Moreover, Enets pattern is connected to the fact that most typically ADCs are attested with pronominal recipients of any person and only more seldom with full NP recipients. In contrast, in Akebu, there are more options for 3rd person pronominal recipients, and, fourth, ADCs cannot be used at all with recipients of 1st and 2nd person. Fourth, in Akebu ADCs are limited by a relatively small class of ditransitive verbs, while in Enets, ADCs can be used not only as ditransitives proper, but also as benefactives. These differences can get tentative diachronic explanations through patterns presumed to exist in the protolanguages before development of ADCs (I used Malchukov et al.'s (2010) terminology). While the standard pattern for Uralic languages are indirective ditransitive constructions where the recipient is expressed by the lative case, Kwa languages feature superficially neutral ditransitive constructions (where recipients are more syntactically prominent), and semi-grammaticalized secundative constructions based in serial verb constructions. Arising in different systems, ADCs fill different niches and thus are subject get different restrictions on their uses.

At the same time, there are common patterns featured by ADCs in Enets and in Akebu, as well. First, ADCs are not used with theme NPs that have a possessor (impossible in Enets, dubious in Akebu). Second, more generally, in both languages, ADCs are not the only attested strategy for ditransitives and have competing alternative constructions. Though very tentatively, these patterns can be hypothesized as universal for ADCs.

Let alone the chosen grammatical phenomenon, I aim to compare data directly coming from my own descriptive work. Although such kind of a study comparing just two languages is not methodologically typical, I assume that it can be productive as a qualitative study of a cross-linguistic rarity and thus can contribute to the discussion on the topic of language description and language comparison.

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Expansion of DOM beyond animacy in medieval and Early Modern Ukrainian and Belarusian texts

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Slavic languages are known to possess animacy-driven differential object marking (DOM) system in which animate objects are marked by a genitive form. There is a recent development in some "northern" Slavic languages in which the DOM system expanded from animate NP types only to include now also some inanimate object types, such as nouns referring to plants, mushrooms, small objects, body parts or abstract notions and/or found with some predicate types or in contexts related to specificity:

(1) Ukrainian
Ja   vyby-v   zub-a.
1SG knock.out-PST.M tooth-GEN/ACC.SG
'I knocked a tooth out.'

(2) Polish
Widzę   papiros-a.
see.1SG   cigarette-GEN/ACC.SG
'I see a cigarette.'

Crucially, such a heterogenous set of semantic classes is not trivial in the cross-linguistic perspective and it also does not correspond to any of the hierarchies discussed in the literature so far.

Geographically, the phenomenon is widespread in the northern Slavic area, encompassing, to different extent, modern Ukrainian, Belarusian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, and Sorbian languages (Skwarska 2018), whereas in Russian it is largely restricted to "physically or functionally anthropomorphic or zoomorphic objects" (Krys'ko 1994). In many languages, including Polish and Ukrainian, this pattern is productive (Kosek 2022; Shvedova 2018). This pattern is also prominent in different regional and social varieties. In Belarusian, the phenomenon is attested scarcely and mainly in dialects, but the existence of a dialectal continuum and the common medieval written language for both Ukrainian and Belarusian vernaculars, known as Ruthenian or *prosta mova*, makes the evidence of Belarusian important as well.

In the paper it will be explored, using the medieval and Early modern Ukrainian and Belarusian texts, whether the diachronic role of different linguistic factors and hierarchies triggering the expansion of DOM in the East Slavic lects depends on inherent and/or non-inherent object properties.
A hypothesis is tested is that the expansion of DOM is also conditioned by the properties of predicates (e.g. verbs governing genitive objects as suggested by Ruthenian examples in Bulyka 1988), cf. García García (2018).

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Languages of Siberia: Mirative expressions in narratives

This paper discusses the use of mirative expressions in narratives, as a means of marking surprising key points, in relation to the plot patterns which lead to these points. A typical sequence of predications with specific semantics (a verb of motion plus a verb of perception – *veni, vidi*) is labelled "pre-mirative context". Such sequences correspond to important structural units of a folklore narrative (Propp 1928) within the "Hero's Journey" (Campbell 2008). The study is based on an investigation of corpora of folktales in the following Siberian languages: Uralic - Khanty and Mansi (Finno-Ugric), Selkup (Samoyedic); Altaic - Altai-Kizhi, Khakas, Shor, and Tuvan (South Siberian Turkic), Buryat (North Mongolic), Evenki (North Tungusic); Yenisseic - Ket.

Many of these languages have specialized mirative forms or mirative extensions of evidential forms (Skribnik & Aikhenvald forthcoming), particularly salient in the languages of Western and Central Siberia which appear to constitute what can metaphorically be referred to as a "mirativity belt". In Ob-Ugric languages, erstwhile evidentials have been reanalyzed into pure miratives. Mirativity is also a prominent feature of South Siberian Turkic languages and Buryat, a North Mongolic language. Yenisseic languages have no evidentials, but code mirativity distinctions with particles (Vajda 2004: 90).

The investigation has shown that there exist sets of linguistic means that are given preference in text sequences that correspond to the Hero's Journey. Practically every instance of a sequence *veni, vidi* is followed by a clause with a mirative reading, so that such a sequence seems to have a special culturally conditioned narrative and communicative function.

Linguistic marking can occur to the right of the pre-mirative/mirative borderline, and here miratives will be used, or non-mirative forms (e.g. evidential or perfective) will acquire a mirative extension. The marking can also occur on the left side of this borderline through special converbs or different particles. Often the chosen converbial forms indicate an unexpected temporal sequence or an abrupt change of situation. Such forms signalize that a surprising key point follows and acquire "pre-mirative" reading. The two types of marking can also be combined.

Whether the type of contextual implicature within the Hero's Journey context plays a role in the emergence of grammaticalized mirativity, is a question for further research.

Areal rarities - Phonological rara and rarissima in Europe

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Hyman (2018: 14–17) advocates the distributional perspective for phonological typology. He puts areal matters on the agenda and claims that "[p]honologists can and should be involved in [] identifying the geographical [[]] distributions of the phenomena" (Hyman 2018: 17). This task is relevant for the study of phonological rarities most of which have to be located on linguistic maps yet. For consonants, Maddieson (2005a–b) shows that it is feasible to capture the distribution of (selected) *rara* and *rarissima* cartographically in global perspective. For our own project, we assume that what is possible globally must also be possible areally. We aim at identifying uncommon consonants and their distribution in Europe. Previous studies (e.g. Ternes 2010) on the areal phonology of Europe have largely ignored the issue of rarities (exceptions being Stolz/Urdze/Otsuka (2012) and Stolz/Levkovych (2017)).

Our sample comprises 210 languages reported to be alive in Europe in the 20th century. The geographical boundaries of Europe correspond to those introduced by König/Haspelmath (1999) for EUROTYP. The analysis of the languages yields 311 different consonants which are unevenly distributed over the 210 languages. We evaluate the data synchronically. The phenomena are analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Diagram 1 reveals that there is a minority of widely distributed consonants which contrasts with a majority of consonants with a very limited distribution over the languages of Europe. Only 22 consonants are attested in n ≥ 50% (= 105 languages) of the sample. With 289 consonants the vast majority of the cases fails to reach this threshold.

What is important for the topic of rarities is the high number of consonants which are attested only sporadically. If we classify as RARE any consonant that is reported in 5% (~ 16 languages) or less of the sample, the result is striking insofar as 246 consonants (= 79% of all consonants) in Europe have the status of areal *rara*. The turnout and share for areal *rarissima* – i.e. for consonants which occur in 1% (~ 3 languages) or less of the sample – are still remarkably big, namely 169 languages and 54% of the sample, respectively. This means that the inventory of European consonants is predominantly composed of areal rarities.

European *rarissima* tend to be phonologically complex in the sense that they involve secondary articulations (frequently combinations of different kinds of secondary articulations) such as the voiceless labialized-aspirated denti-alveolar plosive /t^{wh}/ whose existence is stated for Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993: 33). Many but by no means all of the *rarissima* cluster in the Caucasian region. We address the geographical (and genetic) distribution of the rarities within the European macro-area. Many but by no means all European rarities are also cross-linguistically uncommon (e.g. /t^{wh}/ is absent from Maddieson (1984)). We compare the European patterns with those emerging from global accounts of consonant distribution. The results are shown to impact on EUROTYP (Haspelmath 2001), phonological typology (Gordon 2016), and the study of rarities in general (Wohlgemuth/Cysouw 2010).
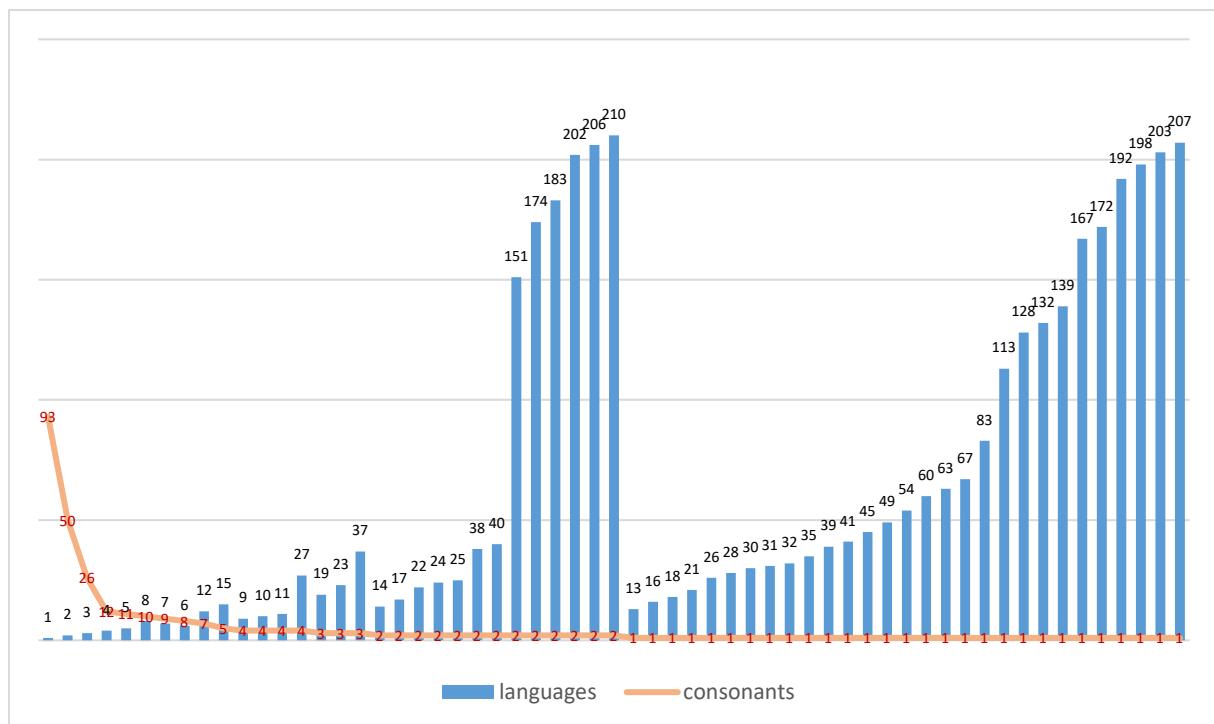
Diagram 1: Distribution of consonants over members of the European sample

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Purpose clauses with the Russian subordinator in languages of Siberia

The paper deals with the use of the Russian subordinating conjunction *čtoby* 'in order to' in indigenous languages of Siberia, which are all in contact with socially dominant Russian.

Some cross-linguistic generalizations on the borrowability of subordinating conjunctions appealing to their semantics and pragmatics have been formulated in the literature, cf. Matras (2007:56), Grant (2012); in Stolz & Levkovych (2022), they are revisited with a special focus on languages of Russia, cf. also some comparative observations on borrowed Russian conjunctions in Forker & Grenoble (2021: 278–280). I will contribute to this discussion in another perspective.

I will compare the use of one and the same purposive subordinator in several corpora, i.e. those of Tungusic (Evenki, Nanai, Ulcha), Samoyedic (Forest and Tundra Enets, Selkup, Kamas), and Turkic (Dolgan). In all of them, the Russian *čtoby* is attested, although with different frequency. Cf. examples (1) and (2) from Evenki: in (1) the native subordination strategy (the dedicated purposive converb) is used, while (2) contains the Russian *čtoby*:

(1)   dilɣukša-ja   əmə-wu-m   d'ab-**da**-š
        tree.sap-ACC.INDF   come-CAUS.AOR-1SG   eat-**CVB.PURP**-2SG
        'I   have   brought   pine   sap,   in   order   that   you   eat   (it)!'
(Kalk_191X_RychkovF6aP046_nar:039)
(2)   **štobi**   owəs-pa   ga-mča-l
        in.order.to.R oat-ACC   take-SUBJ-PL
        '... in order that they take the oat' (Kalk_191X_RychkovF6aP063_nar: 070)

For each text collection, I will consider the following parameters:
     – whether *čtoby* acts as an established loanword or rather as an instance of code-switching or ad-hoc (nonce) borrowing;
     – how frequent it is in different types of clauses compared to the native purposive subordination strategies;
     – whether the use of the Russian *čtoby* is accompanied with syntactic restructuring of the subordinate clause (as in (2), where the finite subjunctive form is used instead of the purposive converb) or not.

I will discuss comparative data of the languages in question from two points of view.
     1) How do these data correlate with the native subordination strategy and its structural compatibility with that attested in Russian?
In Russian, there is a split between same-subject (SS) and different-subject (DS) purpose clauses: the first ones are non-finite, the second ones are finite. In both types, the conjunction (*čtoby*) is used. The indigenous languages of the sample vary in these parameters (+/- a SS vs. DS split, +/- finiteness, +/- a dedicated non-affixal subordinator).
     2) How do these data correlate with the degree of language shift?
The languages of the sample are all in intense contact with Russian, but they are at different stages of language shift. First, I will compare the data of closely-related languages that have the same native subordination strategy, but differ sociolinguistically (cf., e.g., Evenki, which is more actively spoken, vs. Ulcha, which is used by no more than a hundred elderly speakers). Second, I will compare the data of early vs. recent texts coming from the same language.

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From perception verbs to evidentiality

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The aim of the presentation is to explore the grammaticalization of perception verbs to express evidentiality in the Uralic languages. In the majority of the Uralic languages there are morphosyntactic means of coding evidentiality (these markers typically go back to nonfinite forms) (Skribnik - Kehayov 2018), therefore other strategies of lexical origin have not yet been focused on. Furthermore, in languages that lack morphosyntactic marking of the information source, perception words are a frequent source of evidential strategies. In our presentation we will discuss the polysemy/semantic extensions of perception verbs and perception verbs as a source for the grammaticalization of evidentials.

The polysemy of perception verbs in the Uralic languages

Perception verbs are often considered polysemous inside the field of perception as well as outside of it. According to the traditional analyses the following extensions can be established (e.g. Viberg 1984, Sweetser 1990):

- ► intrafield: TOUCH → TASTE, SMELL
- ► transfield: SEE → KNOWLEDGE, THINKING
    - HEAR → HEED, OBEY
    - TOUCH → FEELINGS
    - TASTE → LIKES, DISLIKES
    - SMELL → UNCOMFORTABLE FEELINGS

However, in connection with several Uralic languages the question may arise that domain-internal extensions, especially in the case of verbs in the field of HEAR, are not actual extensions of a primary meaning but we deal with polysemy in such cases as well, e.g. Sámi *gulla-* 'hear, feel', Nganasan *d'indi-* 'hear, smell, taste, feel', Mansi *xōli* 'hear, smell, taste, feel', Udmurt *kylyny* 'hear, smell'. Moreover, the verbal stem Hung. *ér-* (*érint* 'touch', *érez* 'feel', *ért* 'understand', *érdekel* 'interested in' etc.) is a notable example for intra- and transfield processes as well.

Evidentiality and perception verbs

It is a well-attested phenomenon that perception verbs are frequent subjects of grammaticalization. They may develop into fully grammaticalized markers as well as lexical ones, e.g. particles and adverbials (Aihkenvald 2004: ch. 9, Matlock 1989).

The grammaticalization of perception verbs may result in evidential/epistential markers. In connection with this, the following questions are worth of consideration (cf. Whitt 2010): Which evidential types are typically expressed through perception verbs? Is there a tendency regarding the grammaticalization of a specific perception verb to express a specific evidence type (e.g. verbs of auditory perception to reportative evidentials)?

The evidential/epistential use of perception verbs can be attested in several languages, e.g.:

Hung. *láthatóan, látszólag* 'apparently, evidently'   ← *lát* 'to see' (cf.. Kugler 2015)

Finn. *kuulemma* 'allegedly'   ← *kuulla* 'to hear' (Kaiser 2022)

Udmurt *šödske* 'seems to'   ← *šödiśke* 'to feel'

The relatively frequent evidential/epistential use of perception verbs can be traced back to the generic-level metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING or, in a broader interpretation KNOWLEDGE IS PERCEPTION (Matlock 1989: 222).

Furthermore, the Nganasan system of perception verbs, especially verbs referring to auditory perception, shows a striking correlation with the use of the grammaticalized auditive (non-visual sensory evidential) marker. Such correlation indicates that the relationship between perception verbs and evidentiality has another dimension beyond grammaticalization.

In the presentation we will illustrate the above-mentioned process and phenomena with rich materials from the Uralic languages.

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Interjections in Kambaata (Cushitic)

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In existing grammatical descriptions and dictionaries of African languages, interjections have often received little attention, which renders the comparison of this word class across languages of many genetic branches or geographical areas difficult (or even impossible). This paper attempts to fill a gap in the description of Kambaata, a Highland East Cushitic language of Ethiopia, by presenting an analysis of this word class from a phonological, (morpho-)syntactic and semantic perspective, based on a variety of sources (recorded conversations, published texts and interviews in the field). Wherever possible, Kambaata's interjections are compared to that of its relatives and neighbours. In the first part of the paper, the defining language-internal features of the morphologically invariable word class are presented and compared to that of discourse particles, ideophones and imperative-only verbs. The section on the phonology, phonotactics and prosody points out marginalities such as nasalized vowels, geminate glottal stops and the lexically determined position of stress. Interjections generally constitute utterances of their own, i.e. they are syntactically autonomous. However, a subset of Kambaata interjections are able to govern arguments and thus form phrases. A distinction can be made between interjections that govern accusative, dative and/or vocative NPs. In the third part, different semantic types of interjections are differentiated, and I will discuss how the Kambaata interjections fit (or do not fit) into the existing semantic typologies, especially Ameka (1992) and Ponsonnet (2022 [forthcoming]). The final section focusses especially on the large inventory of directive interjections that the Kambaata use to address domestic animals in order to chase them away, make them come or have them carry out certain tasks.

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Tempus und Aspekt in Longuda - Ein vergleichender Ansatz

Longuda ist ein Sprachcluster, das im Nordosten Nigerias gesprochen wird. Es gehört zur sogenannten Adamawa-Sprachgruppe, die von Güldemann (2018: 200) als ein "highly divers genealogical pool of Niger-Congo [languages]" beschrieben wird. Sein Tempus- und Aspektsystem ist nur teilweise für einzelne Varietäten des Clusters beschrieben worden – und das mit sehr unterschiedlichen Ergebnissen. Beispielsweise zeigen zwar alle auf, dass die Subjektpronomen mit Tempus und Aspekt interagieren, allerdings stimmen sie nicht überein, was die Anzahl der Subjektpronomenparadigmen und insbesondere ihre Funktionen angeht (vgl. z. B. Newman 1978: 41, Sabe 1995: 405ff., Sabe 2014: 45f.).

In meiner Forschung verwende ich einen vergleichenden Ansatz, bei dem ich drei Varietäten analysiere. Im Vortrag werde ich kurz das Tempus- und Aspektsystem im Longuda im Allgemeinen skizzieren, bevor ich auf das unterschiedliche Verhalten und die verschiedenen Analyseansätze in den verschiedenen Varietäten eingehe. Ich werde aufzeigen, dass nur durch einen Vergleich aufgedeckt werden kann, dass alle Subjektpronomen auf einem Paradigma basieren, das in Kombination mit Auxiliaren und Verben auf unterschiedliche Weise auftritt (z. B. um das Futur auszudrücken). Im Laufe der Zeit sind die Subjektpronomen und Auxiliare miteinander verschmolzen und weisen heute in den drei Varietäten verschiedene Stadien der Grammatikalisierung auf.

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Schriftliche und mündliche Quellen in der Sprachforschung

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Die traditionelle semitistische Methodik, bei der Beschreibung einer Schriftsprache nach den schriftlichen Quellen vorzugehen, hat sich in der Geschichte der Semitistik bewährt und wird heute bei seit dem 19. Jh. neuentwickelten Schriftsprachen in Äthiopien und Erythräa beibehalten. Muttersprachler werden demgegenüber befragt, wenn es um die Aufnahme von Dialekten geht.

Die jüngste Kritik an dieser Methode von dialektologischer Seite her ist ein Anlass, die beiden deskriptiven Ansätze der Beschreibung einer Literatursprache und der gesprochenen Sprache stärker voneinander abzugrenzen. Der Unterschied betrifft nicht ausschließlich den zwischen Hochsprache und Dialekt, obwohl dies gewöhnlich so gesehen wird. Vielmehr sollten die Linguisten, die bei der Beschreibung einer Schrift-sprache Muttersprachler befragen bzw. ihre eigene sprachliche Kompetenz einbringen, alle Aspekte der gesprochenen Sprache im Auge haben, wie vokalische und konsonantische Assimilationen auf lautlicher Ebene, Varianten auf morphologischer Ebene sowie Wortstellung und Satzkonstruktionen auf syntaktischer Ebene, abgesehen von möglichen Regionalismen, die .

Die modernen Beschreibungen des Amharischen, die ohne Textbelege arbeiten, geben nicht die tatsächlich gesprochene Sprache wieder, sondern die Hochsprache, d.h. die Standardsprache der oberen und mittleren sozialen Schichten, wie sie sich in der Hauptstadt entwickelt hat. Die gondarinisch-amharische Hochsprache weicht schon davon ab. Moderne auf Befragung von Muttersprachlern basierende Beschrei-bungen, die nicht dialektal ausgerichtet sind, zeigen zwei wesentliche Defizite.

- Zum einen wird die reale Vielfalt der gesprochenen Sprache in diatopischer, diastratischer und diaphasischer Hinsicht ignoriert, und
- zum anderen wird nicht erkannt, dass die Standardsprache der Gebildeten nur ein dürftiger Abklatsch der reicheren und elaborierteren Literatursprache ist.

Die Einbeziehung von Muttersprachlern sollte sich weniger auf deren muttersprach-liche Beurteilungen beziehen, sondern zur Aufzeichnung echter Dialoge führen. Dabei geht es primär nicht um dialektale Formen, sondern um die Art und Weise, wie ein Gespräch zwischen Muttersprachlern abläuft, wobei man da in idealer Weise mit Sprachaufnahmen arbeiten sollte. Die so aufgenommene gesprochene Sprache bietet einerseits ein nicht nur stilistisch, sondern auch grammatikalisch und syntaktisch von der Literatursprache abweichendes Bild, das natürlich in eine Sprachbeschreibung einbezogen werden sollte.

Die gesprochene Sprache ist nur ein schwaches Abbild der elaborierten Hoch- und Schriftsprache. Ohne Berücksichtigung der literarischen Tradition einer Sprache ergibt sich ein dürftiges Bild der sprachlichen Wirklichkeit, während die Nichteinbeziehung der gesprochenen, nicht dialektal geprägten Varietäten der Hochsprache ein nur geringfügig defizitäres Bild vermittelt.

Maltese prepositions in coordinating constructions – On the influence of definiteness

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Maltese (Afroasiatic, Semitic) shows variation in coordinating constructions involving identical prepositions. A preposition can either be used in front of each complement or just in front of the first one (EQUI-P-deletion, cf. Stolz and Ahrens 2017; Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 87). While some influencing factors have been identified so far for other languages and also for Maltese, e.g. grammaticalization, group complements or bound pronouns (cf. Haspelmath 2007; Stolz and Ahrens 2017; Gudmestad and Clay 2019), it is still not entirely clear what conditions this variation in Maltese.

This talk focuses on one factor that has not received much consideration in connection to coordinate deletion: definiteness. This factor might be especially relevant for the ten Maltese prepositions that fuse with the definite article (cf. Schmidt, Vorholt, and Witt 2020: 258). Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 87) claim that the second preposition can only be omitted in structurally identical prepositional phrases. Although they do not elaborate on the criterion of 'structural symmetry', the complements in the examples they provide, reproduced in (1), only differ with respect to definiteness.

(1) (adapted from Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 87)
 a. *rebaħ biss **b'** kuraġġ u **(b')** determinazzjoni kbira*
    won.3SG.M only **with** courage and **(with)** determination big:SG.F
    'He only won through courage and great determination.'
 b. *ħija saq **bi**-l-mod u **b'** attenzjoni kbira*
    brother:1SG drive:3SG.M.PFV **with**-DEF-manner and **with** attention big:SG.F
    'My brother drove slowly (lit. **with** the manner) and **with** great care.'

Ximenes and Nunes (2004: 101) report for Portuguese that the placement of both prepositions is the only option with fused prepositions. They also provide examples from other Romance languages including Italian. We might expect that Maltese prepositions behave in a similar way due to extensive language contact with Italian (and Sicilian) (cf. Lucas and Čéplö 2020). However, in (2) and (3) a preposition is only used in front of the first complement even though it fuses with the article.

(2) [Korpus Malti 3.0, culture287]

 *se jsiru diversi attivitajiet **għa**-t-tfal u kbar*
 FUT 3.IPFV:become:PL various:PL activity:PL **for**-DEF-child:PL and big:PL

 'various activities will be held **for** the children and adults'[1]

(3) [Korpus Malti 3.0, academic105]

 *il-gowler irid jilbes ħwejjeġ li jkunu differenti **mil**-l-plejers*
 DEF-goalkeeper 3SG.M.IPFV:want 3SG.M.IPFV:wear clothes SUB 3.IPFV:be:PL different **from**-DEF-player:PL
 u r-referì
 and DEF-referee

 'The goalkeeper is required to wear clothes that are different **from** the players and the referee.'

These structures seem to defy the criterion of 'structural symmetry' put forward by Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997: 87) and consequently lead to the following questions:

- What is the extent of these constructions in the text corpus?
- Is definiteness an influencing factor for coordinate deletion?
- Is fusion an influencing factor for coordinate deletion?

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[1]The article assimilates to nouns starting with a coronal consonant, except /dʒ/ (Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander 1997: 136).

This talk addresses these questions by presenting a corpus-based account of the distribution of Maltese prepositions in coordinating constructions using the *Korpus Malti* 3.0 (250 million words, Gatt and Čéplö 2013). The ten prepositions that fuse are compared to those that do not (46 prepositions, cf. Stolz and Levkovych 2020).

Corpus data show that Maltese does not have the same restrictions for fused prepositions in coordinating constructions as Italian does. Deletion is frequently present in coordinations involving fusion and asymmetrical structures. Nevertheless, the use of a preposition in front of both complements seems to be preferred if both use a definite article. This also applies to prepositions that do not fuse, so that definiteness still seems to be an influencing factor in coordinating constructions.

Abbreviations

1	first person	DEF	definite	IPFV	imperfective	PL	plural
3	third person	F	feminine	M	masculine	SG	singular
		FUT	future	PFV	perfective	SUB	subordinator

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From inflectional to derivational aspect: the development of tense-aspect system in Russian Romani

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Romani, an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Europe since the Middle Ages, has an inflectional aspectual system, i.e. aspectual interpretation of a verbform is determined by its grammatical form. Present/future, imperfect and subjunctive have imperfective interpretation, whereas aorist and pluperfect are perfective (Matras, Elšík 2006: 82–83).

Russian Romani, a northeastern dialect of Romani spoken in Russia and some neighboring countries, has been in contact with Russian for at least 300 years and exhibits numerous lexical and structural borrowings (Rusakov 2001). Russian is a textbook example of a language with a derivational aspectual system, i.e. aspectual interpretation is determined by a specific lexeme, and new verbs with different aspectual values can be derived morphologically (Dahl 1985). The influence of Russian on the Romani TAM system is obvious: the wholesale system of Slavic perfectivizing preverbs has been borrowed into this dialect, and a new imperfective analytic future has evolved copying the Slavic pattern.

Using the corpus data of spoken Russian Romani, I show what happens to an inflectional aspectual system under the influence of a derivational one. One can observe two opposite tendencies: on the hand, the development of the new present/future tense forms results in even higher codependence between tense forms and their aspectual interpretation. On the other hand, part of the verbs begin to allow both aspectual interpretations in the aorist, thus departing from the aorist=perfective vs. imperfect=imperfective ideal. The borrowing of perfectivizing preverbs does not lead to the development of the derivational aspectual system, as both prefixed and non-prefixed verbs can have perfective and imperfective interpretations depending on tense forms. In other words, the preverbs function primarily as lexical modifiers. At the same time, a certain correlation between prefixed verbs and perfective interpretation and simplex verbs and imperfective interpretation can be observed in the corpus.

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Abstract

Equational predication and possessive modification: Revisiting the N-N juxtaposition niche hypothesis

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In this talk, I revisit and rethink the claim that a language does not allow systematic use of the same formal niche for different functions, which is given by Frajzyngier et al. (2002), and criticize this claim. In Frajzyngier et al. (2002), it is demonstrated that if the formal niche N-N juxtaposition is already occupied by the equational predication function, the modification function must be coded by different formal means. However, this claim has several problems. For instance, their survey has a language (Chadic) and areal bias, they miss some functions that N-N juxtaposition can express, and the definitions of equational predication and modification functions are vague, etc. Therefore, I survey 40 languages (phyla) distributed throughout the world and show that N-N juxtaposition can express more functions than Frajzyngier et al. (2002) suppose. According to Croft (2022: 5), it should be considered that there are more functions under the predication and modification. In addition, N-N juxtaposition can express not only predication and modification but also coordination and compound. Many languages of my sample in which N-N juxtaposition can express predication and modification simultaneously can also express both or either of them. Thus, I claim that such a correlation between N-N juxtaposition and its function does not exist, and its meaning can be interpreted by other means such as context and/or intonation. After that, I conclude that form and the function expressed by that form is a very complex and there is no one-to-one mapping between form and the function as Croft (2022: 6) says. My conclusion can be considered as an example of how form-based typology can lead to a wrong generalization. And we must revisit such a generalization and rethink it from the perspective of comparative concepts.

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Differential adjunct marking in the Slavic comitative construction
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The phenomena of argument coding splits (Haspelmath 2021), differential argument marking (Witzlack-Makarevich, Seržant 2018), and, more specifically, differential object (Bossong 1985) and place marking (Haspelmath 2019) have been actively discussed in recent academic literature. The semantic role of INSTRUMENT has not yet been analyzed in terms of differential marking, although it does show instability in marking in languages with a dedicated instrumental case. It is often discussed in a context of a comitative construction (Stolz 2001; Arkhipov 2009a) and is even seen as one end of the comitative-instrument continuum (Schlesinger 1979). This study approaches the cases in which the comitative construction is used to mark an instrument in the languages with a dedicated instrumental case. I propose that the combination of an adposition and an instrumental case (comitative construction), as opposed to a single instrumental case, is an example of differential adjunct marking in some Slavic languages, cf. examples (1)-(3) in Russian.

(1) *Mojte   ruki   (s)   myl-om*
    wash.IMP hands (with) soap-INS
    'Wash your hands with soap'
(2) *Zapishite   otvet   (*s)   karandash-om*
    write_down.IMP answer (*with) pencil-INS
    'Write down the answer with a pencil'
(3) *Perevedite   tekst *(so)   slovar'-om*
    translate.IMP   text   *(with) dictionary-INS
    'Translate the text with the dictionary'

While (2) is ungrammatical with the preposition 'with' and (3) is ungrammatical without the preposition 'with', (1) is grammatical in both ways. So, the same semantic role INSTRUMENT may be coded differently: with a dedicated case or a comitative construction (defined cross-linguistically by Arkhipov 2009b: 224). Therefore, the phenomenon considered above fits the definition of differential marking by Witzlack-Makarevich and Seržant (2018: 3).

The first part of the paper is focused on the inherent and discourse-based properties that may trigger the differential instrument marking in Russian, using the Russian National Corpus. The second part compares the results obtained in the first part with the other Slavic languages and suggests an explanation of the observed distribution of differential instrument marking features.

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