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MÜNCHEN

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6.-8. Juli 2016



Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Grammaticalization

Book of Abstracts

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FOREWORD

Welcome to the 23rd LIPP-Symposium by the Graduate School Language & Literature's Class of Language at the Ludwig-Maximilians-University in Munich. This year's symposium deals with the topic of "Interdisciplinary perspectives on Grammaticalization".

The phenomenon of grammaticalization has been intensively discussed within linguistic circles and publications for decades and has proven to be a productive concept both in theory and application. Nonetheless, some basic aspects of grammaticalization have not yet been explored and understood in their entirety. The symposium centers on the question of what contribution specialized linguistic disciplines, ranging from areal linguistics to typology, language acquisition research and neurolinguistics, can make towards a better understanding of the phenomenon in its entirety. The organizing committee is looking forward to a lively exchange of ideas and the possible development of an interdisciplinary perspective on grammaticalization.

The Keynote speakers at this year's symposium are:

Prof. Dr. Volker Gast (Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena)
Prof. Dr. Olav Hackstein (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)
Prof. Dr. Bernd Heine (Universität zu Köln)
Prof. Dr. Christian Lehmann (Universität Erfurt)
Prof. Dr. Anna Theakston (University of Manchester)

The symposium takes place at the Seidlvilla, Nikolaiplatz 1, 80802 Munich, Germany.

This Book of Abstracts is designed to give you an overview of the keynote addresses and oral as well as poster presentations that expect you during the three days of the symposium. In it, you will find a short abstract for each presentation as well as a selected bibliography.

For the index, please consult the next page. Addresses and other useful information for your stay during the symposium can be found in the back of the Book of Abstracts.

ORGANIZED BY THE GRADUATE SCHOOL LANGUAGE & LITERATURE'S CLASS OF LANGUAGE

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PROGRAMME

Timeslot	Name	Title of the presentation
Wednesday, 06.07.2016		
15:00-16:00	Registration (Seidlvilla, Nikolaiplatz 1b, 80802 München)	
16:00-16:15	Aleksander Wiatr & Katharina Scholtz (LMU München)	Opening remarks
	<i>Chair: Martin Eberl (LMU München) & Sebastian Ortner (LMU München & Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen)</i>	
16:15-17:15	Christian Lehmann (Universität Erfurt)	Automatisierung und Grammatikalisierung
17:15-17:45	Claudia Polkau (Universität Osnabrück)	Die Grammatikalisierung des 'HABEN-Perfekts' ... und was das mit Definitheit zu tun hat
17:45-18:15	Wolfgang Schulze (LMU München)	Die Grammatikalisierung syntaktischer Schemata: von antipassiven Konstruktionen zur Akkusativität
18:15-18:45	Poster session	
18:45-20:00	Welcome drink (Seidlvilla, Nikolaiplatz 1b, 80802 München)	

Thursday, 07.07.2016		
	<i>Chair: Sara Inghosso & Katharina Scholtz (LMU München)</i>	
09:30-10:00	Rüdiger Harnisch & Manuela Krieger (Universität Passau)	Prozesse <i>up and down the cline</i> und die Frage der (De-)Grammatikalisierung
10:00-10:30	Elisabeth Senft (Universität Innsbruck)	A cognitive-sociolinguistic approach to the grammaticalization and emancipation of <i>(had) better</i> in Scottish English
10:30-11:00	Coffee break	
11:00-12:00	Anna Theakston (Universität Manchester)	Usage-based approaches to language acquisition: mechanisms & processes
12:00-14:00	Lunch break	
	<i>Chair: Enkhmaa Narmandakh & Aleksander Wiatr (LMU München)</i>	
14:00-15:00	Volker Gast (Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena)	Types of paradigm change: contact-induced vs. independent processes
15:00-15:30	Hans-Jörg Döhla (Ruhr-Universität Bochum)	Grammatikalisierung und Sprachkontakt in Südostasien: die Objektmarkierung im Papua Kristang
15:30-16:00	Poster session	
16:00-16:30	Coffee break	
	<i>Chair: Katharina Scholtz & Aleksander Wiatr (LMU München)</i>	
16:30-17:00	Urd Vindenes (Universität Oslo)	Demonstrative reinforcement cycles and grammaticalization
17:00-18:00	Olav Hackstein (LMU München)	Negative interrogatives and the conversion of negation in Indo-European
18:30-23:00	Conference Dinner (Osterwaldgarten, Keferstraße 12, 80802 München)	

Friday, 08.07.2016		
Chair: Sara Inghoso & Enkhmaa Narmandakh (LMU München)		
09:00-09:30	Hans-Jörg Schmid (LMU München)	Did the <i>going to</i> -future simply derive from <i>go</i> and <i>V-ing</i> and the <i>to</i> -infinitive? On the early history of <i>going-to</i> grammaticalization from an associative-network perspective
09:30-10:30	Bernd Heine (Universität zu Köln)	On discourse markers and the limits of grammaticalization
10:30-11:00	Jakob Neels (Universität Leipzig)	Frequency-effect explanations of grammaticalisation: Can we count on them?
11:00-11:30	Coffee break	
Chair: Martin Eberl & Sebastian Ortner (LMU München)		
11:30-12:00	Loreta Bakiu (LMU München)	Pronominale Klitika im Albanischen: der Grammatikalisierungsgrad in Texten vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert
12:00-12:30	Adam Tomas (LMU München)	Der (oft unterschätzte) sozio-linguistische Einfluss auf Grammatikalisierung. Oder: Was man in der Linguistik <i>tut</i> und was man nicht <i>am tun</i> ist?
12:30-13:00	Ulrich Detges (LMU München)	Grammaticalization and pragmatization – a fresh look at an old problem
13:00-13:20	Enkhmaa Narmandakh & Martin Eberl (LMU München) Summary	
ab 13:20	Snack	

Poster sessions		
(Wednesday, 18:15-18:45 Uhr & Thursday, 15:30-16:00 Uhr)		
	Bernadett Biró (Universität Szeged)	From nouns into nominalizers and even further – Grammaticalization processes in Mansi
	Stefanie Eckmann (LMU München) & Dominik Schlechtweg (Universität Stuttgart)	Desemantization in semantic vector spaces
	Anja Hennemann (Universität Potsdam)	The involvement of different <i>-ization</i> processes in the development of topic markers. A contrastive analysis of <i>With regard to</i> vs. <i>Regarding</i> & <i>Con respecto a/de</i> vs. <i>Respecto a</i>
	Eugenia Mangialavori (Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas - Argentina)	Particle grammaticalisation at the lexicon-syntax-semantics interface: from lexeme to stative/unergative V head
	Eric Mélaç (University of Montpellier 3) & Debra Ziegeler (Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3)	A variational perspective on the grammaticalisation of clause-final additive focus particles: the case of <i>either</i>

Types of paradigm change: Contact-induced vs. independent processes

There is ample evidence that language contact can catalyze grammaticalization (e.g. Heine & Kuteva 2003, Winford 2005, Matras 2011, Gast & van der Auwera 2012, among many others). This raises the question whether contact-induced grammaticalization differs qualitatively and/or quantitatively from 'independent' grammaticalization. In my talk I will address this question with a focus on paradigm structure. I regard paradigms as structured sets of feature/value-pairs, each feature being associated with a certain number of values. For example, a Latin adjectival paradigm is structured by the (orthogonal) features 'gender', 'case' and 'number', with 'gender' having three values ('masc', 'fem', 'neut'), 'case' having six values ('nom', 'acc', 'gen', 'dat', 'abl', 'voc'), and number two ('sg', 'pl'). I propose a typology of paradigm change that is based on two parameters, (i) the level of change and (ii) the distinction between differentiation and neutralization. The three levels of paradigm change are:

- Level I: Reorganization of form-to-function mappings without the number of features or values being affected, e.g. partial case syncretism
- Level II: Change of the number of values for a given feature, e.g. loss of a case
- Level III: Change of the number of features in a paradigm, e.g. the wholesale loss of a case distinction

Paradigm change implies either differentiation or neutralization at any one of the three levels. All examples given above are instances of neutralization. An example of differentiation would be the introduction of a new case into an existing case paradigm (Level II).

On the basis of typological data and data from English varieties, I will explore the hypothesis that the main differences between independent and contact-induced paradigm change can be observed in processes of differentiation, not neutralization. Most commonly, contact-induced differentiation seems to happen at Level II, e.g. the borrowing of ergative morphology and the resulting paradigm extension (cf. Mithun 2005 on Alesa, Siuslaw and Coos), or the introduction of a dual number into a binary number system as reported by Heine & Kuteva (2003) for the French-based creole Tayo.

After providing a survey of relevant data I will discuss possible explanations for the observed differences, against the background of the hypothesis that contact-induced grammaticalization is a largely parallel to processes of transfer in the speech of bilinguals (cf. Matthews & Yip 2009).

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Negative Interrogatives and the Conversion in Indo-European

This lecture will present a survey of research on the etymology, syntax and semantics of negations in (Proto-)Indo-European. While previous reconstruction of the diachronic dynamics of negation has been largely confined to morphological reconstruction, cf. e.g. Dunkel 2014 II: 530ff., it is necessary to add the syntactic and pragmatic reconstruction of the historical developments, cf. Lehmann 2015: 189. Special attention will be given to the use of negations in interrogative clauses, and particularly in polar questions (cf. for Indo-European, Hackstein 2013). Negatives, when placed under interrogative scope, tend to develop into affirmative particles, into conjunctions and complementizers (for the latter, cf. e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2002: 216f.). Several case studies will be presented, including the syntactic and pragmatic reconstruction of the processes involved.

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On Discourse Markers and the Limits of Grammaticalization

Modern work on grammaticalization has by now a history of nearly forty years. As a framework of linguistic analysis it developed a fairly stable format in the course of the 1980s and 1990s (Lehmann 1982; Heine and Reh 1984; Heine et al. 1991; Hopper and Traugott 1993; Bybee et al. 1994). More recently, this work was confronted with a number of challenges. Some of these challenges are methodological in nature, such as the one arising from the new paradigm of construction grammar. Another kind of challenge concerns the nature of the data analyzed, and the paper to be presented paper will focus on a challenge of the latter kind.

Extending the framework of grammaticalization to the analysis of discourse markers and related discourse material turns out to raise a number of problems. Two main kinds of solutions are proposed. On the one hand it is argued that the grammaticalization framework is inadequate to account for the development of discourse markers. Thus, in a number of studies, grammaticalization is described as the development of sentence-internal grammatical markers while pragmaticalization describes that of discourse markers and similar text-structuring devices (e.g., Aijmer 1997). On the other hand, an extended notion of grammaticalization is proposed (see Degand and Evers-Vermeul 2015 for an overview of this research), and it is also argued that there is need to distinguish two different approaches to grammaticalization (Traugott and Trousdale 2013: 99–112).

By looking at the particular nature of discourse structures in general and of discourse markers in particular it will be argued in the paper that neither of these solutions is entirely satisfactory.

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Automatisierung und Grammatikalisierung

Jede menschliche Tätigkeit inklusive Sprache steht in einer teleonomischen Hierarchie, wo untergeordnete Prozesse übergeordneten Zielen dienen. Die Ziele werden bewusst verfolgt; die Prozesse laufen automatisch ab. Die teleonomische Hierarchie ist also gleichzeitig ein Spannungsfeld zwischen den Polen der Kontrolle und der Automatisierung.

Auch die Sprachtätigkeit ist in unterschiedlichem Maße kontrolliert bzw. automatisch. Die Freiheit des Sprechers entfaltet sich in mehreren Dimensionen:

1. Er wählt zwischen dem holistischen und analytischen Zugriff auf sprachliche Einheiten.
2. Er hat die Alternative, Komponenten seiner Tätigkeit entweder zu kontrollieren oder sie durch automatische Prozesse zu ersetzen. Im letzteren Falle unterwirft er sich dem Sprachsystem, d.h. er wählt die Unfreiheit. In ersterem Falle hingegen behält er die Freiheit der Wahl zwischen isofunktionalen Strategien.

Sowohl Grammatikalisierung als auch Lexikalisierung sind reduktive Prozesse. Die Grammatikalisierung automatisiert den analytischen Zugriff; die Lexikalisierung automatisiert den holistischen Zugriff. Im ersteren Falle resultiert Kompositionalität, im letzteren Idiosynkrasie in der Zuordnung von Ausdruck und Inhalt.

Usage-based approaches to language acquisition: mechanisms & processes

Usage-based approaches to language acquisition posit a central role for the distributional properties of the input children hear and the child's own communicative goals as drivers of the acquisition process. In this keynote, we will focus on the acquisition of grammatical constructions, and consider how the properties of the input (e.g. type and token frequencies) combined with processes such as chunking, entrenchment, categorisation, the refinement of form-function mappings, and communicative innovation might underlie some of the patterns of language use we see during the course of development. In particular, we will examine the correct and erroneous use of grammatical constructions, their semantic / pragmatic scope, and the gradual process of abstraction. The evidence will be considered in light of the processes assumed to underpin grammaticalization and language change to promote discussion of similarities and differences between the domains.

**Pronominale Klitika im Albanischen: der Grammatikalisierungsgrad
in Texten vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert**

Das Albanische stellt einen eigenständigen Zweig der indogermanischen Sprachfamilie mit sowohl lexikalischen als auch morphologischen und syntaktischen Besonderheiten dar. Zu diesen Besonderheiten zählen unter anderen die pronominalen Klitika, in der Literatur auch als Objektzeichen (Buchholz, O., Wilfried, F. (1987)) oder unbetonten Formen der Personalpronomina (Demiraj, S., 1993) bekannt.

Die pronominalen Klitika sind historisch aus enklitischen Pronomina entstanden, werden aber synchron als Verbalaffixe aufgefasst (vgl. Schumacher, S., Matzinger, J. (2013), S. 108). Die Entstehung und Präsenz der pronominalen Klitika neben der Personalpronomina im Albanischen und in einigen balkanischen und nichtbalkanischen Sprachen ist eine Sprachneuerung im Vergleich zum indogermanischen Typ. Eine Besonderheit dieser unbetonten Formen der Personalpronomina besteht darin, dass sie einerseits als pronominale Objekte im Satz fungieren, andererseits aber auch lexikalisch realisierte Objekte verdoppeln können. Die sogenannte Objektverdoppelung bedeutet, dass eine Argument-Nominalphrase gleichzeitig mit einem Klitikon im Satz vorkommt, das ihre Person-, Numerus-, Genus- und Kasus-Spezifikationen verdoppelt.

Obwohl die pronominalen Klitika zum Teil grammatikalisiert worden sind, haben sie ihre morphologische Eigenschaften nicht verloren. Sie sind vom Verb trennbar und werden auch verwendet, um das Objekt auszudrücken (vgl. Demiraj S., 1993, S. 217). Somit stellen Klitika eine wichtige Schnittstelle zwischen Lexikon und Grammatik dar.

Im Vortrag wird ein Untersuchungsausschnitt aus meinem Promotionsvorhaben „Pronominale Klitika im Albanischen. Eine korpusbasierte Untersuchung“ präsentiert: Der Grammatikalisierungsgrad der pronominalen Klitika in Texten vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert. Diese diachrone Untersuchung hat zum Ziel, einen Überblick über die morphosyntaktischen Merkmale und die Frequenz der Benutzung der pronominalen Klitika zu ermitteln. Ich werde auf die Fragen eingehen: Aus welchen Ausgangsstrukturen entstehen pronominale Klitika? Welche Grammatikalisierungsvorgänge werden im Zeitraum vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert beobachtet? Das elektronische Korpus umfasst Texte von Gjon Buzuku (1555), Lekë Matrënga (1592), Pjetër Budi (1618), Pjetër Bogdani (1685), Gjon Nikoll Kazazi (1743), Kodex Beratinus (1760), Don. Engjëll Radoja (1862) und Sami Frashëri (1890). Das Meshari (1555) ‚Messbuch‘ vom katholischen Priester Gjon Buzuku ist das älteste gedruckte albanische Buch.

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Grammaticalization and pragmaticalization – a fresh look at an old problem

Grammaticalization and pragmaticalization are standardly viewed as unidirectional changes that break down into a set of aligned processes occurring on all levels of grammar (for grammaticalization, cf. Lehmann 2002 [1982]). I will argue that core grammar as well as discourse markers and modal particles are sedimented residues of argumentative moves designed to solve different kinds of communicative problems. As I will show, core grammar is the routinized residue of argumentative moves concerning the relevance of (parts of) propositions. Modal particles, by contrast, are the sediments of argumentation concerning the felicity of speech acts; and finally, discourse markers emerge from argumentative schemas referring to the continuation of discoursebuilding. What these three types of processes have in common is that their outcomes bear the linguistic marks of routinization. For grammaticalization in the narrow sense, these have been captured by Lehmann's (2002 [1982]) parameters. For the emergence of modal particles and of discourse markers, however, deviations from Lehmann's (2002 [1982]) model are systematic in that they are inherently linked to the function of the respective routine. Moreover, I will show that both from a synchronic and a diachronic point of view, the notion of pragmaticalization is not felicitous since it obscures the differences between modal particles and discourse markers while at the same time failing to capture the parallels that exist with respect to core grammar and grammaticalization in the narrow sense.

Grammatikalisierung und Sprachkontakt in Südostasien: die Objektmarkierung in Papia Kristang

Seit Kuryłowicz (1965) beinhaltet die Definition von „Grammatikalisierung“ auch den Vorgang, bei dem sich ein Grammeme “from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status“ entwickelt. Dieser Prozess geht einher mit einer Erhöhung der Verwendungshäufigkeit und einer Funktionserweiterung. Die Präsentation behandelt die multifunktionale Präposition *ku* in der portugiesisch basierten Kreolsprache Papia Kristang, die noch heute im malaiischen Malakka gesprochen wird (siehe Baxter 1995). Die aus dem portugiesischen *com* (< lat. CUM ‚mit‘) abzuleitende Präposition wird grundsätzlich zum Ausdruck des COMITATIVE und des INSTRUMENTAL verwendet:

onti yo ja bai mar ku yo sa muleh
gestern 1SG PF gehen Meer COM 1SG POS Frau
‘Gestern ging ich mit meiner Frau fischen’

eli ja kotra aké kandri ku faka
3SG PF schneiden DEM Fleisch INSTR Messer
‘er schnitt das Fleisch mit dem Messer’

Eng mit dem COMITATIVE ist auch der Gebrauch als Konjunktion zur Koordination von Nominalphrasen verknüpft:

Maria ku Anna ta prenda kanta
Maria CONJ Anna IMPF lernen singen
‘Maria und Anna lernen singen’

Darüber hinaus ist jedoch auch eine Verwendung derselben Präposition zur Markierung der semantischen Rolle des RECIPIENT/BENEFACTIVE zu verzeichnen:

Yo sa filu ja da ku yo aké television.
1SG POS Sohn PF geben REC 1SG DEM Fernsehgerät
‘Mein Sohn gab mir dieses Fernsehgerät’

Zusätzlich entwickelte sich eine stabile Form der differentiellen Objektmarkierung (siehe Bossong 1985), bei der, im Gegensatz zum Portugiesischen, Personalpronomina, Eigennamen und menschliche NP-Referenten in Objektfunktion stets eine Markierung mit der besagten Präposition *ku* erfahren. Handelt es sich bei den Objektreferenten um Tiere, folgt die Markierung dem informationsstrukturellen Status derselben innerhalb des aktuellen Dialogs. So werden bereits zuvor erwähnte Tiere in Objektfunktion morphologisch markiert (= Topic-Markierung, siehe Lemmolo 2010/11):

eli ngkontrah ungua buziu ta santah na riba di albi ...
3SG finden ein Affe IMPF sitzen LOC auf GEN Baum ...
kereh pontah ku buziu
wollen erlegen OBJ Affe
‘er fand einen Affen, der auf einem Baum saß... er wollte den Affen erlegen’

Die Entwicklung einer COMITATIVE-Markierung zu einem DATIVE-Markierer und darüber hinaus gehört gemäß den Studien von Blake (²2001), Croft (1991), Heine/Kuteva (2002), Henkelmann (2006), Lehmann (²2002), Stolz (1996 und 2001) und Stolz/Stroh/Urdze (2006) zu den äußerst seltenen Entwicklungspfaden bei der weiterführenden Grammatikalisierung von Präpositionen. Laut Croft (1991) können kognitive Faktoren als Begründung hierfür angeführt werden.

Die Präsentation beschäftigt sich einerseits mit dem Erklärungsversuch Crofts. Andererseits wird dieser spezielle Grammatikalisierungspfad in einem erweiterten Kontext betrachtet, in dem die Kontaktsprachen Hokkien, Bazaar Malaiisch und das indische Kreolportugiesisch Berücksichtigung finden. Besonders auffällig sind die ersten beiden Kontaktsprachen, die neben demselben seltenen Grammatikalisierungspfad COMITATIVE > DATIVE auch differentielle Objektmarkierung vorweisen.

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Prozesse *up and down the cline* und die Frage der (De-)Grammatikalisierung

Im Sinne von FISCHER & al. (2004) ist Grammatikalisierung *down the cline* gerichtet, Degrammatikalisierung umgekehrt *up the cline*. LEHMANN (2004) und HARNISCH (2004) verbinden mit Grammatikalisierung einen Abstieg auf der Skala der Konstruktionsebenen (Phrase > Wort > Klitikon > Affix > X), mit Degrammatikalisierung einen Aufstieg auf derselben (X > Affix > Klitikon > Wort > Phrase). Hier soll der kritische Übergang zu X hin bzw. von X weg in den Blick genommen werden. X steht für den Status reiner Lautsubstanz von Lexemen, den absteigende morphologische Einheiten erreicht haben (Bedeutungsträger > pure Lautung) bzw. von dem aus sie auf der Skala wieder zu morphologischen Einheiten emporsteigen (pure Lautung > Bedeutungsträger). Ein Beispiel für *down the cline as far as pure phonological substance* wäre engl. *cake-s* PL > dt. Keks SG, ein Beispiel für umgekehrt *up the cline away from pure phonological substance* wäre frz. *Service* 'Tafelgeschirr' > ugs. dt. *ein Servi* als SG-Rückbildung eines als PL reanalysierten **Servi-s*. Die Beispiele zeigen, dass weder Grammatikalisierung mit *down the cline* noch Degrammatikalisierung mit *up the cline* gleichgesetzt werden kann, denn *cake-s* verliert ja durch die Reanalyse zu *Keks* seine Grammatikalität und *Service* war ja vor seiner Reanalyse zu **Servi-s* PL nicht schon grammatisch strukturiert. Im Vortrag wird – unter Einbezug von Evidenz aus Sprachwandel, Fremdwort(des)integration und Spracherwerb – ein Ausweg aus diesem Dilemma vorgeschlagen.

Dieser besteht darin, dass sowohl in die *down* als auch in die *up the cline* gerichtete Skala eine Grenze eingezogen wird, die bedeutungstragende Einheiten (Phrasen, Wörter, Klitika, Affixe) von bedeutungslosen Einheiten (purer Lautsubstanz) trennt. *Down the cline* gerichtete Prozesse sind bis zu dieser Grenze „Grammatikalisierungen nach unten“ (bair. *gehn # mia* > *geh=ma* > *geh-ma* [*mia*]), bei Überschreitung dieser Grenze „Degrammatikalisierungen nach unten“ (PL *cake-s* > SG-Simplex *Keks*). *Up the cline* gerichtete Prozesse sind bei Überschreitung dieser Grenze „Grammatikalisierungen nach oben“ (*Service* > *Servi-s* PL [\gg *Servi* SG]), ab dieser Grenze „Degrammatikalisierungen nach oben“ (nord-bair. *geh-ts* 2.PL > PRON *tiaz* 'ihr'). – Damit kann das Feld einschlägiger Reanalyse-Prozesse typologisch sinnvoll untergliedert werden:

Strukturebenen	Prozesse down the cline		Prozesse up the cline	
Phrase/Wort	<i>gehn # mia</i>		<i>tiaz</i> 'ihr'	
Klitikon	↓ <i>geh=ma</i>		↑	
Affix	↓ <i>geh-ma</i> [<i>mia</i>]	<i>cake-s</i>	<i>geh-ts</i> '[ihr] geht'	SG- <i>Servi</i> SG- <i>Servi-s</i>
reine Lautsubstanz		↓ [<i>ein</i>] <i>Keks</i>		↑ SG <i>Service</i>
	Grammatikalisierung nach unten	Degrammatikalisierung nach unten	Degrammatikalisierung nach oben	Grammatikalisierung nach oben

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Frequency-effect explanations of grammaticalisation. Can we count on them?

Usage-based explanations of grammaticalisation based on frequency effects (e.g. Bybee 2003a,b, 2010, Haiman 1994, Krug 2000) are supported by a substantial body of empirical studies showing, among other things, a close correlation between increasing frequency of use and ongoing grammaticalisation. Nevertheless, frequency-effect accounts of grammaticalisation are still in need of further refinement. They rightly proceed from the assumption that the formal and functional changes characteristic of grammaticalisation may result from cognitive processes propelled by repetition. Most commonly, repetition has been considered in terms of a linguistic expression's (absolute) frequency of use, as represented by the measure of token frequency in a corpus. However, the pivotal role of frequency, at least of absolute token frequency, seems to be called into question by a few corpus-based reports on the grammaticalisation of low-frequent expressions (e.g. Hoffmann 2004, Brems 2007) and on cases of grammaticalisation with delayed increases of discourse frequency (e.g. Hundt 2001, Mair 2004).

Drawing on corpus data from three new case studies, this paper argues that special attention has to be paid to the actual complexity of frequency concepts and measures. The grammaticalisation processes of (i) the English habitual auxiliary *used to*, (ii) the conjunction-like formal idiom *X, let alone Y* and (iii) the German degree modifier *ein bisschen* 'a bit_{DIM}' involve high, low and medium discourse frequencies respectively, allowing for investigations into the motivations and mechanisms of grammaticalisation under different frequency constellations. By default, high token frequency is a key factor fuelling chunking, phonological reduction, loss of internal structure and other changes. However, the requirement of high absolute token frequency can sometimes be overridden by other factors, most notably by (pragmatic) salience and words' relative frequencies of co-occurrence (cf. Schmid 2010, 2014). Moreover, lower-frequency expressions tend to grammaticalise not independently but only when assisted by strong paradigmatic associations to other (more established) micro- and meso-constructions that can serve as attractor sets (cf. Traugott 2007, 2008a,b, Traugott and Trousdale 2013). This paper concludes that more research must be devoted to testing the exact influence and interaction of diverse frequency- and repetition-related notions in grammaticalisation, including conceptual frequency (Hoffmann 2004), type frequency (e.g. Bybee 2013), critical frequency (Peng 2012), collocations (e.g. Bybee and Torres Cacoulios 2009, Torres Cacoulios and Walker 2011) as well as cotextual and contextual entrenchment (Schmid 2010, 2014), since this will refine our understanding of what exactly "counts" for language change.

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Die Grammatikalisierung des 'HABEN-Perfekts' ... und was das mit Definitheit zu tun hat

Das 'HABEN-Perfekt' in den romanischen Sprachen ging aus einer ursprünglichen Possessivkonstruktion 'HABEN' mit Partiziperweiterung (<'HABEN' + ObjektAKK + PartizipAKK>) hervor:

Possession:

Latein: *Iohannes habet librum.* ('Johannes hat ein Buch.')

<'HABEN' + ObjektAKK + PartizipAKK>:

Latein: *Iohannes habet librum scriptum.* ('Johannes hat ein Buch, das (von ihm) geschrieben wurde'.)

'HABEN-Perfekt':

Italienisch: *Giovanni ha scritto un libro.* ('Johannes hat ein Buch geschrieben.')

Bekanntermaßen ist die Ausgliederung der romanischen Sprachen aus dem Latein durch eine Reihe von sprachsystemischen Veränderungen geprägt. Hierzu zählen neben der Entstehung der analytischen Perfektform auch die Kasus- und Genusreduktion, die Grundwortstellungsänderung und die damit verbundene stringenter Wortstellung sowie die Herausbildung des Artikels (vgl. u.a. Alkire/Rosen 2010).

Mit der Entstehung des Artikels wird der Ausdruck von (In-)Definitheit grammatisch obligatorisch. Bereits Behagel (1923) versuchte den Verlust der nominalen Kasusmorphologie und die Entstehung des Artikels in einen Zusammenhang zu stellen. Ein bisher nicht beachtetes Phänomen, das eine deutliche Verbindung aufweist, ist die Entstehung des 'HABEN-Perfekts' im Rahmen der Entwicklung des nominalen Determinanten.

Ein besonderer hierbei zu beobachtender Effekt ist, dass das 'HABEN-Perfekt' keinen Definitheitsrestriktionen unterworfen ist. Dies steht im Gegensatz zur einfachen 'HABEN-Possession' und verdeutlicht die strukturellen Ähnlichkeit mit Existenzialsätzen im Sinne von Milsark (1977) oder Freeze (1992).

Existenzial:

Italienisch: *C'è un / *il libro sul tavolo.* ('Es liegt ein / *das Buch auf dem Tisch')

Possession:

Italienisch: *Ho una / *la macchina.* ('Ich habe ein / *das Auto.')

'HABEN-Perfekt':

Ho lavato una / la macchina. ('Ich habe ein / das Auto gewaschen.')

Definitheitsrestriktionen in Existenzialsätzen können durch Relativisierung überwunden werden. Hierbei wird die enge Beziehung zwischen einem definiten Artikel und einem Relativsatz deutlich ("a very close connection between the relative clause and the definite determiner" (Schmitt 2000: 311; vgl. auch Smith 1969, Schachter 1973 und Vergnaud 1985).

Existenzial (vgl. Browning 1987: 19):

- (a) **There were the men in the garden.*
 (b) *The men that there were in the garden were all diplomats.*

Der Vortrag soll zeigen, dass das Partizip der Quellkonstruktion (<'HABEN' + ObjektAKK + PartizipAKK>) ebenfalls als Relativsatz analysiert werden kann. Dabei sollen alle betrachteten Aspekte – mit besonderem Hauptaugenmerk auf den Definitheitsaspekt – in eine theoretische Modellierung einfließen, die einen soliden Erklärungsansatz für die Grammatikalisierung des 'HABEN-Perfekts' ermöglicht.

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Did the *going to*-future simply derive from *go* and *V-ing* and the *to*-infinitive? On the early history of *going-to* grammaticalization from an associative-network perspective

The English *going-to* future is one of the most frequently cited stock examples of grammaticalization. While yet another paper on this notorious topic does not seem to be needed, it turns out that a close examination of large numbers of authentic examples of this and related constructions actually promises insights whose importance has been underestimated in existing publications (see references). The proposed paper reports the results of such a study.

Several hundred attestations of the pattern *going to V* spanning almost 250 years (from 1567 to 1800) were analyzed systematically with regard to their lexico-grammatical, semantic and pragmatic features, as well as in terms of differences between the usage patterns of individual authors. Additional data on the *V-ing* construction (the later English progressive) were also taken into account.

The results suggest a fresh explanation of the early path of the change from ‘motion’ to ‘intention’ and ‘future’ along the following milestones:

- Stage 1: emergence of BE *V-ing* as the ‘protoprogressive’ in English
- Stage 2: BE *going* becomes the most frequent manifestation of BE *V-ing*
- Stage 3: BE *going to V* becomes dominant usage pattern of BE *going*
- Stage 4: *was* and *were* become dominant auxiliaries of BE *going to V*
- Stage 5: verbs of speaking become dominant collexemes of *was going to V*

The data thus indicate that the *going-to* future essentially comes about as a merger of the protoprogressive used with the verb *go* with the future orientation of the *to*-infinitive and is supported in its later development by specific discourse-pragmatic goals reflected in past tense auxiliaries.

The way in which this development unfolds is explained from the associative-network perspective of linguistic knowledge comprised in the Entrenchment-and-Conventionalization Model (Schmid 2015, Schmid and Mantlik 2015).

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Die Grammatikalisierung syntaktischer Schemata: von antipassiven Konstruktionen zur Akkusativität

Besonders aus den nordwest-iranischen Sprachen ist bekannt, dass Aspekt-basierte ‚Split-Systems‘ auf der Grammatikalisierung von (resultativen) Passiva als perfektive Konstruktionen beruhen. Zugrunde liegt ein Grammatikalisierungsprozess, der den schematischen Wert syntaktischer Strukturen als Konstruktionen betrifft. Im Sinne konstruktionsgrammatischer Ansätze stellen syntaktische ‚Muster‘ wie ‚Aktiv‘ und ‚Passiv‘ eigenständige symbolische Einheiten (Relationen) dar, die als (morphosyntaktisch ausgestaltete) strukturelle sprachliche Zeichen verstanden werden können. Dabei kann die Semantik dieser Zeichen dann eine aspektuelle Dimension erhalten, wenn die basale semantische Wertigkeit der Relationen (Agens -> Patiens) gekoppelt wird mit einer Art ‚Relevanz-Wert‘, nämlich ‚Zentrum/Peripherie‘, also mit der Markierung der informationellen Relevanz der Gegebenheit einer der beiden referentiellen Einheiten. Unmarkierte *default*-Systeme, die Agens=Zentrum und Patiens=Peripherie setzen (Aktiv), zeigen einen imperfektivischen Effekt. Die Pointierung des Patiens (Patiens=Zentrum, Agens=Peripherie), die technisch über eine (oft possessiv interpretierte) Passiv-Konstruktion verläuft, hat demnach einen Effekt der (resultativen) Perfektivierung. Werden in einem Folgeschritt die imperfektive und die perfektive Dimension stärker ‚temporalisiert‘, ergeben sich die o.g. Split-Systems mit Aktiv = Imperfektiv > Nicht-Vergangenheit und Passiv = Perfektiv > Vergangenheit. Zugleich bedeutet dies, dass die Dimension Zentrum/Peripherie wieder verloren geht, womit sich das Passiv als eigenständiges Muster ausprägt (Ergativität). Dieser gut bekannte Prozess kann aber auch umgekehrt verlaufen, indem der unmarkierte *default* eine Patiens-Pointierung aufweist (Patiens=Zentrum, Agens=Peripherie). Werden diese ‚harten‘ ergativischen Muster aspektuell interpretiert, haben sie einen perfektivischen Effekt. Eine diathetische Umkehrung der Zuordnung (Agens=Zentrum, Patiens=Peripherie) erfolgt über das Antipassiv, welches dann einen Effekt der Imperfektivisierung hat. Analog zu den oben beschriebenen Prozessen kann, wenn eine Temporalisierung der Muster erfolgt, hieraus ein ‚Split-System‘ entstehen, in dem das eigentlich Imperfektivität anzeigende Antipassiv als Schema bes. präsentisch orientierter Tempora hin zu akkusativischen Strukturen grammatikalisiert wird. Akkusativität kann dann als Ergebnis eines Grammatikalisierungsprozesses von Antipassiva beschrieben werden. In meinem Vortrag sollen in aller gebotenen Kürze drei Sprachsysteme angesprochen werden, die für ein solcher Prozess vermutet werden kann: (a) Indogermanisch als Rekonstrukt, (b) Kartvelisch, (c) Sumerisch. Insgesamt kann von folgendem folgender Grammatikalisierungszyklus ausgegangen werden: „...Akkusativität > Passiv > Ergativität > Antipassiv > Akkusativität“.

**A cognitive-sociolinguistic approach to the grammaticalization and emancipation
of (*had*) *better* in Scottish English**

The English modal system has been central to grammaticalization research in English in recent years – not least due to the attention that has been drawn to the study of emergent modals *have to/ hafta, have got to/ gotta, be going to/ gonna and want to/ wanna* (cf., most importantly, Krug 2000). In this, it is not only the full forms increasingly developing auxiliary functions, but also their phonetically reduced forms. This becomes visible in encliticization and univerbation processes, but also in their semantic generalization, where, for example, deontic *have to/ hafta* and *have got to/ gotta* develop epistemic meaning, future *be going to/ gonna* and volitional *want to/ wanna* deontic meaning.

Similar goes for the item (*had*) *better*, whose modal nature has only been recognized recently (cf. Mitchell 2003; Van der Auwera and de Wit 2010), but has advanced quite far in the grammaticalization cline towards modalness (cf. Machová 2015), with an increasing possibility of lexical independence of *better*, cf. (1).

(1) *had better* > ‘d *better* > *better* /'betə/

The fact that there has been a controversial discussion about its possible semantic extension to epistemic modality in examples like (2) is a further indicator of ongoing modalization. While originally (*had*) *better* had comparative meaning only, this has shifted towards mainly deontic uses in present-day English.

(2) This *had better* be good, I thought grimly as I crossed the road and walked up the cul-de-sac to the Parsonage (BNC, 410 in Mitchell 2003)

What is especially interesting is that grammaticalization strongly affects the deontic sub-set of modals, where these emergent items have increased in frequency to a great extent. This, in turn, has been associated with socio-cultural changes towards more democratically structured societies and the ensuing need for less face-threatening ways of expressing obligation and necessity. This central aspect of everyday communication, however, is prone to be constrained by local norms and conventions stored in underlying cultural models, i.e. “culture-specific norms of verbal behaviour [which] are stored in the long-term memory and can be considered part of the pragmatic competence of interactants” (Schneider 2014: 127).

Based on the assumption that the continuing preference for the reduced forms of the group of emergent modals in language use reflects shifting norms of verbal-behaviour, the question of potential interfaces between grammaticalization processes and underlying cognitive conceptualizations can be raised. This paper will therefore pick up this question by tracing ongoing grammaticalization processes, focussing on the potential of *better* to increasingly emancipate from its source form. Similar to what Lorenz (2013) observes for *gotta*, the emancipated form *better* might stand a chance of survival in colloquial language, even though *had better* is declining. Complying with the usage-based commitment of a cognitive-sociolinguistic approach, this pilot study to a larger project on deontic modality in Scottish English, draws on data from the *Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing* (CMSW; 5.5 Mio. words) and the *Scottish Corpus of Texts & Speech* (SCOTS; 4.6 Mio. words) while at the same time exploring their utility for this purpose.

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**Der (oft unterschätzte) sozio-linguistische Einfluss auf Grammatikalisierung.
oder
Was man in der Linguistik *tut* und was man nicht *am tun* ist?**

Es ist doch verwunderlich, dass das Bedeutungsspektrum des Verbs *tun* (nach DUDEN-Wörterbuch 1999: 3993-3995) äußerst facettenreich ist und dennoch in der Schriftsprache verhältnismäßig selten zum Einsatz kommt. Als Vollverb hat *tun* eine ausgeprägte handlungsbezogene Semantik und betont die Ganzheit der im Präkontext genannten Verbhandlung, wie etwa *Egon hat alles getan* (, *was man ihm gesagt hat*). Auch als Auxiliar ist die Distribution von *tun* im Standarddeutschen (STD) sehr nuanciert. So kann man wie ERBEN (1969: 49) durch *tun* eine Art Wiederholungsfunktion definieren oder die Thema-Rhema-Verteilung steuern, welche den Vorsatz einer Äußerung subsumiert und sich daher auf den ganzen Vorsatz bezieht, wie (*Egon sollte eigentlich Latein lernen.*) *Tut er auch lernen?* Weiterhin wird auch die Verbtopykalisierung oder die fokale Funktion (ABRAHAM/FISCHER 1998: 41) durch *tun* ermöglicht, indem das Hauptverb topikalisiert wird und *tun* die Verbzweitstellung als Finitum übernimmt, wie etwa *Singen tut Egon schon sehr gut*. Auch die Funktion als Auxiliar zur Umschreibung des Konjunktivs (*Egon täte/würde kommen, wenn er könnte*) ist im Substandard (nach AMMON 1995) sehr verbreitet und geläufig. Dennoch gelten diese Beispiele des Auxiliars *tun* nur als gemäßigt „standarddeutschauglich“ (DUDEN 2001:835). Warum ist dies so?

Diese Stigmatisierung ist wohl aus der Feder frühneuhochdeutscher Grammatiker und ihrer Normierungsgesetzte entsprungen:

...[...] this... [...] proposes that the stigmatization of auxiliary *tun* as “bad German” is due to prescriptive comments made by ENHG [Early New High German] grammarians and thus proves that aspects of the standard German were created or formed as a result of the suggestions and discussions by prescriptive grammarians. (LANGER 2001: 98)

Ähnlich verwunderlich ist auch der Gebrauch der sog. *Verlaufsform* (oder auch *am-Progressiv* genannt, VAN POTTELBERGE 2004) nach dem Muster sein_{FINITUM}+am+V_{INF}. Sätze wie *Egon ist am lernen* oder *Egon war gerade ein Buch am lesen, als es an der Tür klingelte* ermöglichen die aspektaffine Perspektivierung einer imperfektiven Verbalsituation und eröffnen somit für das StD den Bereich der verbalen Aspektualität, die als eine kognitive Domäne oder Funktion zu verstehen ist, welche die zeitliche Kodierung von Verbssituationen als abgeschlossen oder unabgeschlossen perspektiviert (nach GLÜCK 2000: 67; LEISS 1992: 45; COMRIE 1976: 3). Es konnte bisher in der Aspektforschung nachgewiesen werden, dass die *am-Progressive* ein fester Bestandteil des deutschen Diasystems sind, dass sie sowohl in kolloquialen wie auch in manchen offiziellen Äußerungen (Literatur, Medien) präsent sind und immer als morphologische Ausdrucksmittel zur Verbalisierung von Aspektualität verwendet werden. Die *Verlaufsform* gilt anhand der in letzter Zeit gestiegenen linguistischen Beiträge als eines der interessantesten und sehr oft beschriebenen Grammatikalisierungsphänomene. Unter vielen anderen Prozessen des grammatischen Sprachwandels, wie die Verdrängung des Konjunktivs, die Klitisierung der Imperativendung *-e* oder der Präteritumschwund, scheint dieser Prozess jedoch eine Bereicherung für den Formbestand des Verbalsystems zu sein (SAUER/GLÜCK 1997: 66). Dennoch ist auch ihre Anwendung im schriftsprachlichen Sprachgebrauch stark sanktioniert und durch die normativen Regelwerke ausgeschlossen (ELSPASS 2005: 34).

In Anlehnung an die *Parameter der Grammatikalisierung* von LEHMANN (1995) oder HEINE/KUTEVA (2002) lassen sich Parallelen und fundierte Rückschlüsse auf den Grammatikalisierungsprozess der *tun*-Periphrasen und der *Verlaufsform* projizieren. Wenn unter Grammatikalisierung eine Art gradueller Verschiebung (*shifting*) von syntaktisch freien lexikalischen Elementen zu syntaktisch weniger freien bis hin zu gebundenen funktionalen Morphemen zu verstehen ist (GIVÓN 1979; BYBEE 1985), dann ist der Werdegang dieser grammatischen Phänomene zweifelsohne irgendwo in diesem Spektrum anzutreffen. Meine angestrebte Untersuchung nähert sich diesen zwei morpho-syntaktischen Phänomenen aus der Perspektive der Sprachinselforschung. In der Sprachinselforschung fehlen oft normative Standards, sodass eine Koexistenz von unterschiedlichen grammatischen Parallelformen und eine deskriptive (non-präskriptive) Sprachnorm begünstigt werden. Die folgenden Beispiele aus dem Pennsylvanischdeutschen (PeD), der Sprache einer deutschstämmigen und deutschsprachigen Minderheit in den USA, zeigen die unterschiedlichen Anwendungsgebiete von *tun*-Periphrasen und *am-Progressiv*-Konstruktionen:

PeD: (1) *Sunndaags duh ich Guckbox watscha!* [duhn-Periphrase mit habitueller Lesart]
[Sonntags tue ich Fernsehen gucken.]

PeD: (2) *D Doody duht grod d Kieh fieddra draas!* [duhn-Periphrase mit progressiver Lesart]
[Der Vater tut gerade draußen die Kühe füttern.]

PeD: (3) *D Anne is am Äppl schäla.* [am-Progressiv mit einem AKK-OBJ]
[Die Anne ist am Äpfel schälen.]

PeD: (4) *Sei am schtudiera, wenn ich zurick kumm!* [am-Progressiv als Imperativ]
[Sei am studieren/lernen, wenn ich zurückkomme.]

PeD: (5) *Fiel Haisa sind am gebaut warra dorum.* [am-Progressiv im Passiv]
[StD * Viele Häuser sind hier am gebaut werden.]

Diese Beispiele lassen sicherlich den präliminären Schluss zu, dass der Gebrauch von *tun*-Phrasen und *am*-Progressiven im PeD deutlich geringeren Einschränkungen unterliegt als im StD. Sozio- linguistisch betrachtet hat das PeD als Sprachentität bislang keinen prestigeorientierten Zugzwang gezeigt oder eine präskriptive Normierung hervorgebracht. Somit sind keine eliminativen Normierungsprozesse zustande gekommen sondern eher *deskriptive Formen*, die primär der Kommunikation dienen, nicht aber einen elitären Charakter des Sprechers oder eine Bewertung des Gesprochenen wiedergeben. Diese zwei Faktoren dürften den Grammatikalisierungsprozess von *tun*-Periphrasen und *am*-Progressiven im PeD im Vergleich zum StD erheblich beschleunigt haben. Dies legt den Schluss nahe, dass es sich bei der „verhinderten Grammatikalizität“ dieser Formen um sozio-linguistische Gründe handeln muss und nicht um morpho-syntaktische, wie oft angenommen wurde. Diese hier kurz umrissenen Konstruktionen werden in der Allgemeinheit mit großer Skepsis beurteilt, indem sie als sprachliche Normabweichung bezeichnet werden. Solch eine Sichtweise ist aus dem Blickwinkel des Autors wissenschaftlich nicht länger haltbar. Es gilt aufzuzeigen, welche soziolinguistischen Faktoren einzelsprachlich oder generell für Grammatikalisierung relevant sind.

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Demonstrative reinforcement cycles and grammaticalization

In general terms, grammaticalization can be described as a process which creates grammatical elements from lexical items. Certain parts of the grammar however, including demonstratives and possibly some negation markers, do not seem to emerge through grammaticalization, but through other processes. On the basis of a large sample of typological and diachronic data, Diessel (1999) suggests that demonstratives (broadly defined as deictic expressions) do not develop from lexical expressions. Instead, he introduces the hypothesis that demonstratives originate from a set of basic deictic expressions. In this talk, I will present an analysis of the development of a relatively new set of demonstratives in Norwegian, called *complex demonstratives* (such as *den der bok-a* ‘that there book-the’), which might shed new light on possible and probable developmental paths of demonstratives. The analysis is based on data obtained from the Nordic Dialect Corpus (Johannessen et al., 2009), which consists of spontaneous speech data from Norwegian dialects.

One possible source of new demonstratives is through *reinforcement* of older demonstratives. Demonstrative reinforcement is a frequent phenomenon in both Germanic and Romance languages (cf. Bernstein, 1997), as well as in other language families (cf. Diessel, 1999: 28–32). For instance, demonstratives are frequently reinforced by adverb-like elements, such as in *den herre boka* ‘that (here) book-the’ (Norwegian), *ce livre-l * ‘that book (there)’ (French). Furthermore, in the Tr ndelag variety of Norwegian, the original demonstrative may be omitted, and the former intensifier may function as a demonstrative on its own: *herre boka* ‘this book’. The development of *herre* (lit. ‘here’) as a demonstrative determiner in this variety resembles the well-known *negative cycle* (often referred to as *Jespersen’s cycle*), by which new negation markers develop through lexical reinforcement of the original negation marker (so-called *double negation*, cf. van Gelderen, 2008).

In this paper, I will discuss whether the cyclic development of demonstratives can be analysed as grammaticalization. Although the emphasis will be on Norwegian complex demonstratives, I will view demonstrative reinforcement cycles from a typological perspective. Possible motivations and mechanisms behind the cycles, such as analogical thinking (Traugott & Trousdale, 2013) and the principle of contrast (Clark, 1987), will also be addressed.

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From nouns into nominalizers and even further – Grammaticalization processes in Mansi

In my presentation I show the grammaticalization of two nominalizers in the Mansi language.

Mansi (or Vogul) is one of the most endangered languages of the Uralic (Finno-Ugric) language family. It is spoken in Western-Siberia at the river Ob and its tributaries by less than 1000 people. The only Mansi dialect that is still spoken today is Northern Mansi and this dialect is also the base of the Mansi literary language.

Nominalizers are auxiliary nouns used for creating (concrete and abstract) nouns. The most frequently used nominalizers are ‘man/person’, ‘thing’, ‘place’ and ‘event/business’ and they are grammaticalized from participial relative clauses (c.f. Skribnik 2014).

Here I will concentrate on two Mansi nominalizers: *wārmal* ‘thing, work’ and *mā* ‘earth, land, place’. *Wārmal* is one of the most generally used nominalizer for forming abstract nouns and action nominals (c.f. Riese 2001):

- (1) *χontl-an* *wārmal*
war-PTCP.PRS thing
‘war’
- (2) *sāli* *janmalt-an* *wārmal*
reindeer rear-PTCP.PRS thing
‘reindeer breeding’

Nowadays it may even be the most productive tool for creating action nominals:

- (3) *χahistaχt-ən* *wārmal* *jōmas* *t’ēla*
study-PTCP.PRS thing good thing
“Studying is a useful/good thing.” (Svetlana Dinislamova, personal communication)

Mā has not been mentioned traditionally in the literature as a nominalizer although it can also serve for creating deverbal nouns:

- (4) *luš-nə* *mā-tā-nəl poj-t-s*
cry-PTCP.PRS place-SG.3SG-ABL stop,cease-PST[3SG]
‘(s)he stopped crying’
- (5) *manər-sir* *pil-ne* *mā-n?*
what-kind fear-PTCP.PRS place-SG.2SG
‘What are you afraid of?’

(lit. ‘what kind of fearing thing of yours’ i.e. ‘what kind of fear do you have?’)
(Chernetsov Archives Nr. 42/10)

In Khanty – the closest related language of Mansi and also a neighbouring language geographically – similar nominalizers can be observed (c.f. Csepregi 2013: 105):

- (6) *mən-tə* *wār*
go-PTCP.PRS work, thing
‘leaving, travelling’
- (7) *wǎl-tə* *tāyi*
be-PTCP.PRS place
‘life, living’

Beside Khanty, this kind of nominalizing technique is also very frequent in other – non-Uralic – languages of the Siberian area, i.e. in Siberian Turkic languages and in Mongolic Buryat (c.f. Skribnik 2014). In Mansi and Khanty these nominalizers often develop into derivational suffixes, and this grammaticalization process can also be observed in South Siberian Turkic languages with the Uralic substrate (c.f. Skribnik 2014).

In my presentation I aim to show the grammaticalization process of *mā* and *wārmal'* into a nominalizer and also the possible further grammaticalization paths as well as to examine how far this process is advanced in Mansi.

Abbreviations

ABL = ablative, PST = past, PTCP.PRS = present participle, SG = singular, SG.3SG = a possessive suffix agreeing with possessum in singular and 3rd person singular possessor.

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Desemantization in semantic vector spaces

Grammaticalization is usually defined as a process in which a lexical item changes into a grammatical item. This process is, however, not restricted to lexical items becoming grammatical. It is also possible for less grammatical items to become more grammatical (Lehmann 1995: 11). Grammaticalization is a term that includes several smaller developments: syntactization, morphologization, demorphemization and (finally) loss (Szczepaniak 2011: 16). These sub-processes are caused and accompanied by four mechanisms: desemantization, extension, decategorization, and erosion (Szczepaniak 2011: 12). According to Lehmann & Stolz (1992: 29) semantic bleaching (desemantization) is one of the side-effects of grammaticalization, i.e., the meaning changes from a very specific to a rather abstract and broad one.

In distributional semantics the meaning of a word is represented by a vector which is an abstraction over the context in which the word occurs. Traditionally, the vectors are used to measure the semantic similarities from a synchronic perspective. However, we can also use semantic vector spaces in order to track its semantic development over time. This method was already applied in historical linguistics (cf. Hilpert 2015, Kim et al. 2014). Yet, these approaches treat meaning change very broadly in the sense that they do not qualify the way in which the meaning of an expression changes over time. There are, however, many different ways in which language change happens. It would be helpful to be able to distinguish different processes of language change in semantic vector spaces. We would like to classify the more specific process of desemantization as a part of grammaticalization in a vector space. As a case study we will look at the German “Rezipientenpassiv” (*Sie bekommt/kriegt die Haare geschnitten*) as well as some of the newer German intensifiers (*furchtbar, unheimlich, tierisch, krass*). We also hope to find broader regularities concerning the desemantization of words.

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The involvement of different -ization processes in the development of topic markers. A contrastive analysis of *With regard to* vs. *Regarding* & *Con respecto a/de* vs. *Respecto a*

This paper approaches the development of cross-linguistically comparable ‘topic marking constructions’ (TMC) in English (1a, b) and Spanish (2a, b, c) from a constructionist perspective in terms of frequency and entrenchment:

- (1a) **With regard to** patient safety practices, [...]¹
- (1b) **Regarding** oral retell fluency, [...]²
- (2a) **Con respecto a** nuestro país, [...]³
- (2b) **Con respecto de** mí, [...]⁴
- (2c) **Respecto a** la polémica por la propuesta de financiación [...]⁵

The data for this quantitative and qualitative study are retrieved from the COCA, CREA and CORDE, and primarily represent written texts.

Besides briefly describing the TMC on the formal and functional level, I focus on the involvement of different -ization processes in different stages of the development of these TMC (even though dealing with co-existing TMC). On the one hand I am concerned with grammaticalization in the narrower and broader sense. In the narrower sense, grammaticalization is described as the process when an autonomous lexical unit develops into a grammatical, dependent form (Diewald 1997:11) “[...] and, once grammaticalized, continue[s] to develop new grammatical functions” (Hopper/Traugott 2003:xv). In a broader sense, grammaticalization does not only refer to the transition from a lexical unit to a grammatical element, but also to the transition from a less grammatical element to a more grammatical form (Lehmann 2002:10; Traugott 2004:138 on “secondary grammaticalization”). On the other hand, I deal with lexicalization, which “has been viewed by syntacticians as the reverse process of grammaticalization” (Brinton/Traugott 2005; cf. also Haßler 2011:49; Lehmann www) and pragmaticalization, which refers to the ‘repurpose’ of a linguistic element to serve the needs of conversational situations (Günthner/Mutz 2004; Haßler 2011:62; Mroczynski 2012:85). However, a strict distinction between grammaticalization and pragmaticalization is not always made (Heine/Claudi/Hünemeyer 1991 or Detges 2001).

Roughly, I argue that in the development of *With regard to* and *Con respecto a/de* pragmaticalization was involved, while *Regarding* and *Respecto a/de* represent grammaticalized variants as the respective nouns changed the word class, assuming a grammatical function. I furthermore rely on Hilpert’s concept of constructional change, which also includes questions regarding different types of frequency, e.g. *relative frequency*. This opens an interesting perspective for an intralinguistic comparison of the TMC. *Relative frequency* refers to the fact that “[o]ne variant of a construction [subtype], may become more frequent over time, as other variants become less frequent” (Hilpert 2013: 6). The shortened variants of the TMC have increased in frequency.

¹ COCA. Ahmad, Jamil et al, “Assessing patient safety in Canadian ambulatory surgery facilities: A national survey”, Canadian Journal of Plastic Surgery, Spring 2014, Vol. 22 Issue 1, pp. 34-38. 5p.

² COCA. Noltemeyer, Amity et al, “Improving reading prosody and oral retell fluency: A comparison of three intervention approaches, Reading Improvement, Summer 2014, Vol. 51 Issue 2, pp. 221-232. 12p.

³ CREA. Diario El Universal C.A. (Caracas), 2001.

⁴ CORDE. Navarro Villoslada, Francisco. Doña Urraca de Castilla, 1849.

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**Particle grammaticalisation at the lexicon-syntax-semantics interface:
from lexeme to stative/unergative V head.**

The Italian particle *-eggiar(e)* has been increasingly involved in the derivation of verbs, neologisms included (1), with a specific semantic flavour roughly sketched in (2). Notably, close equivalents (*-ejar*) have also been found to be widespread across Romance languages, particularly in the case of Catalan (cf. Oltra & Castroviejo 2013) and European Portuguese (Mangialavori 2015).

(1) **grilleggiare** v. intr. (iron.) Agire con intenzione provocatoria, alla maniera di Beppe Grillo. [behave in a Beppe Gillo-ish manner] (Dizionario Treccani. http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/grilleggiare_ (Neologismi))

(2) Behave like X, be X-ish (X=property/entity designated by the lexical root preceding the affix)

From a lexical-syntactic perspective, the formal properties of the verbs thus derived (e.g. (3)b) not only present us with an alternative derivation machinery to the one regularly recruited in the derivation of deadjectival and denominal verbs ((3)a); crucially, they reveal a significant homomorphism between the (lexical)syntactic configuration of the verb and its semantic properties.

Standard approaches to the aspectual properties of events concentrate on the role of the property scale in predicting whether the corresponding predicate is aspectually bounded/unbounded. A series of connected patterns suggested that *-eggiare* challenges this relation by yielding property-based verbs ((3)b) in which scale closure—color being prototypical examples of thresholded scales—does not translate into comparable eventive properties (telicity/resultativity) as expected (T1), but rather remain atelic, according to all relevant diagnostics. This divergence also bears on syntactic structure/behaviour: unlike T1 (ergative/transitive change-of-state verbs), *-eggiare* verbs show consistent stative unergative patterns (auxiliary distribution (4), impossibility of passivization/ne-clitization/inchoative SE, etc.). In short, T1 and T2 verbs, although building on the same lexical root, are cross-cut by aspect, eventive type, and argument structure. At the same time, this specific semantic burden has a key role in constraining potential derivations. Impracticality with roots conveying non-gradable properties (5), hence incompatible with the semantics in (2), nicely dovetails with the formal properties ascribed above to the affix. Therefore, the role of *-eggiare* would be wrongly reduced to a semantic problem; rather, it presents us with a case where semantics is not acting freely: the lexicon—given the ready availability of different affixes for derivation of deadjectival/denominal verbs—, syntax and semantics show to be intimately (and transparently) related.

In sum. Recurring patterns support an analysis of *-eggiar(e)* as a highly productive (V) head available for derivation of verbs with specific syntactic (unergative) and semantic (stative) characteristics, above and beyond the semantic determination of the root.

The role of this particle in verbal derivation shows that certain linguistic phenomena and correlations strongly defended in the literature as not as defective/generalized as thought, and that other schemas are possible, significantly productive and, moreover, predictable based on the same variables. The interaction between factors analysed here also proves vital in predicting lexical gaps and behaviour patterns.

(3) a. Type 1

ITA. sbiancare, inverdire, abbrunire, arrossire, ingiallire

CAT. emblanquir, enverdir, ennegrir, enrogir, engroguir

PRT. branquear. verdecer, enegrecer, avermelhar, amarelar

'turn {white (whiten)/green/black (blacken)/red (reddden)/yellow}'

b. Type 2

ITA. biancheggiare, verdeggiare, bruneggiare, rosseggiare, gialleggiare

CAT. blanquejar, verdejar, negrejar, vermellejar, groguejar

PRT. branquejar, verdejar, negrejar, ?vermelhejar, lourejar

'look {white/green/black/red/yellow}(ish)'

- (4) a. {ha/*è} rosseggiato, verdeggiato, biancheggiato, gialleggiato, bruneggiato
 b. {*ha/è} arrossito, inverdito, sbiancato, ingiallito, imbrunito
- (5)
- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| rotondo [round] → | arrotondare / rotondeggiare |
| quadrato [square] → | inquadrare / #quadrateggiare |
| triangolare [triangular] → | triangolare / #triangoleggiare |
| asciutto [dry] → | asciugare / #asciuteggiare |
| secco → | seccare/#seccheggiare |
| limpio [clean] → | limpiare /#limpieggiare |
| pulito → | pulire/#puliteggiare |
| sicuro [safe] → | assicurare / #sicureggiare |
| sporco [dirty] → | sporcare / #sporcheggiare |
| sudicio → | insudiciare / #sudicieggiare |
| completo [complete] → | completare / #completeggiare |
| ultimo [last] → | ultimare / #ultimeggiare |
| chiuso [closed] → | acchiudere / #chiudeggiare |
| vuoto [empty] → | (s)vuotare / #vuoteggiare |
| pericoloso [dangerous] → | pericolare / #pericoleggiare |

**A variational perspective on the grammaticalisation of clause-final additive focus particles:
the case of *either***

The function of the right periphery (RP) has attracted a great deal of interest in recent years, particularly in the field of grammaticalisation studies, where it is frequently questioned whether the often dislocated items appearing in it are, like other discourse particles, the result of either grammaticalisation (see, e.g. Haselow 2014, Hancil, Haselow & Post, eds., 2015, Traugott 2016), pragmaticalisation (e.g. Diewald 2013), co-optation (Heine 2013), or simply the creation of theticals (Kaltenböck et al 2011). Although traditional dictionaries usually classify these items as adverbs (see the OED *inter alia*), they share several common features associated with discourse markers: their detachment from the syntax of the sentence, their prosodic autonomy, as well as their participation in the global level of discourse and in speech interaction. (Schiffrin 1987, Sankoff et al 1997, and Diewald 2013)

The present case, which looks at the function of clause-final *either* in English, is exceptional in the fact that RP *either* is not easily accommodated within such a description. To begin with, it is a Negative Polarity Item (NPI) in clause-final position, being dependent on the presence of negation in the preceding clause. Secondly, it is prosodically integrated in its host clause and generally carries the tonic. Thirdly, it cannot be deleted as easily as typical discourse markers, and seems to function at a more local level in discourse. At the same time, it exhibits several of the hallmarks of a prototypical grammaticalisation, in the sense of scope-widening (see Tabor and Traugott 1998), generalization of meaning, and host-class expansion (Himmelmann 2004), as well as a certain degree of subjectification.

The early history of *either* has been documented by Gast (2013), though little research has been undertaken on its discourse functions. Data from historical corpora such as CLMETS(EV) and COHA reveal that RP *either*, like many other RP NPIs, has only recently been used in post-negation, clause-final position, and it is suggested, along with Jespersen (1917) and Rullmann (2002) that its appearance was partially due to sociohistorical factors including the stigmatization of negative concord. However, the diachronic data also reveal a clear inverse correlation between the decline of the clause-initial conjunction *neither* and the emergence of clause-final *either*. There is also variation in today's English dialects, such as Singapore English and Welsh English in which RP NPI *either* is relatively rare (see, e.g. Trudgill & Hannah 2008), and one may instead find positive final additives such as *too* and *also* within the scope of negation. It is questioned whether the rise of RP *either* was in part due to the decline of clause-initial *neither* as a functional renovation process of "de-analysis", and if so, how this can explain the variational differences shown in present-day English.

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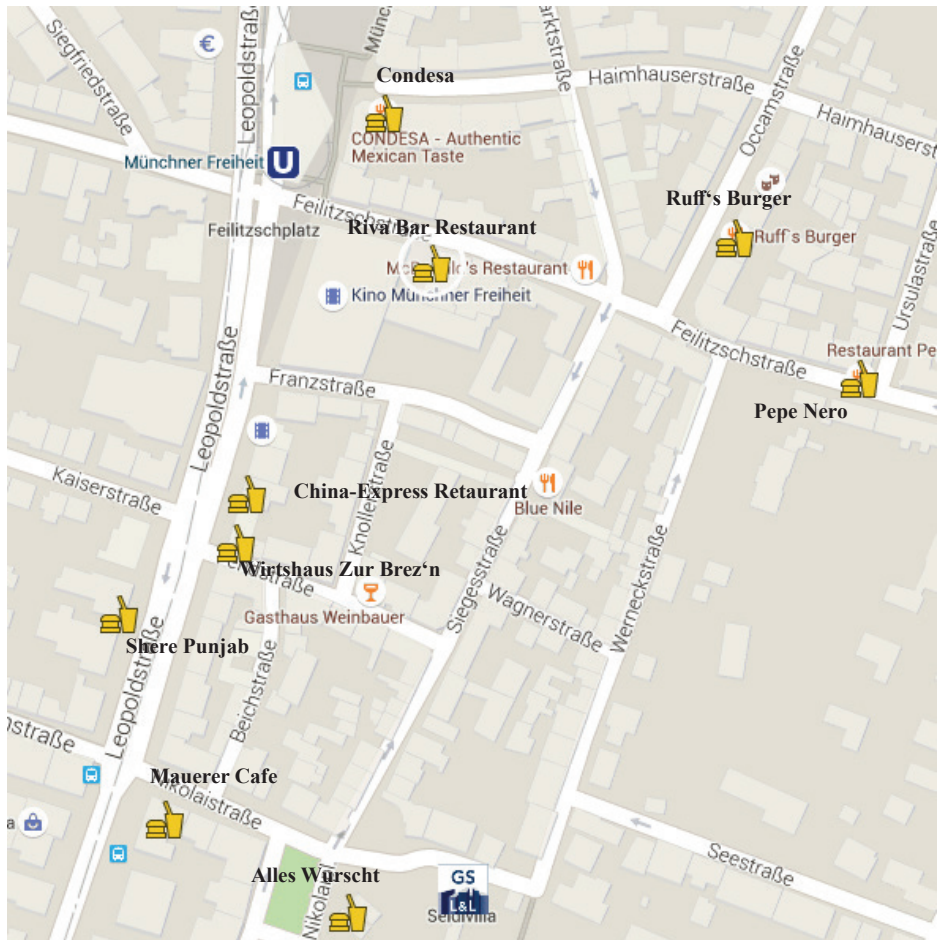


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