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Mahmoud A. Al-Khatib and Mohammed N. Al-Ali

Language and Cultural Shift Among the Kurds of Jordan

Abstract

This paper investigates the level of language and cultural shift among the Kurds of Jordan, a large minority group inhabiting the country for 100 years. The Kurds of Jordan are assumed to be experiencing a kind of shift in their language and culture. The main aim of this study is to gauge the shift and to highlight the sociodemographic factors enhancing it. The data were collected by means of questionnaires and interviews. The results of the study have shown that Arabic is used mainly in most social domains. However, the Kurdish language is found to be used in very restricted situations and by a very small number of people, particularly the elderly. The paper proves that the Kurds of Jordan are experiencing a gradual shift toward Arabic that may lead on their part to language loss. By calibrating the results of this study against those of previous works on other minority groups inhabiting the country for the same period of time, it has been shown that patterns of language and cultural maintenance within these communities are not the same. The distinction between them is accounted for in terms of the size of each group, demographic concentration, and types of occupations being occupied by each of them, among other sociopsychological factors.

1. Introduction

1.1 Theoretical background

Linguistic and cultural adjustments do not happen in a vacuum. Language and cultural shift is believed to be the by-product of the interaction of a number of sociolinguistic, cultural, and affective variables that work together to affect one's choice or use of one language over another (see, for example, Kloss 1966; Fishman 1980; Dorian 1982). There are several possible hypotheses or reasons explaining the loss of languages. For example, it has been observed that

in the case of language, the social and economic necessity of using the official or majority language of the host country, and the lack of opportunities for using the

mother tongue, may lead to a loss of ability in the latter. This loss of language ability, extended over several generations, will result in the phenomenon of language shift (or transfer), in which the habitual use of one language by a minority group is replaced by the habitual use of another. This shift to the second language usually, but not always, involves the gradual disappearance of the first. (Buda 1992.)

Similarly, Hatoss (2005) contends that relations between ethnolinguistic groups are influenced by a range of sociostructural and situational factors. Therefore, in order to yield a better understanding of linguistic adjustment in language contact situations, it is important to handle the process in terms of the sociostructural context in which it takes place.

The study of languages and how they emerge and evolve has also been the focus of a large number of works (e.g., Brandt & Youngman 1989; Dorian 1982, 1987, 2001; Rhodes 1992; Hoffman 1991; Al-Khatib 2001). Many research efforts have been directed to the description of different minority situations in different parts of the world. It has been suggested in a considerable number of works on language maintenance and shift that language shift is a gradual process that usually takes place in response to a number of sociological and demographic factors. Commenting on this issue, Hoffman (1991: 186) says that “under certain cultural, social and political conditions, a community might tend to change one set of linguistic tools for another. This phenomenon is clearly observable in the case of migrant communities”. Similarly, Fishman (1966: 424) contends that the issue of language maintenance and language shift “is concerned with the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and on-going psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other”.

Fishman (1991: 55–65) also believes that there are two major causes of language shift:

1. the physical and demographic dislocation of language groups due to, for example, famine, population expulsion policies and the urbanization of rural populations;
2. the social dislocation, whereby members of the minority speech community are frequently but not inevitably less socially, educationally and economically fortunate than the average surrounding population.

Building on Fishman's (1966) views and drawing on Kloss's (1966) observations of language maintenance among the German speech community in the USA, a plethora of theoretical work has appeared in an attempt to identify the possible social correlates of maintenance and shift (e.g., Fishman 1980, 1991; Dorian 1982, 1987, 2001; Rhodes 1992; Al-Khatib 2001; Brandt & Youngman 1989; Mougeon & Beniak 1994). Most of these works reveal that among the many important factors that impact on language shift and maintenance are the demographic, economic, and attitudinal factors (see, for example, Edwards 1983; Kwachka 1992; Garzon 1992; Craig 1992; Dorian 1994; Strubell 2001; Al-Khatib 2001; Aipolo & Holmes 1990; Holmes & Harlow 1991; Mougeon & Beniak 1994).

From the same vantage ground, Sun (1999) reported that most studies have addressed, right from the beginning, the factors that accelerate language shift as opposed to elements that favor language maintenance. She noted that

in theoretical and empirical inquiries, factors such as, just to name a few, the suppressive or permissive attitude by the majority group, the socio-economic and historical status of the minority, the numbers of birth rate and mixed marriages, the mass media, religions, the role of institutional power, the 'success' to interact with the majority group, the number of claimants of the minority language and the number of institutions that support the language in the community, the social networks of the individuals, etc., have been examined (Sun 1999: 4-5).

It has also been found that the effects of these factors on language maintenance and/or language shift vary according to the social contexts in which they were studied.

Motivated by these views, along with other basic assumptions on language maintenance and language shift like those raised by Fishman (1966), Dressler (1988), and Dorian (1980, 1982, 1987), among others, several related studies were carried out in the context of Jordan addressing the issue of language maintenance and shift from different perspectives (see Dweik 2000; Abd-el-Jawad 2006; Al-Khatib 2001; Al-Khatib & Al-Ali 2005; Al-Khatib & Alzoubi 2009). An examination of the results of previous works on the language situation among the different minority groups – the Armenians, the Chechens, the Circassians, and the Gypsies – inhabiting Jordan demonstrates similarities and differences among them in terms of language maintenance and/or language shift. It has been observed

that patterns of language and cultural maintenance within these communities are not the same. For instance, the Chechens, the Circassians, and the Gypsies of Jordan demonstrated clear-cut cases of language and cultural maintenance, whereas the Armenians showed obvious case of language and cultural shift. The differences and/or similarities between them reflect the influence of a large number of socioeconomic and demographic factors. As will be seen later, the existence of linguistic islands, the positive or negative attitude towards the majority speech community language, the residential closeness, and resistance to interethnic marriages were found to be important elements responsible for either retention or attrition of the minority languages in Jordan.

The present study, therefore, follows from previous works on other Jordanian minority communities such as the Chechens (Dweik 2000), the Armenians (Al-Khatib 2001), the Circassians (Abd-el-Jawad 2006), the Gypsies (Al-Khatib & Al-Ali 2005), and the Druze of Jordan (Al-Khatib & Alzoubi 2009), extending its scope to another minority group inhabiting Jordan for the same period of time. In fact, Al-Khatib's (2001) work on the Armenians of Jordan is the one most relevant to this research for two reasons: firstly, both studies are concerned with two minority groups inhabiting the country for almost the same period of time and, secondly, both groups of people had passed through the same bad experience of exile and deportation. It follows that the Kurdish community in Jordan is expected to show a similar pattern of language and cultural shift. To the best of our knowledge no previous study has covered this community in this particular milieu so far; therefore, this study seeks to fill that gap. Hopefully, this work will provide a small step toward a better understanding of the language situation among the Kurdish migrants in terms of their acculturation strategies, attitudes to the host and source cultures, ethnic identity, and language maintenance and/or shift patterns.

1.2 Objectives of the study

The Kurds of Jordan is one of the largest and most integrated communities in the country, whose immigration levels have increased quite significantly in the late nineties and early twenties. The main objective of this study is to provide insights into the linguistic situation among the Kurds of Jordan in terms of language use, language attitude, and acculturation. Putting it

differently, this paper looks at language shift in the Kurdish-speaking community from a sociolinguistic point of view. Another important aim of this study is to make a structured overview of the language situations among the five minority groups – the Kurds, the Armenians, the Chechens the Gypsies, and the Circassians of Jordan – inhabiting the country for the same period of time, aiming at refining theories and guiding future efforts at studying other minority groups inhabiting other countries in the Middle East. Furthermore, we will reflect on the distinctions between the factors that contribute either to maintenance or shift.

Based on personal observations and an assessment of the language situation among the Kurds of Jordan and due to the fact that the speech community under investigation was preceded by earlier waves of Kurdish immigrants who have already lost their language and have been totally assimilated into the Arabic-speaking mainstream society, we hypothesize that the Kurds of Jordan will show a clear case of language and cultural shift to the majority speech community. We also hypothesize that intermarriage, demographic concentration, and religion, among other sociodemographic factors, play a crucial role in the process.

1.3 Who are the Kurds?

The Kurds are a largely Sunni Muslim people of Indo-European origin who live mainly in an area known as “Kurdistan” for hundreds of years. They have their own language and culture. Most of them live in the generally contiguous areas of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Armenia, and Syria – a mountainous region of southwest Asia generally known as Kurdistan (The Columbia Encyclopedia 2007). Although the Kurds are overwhelmingly Sunni Muslim, they include Jews, Christians, Yazidis, and other sects (see Al-Kurdi 2004; Poladian 2004; www.al-bab.com 2005).

The Kurdish language is a member of the Indo-Iranian language group which is a branch of the Indo-European family. The most closely related languages to Kurdish are Balochi, Gileki, and Talysh all of which belong to the north-western branch of Iranian languages. The Persian language which belongs to the south-western branch, especially the Lori and Bakhtiari dialects, is related to Kurdish (Poladian 2004; Kurd_lal Working Groups 2003; Ali 1992).

Data sources estimate the population of the Kurds at around 27 million people (see *Kurdastanica* 1991; McDowall 1996; Kurds homepage 1996; Poladian 2004; Basri 1991; Ali 1992; *The Columbia Encyclopedia* 2007; Edmonds 1957). According to 1991 population estimate, they were distributed in the different host countries, approximately (in millions) as follows:

Iran	6.8
Iraq	4.3
Turkey	15.4
Syria	1.3
USSR	0.3
Estimated total for 1987	27

Source: Adapted from *Kurdastanica* (1991).

Roj Bash Kurdistan (2008) reports that a considerable number of Kurds had inhabited the Levant long before the First World War. Some of the Jordanian Kurds reached Palestine and Jordan long time ago through the war campaign by the Kurdish leader Saladin Al-Ayubi against the crusaders in Jerusalem and during the Ottoman Empire. The Arab-Israel war in 1948, which resulted in the incursion of thousands of Palestinians to the East Bank of Jordan, also served to multiply the number of Kurds in Jordan. In the absence of any official census, it is very difficult to give exact figures of their number in the country. However, many official sources of those we met during our survey estimated their population of about 30,000 people. In comparison with other Arab countries like Iraq and Syria, their population in Jordan is very small. This could be due in part to the remoteness of the country from Kurdistan. Just like other Jordanians, about half of the Jordanian Kurdish community is under 20 years of age (see Al-Kurdi 2004; Poladian 2004; Ali 1992; Kurdistan 1996).

The Kurds mainly live in the large urban centers of the country like Amman, Irbid, Assalt, and Al-Zarqa. The following are some of the well-known Jordanian Kurdish families who live in Jordan: Al-Kurdi, Al-Ayubi, Zibari, Sido, Baban, Al-Rashwani, Al-Shikhani, Ja'alo, Badrkhan, Al-Kiki, Al Rashi, Dhadha, Bakdash, Sa'adon, Hashlmon, Al-Qaymari, and Niroukh, among others. It should be noted here that some of these families have been living in Jordan since 1173, with the establishment of Al-Ayubi

state in the Levant (see Al-Kurdi 2004; Poladian 2004; Basri 1991; Ali 1992). Unlike the other large minority groups inhabiting Jordan (i.e., the Chechens and the Circassians) who live in tightly knit communities, the Kurds do not have their own neighborhoods; rather they live with other Jordanians in different residential areas of the country.

Although the bulk of Kurds are highly educated (i.e., they are college- or university-educated), a considerable number of them have been working in different parts of the country as employees, technicians, craftsmen, mechanics, photographers, and so on. Like the Armenians, the Kurds are well-known in Jordan and the other Arab countries for their skillfulness as technicians, handymen, and mechanics. Socially, the Kurds of Jordan are nearly completely integrated into the Jordanian major society; therefore, unlike the other minority groups, they have not been given a quota that designates seats for them in Parliament.

2. Methodology and sampling

2.1 Methods

The data used in this analysis was collected through questionnaires, structured interviews, and observations. Backing up the results of the questionnaire with data coming from the other sources gives the results more credibility. Furthermore, by using such method we are able to get more information on *what* language is used for *what* reasons. The questionnaire was fashioned after those employed by Al-Khatib & Al-Ali (2005), Al-Khatib (2001), and Dweik (2000). However, the questionnaire was modified in a way so as to better serve the purpose of this study. The questionnaire was designed to elicit different types of data on the biographical background of the subjects, language use, language proficiency, and language attitude towards Arabic and Kurdish.

Four main sections form the body of the questionnaire. The first section consists of five questions intended to elicit some demographic data, such as name, age, gender, occupational, and educational backgrounds, etc. The second section has 11 questions the purpose of which is to examine language use on a daily basis for different functions, i.e., writing personal letters, talking with other people, and invoking and expressing some personal feelings and attitudes. The third section was designed to elicit

some attitudinal data toward the use of both Arabic and Kurdish in different social settings and for different purposes. The fourth section contains questions on language proficiency in the four main skills in both Arabic and Kurdish. Furthermore, a pilot survey was conducted to pre-test the questionnaire prior to the final survey. The pre-test exposed certain weaknesses and limitations, which necessitated amendments and modifications.

The data were collected through personal contacts with the subjects over a period extending from January to December 2008. Also, part of the corpus was collected with the assistance of four Kurdish university students. The method of using assistants from the same speech community had proven to be a useful tool in collecting data. We taught the assistants thoroughly beforehand how to use the standard questionnaire appropriately. The reason why we used assistants from the same speech community was to secure more cooperation on the part of the interviewees. The interviews were conducted individually to minimize any external influence or bias in their responses.

Because of the absence of an official population census of the Kurds of Jordan which differentiates them in terms of age, gender, education, occupation, etc. and due to the fact that people in Jordanian society, in general, are very suspicious of outsiders with whom they are not acquainted or have not, at least, been introduced to through a third party, a random selection of informants was neither possible nor available. Therefore, the only possible way for us to draw the sample was to follow the "social network" model proposed by Milroy & Milroy (1978) and approach the subjects in the capacity of "a friend of a friend" or, in some cases, through "a friend of friend's friend". By following this method we were able to select a sample of 100 informants who belong to different gender, age, occupation, and educational backgrounds. We were able to draw almost an equal number of informants from the two gender groups. Moreover, in order to get a representative sample of the Kurdish speech community, we tried to diversify our sample in the best possible way according to the city, residential area, and the socioeconomic status of the subject.

Data analysis was carried out both quantitatively and qualitatively. Percentages were utilized to show how frequently Kurdish and Arabic are

used by the respondents. Qualitative analysis was also carried out so as to highlight the communicative functions performed by using the two codes.

2.2 The sample

The present research is based on data collected from 100 respondents all of whom are Jordanian Kurds who arrived in Jordan in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. The rationale behind excluding some of them is because the descendants of the early wave of Kurdish immigrants, especially those who arrived earlier with Saladin's campaign against the crusaders, have already lost their language and are totally assimilated into the Arabic-speaking mainstream society. Tables 1 and 2 below show the distribution of the sample according to age, gender, educational background, and occupation. However, we were not able to draw an equal number of informants from the two gender groups. As seen below, 61 percent of the respondents are males and 39 percent are females. The uneven distribution of the sample according to gender is due to some sociocultural constraints. In general, male researchers (i.e., strangers) are not allowed to interview female respondents in Jordanian society, so we did not ask for that. Usually male guests are received and entertained in the guest room by only the male members of the family. Therefore, in such a situation, we resorted to Kurdish assistants to administer the questionnaire and conduct interviews with the female subjects.

It is worth mentioning that the selected sample is divided into four age groups. Following on the footsteps of Dweik (2000), Al-Khatib (2001), Al-Khatib & Al-Ali (2005), and Abd-el-Jawad (2006), we used their works as a model and categorized the sample into four age groups according to the same age patterns. The rationale behind doing this is to facilitate the process of comparison and contrast between the results of this study and those related to other minority groups.

Table 1. Distribution of the sample by age and gender

Age	N	Gender	
		Males N	Females N
14–29	40	25	15
30–45	20	13	7
46–59	24	14	10
60–	14	8	7
Not mentioned	2	2	
Total	100	61	39

Table 2. Distribution of the sample by educational level

Education	N
Limited formal schooling	0
Preparatory	16
Secondary	31
Two-year college	14
University graduate	39
Total	100

Table 3. Distribution of the sample by occupation

Occupation	N
Policemen	4
Housewives	8
Managers	8
Students	26
Teachers	4
Drivers	2
Engineers	3
Doctors	2
Retired	7
Accountants	5
Lawyers	2
Workers (civil servants)	11
Nurses	2
Photographers	1
Businessmen	4
Technicians	3
Traders	6
Not mentioned	7
Total	100

Admittedly, the data suffer inevitably from shortcomings. One of the limitations of this study was the relatively small sample size. That is because, as said earlier, a random selection of informants was neither possible nor available; therefore, these findings cannot be generalized to the broader Kurdish community. Also, due to the limited scope of this study, it was not possible to study the use of Kurdish in all the language domains. Since the use of Kurdish is directly related to the issues of power and solidarity, we were able to cover only a few aspects of power and solidarity here. For example, we were not able to elicit data on the use of Kurdish in domains such as administration, business, partying, and so on.

It, therefore, seems likely that the data provides only a broad coverage of the language situation among the Kurdish speech community of Jordan. However, it does provide a useful source of information on the direction of

language and cultural shift among the Kurds of Jordan in terms of language use, language attitude, language change, and acculturation.

3. Results and discussion

Table 4 demonstrates that the overwhelming majority of the respondents could not read, write, speak, or understand Kurdish, though their ability to speak or understand is a little better. This indicates that a great source of their ability to use the language is often overlooked. However, the responses to items 5, 6, and 7 indicate that the great majority of them could understand, read, and write in Arabic. These findings appear to support our informal observation of the Jordanian Kurdish speech community in most social domains where they tend to use Arabic, even among themselves, much more often than Kurdish.

Table 4. Language proficiency in Arabic and Kurdish

Language skills	Yes	No	A little	Total
1. Can you understand a conversation in Kurdish?	18	76	6	100
2. Can you engage in a conversation in Kurdish?	18	76	6	100
3. Can you read Kurdish?	11	85	4	100
4. Can you write Kurdish?	11	84	5	100
5. Can you understand Arabic?	96	2	2	100
6. Can you read Arabic?	96	2	2	100
7. Can you write Arabic?	96	2	2	100

In addition, their responses to items 1–4 indicate that the Kurdish speech community in Jordan has not yet taken deliberate steps that help revitalize Kurdish or slow down the process of shift toward Arabic. That is to say, there is a lack of any institutional support which, as Holmes (1992: 39) put it, makes the difference between success and failure in maintaining a minority group language.

3.1 Language use

Virtually all the available evidence suggests that the Jordanian Kurdish community tends to use Arabic in all domains much more often than Kurdish. Respondents of different age groups were asked to report on the use of Kurdish and Arabic languages. The use of Kurdish, as seen in table 5, has remarkably declined among Jordanian Kurds to less than 20 percent in contrast to more than 80 percent use of the Arabic language. Furthermore, it is noticed that the loss of Kurdish, as seen in table 4, is greater in reading and writing skills than in speaking and listening, as hardly did any of the younger age group of speakers use Kurdish. These findings demonstrate that Kurdish is witnessing a kind of recession in the linguist repertoires of the younger speakers. This assumption can be supported by the respondents' answers to items 1 and 2 which show that 85 percent of them tend to use Arabic with brothers and sisters (the younger) more often than with their parents (77 percent), though the difference is not that big. Putting it differently, the younger group of speakers tends to use Arabic with each other more often than with their parents.

Table 5. Language use in different domains

Questions	Only Arabic %	Mostly Arabic %	Arabic & Kurdish %	Mostly Kurdish %	Only Kurdish %	No response %	Total %
1. What language do you use at home with your children and parents?	77	6	10	2	5	–	100
2. What language do you use at home with your brothers and sisters?	85	3	8	2	2	–	100

3. What language do you use on Kurdish social occasions?	77	2	11	3	7	–	100
4. What language do you use when you meet Kurdish friends in Jordan?	79	3	7	2	7	2	100
5. What language do you use when you meet Kurds abroad?	75	1	5	4	12	3	100
6. What language do you use most commonly when you are angry?	80	1	4	1	11	3	100
7. What language do you use when you are excited?	82	–	7	3	8	–	100
8. In what language do you dream?	80	1	–	–	9	10	100

We also observed that there is little interest in using Kurdish especially among the younger groups of speakers. To illustrate, most Kurdish people in Jordan do not seem to mind identifying with the majority community, and now there is still a great deal of attachment to this identification as seen from the respondents' reaction to our questions. Just like the Armenians of Jordan (see Al-Khatib 2001), the majority of the Jordanian Kurds do not live in tightly knit communities. Rather, they live with other Jordanians in

the different residential areas of the country. Therefore, the most commonly expressed reason for the decline of Kurdish in the speech of the Jordanian Kurds is that they find no one to use the language with. On this matter Holmes (1992: 71) writes:

There are certain social factors to retard wholesale language shift for a minority language group, at least for a time. Where language is considered an important symbol of a minority group's identity, for example, the language is likely to be maintained longer. If families from a minority group live near each other and see each other frequently, this also will help them maintain their language.

She adds that the degree and frequency of contact with the homeland is another crucial element in the process.

3.2 Language attitudes

In this section, we will examine, *inter alia*, the respondents' general attitude to Arabic and Kurdish, their attitudes to Kurdish as a symbol of identity, and their attitudes and perceptions regarding the viability and future of Kurdish in this particular milieu. Several techniques were used to uncover the attitudes of respondents. Firstly, respondents were questioned about their feelings toward the two languages by using a number of questions (see table 6). We intended to explore the rationale for and value of using each code. Secondly, we employed a self-assessment method by asking respondents to answer a number of questions about their feelings for being unable to use Kurdish (see table 7). Fasold (1984: 148) assumes that attitudes toward a language are often the reflection of attitudes towards members of various ethnic groups. Similarly, Edwards (1983: 221) suggests that people's reactions to language varieties reveal much of their perception of the speakers of these varieties. It should be mentioned here that the analysis below is based on data (i.e., responses) given both orally and in writing.

A quick look at table 7 indicates that two contradicting types of attitudes toward the two languages are revealed. The first demonstrates that the majority of the respondents agreed that Arabic is valuable as a means of communication and is more useful to them than Kurdish (items 2 and 3). Responses to item 4 show that the great majority of the respondents agree that they can express themselves better in Arabic than in Kurdish.

Moreover, the overwhelming majority of them reported that it is important for them to speak in both Arabic, as a means of communication, and Kurdish, as an important symbol of identity. However, their answers to items 7 and 8 demonstrate that there is a decline in the use of Kurdish at home as well as among the Jordanian Kurdish speech community.

Surprisingly enough, when some of the respondents who can speak Kurdish were asked about the advantages they might have, a female respondent answered that “learning Kurdish would give me a sense of self worth and accomplishment”. Another said that “it would give me the ability to preserve our own culture in our own language”. This indicates that some of the Kurds are still loyal to their language and culture.

Table 6. Attitudes toward Arabic and Kurdish

Questions	Arabic %	Kurdish %	Both %	No response %	Yes %	No %	Total %
1. What language is more beautiful?	20	21	59	–	–		100
2. What language is more useful to you?	65	5	30	–	–		100
3. What language would you prefer to use for communication with others?	60	12	28	–	–		100
4. In what language can you express yourself better?	63	13	24	–	–		100
5. Is it important for you to speak Arabic?				–	100		100
6. Is it important for you to speak Kurdish?				–	70	30	100
7. Is Kurdish dying in your home?				6	74	20	100
8. Is Kurdish dying in Jordan?				2	79	19	100

When asked about their feelings toward being unable to use Kurdish (see table 7), 40 percent of the respondents said that they feel strongly embarrassed about that and 36 percent answered by “embarrassed only”. However, 24 percent of them see this behavior as not embarrassing at all. In total, about 76 percent of the respondents appear to be still emotionally attached to their language. All in all, these findings reveal strong positive attitudes towards Kurdish as a symbol of identity. This same feeling was also revealed in their responses to the first question in table 6 above; namely, they see both languages as beautiful, though they cannot in reality use Kurdish.

Table 7. Self-assessment as a way of attending to language attitudes (interview data)

How do you feel when you find yourself unable to use Kurdish?	
Feeling	%
Strongly embarrassed	40
Embarrassed	36
Not embarrassed	24
Total	100

For more clarification on the attitudes of the Kurds toward Arabic and Kurdish, four age groups were asked about their use of Kurdish. The results are given in tables 8 and 9. They show that there is a decline in the use of Kurdish over the generations. The differences between the four age groups are easily remarkable.

In answer to the question “How often do you speak Kurdish today?”, these differences again appear to be easily noticed. As a whole, the old people speak Kurdish much more often than the young and the middle-age groups, a hierarchy which is in line with the data obtained from the questionnaire. A further indication that Kurdish had already lost ground to Arabic is the answers to the level of proficiency in the Kurdish language, as reported in table 4.

Table 8. Answers to the question “Do you speak Kurdish today?” by age groups

Age groups	YES		NO	
	N	%	N	%
14–29	2	5	38	95
30–45	3	20	17	80
46–59	7	41	17	59
60–	7	50	7	50

Table 9. Answers to the question “How often do you use Kurdish with family members?” by age groups

Age groups	Always		Sometimes		Never		Total %
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
14–29	–	–	2	05	38	95	100
30–45	1	5	2	10	17	85	100
46–59	4	17	3	8	17	75	100
60–	4	29	3	21	7	50	100

Overall, we conclude from these results that, in reality, Kurdish has lost its function as the language of group identity. It will most probably disappear in the next few generations.

In order to see whether the educational background of the speakers plays a role in the process of language and cultural shift among the members of the Jordanian Kurdish speech community, the sample was distributed by education into three educational groups: highly educated (university or college education), moderately educated (preparatory or secondary school education), and limited formal schooling (little or no schooling).

Table 10. Answers to the question “Do you speak Kurdish today?” by educational level

Educational groups	YES		NO		Total %
	N	%	N	%	
H. educated	2	5	38	95	100
M. educated	3	15	17	85	100
Limited formal schooling	6	25	18	75	100

H = highly, M = moderately.

Table 11. Answers to the question “How often do you use Kurdish with family members?” by educational level

Educational groups	Always		Sometimes		Never		Total %
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
H. educated	–	–	2	5	38	95	100
M. educated	1	5	2	10	17	85	100
Limited formal schooling	4	17	2	8	18	75	100

A quick look at tables 10 and 11 indicates that education has a role to play in the process. It is evident that the limited schooling group of respondents is more loyal to their language (Kurdish) than both the highly educated and the moderately educated groups. The limited schooling group who, by virtue of the type of jobs they hold, neither have access to the social life in the country nor are given the opportunity, unlike their educated counterparts, to have daily contact with the majority community. Therefore, they tend to be linguistically more conservative. A similar observation was made by Holmes (1992: 25) who says that “one of the first domains in which children of migrant families meet English is the school”. She adds that in many families English gradually infiltrates the home through the children.

3.3 Acculturation and language use

The purpose of this section is to examine the Arabic language acculturation among the Kurdish speech community. Brown (1994: 169) defines acculturation as the process of becoming adapted to a new culture. It is a reorientation of thinking and feeling. He adds that the process of acculturation runs even deeper when language is brought into the picture. According to Scollon & Scollon (2001/1995), patterns of social behavior are also given a firm cast during the period of enculturation. Erikson (1968: 19, 22–23, quoted in Laitin 1998: 20) describes identity formation as

a process by which the individual judges himself in the light of what he perceives to be the way in which others judge him in comparison to themselves and to a typology significant to them; while he judges their way of judging him in light of

how he perceives himself in comparison to them and to types that have become relevant to him.

Building on this definition, Laitin (1998, reported in Linton 2003: 12) emphasizes the instrumentality of the process.

Most previous studies on language acculturation (e.g., Dorian 1987; Fishman 1991; Crawford 2007; García 1995; Carliner 2000; Al-Khatib & Al-Ali 2005) emphasized the importance of studying language in relation to culture and that culture and language are inseparable. Fishman (1991), for example, contends that the relationship between the two concepts is three-dimensional. Firstly, there is a kind of indexical relationship between language and culture. Secondly, the most important relationship is that most of the culture is in the language and is expressed in it. Thirdly, a deeper relationship is the symbolic relationship. Fishman (2007: 79) adds that “culture is expressed through language, when language is lost, those things that represent a way of life, a way of valuing, and human reality, are also lost”. Gordon (1964: 72) defines acculturation or assimilation as an “unbalanced” model; namely, one group is completely absorbed into another group’s culture. He (1978: 172, reported in Williams & Ortega 1990: 699) suggested seven variables of the assimilation process that can be measured against the “melting pot” goal as well as against the “adaptation to the core society and culture” goal. These are Cultural or Behavior Assimilation, Structural Assimilation, Marital Assimilation, Identificational Assimilation, Attitude Receptional Assimilation, Behavior Receptional Assimilation, and Civic Assimilation. The importance of these variables in studying sociolinguistic phenomena, especially in the study of language and cultural maintenance and/or shift, was noted by a wealth of sociologists, anthropologists, and sociolinguists (e.g., Williams & Ortega 1990; Holmes 1992; Craig 1992; Fishman 2007; Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1998; Laitin 1998; Carliner 2000; Al-Khatib & Al-Ali 2005).

In this section, we will employ some of these variables in analyzing and discussing the process of acculturation among the Kurds of Jordan. The results below captured the views of 100 Jordanian Kurdish respondents on various issues. Among these are naming, self-introduction, personal involvement and their children’s involvement in learning Kurdish, intermarriage with the majority group, and their participation in any of the local Jordanian ceremonies.

When the respondents were asked in face-to-face interviews what names they prefer to give their children, 20 percent mentioned that they prefer Kurdish names, 26 percent reported they favor Arabic and Kurdish names, and 54 percent said they prefer Arabic names only. Those who prefer to give their children Kurdish-Arabic names have reported that they do that because a large number of names are shared by Kurds and Arabs; namely, they are of Islamic roots. When questioned about how they introduce themselves to others, 59 percent said they introduce themselves as Jordanian, 27 percent as Jordanian of Kurdish origin, and only 14 percent as Kurdish. Thus, these figures demonstrate that the Kurds of Jordan appear to define themselves on the basis of cultural similarities with the larger majority group. They tend to affiliate more consciously with certain aspects of the majority speech community. However, this is not the case for the Armenians of Jordan who were found to be still affiliated with their culture by giving their children Armenian names (see Al-Khatib 2001).

Table 12. Naming and introducing themselves to others (interview data)

Which names do you prefer to give your newly born children?	%	How do you introduce yourself to a stranger?	%
Kurdish names	20	Jordanian	59
Arabic names	54	Kurdish	14
Kurdish and Arabic names	26	Jordanian of Kurdish origin	27
Total	100	Total	100

Table 12 indicates that 74 percent agreed that if Kurdish is taught in Jordan they will learn it and 72 percent agreed that they may recommend their children learn the language had it been taught in the country. These answers indicate that a considerable portion of respondents is still attached to their roots. The respondents were also asked whether they have encountered any negative actions toward them because of their ethnic backgrounds. About 94 percent of them claimed that they do exercise their rights like all other Jordanians. When questioned about their attitudes toward intermarriage, about 95 percent said they do encourage intermarriage with other Jordanians. Over the years we have noticed that

the attitude of most Jordanian-Kurds toward intermarriage has been positive. This is not an unusual phenomenon because the Kurds of Jordan are Sunni Moslems, and we think the majority of them see no harm in doing that. "I would encourage the whole Kurdish community to do that", said a professor of biology at one of the most well-known universities in the country. "We pay no attention to intermarriage in a more serious and thoughtful way, we see ourselves as Jordanians and form an integral part of Jordanian society", said a twenty-two-year-old female student. Respondents interviewed were also asked whether they participate actively in the local social events such as ceremonies, traditions, customs, and so on. Out of 100 respondents, 97 percent answered that they do participate actively.

Table 13. Attitudes of the respondents as reflected in their sociocultural affiliation with the majority society

Question	Yes %	No %	Total %
If Kurdish is taught in Jordan, do you learn it?	74	26	100
Do you recommend your children to learn the language?	72	28	100
Have you encountered any negative actions toward you because of your origin?	6	94	100
Do you encourage intermarriage with Jordanians of Arab origin?	95	5	100
Do you usually participate in any of the local social events such as ceremonies, traditions, and customs?	97	3	100

All in all, these findings reveal that the length of residence in the country has a remarkable impact on language acculturation. It has been observed that the Kurdish people of all age groups and of different gender groups have no problems with language acculturation. Based on the above findings, which were also confirmed by our observations, one might claim that even though the Kurds of Jordan are still emotionally attached to their

culture, in reality they appear to have been assimilated and integrated into the larger speech community.

In summary, an analysis of the questionnaires, the interviews along with the sociocultural and religious background of the Jordanian Kurds enables us to demonstrate that resistance to language shift on their part is not strong enough. Furthermore, it has been observed that the attitude of Kurds toward the use of Arabic appears to be integrative rather than instrumental. Supporting this view is the fact that they do encourage intermarriage with other Jordanians. Another piece of evidence is the fact that, although at least three or four generations of the Kurds were born in the country, very few of them still give and use Kurdish proper names. Given the rather advanced stage of language shift which has taken place in the Kurds' speech, only a few of them are still proud of using Kurdish proper names. This implies that the great majority of the Kurds of Jordan consider themselves as Jordanians. Most of them believe that as long as they share the same religion with the majority group, no harm in sharing with them the same culture and language. Based on these results, we assume that even though language shift among the Kurds has reached an advanced stage, it will take another two or three generations to reach a conclusion. Hence, for some of the Kurds, particularly the elderly, the case still represents a case of bilingualism, which might extend for few generations to come.

3.4 An overview of the language situation among five minority groups inhabiting Jordan

As said earlier, one important objective of the present study is to make a structured overview of the language situation among five minority groups inhabiting the country for almost the same period of time. These are the Kurds, the Armenians, the Chechens, the Circassians, and the Gypsies of Jordan. In this section, our goal is to articulate and refine what we view as language maintenance and language shift, as well as to discuss the sociolinguistic factors that contribute to either case of maintenance or shift. A detailed comparison and contrast between these five groups is then offered.

An examination of the findings of previous works (e.g., Dweik 2000; Al-Khatib 2001; Abd-el-Jawad 2006; Al-Khatib & Al-Ali 2005; Al-Khatib

& Alzoubi 2009) on the language situation among the different minority groups inhabiting the country indicates similarities and differences among them due to similarities and differences in the background of immigrants, the circumstances of their migration and the host society policies, and reception environment. It has been observed that patterns of language and cultural maintenance within these communities are not the same. These differences and/or similarities between them can be aggregated into two main groups: 1) those who demonstrated clear-cut cases of language and cultural maintenance, such as the Chechens, the Circassians, and the Gypsies of Jordan, and 2) those that showed obvious cases of language and cultural shift, like the Kurds and the Armenians. As far as the first group is concerned, all observations suggest that language and cultural maintenance among them is the norm and expected to last in the foreseeable future. Comparing the degree of language and cultural maintenance among the gypsies of Jordan (Al-Khatib & Al-Ali 2005), on the one hand, with that among the Chechens (Dweik 2000) and the Circassians (Abd-el-Jawad 2006), on the other, we observe that these three groups are demonstrating considerable signs of language and cultural maintenance. However, the reasons of maintenance for them are not the same. While the Chechens and the Circassians do that by conscious choice, the Gypsies do it, as Dorian (2001) put it, by “necessity” or being imposed on them by the wider Jordanian society (see Al-Khatib & Al-Ali 2005). In all three cases, language and cultural maintenance is due to the fact that these three minority groups live in tightly knit communities where their neighbors are people of the same origin and as such their interaction with the majority language and culture is limited.

In so far as the Kurds and the Armenians are concerned, the case is entirely different. Both groups demonstrated a great deal of cultural and language shift toward the majority speech community. Just like the Kurds, the Armenians have been assimilated into the host majority society, though they are not Muslims. Furthermore, unlike the Armenians, the Kurds tend to use Arabic names much more often than the Armenians. An examination of the very long list of names of the 100 Kurdish respondents reveals that more than 90 percent of them have Arabic names.

The question that arises is why some of these groups still maintain their language and culture and some others do not. Although this question has been addressed partially throughout the above discussion, we shall try

to elaborate for the purpose of clarification. To answer this question, a number of sociodemographic factors must be considered: size, demographic concentration, and socioeconomic status of each group. In all cases of language and cultural maintenance among the different Jordanian minority groups, with the exception of the Gypsies, it has been observed that these factors are of great importance, though they vary greatly in weight and importance from one case to another. This means that not all of these factors are relevant in any particular case. Through a careful examination of the results of these studies, we observe, as said earlier, that language and cultural maintenance among the Chechens, the Circassians, and the Gypsies is mainly due to the existence of linguistic and cultural islands whereby these minority groups live in tightly knit communities (see Dweik 2000; Abd-el-Jawad 2006; Al-Khatib & Al-Ali 2005). Nevertheless, the elements most responsible for language and cultural shift among the Armenians are both the small size of their population and the way they live in the country; namely, they are scattered over the large urban centers (see Al-Khatib 2001). In like manner, we believe that this same factor (i.e., lack of residential contiguity) is the element most responsible for the clear case of language and cultural shift among the Kurds of Jordan who, like the Armenians, are scattered over the large urban centers of the country. In addition, it is highly likely that the earlier waves of Kurdish immigrants who arrived five or six centuries ago to the country and who have already been assimilated into the larger host society have contributed to the assimilation of the new waves of immigrants who arrived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

4. Conclusions and implications

We have provided a detailed analysis of the language situation among the Kurds of Jordan. The evidence suggests that the Kurds of Jordan who consciously placed more importance on Arabic to enable them to integrate and settle in the country are witnessing a clear-cut case of language and cultural shift toward the majority society. By analyzing the different patterns of language use among the Kurds, one can trace the course that language shift has taken for this group of speakers and the extent to which it has taken place. It is quite evident that language shift appears to have occurred in most social domains. Moreover, the study revealed that the loss

of the Kurdish language is more in writing than in listening and speaking. Remoteness of Jordan from Kurdistan is believed to be the factor most responsible for language and cultural shift among them. It makes mother tongue communication for them more difficult. In addition, lack of residential contiguity among them is believed to be another important element that contributed to language and cultural shift toward the host society. This has limited their use of Kurdish language upon interacting with each other and weakened community ties among them. Additionally, living in a country away from their homeland would provide less opportunity for them to use the language in a regular basis. Also, encouraging interethnic marriage on their part may have resulted in accelerating language and cultural shift among them. It is assumed that interethnic marriage may result in permanent rupture in family relationships (see Fishman 2007; Craig 1992). Furthermore, it is highly likely that the positive attitude of the Kurds toward the Arabic language and culture has resulted in weakening the community language position and in causing them to use Arabic as a mother tongue.

Thus, unless the Kurds of Jordan are willing to radically change the way they approach their language and unless they are willing to spend the time and effort required to learn and promote Kurdish in the context of Jordan, it is expected that their language will be lost completely in a few decades. Our own observation convincingly shows that there does not seem to be enough motivation at the community level to do what needs to be done to revive the language or even to keep it from being lost.

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Mohammed Rida Bernouss

Paradigmatic Contrast and Moroccan Arabic Verb Inflection

Abstract

The present paper addresses the way inflectional paradigms of Moroccan Arabic trilateral verbs solve the problem that occurs when two phonologically similar members are driven to be phonetically identical. In this case, a Paradigmatic Contrast constraint prevents one item from being totally identical with the base in order to avoid fusion with another member of the paradigm. This is accomplished through ranking the Paradigmatic Contrast constraint above the crucial identity constraint O-O ANCHOR (σ , σ , Initial), which demands that a syllable-initial segment belonging to S2 must correspond to a syllable-initial segment belonging to S1. The main purpose of the study is to show the determinant role of contrast in the articulation of the inflectional system of Moroccan Arabic within the framework of Optimality Theory and to consider the dynamic nature of inflectional paradigms that abide by some of the most stimulating properties of language, among which the ability to keep similar phonological forms apart at the phonetic level.

1. Introduction

In an attempt to account for the perfective paradigm of Moroccan Arabic (MA) trilateral verbs within Optimality Theory (OT), the paper adduces morpho-phonological evidence to confirm the existence of a Paradigmatic Contrast constraint (PC), which is ranked above the faithfulness constraint Output-Output (O-O) ANCHOR. Such ranking results in blocking total identity between a paradigm member and the base/output (the base). Specifically, it prevents the third person singular feminine (3 sg. fem.) form from being totally identical with the base in order to drive two paradigm members (the first person singular (1 sg.) and the 3 sg. fem. forms), which have the same underlying representation (CCC+t), to be distinct in form. Generally, our data reveal an interesting feature of inflectional paradigms that strive to regulate themselves in amazing ways and underscore the role

of PC in compelling a paradigm member to avoid fusion with another member. First, we will expose the problem by showing that the dialect under investigation exhibits a perfective inflectional paradigm where two members have the same underlying representation: a stem and a *-t* suffix. Second, we will review the relevant literature on analogy and contrast within Correspondence Theory (CT). Finally, we will derive the 1 sg. and the 3 sg. fem. forms by invoking the crucial role of PC.

2. The problem

In the perfective inflectional paradigm of trilateral sound verbs, the 3 sg. fem. suffix is realized in three different ways according to regional varieties; thus, we can delimit three dialects. The first one consists exclusively of *-at* as in *kətb-at* ‘she wrote’ (e.g., the dialect of Casablanca); the second one includes both *-at* and the reduced form *-ət* interchangeably (e.g., the dialect of Fes); and the third one has only the *-ət* suffix (e.g., many dialects in the rural areas of the western plains of Morocco, like the ones near Sidi Kacem). We will be concerned with the Sidi Kacem variety because it raises important questions related to the way language manages to avoid fusion when two words have the same phonological underlying representation (the 3 sg. and the 1 sg. forms). It should be noted that I originate from this area and that I have already described similar data in a previous non-concatenative analysis of MA verb morphology within the prosodic model (Bernouss 1995). The perfective paradigm in (1) introduces the problem:

(1) Trilateral sound verbs: *ktəb* ‘to write’

Perfective

1 sg.	<i>ktəbt</i>	‘I wrote’	1 pl.	<i>ktəbna</i>	‘we wrote’
2 sg.	<i>ktəbti</i>	‘you wrote’	2 pl.	<i>ktəbtu</i>	‘you wrote’
3 sg. masc.	<i>ktəb</i>	‘he wrote’	3 pl.	<i>kətbu</i>	‘they wrote’
3 sg. fem.	<i>kətbət</i>	‘she wrote’			

We consider that the 1 sg. and the 3 sg. fem. *ktəbt* and *kətbət* have the same phonological underlying representation /ktb+t/ because of three main reasons. First, schwa epenthesis is nearly fully predictable in this dialect; therefore, its inclusion in the underlying representation would be detrimental to the economy parameter at the lexical level. Second, there is no *-a* with which the schwa alternates as a result of vowel reduction;

therefore, we cannot have recourse to an underlying full vowel /a/ to differentiate the two representations as there is no trace of this suffixal vowel in the synchronic grammar of this variety. Finally, contrary to some dialects like the one of Oujda (Kenstowitz 2005), where 3 sg. fem. forms substitute the schwa with an *-a* when the verb is concatenated with an object clitic, e.g., *rəfdət* ‘she carried’ / *rəfdatu* ‘she carried it’, although there is no *rəfdat* as such, in the schwa variety under scrutiny (the dialect of Sidi Kacem), the *-t* suffix is geminated when an object clitic is added, e.g., *rəfdattu* ‘she carried it’. In other words, there is no trace of the *-a* here either. It is needless to point out that although the suffix *-t* of the 1 sg. form and the suffix *-t* of the 3 sg. fem. form are phonologically similar, they are morphologically different as they signal different inflectional information.

In the paradigm in (1), the stem *ktəb* ‘write’ remains unchanged in all persons except in the third person where it undergoes reshuffling as a result of the addition of the suffixes *-t* and *-u*. In addition to this, whereas the majority of inflected forms can be easily generated, there is the problematic case of the first person singular of sound trilateral verbs like *ktəbt* ‘I wrote’, which should be derived under the normal syllabification algorithm of MA as *kətbət*, and which have been dealt with as ensuing from a cyclic derivation (Benhallam 1990). In fact, sound trilateral forms like *ktəb* ‘write’, when inflected in the first person singular, yield under a non-cyclic syllabification framework the unattested forms **kətbət*, as schwa insertion operates from right to left between every two adjacent and unparsed consonants (consonants which are not attached as onsets to already existing nuclei). The items in (2) provide a succinct view about schwa distribution in MA:

(2)	<i>ktb-t</i>	→	<i>kətbət</i>	‘she wrote’
	<i>mktb</i>	→	<i>məktəb</i>	‘a desk’
	<i>mɗrasa</i>	→	<i>məɗrasa</i>	‘a school’
	<i>mkrkb</i>	→	<i>məkərkəb</i>	‘rolled’

In other words, if we follow this pattern, we will have two homophonous forms /*ktb-t*/ > **kətbət* (1 sg.) and /*ktb-t*/ > *kətbət* (3 sg. fem.). To solve this puzzle, Benhallam (1990) hypothesized, before OT, that syllabification has to apply cyclically. For him, the cycles in (3) have to be respected if the 1 sg. form *ktəbt* ‘I wrote’ is to be adequately generated (the 3 sg. fem. form

is derived according to the normal syllabification process exemplified in the items in (2) above).

- (3) Input: [[ktb]t]
First cycle
 Syllabification: *ktəb*
Second Cycle
 Affixation: *ktəb-t*
 Syllabification: *ktəbt*
 Output: [ktəbt] ‘I wrote’

(Benhallam 1990: 186–187)

Syllabification first applies to the innermost bracketed items in the first cycle and reapplies in the second cycle after affixation to link the stranded *-t* as a postmargin to the preceding syllable to yield the output *ktəbt* ‘I wrote’.

In the present paper, we argue that once we account for inflectional paradigms like the one in (1) within an O-O model, irregularity shifts from the 1 sg. form to the 3 sg. fem. It will be shown that the 3 sg. fem. form fails to be identical with the base for purely paradigmatic reasons.

3. Correspondence Theory

3.1 General background

In OT (Prince & Smolensky 1993; McCarthy & Prince 1993a) and more specifically in CT (McCarthy & Prince 1999), candidates are accompanied with correspondence relations between elements in related strings within the framework of the correspondence theory of faithfulness (McCarthy & Prince 1994a, 1994b, 1995, 1999). The definition in (4) offers a formal account of the relationship between these elements:

- (4) Correspondence:

Given two related strings S1 and S2, correspondence is a relation between elements of S1 and S2. Segment α (an element of S1) and segment β (an element of S2) are referred to as correspondents of one another if $\alpha R \beta$ (McCarthy & Prince 1995: 15).

Correspondence is a relation between segments in a pair of strings; it governs all types of linguistic relations – S1 and S2 of the definition in (4)

may be related as an input-output, as a base-reduplicant, or as a pair of output words. Each variable dimension of the representation is governed separately by a separate faithfulness constraint. Strings are governed by the constraints in (5), which demand complete and exclusive correspondence between their elements. For instance, Max requires every segment in the base S1 to have a correspondent in the related S2 (it prohibits deletion), and Dep penalizes insertion (any segment in S2 without a correspondent in S1 violates Dep) (McCarthy & Prince 1995: 123–125).

- (5) - Maximality (Max):
 Every element of S1 has a correspondent in S2.
- Dependence (Dep):
 Every element of S2 has a correspondent in S1.
- Identity-F:
 Correspondent segments in S1 and S2 have identical values for feature F.
- {Right,Left}-ANCHOR (S1, S2):
 Any element at the designated periphery of S1 has a correspondent at the designated periphery of S2.

In addition to the families cited in (5), there are additional ones: (a) Linearity (no metathesis), (b) Uniformity (no coalescence), and (c) Integrity (no breaking). Such constraint families constitute the backbone of CT as they foreground the different relationships that link together different components in IO, base-reduplicant and O-O strings; thus they generalize the range and the effect of faithfulness constraints within a more general and more explanatory framework.

3.2 Analogy/contrast in OT

Traditional ideas of analogy and contrast between the members of a paradigm have been revived in OT within different submodels. The overall purpose has been to explain surface similarities and differences across the members of a paradigm. Kenstowicz (1996) was among the first to handle the issue of paradigm uniformity by proposing two different constraints: Base-Identity and Uniform exponence. Base-Identity explains cases where

an immediate constituent – the base or the word – exerts pressure over its derived form or over its occurrence in a sentence, motivating either the underapplication or the overapplication of a process; Uniform exponence accounts for cases where there is no base that exerts pressure, or cases where it is the base form that is modified due to the pressure of a derived form. Base-Identity is applicable in derivational morphology, where the base has priority over the derived forms. Uniform exponence, on the other hand, is relevant to inflectional morphology, where it is difficult to delimit the base which has priority over the rest of the members of the paradigm.

In the same spirit, Benua's (1997) Transderivational Correspondence Theory (TCT) has also tried to approach derivational morphology. In this module, the relation between the words subjected to uniformity is expected to be asymmetrical since there is a base to which the derived forms are faithful. The opposite direction, the pressure of the derived form over the base, is banned due to base priority. In order to express the pressure that the base exerts over its derived form or its occurrence in the sentence, a set of Output-Output faithfulness constraints that emulate the Input-Output ones is invoked.

In his treatment of inflectional morphology, McCarthy (2005) has argued that the possibility is confined to symmetric relations between the members of a paradigm since any form of the inflectional paradigm can be the one which exerts the pressure. McCarthy has introduced what he named the Optimal Paradigms model (OP), where candidates consist of entire inflectional paradigms whose members undergo evaluation of markedness and Input-Output faithfulness constraints. Here, the stem of each paradigm member also stands in a surface correspondence with the stem in every other paradigm member; this correspondence is articulated by a set of O-O faithfulness constraints. McCarthy (2005) has introduced a new way of formalizing surface resemblance through shared paradigm membership within OT and CT. Faithfulness constraints on this intraparadigmatic output-output correspondence relation resist alternation within the paradigm. Through interaction with markedness and other faithfulness constraints, they account for surface resemblance and failure of resemblance among members of a paradigm. Among the typological predictions that the OP model makes is the potential for majority-rules effects where the pattern that is most common in a paradigm acts as an attractor to other paradigm members. In the OP model, in contrast to TCT, the pressure is multidirectional as all the members of the paradigm are

equal in their potential to influence the surface phonology of other members of the paradigm.

Paradigmatic pressures can also achieve homophony avoidance or contrast. Contrast within a paradigm has been formalized by Crosswhite (1999), who has also introduced an Anti-Ident constraint (defined in 6), blocking vowel reduction in a dialect of Bulgarian and in Standard Russian when it would create homophone words within a paradigm (*op. cit.*, p. 8).

(6) Anti-Ident:

For two forms, S1 and S2, where $S1 \neq S2$, $\exists \alpha$, $\alpha \in S1$, such that $\alpha \neq R(\alpha)$.

Given two forms, S1 and S2, there must be some segment belonging to S1 such that is not identical to its correspondent in S2. Here, the forms subjected to Anti-Ident (S1 and S2) must be different. The correspondence relation is evaluated, not by faithfulness constraints, but by anti-faithfulness constraints. It should be noted that the members subjected to the Anti-Ident constraints are not the same underlyingly.

Similarly, for Alderete (1999), in addition to markedness and faithfulness constraints, Universal Grammar contains a set of anti-faithfulness constraints that evaluate pairs of morphologically related words and require a phonological difference between them. Such constraints result in phonological alternations between members of the same paradigm and frequently imply a violation of faithfulness constraints.

On another scale, Kenstowicz (2005) proposes an analysis where he formulates a Paradigmatic Contrast constraint, which ensures that two phonologically distinct members of a paradigm must remain phonetically distinct. The formulation is a very strong statement, as we can easily find morphologically different but phonologically identical representations. It remains, however, that his analysis is the closest to the present one. The paradigms in (7), which show the 3 sg. masc., 3 sg. fem. and 1 sg. bases amplified by the object suffixes, constitute part of the data (from the Moroccan dialect of Oujda) on the basis of which Kenstowicz (2005) argues in favor of positing PC, a constraint which makes it impossible for the candidate **rfədtu* (3 sg. fem) to emerge as optimal. A brief summary of his argument will clarify the point:

(7) *rfəd* ‘to carry’

base	r f ə d	r əfd-et	r fəd-t
1 sg.	<i>rfəd#ni</i>	<i>rəfd-ət#ni</i>	<i>rfəd-t#ni</i>
2 sg.	<i>rəfd#ək</i>	<i>rəfd-at#ək</i>	<i>rfəd-t#ək</i>
3 sg. masc.	<i>rəfd#u</i>	<i>rəfd-at#u</i>	<i>rfəd-t#u</i>
3 sg. fem.	<i>rfəd#ha</i>	<i>rəfd-ət#ha</i>	<i>rfəd-t#ha</i>
1 pl.	<i>rfəd#na</i>	<i>rəfd-ət#na</i>	<i>rfəd-t#na</i>
2 pl.	<i>rfəd#kum</i>	<i>rəfd-ət#kum</i>	<i>rfəd-t#kum</i>
3 pl.	<i>rfəd#hum</i>	<i>rəfd-ət#hum</i>	<i>rfəd-t#hum</i>
	‘he carried pro’	‘she carried pro’	‘I carried pro’

(Kenstowicz 2005: 163)

Kenstowicz (2005) observed that the CCəC stem appears as CəCC before the vowel-initial object suffixes #ək and #u. The object suffixes thus syncopate the base just as the subject suffixes do. The 3 sg. fem. suffix -ət is changed to -at when the following object suffix begins with a vowel: *rəfd-at#ək* ‘she carried you’, *rəfd-at#u* ‘she carried him’. This allomorphy is a strategy the grammar adopts to block the reshuffling of the stem’s syllable structure in order to avoid open syllable schwa (*ə). Such an output would be identical to the 1 sg. In other words, the normal phonology should transform /rəfəd-ət#u/ into *rfəd-t#u*, but this shape is identical to the 1 sg. form *rfəd-t#u* ‘I carried him’. Getting -ət replaced by -at blocks syncope and keeps the 3 sg. fem. and the 1 sg. forms phonetically distinct.

The tableau in (8) summarizes the proposed analysis. The constraint of PC is ranked above faithfulness in vowel height (Ident-[low]); thus, it allows an otherwise unmotivated lowering of the schwa in the suffix (Kenstowicz 2005: 164).

(8) *ə >> PC >> Ident-[low]

/refed-et#u/	*ə	PC	Ident-[low]
1 - rfədətu	*!*		
2 - rəfdətu	*!		
3 - rfədtu		*!	
4 - ↵rəfdatu			*

In addition to the problem of the formulation of PC mentioned above, there is the problem of the base which is represented as CəCəC. Similar forms

are not attested in MA because of the same open syllable schwa ban Kenstowicz (2005) formulated. He has motivated this choice by relying on data from other Arabic dialects (e.g., Damascene Arabic) where there are similar forms (e.g., *lābās* ‘he wore’). Mechanisms like schwa syncope in unstressed syllables (*lbāstu* ‘you wore’) do not exist in MA because initially there are no schwas in open syllables: the postulation of two schwas in trilateral stems negates the systematic character of schwa epenthesis in MA. With very few exceptions that need analyses within paradigms (like the 1 sg. form of trilateral sound verbs and the 1 sg, 3 sg. fem. and 3 pl. forms of quadrilateral verbs), schwa epenthesis is nearly totally predictable. Incorporating schwas in the base that may or may not surface is detrimental to lexical economy. With the problem exposed and the relevant literature reviewed, we can proceed at this juncture to account for the problematic case of the the 3 sg. fem. and the 1 sg. forms.

4. Derivation of trilateral sound verbs

In this section, we derive the two problematic items, *ktābt* ‘I wrote’ and *kātbāt* ‘she wrote’, from the paradigm of *ktāb* within an O-O framework and spot the reason behind the idiosyncrasy of the 3 sg. fem. form *kātbāt*. The objective is to argue that paradigms have special properties that need exploration.

Boudlal (2001) has already noted that the form *ktābt* is closer to the base *ktāb* than *kātbāt* is, in as far as the initial segments of the stem syllables are concerned. Faithfulness to some designated periphery of a prosodic category has been captured in the literature by invoking an O-O constraint, namely the constraint O-ANCHOR-POS (McCarthy 1997: 12):

(9) O-ANCHOR-POS S1-S2 (Cat1, Cat2, P):

If ζ_1 Cat1 \in S1
 ζ_2 Cat2 \in S2
 ζ_1 R ζ_2 , and
 ζ_2 stands in position P of Cat2
 then ζ_1 stands in position P of Cat1.

In our case, Correspondence has to refer to the initial position of the syllable in the derived output form and its related base output form in order

to account for the difference between *ktəbt* and *kətbət*. The constraint in (10) is a specific instance of the general constraint in (9):

(10) O-O ANCHOR (σ , σ , Initial):

Where two strings S1 and S2 are in an O-O correspondence relation and S1 is the base and S2 the affiliate of that correspondence relation, a syllable-initial segment belonging to S2 must correspond to a syllable-initial segment belonging to S1.

Additionally, the form *ktəbt* ‘I wrote’ points to a case of conflict between two main constraints: the O-O faithfulness constraint O-O ANCHOR (σ , σ , Initial) and the alignment constraint Align-R., which is an instance of a more general constraint referred to in the literature as Generalized Alignment:

(11) Generalized Alignment:

Align(Cat1, Edge1, Cat2, Edge2) =def
 \forall Cat1 \exists Cat2 such that Edge1 of Cat1 and Edge2 of Cat2 coincide.
 Where
 Cat1, Cat2 \in PCat \cup GCat
 Edge1, Edge2 \in {Right, Left}

(McCarthy & Prince 1993a, 1993b)

The specific constraint in (12) militates to align the right edge of a full syllable with the right edge of the suffix:

(12) Align-R. (Suf, R; σ , R):

The right edge of the suffix is aligned with the right edge of a syllable.

Specifically, the form *ktəbt* violates the above constraint as the suffix *-t* is aligned with a minor syllable at the right edge, since MA does not tolerate complex onsets and codas. Violation of the above constraint in MA monosyllables is not only incurred to secure the supremacy of *Compl., which prohibits complex onsets and codas, but also emerges as a consequence of the prosodic make up of the language that reassigns stray consonants at peripheral edges as onsets or codas to syllables at subsequent levels. Items in (13) illustrate how peripheral elements become onsets or codas at other levels.

- (13) *ba.s* ‘he kissed’ *ba.su* ‘they kissed’
k.tab ‘a book’ *lək.tab* ‘the book’
k.təb.t ‘I wrote’ *k.təb.tu* ‘I wrote it’

To respect *Compl. and conserve consonants at the periphery, the constraint *Min-syll (in 14), which is a constraint that militates against the assignment of consonants at the periphery to degenerate or minor syllables, should be ranked under *Compl.

- (14) *Min-syll:
 Minor syllables are prohibited.

As we said before, the violation of Align-R. (and *Min-syll) has no effect on the identity between *ktəbt* and the base *ktəb* because Align-R. is ranked below the faithfulness constraint O-O ANCHOR; in other words, it is more important for the 1 sg. form to keep the left edges of the stem when the suffix is added than to align the suffixed form with a syllable. The table in (15) shows that *ktəbt* is the optimal candidate because total identity with the base is respected.

- (15) O-O ANCHOR *Compl. >> Align-R. *Min-syll

/ktb-t/ 1 sg. Base: [k.təb]	O-O ANCHOR (σ, σ, Initial)	*Compl.	Align-R.	*Min-syll
1 - \curvearrowright k.təb.t			*	**
2 - kət.bət	*!*			
3 - ktəbt		*!*		

In *ktəbt*, the initial segment of the syllable corresponds to the initial segment of the syllable in the base form (i.e., the segment *-t*). In *kətəbət*, the initial segment of the first syllable in the affixed form (i.e., the segment *-k*) does not correspond to the initial segment of the syllable in the base form (i.e., *-t*), and the initial segment of the second syllable in the derived form (i.e., *-b*) does not have a correspondent in the base form.

The problematic member of the perfective paradigm *kətbət* (3 sg. fem.) constitutes a challenge in this model since the form *ktəbt* will emerge as optimal if the constraint O-O ANCHOR is ranked at the top of the hierarchy above Align-R. If we reverse the order of the two constraints, *kətbət* ‘she wrote’ will be generated. In other words, the formal difference between *kətbət* (the 3 sg. fem. form) and *ktəbt* (the 1 sg. form) is determined by the ranking of either O-O ANCHOR or Align-R. at the top of the hierarchy. This is a solution that is clearly explanatorily deficient because the two outputs cannot be accounted for by a simple permutation of the two constraints in the same hierarchy.

Alternatively, we hold the view that *kətbət* ‘she wrote’ depicts a case of partial identity that is paradigmatically driven: /ktb-t/ fails to surface as *ktəbt* (which should be the normal case) because this outcome is homophonous with the 1 sg. form; thus the real output *kətbət* satisfies PC (defined in 16) in order to avoid phonological merger with the 1 sg. form.

(16) Paradigmatic Contrast (PC):

Paradigm members are distinct in form.

The ranking in table (17), where PC outranks O-O ANCHOR, accounts for the derivation of *kətbət* ‘she wrote’:

(17) PC >> O-O ANCHOR >> Align-R. *Min-syll

/ktb-t/ 3 sg. fem. Base: [ktəb]	PC	O-O ANCHOR (σ, σ, Initial)	Align-R.	*Min-syll
1 - <i>kətbət</i>		**		
2 - <i>k.təb.t</i>	*! 1 sg.		*	**

Since PC militates against form fusion between members of paradigms, we think that it is a good idea to highlight fatal violation and show the form that is prohibited from optimization (in our example the 1 sg. form).

As far as the other dialects are concerned, in the one of Casablanca, the problem discussed does not arise because of the form of the suffix *-at* which is necessarily attached to the last consonant that plays the role of the onset in accordance with ONS (see 18), a constraint which is higher in rank than O-O ANCHOR in table (19):

(18) ONS:

Syllables have onsets.

(19) ONS >> O-O ANCHOR >> Align-R. *Min-syll

/ktb-at/ 3 sg. fem. Base: [ktəb]	ONS	O-O ANCHOR (σ, σ, Initial)	Align-R.	*Min-syll
1 - ڪət.ba.t		**		*
2 - k.təb.a.t	*!		*	**

Here, the role of ONS has been decisive since the suffix *-at* needs an onset, a position occupied by the last root consonant of the base.

The dialect of Fes, where the 3 sg. fem. form has two variants (one form with *-a* and another one with a schwa), has two tables. On the one hand, table (20) is similar to (19).

(20) ONS >> O-O ANCHOR >> Align-R. *Min-syll

/ktb-at/ 3 sg. fem. Base: [ktəb]	ONS	O-O ANCHOR (σ, σ, Initial)	Align-R.	*Min-syll
1 - ڪət.ba.t		**		*
2 - k.təb.a.t	*!		*	**

On the other hand, table (21) depicts a situation where the identity between the suffixal melody of the base and the one of the output is violated in order to satisfy Align-R. and *Min-syll.

(21) ONS >> O-O ANCHOR >> Align-R. *Min-syll >> Ident-High

/ktb-at/ 3 sg. fem. Base: [ktəb]	ONS	O-O ANCHOR (σ, σ, Initial)	Align- R.	*Min- syll	Ident- High
1 - kət.ba.t		**	*!	*	
2 - k.təb.a.t	*!		*	**	
3 - ↻kət.bət		**			*

By occupying a low rank in the hierarchy, Ident-High violation is minimal and *kətbət* emerges as optimal.

The problematic cases we have displayed show that paradigms, which seem to have logic of their own, exhibit special characteristics that should be dealt with in novel ways. Unfortunately, this kind of peculiarity has not been given the importance it deserves despite the increasing attempts in the last few years. From an organizational angle, the paradigm displays a sort of uniformity that is made explicit by the way it comprises two domains. As suggested by an anonymous reviewer, the first domain (D1) consists of 1st and 2nd person members and the second domain (D2) is made of 3rd person ones, a distinction commonly drawn in morphology in terms of [±participant]. The paradigm in (1) is not only optimal because all its members are distinct in form, but also because its two domains (D1 and D2) include elements that are nearly uniform in form. This paradigmatic distinction is formulated in (22) as a domain uniformity constraint:

(22) Domain Uniformity (DU):

Domain members are uniform.

This constraint, which is part of the more general uniformity constraint (Paradigmatic Uniformity) in (23), militates to keep elements in specific domains as similar in forms as possible.

(23) Paradigmatic Uniformity (PU):

Paradigm members are identical in form.

Before developing this notion of domain uniformity and its impact on the structure of the whole paradigm, let us first examine the full range of

possibilities available to the perfective paradigm of trilateral verbs in tables (24)–(27):

(24) Trilateral sound verbs: *ktāb* ‘to write’ (see 1)

Perfective

1 sg.	<i>ktābt</i>	‘I wrote’	1 pl.	<i>ktābna</i>	‘we wrote’
2 sg.	<i>ktābti</i>	‘you wrote’	2 pl.	<i>ktābtu</i>	‘you wrote’
3 sg. masc.	<i>ktāb</i>	‘he wrote’	3 pl.	<i>kātbu</i>	‘they wrote’
3 sg. fem.	<i>kātbāt</i>	‘she wrote’			

(25) Trilateral sound verbs: *ktāb* ‘to write’

Perfective

1 sg.	<i>ktābt</i>	‘I wrote’	1 pl.	<i>ktābna</i>	‘we wrote’
2 sg.	<i>ktābti</i>	‘you wrote’	2 pl.	<i>ktābtu</i>	‘you wrote’
3 sg. masc.	<i>ktāb</i>	‘he wrote’	3 pl.	<i>ktābu</i>	‘they wrote’
3 sg. fem.	<i>kātbāt</i>	‘she wrote’			

(26) Trilateral sound verbs: *ktāb* ‘to write’

Perfective

1 sg.	<i>kātb</i>	‘I wrote’	1 pl.	<i>kātbna</i>	‘we wrote’
2 sg.	<i>kābti</i>	‘you wrote’	2 pl.	<i>kābtu</i>	‘you wrote’
3 sg. masc.	<i>kātb</i>	‘he wrote’	3 pl.	<i>kātbu</i>	‘they wrote’
3 sg. fem.	<i>kātbāt</i>	‘she wrote’			

(27) Trilateral sound verbs: *ktāb* ‘to write’

Perfective

1 sg.	<i>kātbāt</i>	‘I wrote’	1 pl.	<i>ktābna</i>	‘we wrote’
2 sg.	<i>ktābti</i>	‘you wrote’	2 pl.	<i>ktābtu</i>	‘you wrote’
3 sg. masc.	<i>ktāb</i>	‘he wrote’	3 pl.	<i>kātbu</i>	‘they wrote’
3 sg. fem.	<i>ktābt</i>	‘she wrote’			

The paradigm in (25) is not acceptable in MA because a total respect of PU in (23) is impossible as this satisfaction entails a direct violation of an unviolable markedness constraint in MA, which is *ə (formulated in 28), and which militates to prevent open schwa syllables from making their way to the surface:

(28) *ə:

Schwa syllables are closed.

Both **ktəbət* and **ktəbu* violate this last constraint.

On the other hand, the paradigm in (26) where all members have a schwa between the first and the second consonant cannot be optimal because a total satisfaction of PU is impossible due to the ungrammaticality of the 1 sg. and the 3 sg. masc. The former violates * $\mu\mu\mu$ defined in (29):

(29) * $\mu\mu\mu$:

Syllables are maximally bimoraic.

(Sherer 1994: 10)

The form *kətbət* ‘I wrote’ violates * $\mu\mu\mu$ because the concatenation of three moras on a row is unacceptable universally. The latter violates Align-R. [VERB] (stem, R; Syll, R) (see 30), another specific version of the general constraint in (11). This constraint aligns sound verb stems with final syllables at the right periphery.

(30) Align-R. [verb] (stem, R; Syll, R):

The right edge of the stem is aligned with the right edge of the syllable.

This alignment constraint is crucial to the regulation of the MA lexicon as it differentiates between sound trilateral verb stems, which incorporate a schwa invariably between the last two root consonants (CCəC), and trilateral nouns where schwa insertion is governed by the sonority condition (Son-Cond) (see 31).

(31) Son-Cond:

Schwas are inserted before the most sonorant consonant or between the last two consonants with the same sonority index.

This constraint accounts for the formal difference between verbs like *drəb* ‘to hit’, *krəh* ‘to hate’ and nouns like *dərb* ‘hitting’, *kərh* ‘hatred’. The hierarchy where the sonority constraint is ranked below Align-R, when verbs are evaluated, results in verbal forms that incorporate phonetic schwas invariably between the last two consonants and display simple onsets and codas (.C.CəC.) (Bernouss 2009: 160).

The paradigm in (27) is interesting as it shows why the 1 sg. respects ANCHOR and why the 3 sg. fem. violates it to satisfy PC. This paradigm is not attested for the simple reason that domain uniformity is violated twice.

In (32), uniformity in D1 is violated in the case of **kətbət* because it is not identical in form with the members of its domain *ktəbti*, *ktəbna* and *ktəbtu*:

(32) PC DU >> O-O ANCHOR >> Align-R. *Min-syll

/ktb-t/ 1 sg. Base: [ktəb]	PC	DU	O-O ANCHOR (σ, σ, Initial)	Align-R.	*Min-syll
1 - kətbət		*! D1	**		
2 - k.təb.t				*	**

In (33), **ktəbt* (3 sg. fem.) is not uniform with *kətbu* (D2) as the distribution of the schwa is not the same in the two elements:

(33) PC DU >> O-O ANCHOR >> Align-R. *Min-syll

/ktb-t/ 3 sg. fem. Base: [ktəb]	PC	DU	O-O ANCHOR (σ, σ, Initial)	Align-R.	*Min-syll
1 - kətbət			**		
2 - k.təb.t		*! D2		*	**

This state of affairs makes the paradigm in (24) a winner as it satisfies PC and DU: *kətbət* is distinct in form from *ktəbt* and similar in form with *kətbu*; at the same time, *ktəbt* is distinct in form from *kətbət* and identical with *ktəbti*, *ktəbna* and *ktəbtu*.

The remaining problem concerns the 3 sg. masc. *ktəb*, which violates DU as it is similar in form with forms in D1. It should be noted here that this is the only unaffixed member in the paradigm. One solution is to redefine DU and state that domain suffixed members are similar in form; however, this constraint will be perceived as adhoc or as one that is stated

to solve one particular problem. In fact, the problem is deeper as it has to do with the general problem of schwa epenthesis in CCC structures in MA. Trilateral sound stems (verbs) invariably satisfy Align-R. [VERB] (stem, R; Syll, R) in order to maintain lexical distinctions between trilateral sound verbs and nouns (e.g., *dhək* ‘laugh’ and *dəhk* ‘laughter’). As we mentioned before, this is accomplished by ranking the alignment constraint under the general sonority constraint. Under the present analysis, the 3 sg. masc. form violates DU in order to satisfy the crucial alignment constraint. Table (34) is eloquent as it displays a ranking where DU is fatally violated to give the optimal output the chance to emerge as a form which aligns the right edge of the stem with the right edge of a full syllable. As we said before, this alignment is crucial to the MA lexicon as it distinguishes between CCC verbs and nouns solely through schwa distribution.

(34) Align [VERB] >> DU >> O-O ANCHOR *Min-syll

/ktb/ 3 sg. masc. Base: [ktəb]	Align [VERB]	DU	O-O ANCHOR (σ, σ, Initial)	*Min-syll
1 - kət.b	*!		**	*
2 - k.təb		*D2		*

Although *ktəb* violates DU, it wins the competition because of the high rank accorded to the alignment constraint that regulates the difference between verbal and nominal CCC structures in MA.

To make the analysis complete, let us see the derivation of *ktəbtu* ‘I wrote it’ and *kətbəttu* ‘she wrote it’, forms concatenated with an object suffix, in (35) and (36):

(35) ONS *Compl. >> O-O ANCHOR >> DEP-C

/ktb+t#u/ 1 sg.#object suffix Base: [k.təb]	ONS	*Compl.	O-O ANCHOR (σ, σ, Initial)	DEP-C
1 - ⵏk.təb.tu				
2 - kət.bət.u	*!		**	
3 - kətb.tu		*!	**	
4 - kət.bət.tu			*!*	*

Table (35) declares *ktəbtu* ‘I wrote it’ as a winner since it is the only form to satisfy all the constraints in the hierarchy, whereas the form *kətbəttu* ‘she wrote it’ in table (36) below wins because of the powerful position of PC in the hierarchy, a position that prevents *ktebtu* from being optimal although it satisfies all constraints.

(36) PC >> ONS *Compl. >> O-O ANCHOR >> DEP-C

/ktb+t#u/ 3 sg. fem. #object suffix Base: [k.təb]	PC	ONS	*Compl.	O-O ANCHOR (σ, σ, Initial)	DEP-C
1 - k.təb.tu	*! 1 sg.				
2 - kət.bət.u		*		*!*	
3 - kətb.tu			*	*!*	
4 - ⵏkət.bət.tu				*!*	*

The two tables above show that the amplification of the bases by adding an object suffix does not affect their previous structures.

Although the scope of PC is the paradigm, there is no need to submit entire paradigms for evaluation since the problematic cases are the ones that exhibit phonological similarity at the level of the underlying representation. As we have demonstrated, contrary to what is proposed by Crosswhite (1999) and Kenstowicz (2005), candidates under evaluation can be phonologically identical, what matters is that they are morphologically different and that they must remain phonetically distinct. In this case, the satisfaction of PC necessarily implies a violation of a crucial identity constraint (in our case O-O ANCHOR). Some scholars have attempted to account for the different behavior of an affix by positing different underlying forms (cf. Dell & Elmedlaoui 2002) or by assuming an affix specific constraint (Pater 2007) or a cophonology (Inkelas & Zoll 2005). All these alternatives do require some degree of stipulation to account for the behavior of one single affix, and so does the analysis in this paper; however, the fact that our analysis takes into account the paradigmatic dimension of language to explain morphophonological phenomena makes it more natural as paradigms are at the heart of linguistic organization.

This article cannot determine whether PC is a cover constraint made of other constraints that each prevent a different type of similarity or not; all we can say is that PC should be ranked above the powerful constraint ANCHOR to prohibit total identity between two paradigm members. Future research with more comprehensive data will have to explore this area more deeply. The analysis we have sketched is different from all previous analyses in two ways: our proposal where paradigm members have single bases (Base-Identity) and at the same time exert influence on each other (Uniform exponence) is a new and legitimate proposal that deserves to be seriously considered, and the fact that language attempts to resolve the problem of similar underlying representations through paradigmatic organization is another interesting feature that needs further investigation.

5. Conclusion

It is clear that the role of PC needs more attention from scholars working in the area of the phonology-morphology interface. The way it interacts with the faithfulness constraint and eventually blocks total identity shows that inflectional paradigms exhibit a special type of behavior that should be investigated in order to express more linguistically significant generalizations. Generally, the analysis has tackled the notion of contrast

from an inflectional angle; thus, we have opened new channels to link between inflection and areas at the interface between phonology and morphology. The analysis also points to the existence of specific domains within a single paradigm; future research will have to explore other domains where notions of contrast and uniformity play a pivotal role.

Abbreviations

fem.	feminine
masc.	masculine
pl.	plural
pro.	pronoun
sg.	singular
σ	syllable

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Rania Habib

Rural Migration and Language Variation in Hims, Syria

Abstract

This study deals with the variable use of the voiceless uvular stop, [q], and the glottal stop, [ʔ], in the Colloquial Arabic of Christian rural migrants to the city of Hims in Syria. This variation results from their attempt to adopt the urban form [ʔ] to appear urbanite. The study explores the roles of age, gender, residential area, and social class in this variation. The naturally occurring speech of fifty-two speakers constitutes the data set. A detailed quantitative analysis reveals that age, gender, and residential area play significant roles in this variation. Social class emerges as insignificant. The quantitative analysis shows interaction among age, gender, and residential area regarding the use of [q]. This interaction is insignificant with respect to [ʔ]. The data shows a clear linguistic shift towards the use of [ʔ] by the younger generation, whereas linguistic maintenance or variation are more likely to characterize the older generation's speech.

1. Introduction

This study deals with the variable use of the voiceless uvular stop, [q], and the glottal stop, [ʔ], in the Colloquial Arabic of Christian rural migrants to the city of Hims in Syria. The glottal stop is considered an urban feature in major Syrian cities (Cowell 1964: 4; Al-Nassir 1993: 37, 40), such as Damascus (Daher 1998a, 1998b), Aleppo, and Hims (Habib 2005, 2008) and other major urban centers in the Arab World, such as Cairo (Haeri 1996) and Amman (Abdel-Jawad 1981, 1986). The Himsi people are known for their pride in their dialect, in which [ʔ] is the prestige marker (Habib 2005). For this reason, they usually stigmatize other dialects, particularly those characterized by the use of the [q] that is dominant in many nearby rural areas (Behnstedt 1997, Map 9: 18–19). The stigmatization of [q] leads many rural migrants to switch to the use of the

prestigious form [ʔ] (and other urban speech features that are beyond the scope of this study) to integrate into the urban community and be accepted as part of it.

Acculturation and adopting an urban identity through language is very common in the Arab World. The phenomenon of linguistic urbanization, as Abdel-Jawad (1981) dubs it, is growing in many Arabic-speaking settings (e.g., Miller 2005; Hachimi 2007). In many languages of the world, prestigious forms draw the attention of lower classes that tend to adopt them for the sake of prestige or higher social status (e.g., Labov 1972; Gal 1978, 1979; Milroy 1980). The notion that prestigious forms are highly desired by other speakers also exists in the Arab World. However, it is not necessarily related to class distinction prestige. Rather, it could be related to the area or region in which a prestigious sound occurs. In most Arab countries, some urban dialects/forms are considered more prestigious than some rural dialects/forms even if rural and urban speakers have similar socioeconomic status. Thus, attempts to appear more prestigious or more urbanite are continuously observed in many Arab countries. However, the degree of success in achieving such a status differ from one speaker or group of speakers to another based on factors such as age, background, gender, social class, etc. It is also essential to draw a distinction between the prestige of Standard Arabic (SA) and that of the Himsi dialect and other dialects. The prestige of SA relates to formal reading and writing and formal speeches and interviews (Ibrahim 1986; Walters 1991; Daher 1998a; Hachimi 2001). In dialects, the notion of prestige is more complex because it is not only related to how certain sounds should be produced by speakers of those dialects but also associated with the identity the speaker desires to convey in front of the interlocutor and the social meaning and connotations that certain dialects or sounds carry. For instance, a rural migrant may adopt an urban form to sound city-like in one setting and retain his/her rural form in another setting. Thus, there could be in one community more than one type of prestige: overt and covert. Speakers may adopt either overt prestige or covert prestige or both depending on their choice of an identity. Thus, the prestige formally associated with SA is different from the prestige associated with dialects. The SA sound [q] could hold a special meaning and prestige in some rural and urban Arabic dialects but it may be stigmatized in other Arabic dialects. The latter case characterizes the situation in the city of Hims.

The variable (q)¹ has been investigated in a number of Arab countries from different perspectives. Abdel-Jawad (1981) showed that the variable (q) has different realizations in Amman in Jordan. [q] merged with [g] in the Bedouin dialect, [k] in the rural dialects, and [ʔ] in the urban dialects. For him, the “merger of the *qaf*² with the glottal stop has been one of the most sweeping phonemic changes that many dialects of Arabic have undergone” (Haeri 1996: 122). Abdel-Jawad (1981) treated [q] as the SA variant that appears in certain lexical items in colloquial speech. Haeri (1996: 156) introduced (q) as a “diglossic variable” during her investigation of the reappearance of [q] in Cairene Arabic (CA) after its disappearance and merger with the glottal stop sometime between the 11th to the 15th centuries (Garbell 1978 [1958]). Haeri (1996: 105) found that this reappearance of [q] is due to “a process of lexical borrowing” from Classical Arabic. Similarly, Daher (1998a), in his study of Damascene Arabic (DA), showed that the use of [q] in males and females’ colloquial speech is due to lexical borrowings from SA. Thus, most of these studies focused on the effect of education, and thus SA, on the use of [q] in colloquial speech. Some researchers dubbed this phenomenon in a diglossic situation such as the one in the Arab World as lexical conditioning (e.g., Abdel-Jawad & Suleiman 1990), that is there is a correlation between the lexical term and its phonetic realization. This suggestion is borne out and is well received when referring to the use of SA lexical terms versus Colloquial Arabic lexical terms within speech.

Moreover, most previous studies on the variable (q) mainly referred to [q] as the SA variant and [ʔ] as the local urban variant. In this study, [q] is the salient rural variant that undergoes change in the speech of rural migrants. It carries a number of connotations and social meanings depending on the context, the social setting, age group, gender, and religion.³ The latter is beyond the scope of this study. The variable use of

1 Parentheses are used to refer to the variable (q); brackets are used to refer to the variants [q] and [ʔ]; and / / are used to refer to a phonological unit, /q/ and /ʔ/.

2 Qaf is the Arabic name for the voiceless uvular stop, [q].

3 Religion could be considered a variable, as there is always the possibility that Christian rural migrants may behave differently from other rural migrants from other religions, such as Alawites. This variable is not tested in this study, but it could be a good source of information in future studies and comparisons among various rural migrant speakers to the city of Hims or any other urban area in Syria.

[q] and [ʔ] in the naturally occurring speech of migrant speakers is due to migration from rural areas to the city. Because SA lexical items that contain the [q] sound (i.e., lexical borrowings) are produced the same by rural and urban speakers, they do not play a role in this variation; hence, they are excluded from the analysis.

It is worth noting that rural migration to big urban centers, such as Hims, is not restricted to Syria. Other urban centers that are developing and growing industrially in many other Arab countries witness a similar phenomenon. For example, Casablanca in Morocco has seen a huge influx of rural migration in the second half of the twentieth century because of industrialization (Hachimi 2005, 2007). This migration also resulted in “social, cultural and linguistic changes” (Hachimi 2007: 97). Cairo is another urban center that experienced a huge influx of rural migration. This migration led to different degrees of accommodation to the Cairene forms by the first generation migrants to Cairo and the second generation migrants who were born in Cairo (Miller 2005). Thus, rural migration to urban (e.g., Hims and Cairo) or urbanized (e.g., Casablanca) centers seems to be a widespread phenomenon in the Arab world and usually results in linguistic variation because of dialect contact.

It would, thus, be of interest to examine how first and second generation migrants to the city of Hims behave linguistically regarding the use of [q] and [ʔ]. In doing so, the study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How do the social factors, age, gender, social class, and residential area, influence the choice between [q] and [ʔ] in the colloquial speech of rural migrants to Hims?
2. How consistent is the pattern of use of [q] and [ʔ] among those migrant speakers?
3. What kind of variation and change is taking place due to dialect contact between rural and urban speakers?

2. The Setting: The city of Hims

The city of Hims is located in the central western part of Syria (Figure 1, p. 6). It is the third most important city in Syria in industry (Gilford 1978), trade, and agriculture. The population of the city of Hims, according to 2002 estimates (Homs City Council 2008), is 1,033,000. Hims is the capital of the Hims Governorate. The population of the Hims Governorate

according to civil registration records is 1,791,000 (Syrian Arab Republic Central Bureau of Statistics 2004). This number includes both urban and rural areas (i.e., the city of Hims and the surrounding villages respectively). Excluding those who live outside Syria, the number of physically present residents of the Hims Governorate is estimated at 1,577,000.

From the late sixties and early seventies, a larger influx of rural migrants to major cities in Syria, particularly Hims, started taking place. The centrality of the city of Hims makes it an attractive center to a large number of rural people from the neighboring countryside. Those rural migrants find a haven in Hims' Al-Baath University, the third major public university in Syria; job market; and shopping and trading centers. Rural people started abandoning agriculture and their lands in their villages. With the government facilitating education and making it available free to everyone, they sought higher education to obtain governmental jobs, such as teaching, construction, and industry that includes the refinery and other major phosphate and chemical plants all of which are situated in Hims. However, Zakaria and Sibai (1989 cited in Mahayni 1990) suggest that migration was not only a response to industrialization but also to the dire socioeconomic situation in many rural areas of Syria. Thus, Zakaria and Sibai suggest that the search for better life style and higher level of income motivated many to move to the city, particularly those with higher levels of education. In addition to the growth of sectors such as building and construction and social and personal services, the higher growth in the government sector provided more employment opportunities for the educated from the rural areas, inducing more migration (Mahayni 1990). Mahayni (1990) traced the population growth of both urban and rural areas in the Syrian governorates between the years 1960 and 1986 based on statistics from the Syrian Arab Republic Central Bureau of Statistics (1960, 1986). He found that the population of the city of Hims increased annually by 4.76% from 150,000 in 1960 to 502,000 in 1986, whereas the population of rural areas increased annually by 2.43% from 251,000 in 1960 to 469,000 in 1986. The higher growth rate of the population of the city of Hims is not ascribed to higher birth rate in the city; rather, it is the result of the migration of huge numbers of rural dwellers to the city of Hims. The proportion of rural migrants who lived in the city of Hims in 1970 was 25.4% of the total city population according to the Syrian Arab Republic Central Bureau of Statistics (reported in UNCEWA 1980).

Hims, like other Syrian cities, is home to a diverse population of Sunnis, Alawites, and Christians as well as Armenians and Palestinian refugees. Hims was mainly populated by Christians before it was taken by Muslims in 636 A.D. (*Encyclopedia Britannica* 2008). It is also surrounded by a collection of Christian villages called Wadi Al-Nasara 'Valley of the Christians' from which almost all of the study participants come (Figure 1).⁴

⁴ Recently, Wadi Al-Nasara is sometimes called Wadi Al-Nadara 'Valley of Greenness' to avoid the religious aspect of the name.

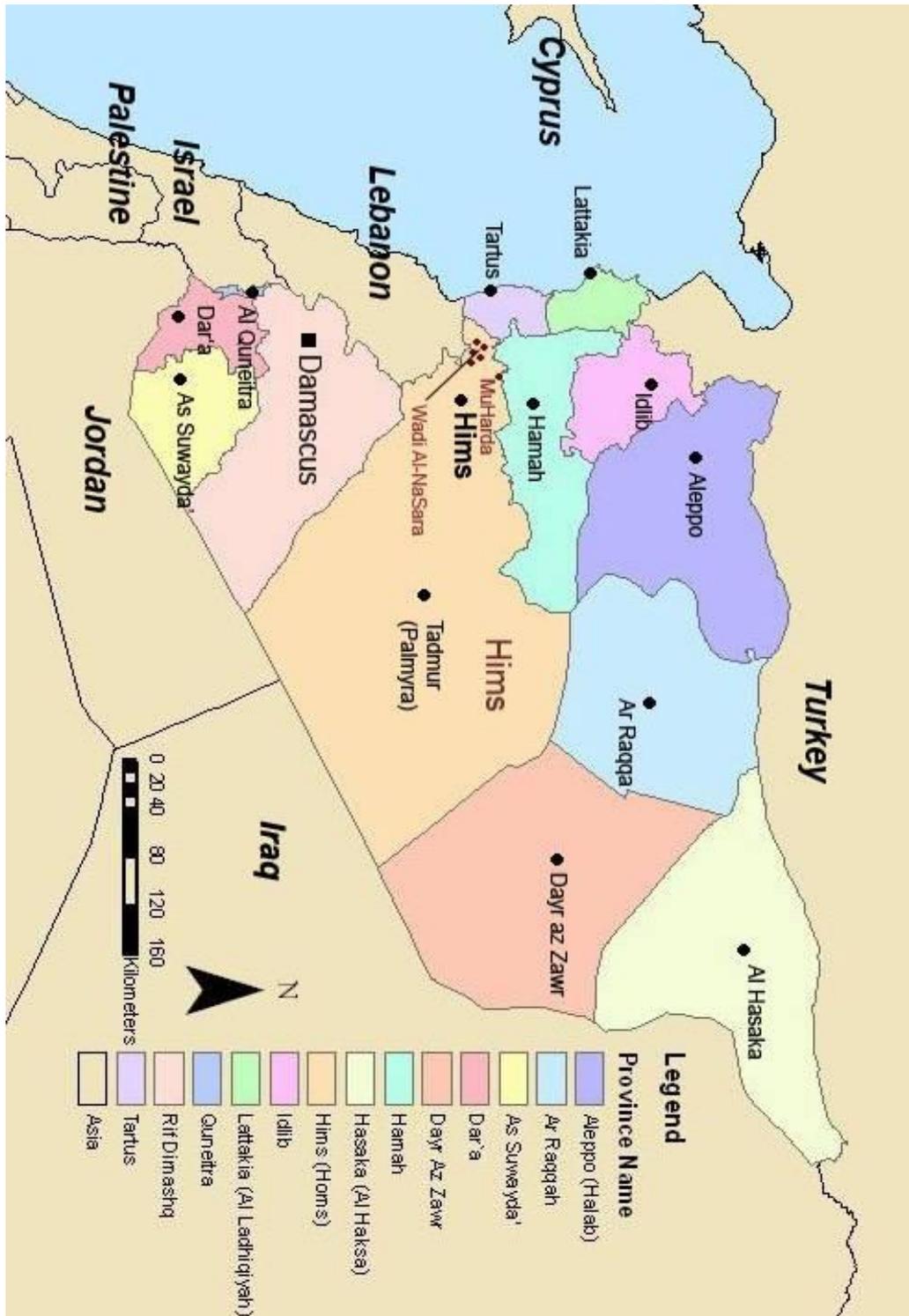


Figure 1. Map of Syria and neighboring countries

2.1 Prestige and urban vs. stigma and rural

It is essential to understand why and how stigma and prestige play a role in changing one's rural features in major urban centers in Syria, particularly Hims. It is also important to understand the historical background that led to the stigma of rural forms and the prestige of urban forms. The stigma of rural forms is particularly relevant to the salient rural sound [q] in relation to its urban counterpart [ʔ]. This is not to say that [q] does not have a special place and meaning for some people in Syria. It is important, however, to understand that the stigmatization of [q] is not limited to the city of Hims. It seems to hold countrywide. It is conveyed in a number of comedies that use the dialect of Alawites, which is characterized by the use of [q],⁵ to elicit laughter from viewers. Examples of such comedies are the TV series: *Dunya* 'proper noun', *De'a Dai'a* 'a lost village', *Shafiq w Nazira* 'proper noun and proper noun'. Despite this stigma of [q], it maintains a high status in the speech of some people, particularly Alawites who want to assert their powerful political position. The widespread awareness of the stigma of [q] makes this sound a stereotype which could be abandoned by its native speakers out of embarrassment in pursuit of a more prestigious form such as [ʔ]. However, stereotype variables such as [q] can be maintained by its native speakers to assert a certain personality, power, loyalty to one's origin, or solidarity with one's social network. The stigmatization of rural features is documented in other Arab countries. For example, Abdel-Jawad (1986) indicates the stigma associated with the rural feature [tʃ] in place of [k] in Amman.

The negative image of rural areas in Syria derives from the fact that these areas remained underdeveloped until recently. Farmers were exploited by the feudal system that lasted until the March 8th Revolution and the issuance of the Agricultural Reform Law in Syria in 1963. In the first half of the 20th century, rural people lived a primitive, agricultural life.

⁵ It is worth noting here that the [q] sound used by the Alawites is observed to be stronger and more prominent than the [q] sound produced by the Christians whose speech is characterized with [q]. Some people ascribe the strength of the [q] sound of the Alawites to their desire to distinguish themselves as Alawites. They feel proud to be Alawites because the leader of Syria is Alawite; they feel that they could obtain power over others through their speech. If they sound like an Alawite, other people may fear them or surrender to their wishes. Consequently, one would expect Alawites to behave differently from Christian rural migrants. In other words, they may cling to their native linguistic features more than Christian rural migrants.

Most of them grew cattle, poultry, and sheep in their homes for survival. Villages were deprived of many life essentials even into the second half of the 20th century. Paved roads and electricity were limited to cities (Al-Ma'louf 2008). Most rural people were illiterate until 1925. After 1925, education was limited to few people who received scholarships from the French mandate in Syria from 1920–1946 or whose parents were able to send them to study in a middle and secondary school in the city. The first secondary school in the whole countryside of Syria was opened in 1948 in Oyoun Al-Wadi (hereafter Oyoun) 'Springs of the Valley', one of the villages from which the majority of the study participants come (Al-Ma'louf 2008). These dire situations of villages created a backward image of villagers in the mind of urban dwellers, leading to undermining villagers' social and educational status and ridiculing their dialects up to the present day. Incidents of city people ridiculing villagers and their dialect are documented. For instance, when Dr. Hanna Al-Ma'louf (2008: 144), who is from Oyoun whose dialect is characterized with [q], went to study in the city of Tartus in Syria in 1934, he was ridiculed for his different dialect, although Tartus is known to be the home for many Alawites who use the [q] sound.

With the increase of education in the past 30 years, tremendous progress took place in rural areas, particularly Wadi Al-Nasara. The progress encompassed all aspects of life: economic, social, architectural, educational, etc. Despite this progress in the villages, which in some villages may exceed that in the cities, city-people continued to view rural people as backward *fallahin* 'peasants', particularly in Hims. Because of Hims's central position, it continuously witnesses all types of rural people and Bedouins dressed in their rural or Bedouin clothes to sell their products such as milk, yogurt, vegetables, etc. This explains the persisting image in Hims that all rural people are peasants, uneducated, and backward.

The superiority attitude of urban people towards rural people is evident in the city of Hims. For the longest while, rural migrants observe that native Himsis do not like to marry a rural person from the same religion, and they even object to their children entering into such marriage if they learn about it beforehand. Parents even try to deny that the person their son or daughter is married to is rural if marriage took place and relatives or friends brought up the issue. This superiority attitude of urban people is accompanied with an inferior feeling of villagers to city people

because they historically witnessed more progress and civilization in the city. The superior attitude of Himsis and the inferior feeling of rural people prompted many villagers, particularly migrants, to adopt the linguistic behavior of urban centers and to sound city-like. These issues are widely observed in society and people are highly aware of them. Similar observations came up in my interviews with speakers. I will not go into them in detail, but I will try to summarize them (see Habib 2005, Section 5.3). For example, Speaker-11 indicates that rural speakers change their speech due to a number of reasons: accommodating to one's environment (school, work, friends, neighbors, etc.); appearing more civilized and arrogant; feeling embarrassed of one's dialect; and fearing to appear "backward" or awkward. All of these reasons are due, in his opinion, not only to the pride of the Himsi people in their dialect but also to their low classification of rural people as *fallahin*. Similarly, Speaker-39 thinks that the main reasons that rural people change their speech when they come to the city are school; integration into the Himsi community; embarrassment of one's own dialect; and the Himsi people's ridicule of rural dialects. Speakers 11 & 39 also specifically referred to the use of [ʔ]af⁶ in place of *qaf* in the speech of their relatives to avoid the stigma associated with [q] and to sound more civilized. These observations of ordinary people who have lived in Hims for a long period of time and know a great deal about the attitude of the Himsi speech community towards other speech communities confirm the stigmatization of the rural variant [q] in Hims.

2.2 Speech sample

The naturally occurring speech of fifty-two rural migrants comprises the data set (Table 2). The data were collected during two summer field trips to Syria in 2004 and 2006. The fifty-two speakers are almost equally distributed between males and females; lower middle class and upper middle class; and younger age group (18–35) and older age group (52+) (Section 2.4.2). The older age group represents the first generation of migrants to the city of Hims; their sons and daughters (i.e., the younger age group) who came at a very early age or were born in the city of Hims represent the second generation of migrants. Speakers reside in two

⁶ *Hamza* is the Arabic name for the glottal stop, [ʔ]. However, in colloquial speech people replace the [q] in *qaf* with [ʔ] to give the name [ʔ]af to the glottal stop. This could also be due to the observed linguistic change within a community.

residential areas in Hims: Al-Hameedieh and Akrama (Figure 2). One important criterion was choosing the participants from villages in which [q] is the dominant speech feature. Forty participants come from the village Oyouun. The other twelve participants come from neighboring villages, mainly from Wadi Al-Nasara (Figure 1). The reason for choosing the village Oyouun and other neighboring villages is that I am originally from that village and familiar with the surrounding villages. Being an in-group member adds more naturalness to the conversations, having the opportunity to interview people who are relatives, friends, family members, and neighbors (e.g., Labov 1966, 1972; Eckert 1991; Milroy & Milroy 1992). Integrating into the investigated speech community has been the focus of many ethnographic studies, which required researchers to spend a long period getting to know the community (e.g., Gal 1978; Milroy 1980; Eckert 1989). My own family is from the village Oyouun, and I moved to Hims at the age of two years. Most of the speakers moved to the city around the same time as my parents, in the mid seventies, and we have strong social ties with them in one way or another. At home, my parents use the village dialect, but with distant friends and acquaintances, my mother more so than my father switches to the Himsi dialect. Thus, I am acquainted with both dialects. This phenomenon of switching between two forms is apparent in the speech of many rural migrants who live in the city and occasionally return to the countryside.

Informal conversations in Colloquial Arabic, lasting between 30–45 minutes with each individual, were audio-recorded, transcribed and analyzed. The recordings took place either in my family's home in Hims or in the informants' homes, whichever was more convenient at the time. In the interviews, I used the [ʔ] sound, which characterizes my everyday speech, with all the interviewees, some of whom were very open to using their village dialect with me despite my use of [ʔ]. Probably, some of them felt comfortable using their mother dialect because they know that I come from the same hometown. Had someone from the city led the interviews, I would think that more variation and thus more use of [ʔ] would have been observed. The participants were instructed that the interviews were intended to be as natural and as informal as possible, so they should not put any effort into thinking about what they should or should not say. All the conversations flew naturally not following any preconceived format. Speakers spoke freely after starting the conversations by my asking them

about their family, children and other matters of mutual interest. To maintain the naturalness of the conversation, other family members were allowed to be present during the recording of all the participants. Thus, occasional intervention from other attendees sometimes heated the conversation and made the speaker more oblivious to the recorder.

3. The variable (q)

The realizations of the variable (q) in the speech of non-migrant rural speakers, native Himsi speakers, and migrant rural speakers are illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Variants of the variable (q) in the speech of non-migrant rural speakers, native Himsi speakers, and migrant rural speakers

Variable	Variant of non-migrant rural speakers	Variant of native Himsi speakers	Variants of migrant rural speakers
(q)	[q]	[ʔ]	[q] ~ [ʔ]

Table 1 shows that the variable (q) is realized in the speech of rural migrant speakers as two variants: [q] and [ʔ], taking into account that [q] is supposed to be their native form. Native Himsi speakers always use [ʔ], whereas non-migrant rural speakers always use [q]. There is no specific phonological context in which [ʔ] occurs as a replacement of [q] in the speech of rural migrants. It can occur word-initially, word-internally, and word-finally. For example, the rural migrants' words [qalb] 'heart', [raqbi] 'neck', and [ʔazraq] 'blue' become [ʔalb], [raʔbi], and [ʔazraʔ] respectively in the speech of those who adopt the Himsi variant [ʔ].

It is worth noting that lexical borrowings from SA containing the [q] sound (e.g., [mura:qib] 'proctor (N)', [taqri:r] 'report (N)', [taqa:ʔod] 'retirement', [taqwi:m] 'orthodontia/orthodontics', [ʔaqa:fe] 'cultural', [qurʔa:n] 'Qur'an', [liqa:ʔ] 'meeting') are excluded from this study because rural and urban speakers pronounce them the same (Habib 2005, Section 4.1). Including them may skew the results, particularly in the speech of professionals who use jargons from their profession repeatedly in their speech. Hence, excluding lexical borrowings from the data yields better results and gives a better picture of the variation in the naturally occurring speech of rural migrants. The use of [q] in Arabic dialects that are characterized by the use of [ʔ], such as DA and CA has been attributed to lexical borrowings from SA (Haeri 1996; Ferguson 1997; Daher 1998a,

1998b). In my (2005) study, I investigated lexical borrowings in Himsi colloquial speech. I found that a native Himsi speaker also uses [q] in borrowed words from SA. I compared the words produced by that Himsi speaker with the [q] sound with other studies and found that they are similar to the borrowed words used in CA (Haeri 1996) and to the words produced with the [q] sound by the younger generation. Given the similarity among urban dialects characterized with [ʔ] and based on my (2005) study of lexical borrowings in Hims, I have no reason to believe that lexical borrowings should be included in this study.

4. Social variables

The independent variables included in this study are as follows:

1. Gender (24 males and 28 females).
2. Age (two age groups: 18–35 and 52+). Twenty-four (24) participants are in the younger age group, and twenty-eight (28) participants are in the older age group. The older age group consists of 13 males and 15 females; the younger age group consists of 11 males and 13 females. Age is divided into two age groups because the study focuses on two generations of migrants: the older age group represents the first generation of migrants. The younger age group represents the second generation of migrants. I chose people who migrated about the same time who are in the age range of 52+ and their children who are in the age range of 18–35.
3. Social class (two social classes: lower-middle and upper-middle). Social class is based mainly on the socioeconomic status of participants. In a study examining social class assignment in the community under investigation against the four universal socioeconomic indicators income, residential area, occupation, and education, Habib (2010) found that social class is highly associated with income followed by residential area. It is weakly associated with occupation and shows no association with education. Twenty-three participants are in the upper-middle class, and twenty-nine participants are in the lower-middle class.

4. Residential areas (two residential areas in the City of Hims: Al-Hameeddieh and Akrama). Thirteen speakers are from Akrama; thirty-nine speakers are from Al-Hameeddieh.

4.1 Overview of Al-Hameeddieh

Al-Hameeddieh is one of the oldest residential areas in Hims connected to the central downtown area of Hims (Figure 2). Al-Hameeddieh is mainly a Christian residential area with cultural and traditional values, which include the linguistic behavior of the native Himsi inhabitants (i.e., the use of [ʔ]). Most of its original occupants are native Himsis. This is probably changing recently because of the increased migration from Christian villages to the city. Al-Hameeddieh obtains many of its cultural and traditional values from the many historical and residential palaces and historical sites, which exist in it and surround it. Residential houses or palaces such as *Al-Zahrawi Palace* (a tourist site) and *Farkouh Palace* (currently a beautiful restaurant) stand witness to the prominent people that historically lived in this area. Up to this day, people who live in Al-Hameeddieh are conceived of by other inhabitants of the city of Hims as upper class; thus, as a residential area, it is imbued with prestige. This general notion of prestige that is associated with Al-Hameeddieh, however, does not exclude the presence of some lower-middle class families in it. The cultural richness of Al-Hameeddieh contributes to this general view. Being a Christian residential area, many of the Christian rural migrants, who constitute the participants of this study, prefer living in it to living in the suburbs. Furthermore, kinship, family ties, and social ties with friends, relatives and neighbors are highly valued in most of the Arab countries and particularly for rural people (Barakat 1993). Hence, it is important for most rural migrants to the city to live in an area, such as Al-Hameeddieh, where they can maintain a connection with their own Christian traditions, practices, and rituals as well as keep their strong ties with relatives and friends who come from the same background and live in the same area. Living in the same area enables them to see each other more often and keep up with each other's life as well as have a solid support system.

4.2 Overview of Akrama

Akrama is a newly developing residential area in the suburbs of Hims (Figure 2). It started developing and growing about thirty years ago. Its development is concurrent with the establishment and development of Al-Baath University (founded 1979), which is located in that suburban area. Akrama is mainly occupied by rural migrants, especially Alawites whose speech is characterized by the use of [q]. Hence, it is more diverse in terms of inhabitants than Al-Hameeddieh. Therefore, the two residential areas differ with respect to their history. As a new residential area, Akrama has not yet acquired the prestige associated with Al-Hameeddieh. The well-established linguistic tradition and prestige associated with Al-Hameeddieh are expected to have a greater influence on the newcomers, especially since the majority of the residents are native Himsis. This influence not only includes cultural and traditional values, but also salient linguistic features and values. This influence might be minor in Akrama, since the majority of the residents are not originally Himsis. Those residents have moved in recently and most of them maintain their native linguistic features since they come from diverse backgrounds. This, however, does not exclude the possibility that there may be some influence of the city linguistic features on some residents in Akrama. This could be due to exposure to the city linguistic features through school, university, workplace, and acquaintances from different parts of the city.

5. Quantitative analysis

After transcribing all the relevant words, the number of occurrences of [q] and [ʔ] in the speech of each informant is calculated (Table 2). The raw numbers of observations are transformed into percentages to have balanced comparisons among individuals (Table 2). Percentages within groups and among groups are also calculated to have an estimate of the difference in variation between males and females, the two age groups, the two residential areas, and the two social classes (Section 4). Negative binomial regression tests, using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), are performed to measure the main effects of the extralinguistic variables and the interaction among them on the usage of the linguistic variants. Contrast tests are also performed to confirm the results of the negative binomial regression tests (see Habib 2008, Chapter 4, for more details).

5.1 Speakers' distribution of [q] and [ʔ]

Table 2 presents the speakers' distribution regarding their variable use of [q] and [ʔ] and the four social factors whose effect on this variable use is tested. Table 2 shows that the total number of tokens for [q] and [ʔ] is 11,548: 5874 tokens of [q], which constitute 51% of the total number of tokens; 5674 tokens of [ʔ], which constitute 49% of the total number of tokens. The higher percentage of [q] could be due to the higher number of older speakers (28) in comparison to younger speakers (24) because age seems to play a role in this variation. The data show that there are 25 speakers who use [q] predominantly (ranging from 61% to 100%). 22 of these speakers are from the older generation. 12 speakers use [q] categorically, indicating maintenance. 11 of them are from the older generation. 27 speakers use [q] predominantly (ranging from 53%–100%). 21 speakers are from the younger generation. 7 speakers use [ʔ] categorically, indicating a complete shift. 6 of them are from the younger generation. Most speakers from the younger generation show very high percentages of [ʔ] (i.e. higher than 90% and closer to 100%). Three younger male speakers residing in Akrama are exceptions (Speakers 29, 30, and 31). They show higher percentages of [q]. In contrast, the older generation show low percentages of [ʔ] and greater variation between [q] and [ʔ]. These initial observations indicate that the younger generation exhibit a linguistic shift towards the urban form [ʔ] and the older generation exhibit either maintenance or variation in their speech. Maintenance seems to be the more dominant feature of the older generation's speech.

Table 2. Distribution of study participants and of [q] and [ʔ] in their speech

Speaker	Gender	Age	Social class	Area	No. of [q]	% of [q]	No. of [ʔ]	% of [ʔ]	Total No. of [q] and [ʔ]
1	M	77	LM ⁷	A ⁸	222	96	10	4	232
2	M	67	LM	A	264	100	0	0	264
3	M	64	LM	H	467	99	3	1	470
4	M	60	LM	H	204	100	0	0	204
5	M	70	LM	H	80	78	22	22	102
6	M	67	LM	H	70	63	41	37	111
7	M	64	LM	H	122	100	0	0	122
8	M	53	LM	A	183	95	10	5	193
9	M	70	UM	H	79	61	50	39	129
10	M	69	UM	H	273	100	0	0	273
11	M	62	UM	H	286	94	19	6	305
12	M	62	UM	H	308	100	0	0	308
13	M	64	UM	H	205	100	0	0	205
14	F	75	LM	A	170	100	0	0	170
15	F	61	LM	A	278	100	0	0	278
16	F	61	LM	H	44	34	86	66	130
17	F	61	LM	H	0	0	154	100	154
18	F	59	LM	H	421	100	0	0	421
19	F	56	LM	H	56	43	75	57	131
20	F	52	LM	A	61	47	68	53	129
21	F	53	LM	H	7	8	87	92	94
22	F	67	LM	H	115	99	1	1	116
23	F	58	LM	H	44	68	21	32	65
24	F	58	UM	H	375	100	0	0	375
25	F	57	UM	H	163	75	55	25	218
26	F	61	UM	H	0	0	137	100	137
27	F	58	UM	H	361	100	0	0	361
28	F	57	UM	H	103	77	30	23	133
29	M	31	LM	A	239	88	32	12	271
30	M	25	LM	A	290	96	13	4	303
31	M	35	LM	A	254	100	1	0	255
32	M	30	LM	H	32	10	285	90	317
33	M	23	LM	A	2	2	118	98	120
34	M	19	LM	A	9	4	211	96	220
35	M	24	UM	H	2	1	292	99	294
36	M	23	UM	H	32	10	284	90	315
37	M	24	UM	H	2	1	179	99	181
38	M	36	UM	H	3	5	56	95	59
39	M	27	UM	H	6	3	209	97	215
40	F	35	LM	H	5	1	470	99	475
41	F	28	LM	H	11	8	132	92	143
42	F	24	LM	H	0	0	308	100	308
43	F	18	LM	A	0	0	65	100	65
44	F	29	LM	A	5	1	416	99	421
45	F	28	UM	H	1	1	123	99	124
46	F	33	UM	H	3	0	476	100	479

⁷ LM and UM refer to lower-middle class and upper-middle class respectively.⁸ In this column, A stands for Akrama and H for Al-Hameedieh.

47	F	32	UM	H	0	0	114	100	114
48	F	28	UM	H	7	2	378	98	385
49	F	23	UM	H	6	5	112	95	118
50	F	25	UM	H	2	1	176	99	178
51	F	21	UM	H	2	2	125	98	127
52	F	26	UM	H	0	0	230	100	230
Total					5874	51%	5674	49%	11548

5.2 Main effects of age, gender, area, and social class on the variable use of [q]

In the negative binomial regression test, age ($p = 0.000$), gender ($p = 0.009$), and residential area ($p = 0.008$) emerged as statistically significant in the variable use of [q]. In contrast, social class ($p = 0.862$) emerged as statistically insignificant. The coefficients (B) and the odds ratios (i.e., Exponentials of coefficients ($\text{Exp}(B)$)) show that older speakers use more [q] than younger speakers and that the odds that older speakers would use [q] are 18 times the odds that the younger speakers would use it ($B = 2.866$; $\text{Exp}(B) = 17.564$). Males use more [q] than females and the odds that males would use [q] are 3 times the odds that females would use it ($B = 1.117$; $\text{Exp}(B) = 3.055$). Akrama speakers use [q] more than Al-Hameedieh speakers and the odds that Akrama speakers would use [q] are 4 times the odds that Al-Hameedieh speakers would use it ($B = 1.481$; $\text{Exp}(B) = 4.398$).

The estimated marginal means in the simple contrast tests indicate not only the difference between the two categories within a factor but also whether the variation observed in relation to the factors that emerged as statistically significant in the regression test is due to mere chance or not. The results of the contrast tests are as follows:

Age. The estimated marginal mean for older speakers is 333.42 and 18.98 for younger speakers. Multiplying 18.98 by the odds ratio, 17.564, yields 333.36, confirming that older speakers are expected to use [q] 18 times more than younger speakers. The contrast test reports a statistically significant difference between older and younger speakers ($p = 0.003$).

Gender. The estimated marginal mean is 139.06 for males and 45.51 for females. Multiplying 45.51 by the odds ratio, 3.055, yields 139.03, indicating that males use [q] 3 times more than females. The contrast test reports a significant difference between males and females ($p = 0.023$).

Residential area. Although the estimated marginal means for residential area show a great difference (166.85 for Akrama speakers and 37.93 for Al-Hameeddieh speakers), this difference is not significant according to the contrast test ($p = 0.092$).

Social class. The same applies to social class. The estimated marginal mean for upper-middle class is 76.74 and 82.48 for lower-middle class. This difference is not significant according to the contrast test ($p = 0.86$).

The significance shown in the contrast tests for age and gender indicates that the variation is not due to chance; it is a variation that is affected by those two social factors. The difference is significant even after the p -values are adjusted by the sequential Sidak method. However, the insignificance of residential area in the contrast test indicates that the variation between Akrama and Al-Hameeddieh speakers is a chance variation, i.e., not necessarily affected by residential area. Thus, the simple contrast test results for all social factors do not completely accord with the results of the regression test. Age and gender are significant predictors of the variable use of [q], but residential area is not.

5.3 Interaction effects on the variable use of [q]

A three-way interaction model shows statistically significant interaction among age, gender, and residential area ($p = 0.000$; Likelihood ratio Chi-squared = 103.808). I exclude social class because it emerged as statistically insignificant in Section 5.2. I do not exclude residential area, although it did not show significant difference between Akrama and Al-Hameeddieh speakers in the contrast test. The significant interaction among age, gender, and residential area does not hold among all categories within the three social factors. The results show that the interaction among the young age group, males, and the residential area Akrama is statistically significant ($p = 0.005$). Other interactions among other categories within the three social factors are insignificant. The interaction among the young age group, males, and the residential area Akrama has the highest coefficient ($B = 2.812$) among all other interactions. This means that younger male speakers from Akrama use more [q] than younger female speakers from Akrama. This is supported by the fact that in Table 2, there are three younger male speakers (29, 30, and 31) who reside in Akrama and use [q] almost categorically, in contrast to younger female speakers from the same area. In addition, the coefficient ($B = 0.484$) of the interaction among older speakers, females, and Akrama shows that older female

speakers from Akrama use slightly more [q] than older female speakers from Al-Hameeddieh and younger female speakers from both Akrama and Al-Hameeddieh.

If we exclude residential area based on the contrast test, a two-way interaction model also shows statistically significant interaction between age and gender ($p = 0.000$; Likelihood ratio Chi-squared = 71.153).

5.4 Main effects of age, gender, area, and social class on the variable use of [ʔ]

In the negative binomial regression test age ($p = 0.000$), gender ($p = 0.005$), and residential area ($p = 0.035$) emerged as statistically significant in the variable use of [ʔ]. In contrast, social class emerged as statistically insignificant ($p = 0.321$). These results are similar to the main effects of age, gender, residential area, and social class on the variable use of [q]. The coefficients and the odds ratios show that older speakers use less [ʔ] than younger speakers and the odds that they would use [ʔ] is 1.12% of the amount of use of [ʔ] by the younger speakers ($B = -2.186$; $\text{Exp}(B) = 0.112$). Males use less [ʔ] than females and the odds that they would use [ʔ] is 4.24% of the amount of use of [ʔ] by female speakers ($B = -0.858$; $\text{Exp}(B) = 0.424$). Akrama speakers use less [ʔ] than Al-Hameeddieh speakers and the odds that Akrama speakers would use [ʔ] is 4.12% of the amount of use of [ʔ] by the speakers from Al-Hameeddieh ($B = -0.887$; $\text{Exp}(B) = 0.412$).

The estimated marginal means in the simple contrast tests performed on the two categories within each factor show the difference between the two categories and can confirm or disconfirm the previous findings. The results of the contrast tests are as follows:

Age. The estimated marginal mean for younger speakers is 157.38 and 17.68 for older speakers. Thus, younger speakers are expected to use [ʔ] much more than older speakers. The contrast test shows that the difference between the two age groups in their use of [ʔ] is significant ($p = 0.000$).

Gender. The estimated marginal means for gender also show a great difference (81.01 for female speakers and 34.35 for male speakers). This difference is significant according to the contrast test ($p = 0.017$).

Residential area. The estimated marginal mean for Al-Hameeddieh speakers is 82.2 and 33.85 for Akrama speakers. In this sense, Al-Hameeddieh speakers' use of [ʔ] is more than double Akrama speakers' use

of it. The contrast test shows that the difference between Al-Hameedieh and Akrama speakers is significant ($p = 0.016$).

Social class. The estimated marginal means show a small difference between the two classes (44.22 for the upper-middle class and 62.93 for the lower-middle class). This difference is insignificant according to the contrast test ($p = 0.304$).

The significance of age, gender, and residential area in the contrast tests indicates that the variation is not due to chance. The difference is still significant even after the p -values are adjusted by the sequential Sidak method. Thus, the simple contrast test results for all social factors accord with the results of the regression test.

5.5 Interaction effects on the variable use of [ʔ]

Unlike in the case of [q], a three-way interaction model among age, gender, and residential shows insignificant interaction ($p = 0.395$; Likelihood ratio Chi-squared = 56.678). Although the interaction among the three factors is insignificant, the coefficients and the odds ratio show that younger males from Akrama use less [ʔ] than younger males from Al-Hameedieh ($B = -1.065$; $\text{Exp}(B) = 0.345 = 3.45\%$ of the use of [ʔ] by younger males from Al-Hameedieh). This is not surprising given the three young males (Speakers 29, 30, and 31) from Akrama who use [q] almost categorically. In addition, older females from Akrama use less [ʔ] than older females from Al-Hameedieh and younger females from both Akrama and Al-Hameedieh ($B = -0.866$; $\text{Exp}(B) = 0.421 = 4.21\%$ of the other females' use of [ʔ]).

Also unlike in the case of [q], a two-way interaction model between age and gender shows insignificant interaction ($p = 0.103$; Likelihood ratio Chi-squared = 52.86). Because the three-way interaction model and the two-way interaction model do not show statistically significant interaction among age, gender, and residential area, we can conclude that these three social factors work independently regarding the variable use of [ʔ].

6. Discussion of the quantitative analysis

In this section, I will present a summary of the findings, their implications, and their relation to other variationist studies. First, I will explore each variable separately. Then, I will conclude with a general summary.

6.1 Age

Age has been investigated by many sociolinguistic studies and has been found to play a major role in linguistic variation (e.g., Walters 1991, 1992; Miller 2005; Sankoff & Blondeau 2007). Many researchers noted that younger speakers show greater adoption of innovative or incoming variants (e.g., Romaine 1984; Milroy & Milroy 1985: 341; Eckert 1988). From the statistical analysis above, age emerges as a major factor influencing the variable use of [q] and [ʔ]. Table 3 shows a great difference in percentage usage of [q] between younger and older speakers. Older speakers use [q] 85% of the time; younger speakers use it 16% of the time. The difference in the usage of [q] and [ʔ] between the two age groups is 69%.

It is worth noting that if we exclude the three young male speakers (29, 30, and 31) that appear to be exceptions to the other young speakers, regarding their use of [q], we will have a greater difference. Those three speakers live in Akrama and use [q] almost categorically. It seems that they show more solidarity with their surroundings than younger male speakers from Al-Hameedieh who seem to be more influenced by the prestige of that area. Those three speakers' use of [q] constitutes 783 tokens out of the 913 tokens used by all 24 young speakers. The remaining 130 tokens are used by the other 21 speakers. If we divide 130 on the total number of tokens (4889) for the 21 young speakers, we get less than 3% use of [q] by the younger generation. The three speakers' total use of [ʔ] is 46 tokens out of the 4805 tokens of the 24 speakers. Subtracting these 46 tokens from 4805 and dividing the resulting number (4759) by the total number of tokens for the 21 young speakers (4889) gives a 97% use of [ʔ] by the younger speakers.

Table 3. Distribution of [q] and [ʔ] according to age group

Variant	No. of Tokens for Younger Age Group	% Younger Age Group	No. of Tokens for Older Age Group	% Older Age Group	Difference in Percentage
[q]	913/5718	16%	4961/ 5830	85%	69%
[ʔ]	4805/5718	84%	869/5830	15%	69%
Diff. in percent between use of [q] and [ʔ]		68%		70%	

These findings have a number of implications. First, the great difference between the two age groups indicates that there is a linguistic shift towards the urban, prestigious form by the younger generation migrants, and this shift is quick. The younger generation is more inclined towards the new form than older speakers. It took only one generation to adopt the new form. Although the younger generation, in this study, are the sons and daughters of the older generation and have been exposed to their parents' linguistic forms from birth, they show a complete shift in their linguistic interest. This situation is comparable to Miller's (2005: 924) study of migrant speakers to Cairo. She suggests that the contact situation in Cairo leads "to a long-term accommodation for the first migrant generation and to total accommodation or dialect shift for the second generation, for example, those born in Cairo who speak almost dominantly CA." It seems that the younger speakers' exposure to schools, which involves mixing with native Himsi children, at an early age, has greatly influenced their choice of a variant. In this sense, they started understanding the social stigma associated with [q] at an earlier stage and were able to evade it by completely adopting the Himsi form, [ʔ]. The urban identity became their identity, leading to their selection of [ʔ] over [q]. This is the core of Mufwene's (2005) theory of language evolution and selection. Selection is very much influenced by the species' surroundings and their relationship with their environment. Adopting the social identity of their surroundings leads to restructuring of their parents' initial input to adapt to their environment, an environment that could be demanding linguistically and socially.

Second, some parents may be showing a struggle with this stigma, particularly older females who show greater variation than older males.

They are trying to adopt the new form. Intra- and inter-speaker variation results from such attempts. Not all older speakers adopt the prestigious form to the same degree. Such variation may be very indicative of a number of issues. Older speakers are aware of the social stigma associated with [q], but they are unable to employ their social knowledge to its fullest. Some of them show almost complete acquisition of the new form (e.g., Speakers 17 & 21). Others do not show any kind of adaptation to the new form. Rather, their speech is best described by language maintenance as they maintain their 100% use of their native form, [q]. There are also those who oscillate between the two forms within the same conversation with the same interlocutor. In the latter case, speakers probably have an internal struggle between their original rural identity and the new urban identity that imposes pressure on their linguistic behavior. This internal struggle between two social identities leads to linguistic struggle because the social and linguistic are highly associated. Those who do not show any adaptation to the new environment could be the result of a fully developed social identity that is very difficult to interfere with after full development. It could also be a sign of showing their solidarity with their fellow villagers and their strong attachment to their rural identity. The comments of Speaker-11 support this argument. For him, a rural person who has a strong personality does not care about changing his dialect; he continues to use and protect his original dialect. Such a person, according to Speaker-11, does not care if Himsi people describe him as peasant or ridicule his accent. He is proud of his dialect that reflects his rural identity.

6.2 Gender

Gender has played a major role in linguistic variation as well (e.g., Fischer 1958; Trudgill 1974; Macaulay 1977, 1978; Romaine 1978; Gal 1979; Milroy 1980; Abdel-Jawad 1981, 1986; Milroy & Milroy 1985, 1992; Eisikovits 1987, 1988; Eckert 1991; Walters 1991, 1992; Sawaie 1994; Coates 1996; Haeri 1996; Daher 1998a, 1998b; Al-Wer 1999, 2002). Most of these studies have shown that women are more inclined towards the prestigious forms. Abdel-Jawad (1981) and Al-Wer (1999, 2002), for example, showed that women in Jordan use the urban prestigious forms more than men. Likewise, in this study, the statistical analysis has shown that gender is statistically significant in the variable use of [q] and [ʔ]. Men

tend to use the rural form, [q], more than women; women are more inclined towards the urban prestigious form, [ʔ]. Table 4 shows that women use [ʔ] 63%, whereas men use it 34% with a 29% difference.

Table 4. Distribution of [q] and [ʔ] according to gender

Variant	No. of Tokens for Males	% Males	No. of Tokens for Females	% Females	Difference in Percentage
[q]	3634/5469	66%	2240/6079	37%	29%
[ʔ]	1835/5469	34%	3839/6079	63%	29%
Diff. in percent between use of [q] and [ʔ]		32%		26%	

If we examine the social meaning of each of [q] and [ʔ] in Hims against their use by men and women, we may be able to understand the linguistic difference between men and women in this study. [ʔ] is associated with urbanism, refinement, civilization, modernity, and femininity (Sawaei 1994). [q] is associated with rural, peasant, backwardness, funny dialects, and masculinity (Sawaei 1994). The higher use of [ʔ] by females indicates that “women are more aware of the social significance” of [ʔ] in Hims than men (Habib 2005: 26). They are in general more sensitive to social norms and thus linguistic norms in their environment (cf. Labov 1972: 303). It also indicates that rural females like to climb up the social scale from being viewed as backward peasants to sounding city-like, refined, modern, and civilized. It seems more important for women to appear prestigious in a society that implements more limitations and restrictions on women. Women in restricted communities usually learn to adapt more to their environment than men who have barely any limitations. This leads women to higher levels of linguistic adaptation (cf. Trudgill 1972; Eckert 1988, 1990). Language becomes an escape gate to the world around them. It becomes a tool to declare their difference from and superiority over men in one aspect of life, as Habib (2005: 27) asserts:

Women probably compensate for their general social inferiority in Syrian society by presenting themselves as more linguistically capable and prestigious (...) They may be more inclined towards the prestigious forms because of the social pressure that is imposed on them: sounding pleasant and aspiring to appear more educated and urban, so that they can attract a good husband from a good social status and prosperous economic position.

Furthermore, language becomes a tool to construct a new identity to evade not only embarrassment of their vulgar and harsh dialect as Speaker-39 describes it, but also the Himsis' ridicule and description of them as peasants. Appearing more refined and civilized becomes important to them. They desire to change and find in language a way to achieve that change. According to Norton (1997: 410), "identity relates to desire – the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation, and the desire for security and safety." Thus, adopting the new urban form helps in constructing their new urban identity to reflect a cultivated image within the community. In the process of constructing a new identity, some speakers exhibit intra-speaker variation that reflects some linguistic insecurity (Labov 2001). This linguistic insecurity is apparent in the interviews with varying older women. Most of those older women speakers employed correction towards the prestigious forms. Sometimes they showed a reverse type of correction towards the rural form. The latter could be slips of the tongue, which they probably could not control. For example, Speaker-20 shows great variation in the same conversation. Table 5 presents her use of a number of words, sometimes with the [q] sound and at other times with the [ʔ] sound. Speaker-20's correction towards the prestigious form is an indication that this speaker recognizes "an exterior standard of correctness" (Labov 2001: 277) and tries to adopt that standard. If we reconsider what Speaker-11 mentioned about rural migrants who do not change their speech because they possess a strong personality and like to cling to their original rural identity. Then, we can conclude that those with a shaken sense of belonging to a rural or an urban identity feel socially insecure and thus linguistically insecure and tend to change their speech, resulting in intra-speaker variation.

Table 5. Variability in the speech of Speaker-20

Words with [q]	No. of word with [q]	Words with [ʔ]	No. of word with [ʔ]	Glossary
qabl	1	[ʔ]abl	1	Before
qilt	3	[ʔ]ilt	17	I said
hallaq	3	halla[ʔ]	12	Now
qidqainaa	1	[ʔ]idqainaa	1	We spent time
qallee	4	[ʔ]allee	10	He told me
waqt	2	wa[ʔ]t	2	Time
qal	2	[ʔ]al	2	Discourse marker

Following the same line of thought, we can say that rural men appear to behave in a manner which, to other speakers, suggests a strong personality as they use the rural stigmatized form [q] more. The strong personality that is mainly associated with males can be interpreted as being socially and linguistically secure. This could be due to two reasons. First, men in general possess more power and control in Arab societies. Because they feel in control, they do not feel the need or have the desire to change their identity through language. Retaining their original form gives them a sense of control over their lives and their choices in life. Their language becomes indicative of their masculinity that is not shaken by moving to the city. If they change their speech and stop using [q], they are no longer men. In other words, they lose their masculinity and strong personality because [q] carries a meaning of strength and manliness to them. Unlike women, it is acceptable for men to sound harsh and vulgar. Male friends sometimes comment negatively on a male's switch to the urban feature [ʔ] as if the man who uses the [ʔ] has lost his manhood. Second, rural male migrants keep close-knit social ties with their rural friends and relatives in the city. Not expanding beyond their rural social network to include native Himsis aid them in retaining their rural stigmatized feature. Although similar close-knit social ties exist among rural migrant women, they show more use of the urban form. Thus, it is more likely that the different social meaning of the variants [q] and [ʔ] for men and women is the main reason that women and men differ in their use of them.

Statistics have also shown that the interaction of age and gender is statistically significant. Table 6 shows that the difference between older female and male speakers is very small with respect to the use of [q].

Although the number of older males (i.e., 13) is smaller than the number of older females (i.e., 15), they use [q] 12% more than older females. This difference is greater regarding the use of [ʔ]. Older females use [ʔ] 64% more than older males. The difference between younger male and female speakers with respect to the use of [q] is greater than that between older speakers. Although the number of younger males (i.e., 11) is smaller than the number of younger females (i.e., 13), they use [q] 90% more than younger females. Younger females use [ʔ] 30% more than younger males.

Table 6. Distribution of [q] and [ʔ] according to age and gender

	No. of speakers	No. of [q] Tokens	% [q]	No. of [ʔ] Tokens	% [ʔ]
Older males	13	2763/4961	56%	155/869	18%
Older females	15	2198/4961	44%	714/869	82%
Difference in percentage			12%		64%
Younger males	11	871/913	95%	1680/4805	35%
Younger females	13	42/913	5%	3125/4805	65%
Difference in percentage			90%		30%

However, if we exclude the three young male speakers (Speakers 29, 30, and 31) who seem to behave differently from all other younger speakers, we get completely different percentages. These three male speakers are brothers and have lived all their lives in Akrama, a linguistically less influential area because of its abundance in rural migrants whose speech is characterized with [q]. Living in Akrama seems to have hindered them from adopting the prestigious form, [ʔ]. Table 7 shows that excluding those three speakers brings the difference between younger male and female speakers down to 36% more use of [q] by younger males. In addition, the difference regarding the use of [ʔ] goes up to 32% more use of [ʔ] by younger female speakers. Regardless of which table we adopt, there is a difference when gender is grouped according to age. In other words, gender and age work together in influencing this apparent variation.

Table 7. Distribution of [q] and [ʔ] according to age and gender excluding speakers 29, 30, and 31

	No. of speakers	No. of [q] tokens	% [q]	No. of [ʔ] tokens	% [ʔ]
Older males	13	2763/4961	56%	155/869	18%
Older females	15	2198/4961	44%	714/869	82%
Difference in percentage			12%		64%
Younger males	8	88/130	68%	1634/4759	34%
Younger females	13	42/130	32%	3125/4759	66%
Difference in percentage			36%		32%

6.3 Residential area

Residential area showed statistical significance, particularly regarding the use of [ʔ]. Table 8 also shows a difference in the use of [q] between Akrama and Al-Hameeddieh speakers. Akrama speakers use [q] 23% more than Al-Hameeddieh speakers. The results of this study are similar to those of Miller's (2005) findings in Cairo. Miller found that the speech of migrant speakers was affected by the area of residence. Those who lived in the suburban area, Giza, showed less accommodation to the Cairene forms. The reason is that the Giza area is occupied with more rural people than the Cairo area. Consequently, people have less contact with the new forms than those who live in the Cairo area and show more accommodation towards the Cairene forms.

Table 8. Distribution of [q] and [ʔ] according to residential area

Variant	No. of Tokens for Akrama	% Akrama	No. of Tokens for Al-Hameeddieh	% Al-Hameeddieh	Difference in Percentage
[q]	1977/2921	68%	3897/8627	45%	23%
[ʔ]	944/2921	32%	4730/8627	55%	23%
Diff. in percent between use of [q] and [ʔ]		36%		10%	

In some studies, suburban areas rather than inner city areas are the leaders in the use of innovations. Ismail (2007), for example, investigated the use of the innovative form, [ɟ], a reflex of (r), in two residential areas in Damascus. Ismail (2007: 205) found that the innovative form is used more in the suburban area, Dummar, than in the more traditional, inner city area, Shaghoor, although young males in Shaghoor exhibit the highest use among all groups.

Furthermore, examining the interaction between age and area is useful because age has shown throughout the study to be the most important factor in influencing the observed variation. Table 9 shows that older people from Akrama use [ɟ] 20% more than younger speakers from Akrama. Younger speakers from Akrama use [ʔ] 82% more than older speakers from Akrama. Older speakers from Al-Hameeddieh use [ɟ] 94% more than younger speakers from Al-Hameeddieh. Although the number of younger speakers from Al-Hameeddieh (i.e., 17) is smaller than the number of older speakers from Al-Hameeddieh (i.e., 22), they use [ʔ] 66% more than older speakers from Al-Hameeddieh. These results indicate that younger speakers from Akrama are less susceptible to [ʔ] in their environment. Thus, their degree of use of [ɟ] is not much different from that of older speakers. On the other hand, younger speakers who reside in Al-Hameeddieh seem to have less exposure to [ɟ]. Consequently, they use [ɟ] much less than older speakers. Furthermore, the smaller difference between older and younger speakers from Al-Hameeddieh with regards to their use of [ʔ] indicates greater exposure of the older speaker in Al-Hameeddieh to [ʔ]; hence, their greater use of [ʔ] than those who live in Akrama. It is important here to reassert the greater social communication with native Himsis in Al-Hameeddieh. As mentioned in Section 4.1, Al-Hameeddieh is an older area in the inner city of Hims and many of its occupants are native Himsis. Rural migrants who live in this area are in constant, sometimes daily contact with the nearby grocers, butchers, other shop owners, and schoolteachers and headmasters, many of which are Himsis. In addition, the workplace for most people living in Al-Hameeddieh is usually in the same residential area or in nearby areas that are within one-kilometer radius, i.e., in the range of five to ten minutes walking. Schools are abundant in the area and are within few minutes' walk from each home. Furthermore, living in Al-Hameeddieh gives people easy access to the downtown area where most shopping stores that are mainly

owned by Himsis are located. Such a congested atmosphere creates greater contact and closer networks with Himsi people in Al-Hameeddieh than in Akrama, which is mainly occupied by rural migrants and is far away from the downtown area where most businesses and jobs are. Akrama's distance from the Himsi population concentration and from the daily interactions in the condensed inner city limits contact with Himsis and reduces social ties with them, and thus decreases the urban linguistic influence.

Table 9. Distribution of [q] and [ʔ] according to age and residential area

	No. of speakers	No. of [q] tokens	% [q]	No. of [ʔ] tokens	% [ʔ]
Older speakers from Akrama	6	1178/1977	60%	88/944	9%
Younger speakers from Akrama	7	799/1977	40%	856/944	91%
Difference in percentage			20%		82%
Older speakers from Al-Hameeddieh	22	3783/3897	97%	781/4730	17%
Younger speakers from Al-Hameeddieh	17	114/3897	3%	3949/4730	83%
Difference in percentage			94%		66%

6.4 Social class

Social class did not show any significance in the statistical analysis with respect to the variable use of both [q] and [ʔ]. Table 10 shows that there is only a 16% difference between the two social classes. This difference emerged as insignificant in Sections 5.2 and 5.5.

The fact that the upper-middle class is slightly more inclined towards the prestigious form is not surprising. Many studies have shown that the lower-middle class aspires to appear prestigious. Members of the lower-middle class try to imitate those from the upper classes. For example, Labov (1972) found that the use of (r) increases by social class and formality of style. However, he found that women from the lower-middle class use the upper class form, *r*, in word-lists and minimal pairs more than other speakers. He describes this phenomenon as hypercorrection towards the more prestigious form among lower-middle class females. Speakers from the lower-middle class realize the importance of the *r*-pronunciation. Consequently, they outperform the upper-middle class in the *r*-pronunciation when they are able to monitor themselves in formal styles.

This phenomenon is also termed the “crossover pattern” (Labov 1972) or “apparent deviation” (Labov 1966: 227). Such crossover patterns are taken as a sign for change in progress. Like Labov (1966, 1972), Trudgill (1974) found a crossover pattern in the use of the variable (ing) in Norwich. Female speakers from the lower-middle class showed a great shift from the use of *-in* in casual style to the use of *-ing* in formal style. This shift is much greater in the lower-middle class than it is in any other social group. However, in other studies like Milroy’s (1980), speakers from working classes that have close-knit social networks generally showed more use of local, non-standard forms in Belfast than those who have weak ties social networks. This shows that different patterns of socialization may affect a speaker’s linguistic behavior more than social class affiliation.

Table 10. Distribution of [q] and [ʔ] according to social class

Variant	No. of Tokens for LM	% LM	No. of Tokens for UM	% UM	Difference in Percentage
[q]	3655/6284	58%	2219/5264	42%	16
[ʔ]	2629/6284	42%	3045/5264	58%	16
Diff. in percent between use of [q] and [ʔ]		16%		16%	

7. Conclusion

The statistical analysis shows inconsistencies among speakers regarding the variable use of [q] and [ʔ]. It shows that the social factors, age, gender, and residential area play a role in this variation. Younger speakers are more inclined towards the urban form, [ʔ], whereas the majority of older speakers are more inclined towards the [q] sound. Females are more inclined towards the prestigious form [ʔ] than men. Men, mainly elderly men, are more inclined towards the [q] sound. Furthermore, residents of Al-Hameedieh show higher usage of [ʔ] than residents of Akrama because their environment is more demanding linguistically. Thus, intra- and inter-speaker variation is observed. Some speakers show not only variation in their speech within the same conversation but also correction towards the new form. In addition, speakers who use [q] and [ʔ] interchangeably differ

from each other in the degree of usage of each variant. Other speakers used either the [q] sound or the [ʔ] sound invariably. What is particularly observed is a linguistic shift towards the use of the urban prestigious form [ʔ] by the second generation migrants in comparison to maintenance or variation in the speech of the first generation migrants. Some older speakers show partial accommodation to the new form; many others show maintenance of their native form, [q], an indication of pride in their rural identity and solidarity with their rural roots.

While this study focuses only on Christian rural migrants, future comparisons with the speech of rural migrants from different religious backgrounds (e.g., Alawites) will be beneficial to examine the role of religion in linguistic urbanization. A discrepancy among different religious groups may emerge because certain linguistic features may have different social meanings to them and may enable some of them, particularly those in power, to gain more power and prominence in society. Linguistic differences among different religious groups have been documented (Behnstedt 1989; Abu Haidar 1991; Amara 2005). For example, Amara (2005) showed that Christians in Bethlehem are more inclined towards using the urban forms of East Jerusalem whilst younger educated migrant Muslims are inclined to use more SA forms in their speech. On the other hand, Gralla (2002) found no linguistic differences between Christians and Muslims in the Syrian city of Nabk. However, the high dialectal variation in Syria may allow two social/religious groups to use the same variant but have different attitudes and social values for it (cf. Germanos 2009; Lentin 2009). Thus, further investigation in this terrain would be enlightening.

Based on my personal observations and the comments of some speakers, I believe it is important to trace the sound change of [q] into [ʔ] in some villages of Wadi Al-Nasara that are characterized by the use of [q]. Such change may be taking place due to constant contact with urban speakers through marriage or increased commuting between these villages and urban areas. The spread of the use of [ʔ] to the villages and the difference in spread among these villages is worth investigating. Conducting such research may enable us to foresee a change in progress in the villages themselves and draw a sociolinguistic typology of the area.

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Social Aspects of Oral and Written Lexical Production in Spanish

Abstract

Different research studies have shown that the processes of lexification and standardization that come into operation during lexical production revolving around different semantic categories vary according to the different social groups. Moreover, prior experimental studies have pointed out that a change in modality in the production (oral tests vs. written tests) does not alter the quantitative results, but does seem to significantly affect the qualitative outcomes. The objectives of this study are firstly to analyse how lexical production in both modalities is affected from the point of view of the formal mechanisms of actualization and secondly to determine whether there is a variation among the different social groups, particularly between the production of gender, and how this variation is related to social constructionism and cognitive linguistics theories. To perform the study, tests were administered to 60 native Spanish speaking students of the University of Salamanca (Spain). General aspects of the conceptualization of semantic fields within the different lexical cultures were also qualified. All of this helps us to define more clearly the variation in the linguistic material of the different “lexical cultures” that form a speech community.

1. Introduction

The study of the modality change in linguistic communication has pointed out that a gradual continuum exists in the modes or realizations of oral and written communication. Thus, although both orality and writing have characteristics that pertain exclusively to each of them, a continuous permeability exists between the ways the features of modality are manifested (Briz 1998; Escandell 2005: 50–53). This can also be seen in the processes of lexical actualization, as part of the linguistic material that must be retrieved and selected in the process of message production. At the same time, as has been demonstrated by the variationist studies, the lexical

component is permeable to social variation. The objective of this paper is to study in what way the social component, and especially gender variation, is expressed in lexical selection depending on oral or written lexical production. The methodology of lexical retrieval used to this end arises from the studies of lexical availability: the available lexicon is that vocabulary which most easily comes to the speakers' minds in relation to a specific topic (Micheá 1953; Gougenheim, Michéa, Sauvageot & Rivenc 1964; López Morales 1995, 1999; Carcedo 1998; Samper, Bellón & Samper Hernández 2003). It makes it possible to observe the production of words in both modalities, isolating to a certain extent the lexical component from external factors.

1.1 Lexical availability and change in production channel

For the past few decades, an international project has been carried out with the aim of compiling the lexical availability of different Hispanic communities. The instrumental method that the *Proyecto Panhispánico* uses is a written semantic fluency test in which the informants have to produce all the words they know about a specific topic for two minutes, for example, *Animals*. The words produced are processed in a database on the Internet (www.dispoplex.com) and lists are obtained in which the words appear ordered according to an availability index, a numerical value that reflects the ease with which each word is produced by weighting the number of times that it appears in the list and the position that it occupies.

Although the classic methodology of lexical availability uses written tests, recently data collection has been carried out using the oral modality, due to motor, cognitive or educational determining factors which certain groups of informants possess. On the one hand, there are research projects with subjects of advanced age: Terrádez combines oral and written tests for subjects over 60 years old (1996, in Samper Padilla & Samper Hernández 2006: 36 and Gómez Molina & Gómez Devís 2004); see also Urrutia (2001), Borrego (2002) and Borrego & Fernández Juncal (2002). Oral tests have also been used for child lexical availability, in participants whose level of ability in writing skills does not allow for a traditional method of data collection: preschool children in Costa Rica (Sánchez Corrales & Murillo 2006) and Valencian children in the research presently being carried out by M^a Begoña Gómez Devís.

Studies that assess the impact of change of modality on lexical responses are, however, very scarce. García Marcos (in Mateo 1998: 81)

points out that in general there are no substantial differences between the two methodologies, without providing specific data. Hernández Muñoz (2006: 108–121) carried out a detailed study with informants from the same community in which that author concluded that although production did not vary in terms of the number of words actualized, according to the statistical tests, the qualitative variation is worthy of consideration.

These last results and the increase in research projects using oral methodology have led to a new series of research projects that attempt to deal with the implications of this change in methodology in the collection of lexical availability from different perspectives (cognitive, social); on this occasion, we focus on the interferences produced by the social variation in the change of modality.

1.2 The ‘gender’ variable in studies of availability

The ‘gender’ factor forms part of the set of social variables said to have an effect on the variation in lexical availability (Samper Padilla & Samper Hernández 2006: 46–54; Gómez Molina 2006). Whereas in the quantitative aspect the different studies offer diverse results, in the qualitative aspect almost all of them agree that this factor is differentiating, especially in the centres of interest where the cultural peculiarities dependent on gender are manifested.

The bibliography on language and gender also provides significant differences in regard to peculiarities in the lexical selection of both groups (in English, Poynton 1990; Tannen 1994; Holmes & Meyerhoff 2003; Coates 2004; in Spanish, García Mouton 2003) owing to either to the linguistic performance derived from the sociocultural or educational functions (Gray 1992) or to the biological dimension, for example, in the different evolution of psycholinguistic characteristics, such as different modes of categorizing and cognitive-linguistic development (Halpern 2002).

The objective of this contribution is not so much to study the lexical production of men and women in the oral tests in an isolated fashion, but to assess their performance in regard to the influence of a change in lexical modality. This approach is closer to the latest tendencies in gender studies, defined by Coates (2004: 6) as “the social constructionist perspective” in which gender is a social construct in which the individuals “do gender more than be gender”. In this way, in our study the participants construct

their lexical identity by adopting to a greater or lesser degree the flexible peculiarities of the two modalities of production.

Nevertheless, regarding the experimental collection of data, a further question arises: how is lexical production related to social constructivism that depends on the contextual linguistic use? At this point, cognitive linguistics theories about categorization and construction of mental lexicon allow linking successfully both phenomena. The categorial test shows how each social group conceives semantic categories. Human categorization, that allows communication, is based on common experiences of individuals from the same groups. It also reflects the way different cultural groups perceive and make sense of the world around (Lakoff 1987). Therefore, linguistic categorization, or lexicalization of certain semantic categories, varies according to different social groups such as gender or age. In addition to this, semantic links between words in mental lexicon are created and strengthened by frequency of use in real contexts; therefore, lexical production reflects latent use tendencies. So, study of lexical variation within categories could also be explained through cognitive linguistics and gender theories.

To sum up this section, given that the change in modality influences the lexical availability from the qualitative point of view, does it manifest itself equally in both genders? Are there groups that exhibit more the change in modality than others? Which group is more permeable to variation produced by changing the channel? Which cognitive factors promote social variation? The following sections are devoted to responding to these questions.

2. Methodology

The material employed to carry out this research came from tests of oral and written availability conducted with 60 students of the Faculty of Languages and Literature at the University of Salamanca: 30 oral (13 men and 17 women) and 30 written (9 men and 21 women).¹ The oral recordings were taken by two researchers from the lexical availability team of the Department of Spanish Language and the written questionnaires were collected in the regular classes for the students of Spanish Language

¹ The gender distribution of the sample shows the proportion of genders in the social context of data collection. I take on board the implication of the sample size and the lack of imbalance between groups for statistical description.

and Literature. None of the participants had previously taken an availability test, either oral or written. The traditional methodology was maintained with regard to the response time, but the number of *centres of interest* (topics or semantic fields) was reduced to six in order to facilitate collection of the oral material: *Parts of the Body*, *Clothing*, *Furniture*, *Animals*, *Professions* and *Intelligence*. The first five come from the sixteen traditional centres of interest. They were selected because they are semantic categories that exhibit a high degree of stability among social variables and possess a high degree of internal cohesion. The last centre of interest, *Intelligence*, does not form part of the classical centres of interest in the studies of lexical availability. It was introduced experimentally in the collection of data from Castilla-La Mancha (Hernández Muñoz 2004; Hernández Muñoz & Borrego Nieto 2004). It has been included mainly because of the information that it can provide with regard to the levels of language and the variation in the grammatical class of the words.

We now present, in summarized form, some data on the peculiarities of these centres of interest with regard to the ‘gender’ variable. A certain degree of uniformity can be observed in the general quantitative results, although in the last few studies there is a tendency for both genders to do better (in the sense of giving more exemplars) in the centres of interest that represent the contexts traditionally associated with them, for example, *Clothing* and *Furniture* in women. The women further seem to be more productive in *Professions* and the men in *Parts of the Body* (Gómez Molina 2006; Samper Padilla & Samper Hernández 2006: 46–54). Even so, these responses do not always coincide in all the studies; therefore we can only speak of general tendencies. With regard to the degree of *internal cohesion*² of each of the centres of interest it was found that in *Body Parts* and *Clothing* both groups exhibited the same level of *lexical coincidence* (a high percentage of similar words between groups); however, the women reached a higher degree of semantic similarity in *Animals* and the men in *Furniture and Professions* (Gómez Molina 2006: 61).

Aspects of cultural conditioning not only affect knowledge of a greater number of lexical elements, but also lexical preferences within each

² The index of cohesion gives us information about how compact or open a semantic category is and therefore, about the degree of coincidence in the subjects’ responses. It is obtained by dividing the average number of responses given by the informant by the number of different words. The maximum value is 1 and it means a complete coincidence in responses. The minimum value is 0 and it means that there are no common responses.

of the centres of interest. We thus enter into the area of qualitative differences. In the sections that follow, we will not attempt to carry out an exhaustive description of the phenomena that were found, but rather to present common lines of behaviour. For each of the lexical aspects considered below, we will begin with the centre of interest that offers the most possibilities for analysis.

To finish this section, we need to define the *features of orality* that are considered in the research. To do this, we have synthesized the characteristics that are dependent on the change of channel in lexical availability described in preceding studies (Hernández Muñoz 2006: 108–121; Hernández Muñoz in press):

- Changes in the availability of the register variants, primarily affected by the degree of formality.
- The abundance of free associations and chaining in the oral tests, giving rise to words that do not strictly belong to the category, such as brand names and words from different grammatical categories (adjectives and verbs).
- The abundance of enumerations of elements on a subordinated level and syntagmatic improvisations, which produce a great quantity of syntagmatic compounds.

3. Analysis

3.1 Brief quantitative description of oral results

Before beginning with a detailed analysis of the type of vocabulary actualized in the oral tests, some brief notes are in order about quantitative production in oral task. Tables 1 and 2 show the general results of the samples taken.

Student's t-tests were carried out for independent samples, one for each centre of interest and another for the total set of words. In none of the cases do significant statistical differences appear that could confirm the fact that men and women produce a different number of responses (in all the cases $p > 0.05$). This finding is in agreement with the results of the previous research in written tests (Hernández Muñoz 2006).

Table 1. General oral results (1)

	Centre of Interest	Total Words Tokens		Different Words Types	
		M	W	M	W
1	Body Parts	444	500	149	113
2	Clothing	344	465	147	161
3	Furniture	215	239	92	76
4	Animals	459	497	168	149
5	Professions	366	419	172	171
6	Intelligence	174	159	135	104

Table 2. General oral results (2)

	Centre of Interest	Arithmetic averages		Cohesion Index within groups (see footnote 2)	
		M	W	M	W
1	Body Parts	32.0	28.0	0.23	0.26
2	Clothing	26.4	26.6	0.18	0.17
3	Furniture	16.7	14.1	0.18	0.18
4	Animals	33.5	28.8	0.21	0.20
5	Professions	27.1	25.6	0.16	0.15
6	Intelligence	14.1	9.4	0.10	0.09

Table 2 reflects how both genders present some data that are even more similar in the cohesion indexes. In five of the categories, the cohesion index differs by 0.01, and in Clothing, the most differentiated category, the difference is only 0.03. This means that the categories are cognitive-lexical suprasociolectal entities with the same quantitative structure in both groups. These results partially agree with the affirmations of §2, where it was noted that the centre of interest Clothing had an equal distribution in both groups, whereas the women established more compact categories in Animals and the men in Furniture and Professions.

3.2 Quantitative analysis

3.2.1 Compatibility

The first step towards the study of the qualitative variation consists in obtaining the indexes of compatibility between the lexical sets, that is, taking into account how many lexical units they share. To do this, a calculation tool from www.dispoxlex.com was used. There are different ways of calculating the degree of compatibility, based on the amount of vocabulary for which the comparison is being established (Samper Padilla 1999; Bartol 2001). On this occasion, a stricter criterion was chosen for the materials presented: comparing the available words that come within 80% of the accumulated frequency.³ The 20% of the frequency that was discarded was composed of idiosyncratic terms given by only one informant.

In Table 3, the centre of interest exhibiting the greatest degree of compatibility is *Animals*, followed by *Body Parts*. These are also the most compact centres in general terms (*Body Parts*: 0.18; *Clothing*: 0.11; *Furniture*: 0.12; *Animals*: 0.16; *Professions*: 0.10; *Intelligence*: 0.06). *Intelligence*, the most dispersed area, is also the one that presents the lowest coincidence indexes; the two genders only share 20% of the terms.

It is interesting to observe, in addition, how many words remain in the lexical sets of each group. In all the centres of interest, the men produce more words which are not shared by the women, as can be seen in Table 4. For example, in *Body Parts* the women only have 3 words of their own, therefore, their contribution to the common set of terms constitutes 93.18% of their lexical store, whereas the men only share 56.16% of their available words. This difference can be observed especially in *Body Parts*, *Animals* and *Furniture*.

³ The other two solutions (comparing the first 100 words or those that obtained more than 0.02 of the availability rate) turned out to be broader parameters which made it possible to enter a large number of unique responses. It must be emphasized that this is due to the peculiarities of our reduced sample; on other occasions in which the number of informants and the number of different words are greater, the strictest criterion is to consider the first 100 words.

Table 3. Compatibility

Animals	62.11% (59 words)
Body Parts	53.95% (41 words)
Clothing	40.19% (43 words)
Professions	37.41% (52 words)
Furniture	37.29% (22 words)
Intelligence	20% (29 words)

Table 4. Words that are not shared

	Men	Women
Animals	28	8
Body Parts	32	3
Clothing	36	28
Professions	51	36
Furniture	28	9
Intelligence	72	44

This finding is related to a characteristic highlighted by other researchers: the availability indexes that the women obtain for the first words in their lists are higher and, therefore, their responses coincide more. Thus, in the sample considered here, the availability indexes of the first terms in the lists in the six centres of interest tend to be higher for the women, especially in centres of interest like *Furniture* or *Intelligence*. In the first case, the most available words for the women, *mesa* ‘table’ (0.916), *silla* ‘chair’ (0.828), *armario* ‘wardrobe’ (0.813) exceed 0.8, relatively close to 1, the maximum value that can be reached in the hypothetical case in which all of the speakers were to produce the same word in the first position. The men, however, do not reach this number: *silla* ‘table’ (0.726), *mesa* ‘table’ (0.696), *mesilla (de noche)* ‘bedside table’ (0.594). In the second centre of interest, the women’s list includes *cerebro* ‘brain’ (0.491), *sabiduría* ‘wisdom’ (0.406) and *memoria* ‘memory’ (0.316), and the men’s, *cerebro* ‘brain’ (0.418), *estudio* ‘studies’ (0.269) and *listo* ‘clever’ (0.220). Only one exception was found to this tendency, the word *profesor* ‘teacher’, the most available for both groups in *Professions*. In the men’s lists it obtains

an availability of 0.887 and in the women's list, 0.723. Nevertheless, the second most available term in this centre of interest, *médico* 'doctor', again exhibits a greater degree of coincidence in the female group (0.628) than in the male one (0.478).

3.2.2 Levels of language and gender

In a pioneering study, Borrego (2009) studied the diaphasic variation in the lists of lexical availability through the centre of interest *Body Parts*.⁴ What stands out in the study is that the change in written or oral modality affects the distribution of the variants that make up the synonymic or quasi-synonymic series that appeared in the available vocabularies (for example, *nariz* 'nose', *fosas nasales* 'nasal pit', *cavidad nasal* 'nasal cavity', *napias* 'conk'). In the oral tests a tendency was observed of presenting informal or spontaneous variants as a reference term of the series (the most available), whereas in the written tests the reference term is usually a neutral term with regard to the degree of formality, followed both by forms of a spontaneous or careless nature and the technical terms proper to the medical classroom. Here are a few examples:

Written: *abdomen* 'abdomen' (reference term), *vientre* 'belly', *barriga* 'tummy', *tripa* 'tummy', *panza* 'paunch', *mondongo* 'potbelly', *cavidad abdominal* 'abdominal cavity'

Oral: *barriga* 'tummy' (reference term), *abdomen* 'abdomen', *tripa* 'tummy', *vientre* 'belly'

In a study carried out in Aragón (Spain), Lagüéns (2008: 126) points out how men use a greater number of taboo words in *Body Parts* than do women. Also López Morales (2005), in his work about the sociolinguistics of the taboo, shows how young men favour the use of taboo terms.

⁴ This centre of interest is appropriate for the observation of this phenomenon because in it two layers of the lexical substratum are superimposed, the one acquired in a natural way and the one learned in school, so that all types of diastratic and diaphasic variation are condensed: from colloquial, taboo and transgressor words (*pija* 'cock', *nabo* 'dick', *ojete* 'asshole'), to technical terms (*bronquiolos* 'bronchioli', *metatarso* 'metatarsus'), whereas in between there is a rich grouping of understating and euphemistic forms (*trasero* 'bottom', *pompis* 'bum') and forms with pragmatic intention (humoristic *zarpa* 'paw'). British English has been used for translation of familiar and colloquial examples.

These results observed in the studies of lexical availability fit the patterns described in the classic works on language and gender which highlight that women use more standard forms than men (James 1996; Romaine 1998: 172; Coates 2004: 13–15, 61–62). Also, it has been observed how on some occasions the female group adopts a language removed from the standard in order to mark phases of rebellion in their social development (for example, the study from 1987 by Barbara Rich about the “dirty words” of young women [Romaine 1998: 100]).

With these precedents (the tendency to use informal variants in the first spots in the oral tests and the greater use of taboo words by the men) we will analyse the results in the most fruitful centres of interest in lexical groupings of this type: *Body Parts* and *Intelligence*. As a reference series for the written tests, for *Body Parts* we use those proposed by Borrego in the study cited, and for *Intelligence*, the data obtained from the research of Castilla-La Mancha (680 participants from central Spain). The place that the word occupies in the lists of availability will appear in parentheses.

Synonymic series on the part of the women:

a. Series in which the reference term varies with regard to the written test: *barriga* ‘tummy’ (41), *abdomen* ‘abdomen’ (49), *tripa* ‘tummy’ (61), *ventre* ‘belly’ (100).

Here the most colloquial terms are two that move up in the lists; *barriga* ‘tummy’ becomes the reference term in front of *abdomen* ‘abdomen’ and *ventre* ‘belly’, and *tripa* ‘tummy’ even comes before *ventre* ‘belly’.

b. Series in which the order presented in the written test is maintained:
barbilla ‘chin’ (55), *mentón* ‘chin’ (87);
culo ‘bottom’ (31), *glúteo* ‘gluteus’ (46), *trasero* ‘bum’ (77);
genitals ‘genitals’ (92), *pubis* ‘pubis’ (110);
pelo ‘hair’ (12), *cabello* ‘hair’ (67);
tronco ‘trunk’ (22), *torso* ‘torso’ (50), *tórax* ‘thorax’ (64).

As indicated by Borrego (in press) some of the series in which the change in channel does not affect the selection of the most spontaneous variants could be the ones in which more difficulties arise when considering the terms to be synonymic and therefore, they depend more on the meaning that the speakers give to them than on the contextual variation.

c. Reduced series in which only the reference term appears:

axilas ‘armpit’ (106);

pechos ‘breasts’ (93);

rabadilla ‘tailbone’ (109).

In all of them, the form is selected that appears as a reference term in the written tests, representative of neutral variants or those close to a formal use of the language. It is worthy of mention how in the women’s lists there are fewer words that refer to tabooed elements, both in the case of colloquial variants (*tetas* ‘tits’) and formal ones (*vagina* ‘vagina’ or *pene* ‘penis’).

Synonymic series on the part of the men:

a. Series in which the reference term varies with regard to the written tests:

barriga ‘tummy’ (38), *vientre* ‘belly’ (67), *abdomen* ‘abdomen’ (85), *tripa* ‘tummy’ (132);

chocho ‘cunt’ (70), *vagina* ‘vagina’ (106);

pito ‘willy’ (75), *pene* ‘penis’ (79);

tetas ‘tits’ (41), *pechos* ‘breasts’ (76).

b. Series in which the order presented in the written test is maintained:

axila ‘armpit’ (56), *sobaco* ‘armpit’ (94);

barbilla ‘chin’ (61), *mentón* ‘chin’ (110);

culo ‘bottom’ (34), *nalgas* ‘buttocks’ (68), *glúteo* ‘gluteus’ (138);⁵

mejillas ‘cheeks’ (63), *carrillos* ‘cheeks’ (108);

tronco ‘trunk’ (14), *torso* ‘torso’ (103), *tórax* ‘thorax’ (105).

c. Reduced series in which only the reference term appears:

coxis ‘coccyx’ (122);

genitals ‘genitals’ (43).

In general, the group in which the greatest variation occurred between the sociolects is in that of the series that varies according to the channel (a). As for the men, the number of alterations in the order of presentation of the

⁵ With regard to this series, it must be pointed out that in the results of the 30 written tests of the students in the Faculty of Language and Literature, the men’s tendency to use the formal variants is even more noticeable: *glúteo* ‘gluteus’ (23), *culo* ‘bottom’ (36).

lexical variants increases. These alterations occur in the taboo words that do not appear in the women's list (*pene* 'penis', *vagina* 'vagina'). Likewise, there is a certain consistency in the groups of terms in which the order presented in the written test is maintained (b). And, finally, the cases in which only one reference term appears are variants close to medical terminology (c).

If it is true that women use fewer informal or careless terms, it could be due mainly to two factors, that the informal words are really less available for the female gender or that they view the availability test as a linguistic task with a greater degree of formality which leads them to limit production of a colloquial or spontaneous nature.

The second centre of interest studied is *Intelligence*. In this case, the change in channel caused not only variation in the degree of availability of the variants dependent on the register, but also alternation of lexical forms. Due to the abstract nature of this semantic category, it is necessary that the method prevalent in lexical studies is complemented by a deeper subsequent cognitive linguistic analysis.

In general terms, the males exhibited a tendency to give more variety of synonyms of the type *cerebro* 'brain' (1), *masa gris* 'grey matter' (19); the females usually only give the formal term *cerebro* 'brain' (1). In order to consider the levels of language, a set of specific terms was selected: adjectives which assess the degree of intelligence.

Women:

listo 'clever' (5), *sabio* 'wise' (19), *erudito* 'erudite' (30), *superdotado* 'highly gifted' (41), *avispado* 'sharp' (76), *sabelotodo* 'wiseass' (95), *discreto* 'discreet' (100);
subnormal 'moronic' (47), *tonto* 'dumb' (48), *idiota* 'idiot' (83), *estúpido* 'stupid' (92).

Men:

listo 'clever' (3), *superdotado* 'highly gifted' (6), *despierto* 'bright' (17), *ágil* 'quick' (32), *cerebrito* 'brainiac' (39), *astuto* 'shrewd' (57), *empollón* 'swot' (88), *hábil* 'skillful' (93), *clarividente* 'clear sighted' (98);
tonto 'dumb' (5), *deficiente* 'mentally handicapped' (40), *retrasado* 'retarded' (53), *subnormal* 'moronic' (72), *discapacitado* 'disabled' (86).

Diverse aspects can be highlighted in this series. In the first place, the negative terms given by the men are present starting at the first positions in

the lists, whereas in the female production they appear beginning at position 47. In addition, in the female lists an alternation of the base term occurs. The form *tonto* 'dumb' from the written series is surpassed by *subnormal* 'moronic', which obtains a higher availability index. Even so, if we take into account the frequency of the appearance of both terms, *tonto* 'dumb' 11.7% and *subnormal* 'moronic' 5.8%, the first one was stated twice, whereas the second only once, but in priority places on the lists, for which reason it obtains a higher availability index. In any case, the negative terms given by the women are marginal, in contrast to what happens in the men's count.

Another important aspect is the fact that the two genders only share four lexical units, two of them corresponding to positive attributes, *listo* 'clever' and *superdotado* 'highly gifted' and two negative ones, *tonto* 'dumb' and *subnormal* 'moronic'. The rest of the qualifying adjectives are not common to both lexical repertoires. In the women's available adjectives we observed a predilection for educated variants in the initial positions (*sabio* 'wise', *erudito* 'erudite') or variants that involve nuances of personality of a general nature (*discreto* 'discreet') or with a mildly pejorative meaning (*idiota* 'idiot' or *estúpido* 'stupid'). The men, however, use adjectives focused on problem-solving (*hábil* 'skillful', *astuto* 'shrewd', *ágil* 'quick', *despierto* 'bright') or very pejoratively marked (*retrasado* 'retarded', *deficiente* 'mentally handicapped').

It is very interesting to confirm these observations in other studies that involve the use of formal variants in contexts of lesser experimental rigour than availability tests. Romaine (2003: 99) argued that most of the studies that afford this issue are in pronunciation and regional variation, but this principle could be extended to other linguistic levels as grammar or lexical selection, or even to pragmatics, conversational interaction or choice of language by bilinguals.

Moreover, this finding seems to harmonize with sociolinguistic cross-linguistic studies. The same patterns of linguistic behaviour have been found in different languages and cultures. Peter Trudgill (1972) finds a similar behaviour in British English of Norwich & Gordon (1997) in English from New Zealand. The conservative tendency of women is not limited to urban, industrial or western societies. Vast areas of the Near East and South Asia show conservative variants such as the use of retroflex consonants in careful speech Taiwanese mandarin (Labov 2001). In the same way, Abu-Haidar (1989) concluded that in Baghdadi Arabic, women are more conscious of prestige than men are, Haeri (1997) reports the same

results for the linguistic behaviour of Cairo and Mardijono and Junarto (2007) collected the non-standard expressions used more by men than women in Indonesian.

Why do many women tend to use a higher proportion of the standard variants than men? A quite vast amount of explanations has been proposed (for a brief summary, see Cheshire [2002]). Fasold (1990) argued that “women use a higher proportion of standard variations because this allows them to sound less local and to have a voice with which therefore to protest against the traditional norms”. Likewise, Trudgill (1972) pointed out that “women have to acquire social status vicariously, whereas men can acquire it through their occupational status and earning power”.

On the other hand, a social constructionism approach incorporates a dynamic conception of gender because lexical items can add certain social significance, becoming associated with all the culturally-recognized attributes of the social groups (Eckert 1990, Cheshire 2002). Although experimental lexical selection is not integrated in a discourse, lexical items keep the potential social significance to be developed in discourse. If a variant is socially associated with the ideas of femininity, women tend to produce this word more frequently in the lexical fluency tasks, in terms of frequency of use.

3.2.3 Lexicological peculiarities

Next, we will describe the lexicological peculiarities that were found in the two oral repertoires available and which were summarized in the methodology.

a. Brand names

It was found that the oral tests promoted the appearance of brand names. It was seen that this is the case, especially in the centre of interest *Clothing*. However, they occur sporadically in *Clothing* in both groups, since in all cases it is a matter of idiosyncratic lexical units, caused by a single informant in each group.

Women (0.4 per informant): *Levis, Stradivarius, Zara, Mango, Benetton, Pull and Bear, Bershka*.

Men (0.85 per informant): *Dolce & Gabbana, Emporio Armani, Pull and Bear, H & M, Terranova, Levis, Zara, Promod, Cortefiel, Versace, Sfera.*

b. Words from other grammatical categories

In the centres of interest *Body Parts, Animals* and *Professions*, all the terms recorded are nouns. These semantic categories are the most compact, with high indexes of cohesion and more defined limits and which, in addition, admit fewer free associations (see §6.4). However, in the results of the three remaining categories, the men gave a greater number of nouns and verbs than the women, as shown in Table 5. In this quantification and in the following ones, due to the difference between the number of men and women (17 women and 13 men) the results are presented with averages in parentheses.

Table 5. Verbs and adjectives

	Men		Women	
	Adjectives	Verbs	Adjectives	Verbs
Clothing	16 (1.23)	5 (0.38)	1 (0.06)	0
Furniture	2 (0.15)	0	0	0
Intelligence	25 (1.92)	14 (1.08)	14 (0.82)	9 (0.53)
Total	43 (3.31)	19 (1.46)	15 (0.88)	9 (0.53)

Whereas in the written tests the production of words from grammatical categories other than nouns is almost non-existent (one adjective given by one woman, *salvaje* ‘wild’), in the oral tests this increases considerably, especially due to the contributions of the male participants.

c. Improvisations or syntagmatic compounds

Another of the characteristics of the oral tests is that the number of syntagmatic compounds whose nucleus is a noun (*oso* ‘bear’, *oso pardo* ‘grizzly’, *oso polar* ‘polar bear’; *ropa de boda* ‘wedding clothes’, *ropa de fiesta* ‘partying clothes’, *ropa de communion* ‘first communion clothes’) increases. In the written tests, both groups obtained a general average of 2.3 syntagmatic compounds per participant. As shown in table 6, both social groups increase production of this type of compound lexical item in very

similar proportions (7.15 for the men and 7 for the women). Even so, in the oral tests it was observed that each gender tends to create a greater number of lexical improvisations in specific centres of interest, those in which they reach greater productivity. The women are the creators of most of the compound terms in *Clothing* (*piercing* ‘piercing’, *piercing en la lengua* ‘tongue piercing’, *piercing en el ombligo* ‘belly button piercing’), whereas the men are more creative in *Furniture* (*muebles de baño* ‘bathroom furniture’, *muebles para los zapatos* ‘shoe cabinet’, *muebles de un color* ‘one colored furniture’, *mueble de carpintero* ‘handcrafted furniture’).

Table 6. Syntagmatic improvisations

	Men	Women
Body Parts	8 (0.61)	9 (0.53)
Clothing	18 (1.38)	56 (3.29)
Furniture	29 (2.23)	16 (0.94)
Animals	4 (0.31)	6 (0.35)
Professions	24 (1.85)	25 (1.47)
Intelligence	10 (0.78)	7 (0.41)
Total	93 (7.15)	119 (7)

d. Free associates

The final feature of orality in this section is the increase in free associates and of the consequent chainings, which results in the inclusion of words which do not directly belong to the category, but rather are relational associates more or less distant from the thematic nucleus. In Table 7, associates appear in only two categories, *Clothes*⁶ and *Furniture*, and in both cases the men are the more productive group. In this count, the centre of interest *Intelligence* was omitted due to its structure as an open relational category, which made it difficult in the extreme to consider what elements belonged to the categorial nucleus or not. This is perhaps the most variable phenomenon with regard to the written tests, in which the men did not produce any free associates, and the women produced an average of 0.95

⁶ We also consider as belonging to this category the parts of items of clothing such as *mangas* ‘sleeves’, *perneras* ‘legs’, *cuello* ‘collar’, *cremalleras* ‘zips’, and the linens used in the home such as *toallas* ‘towels’ and *sábanas* ‘sheets’.

per participant. Whereas the women reduce the number of free associates (0.23), the men increase their number significantly (2.85).

Table 7. Free associates

	Men	Women
Clothing	35 (2.69)	4 (0.23)
Furniture	2 (0.15)	0
Total	37 (2.85)	4 (0.23)

Most of the lexical peculiarities which we are considering are related to each other: the brand names, the syntagmatic improvisations and the presence of adjectives and verbs directly reflect the increase in words distant from the category. However, the two genders have not responded equally to all of them. In some, such as the brand names or the syntagmatic compounds, the men and the women exhibit similar linguistic behaviour. The brand names are relegated to sporadic productions without sociolectal entity, and the equality in the syntagmatic improvisations means that it is more a matter of a production strategy fostered by oral fluency without social markings. However, there are other lexical aspects such as free associates or words from other grammatical categories that reflect some patterns of different linguistic behaviour.

This linguistic behaviour may have several explanations. On the one hand, we could conclude that the processes of categorization are more specific in the group of women. This would justify the concurrence of the female responses and the lack of intrusion (interference) of words that are outside both the semantic and the grammatical category. This is what is suggested by authors such as Vygotsky or Robin Lakoff, who consider that being female allows a different way of categorizing from the male (Gómez Molina 2006: 51), perhaps not only on the conceptual plane, but also in the formal and linguistic manifestation of the concepts. On the other hand, it could be that the results are related to each other and respond, not to a cognitive pattern, but rather to one of an attitudinal nature: the women have more respect for the methodological limits of the task that has been given to them and therefore, despite the change in modality, they preserve the formal nature of the test. This final point would appear to be in accordance with the two theories about gender. In the first, Coates (1999) proposes how women show different linguistic behaviour depending on whether they find themselves *backstage* (a more relaxed, more off-record context) or

frontstage (a public context). In the second they always respect the norms of femininity in a more obvious way. The second theory comes from social psychology (Meyerhoff 1996) and explains how women seem to make an affective assessment of the situation or task that they are involved in and therefore, some of them tend to carry them out with more care and attention. These two points of view explain why in the availability task, a formal task carried out in an academic framework, they adjust better to the patterns of standard language and to the limits of the proposed activity.

Should these explanations be valid, it would become patently clear that men favour the features of orality in lexical availability, both from the point of view of formal characteristics (word classes), and in variants dependent on register.

4. Conclusions

Below we summarize the most important conclusions derived from the materials presented and which respond to the questions posed in §1.2.

(1) The linguistic behaviour of the men and women when faced with a change in modality in the tests on lexical availability changed in different aspects and with different intensities.

(2) The statistical analyses confirm that there are no quantitative differences between the production of the men and women in the oral tests. A certain sociolectal consistency does exist in the averages of the responses and in the cohesion indexes obtained in each centre of interest.

(3) Whereas there are lexical aspects typical of the strategies of oral production which manifest themselves with equal intensity in both linguistic varieties (the increases in syntagmatic improvisations or the pronounced inclusion of brand names), there are other features which show a clear group tendency.

(4) The male group seems to be more susceptible to the features that characterize the lexical availability obtained through the oral tests. These differences can be articulated in mainly three aspects: (a) interaction of the diastratic and diaphasic variants; a decrease in the degree of formality in the terms at the top of the series of synonymic words; and the increase in reference to taboo elements; (b) an increase in associated words external to the category; (c) an increase in the classes of less common words, such as adjectives or verbs. The finding (a) agrees strongly with previous cross-linguistic studies from a social cognitive linguistics point of view.

(5) These findings could be due to diverse factors: to changes in the cognitive linguistic determinants of the categorical construction of men and women or to a group attitude determined by being faced with this kind of test, typical of each gender's way of constructing itself socially and linguistically. Meaning construction and semantic space depend on the embodied characteristics of the individuals. This semantic and lexical space is dynamic and accounts for environment differences as social differences could be.

(6) Not all the centres of interest exhibit that change in the channel of production equally. Some centres are more appropriate for observing certain parts of the variation: *Clothing* is the category in which the changes in modality were most pronounced with regard to stretching the limits of the semantic and grammatical categories. *Body Parts*, very stable in these last aspects, exhibits the greatest number of diaphasic variants. *Professions* and *Animals*, however, exhibit a high degree of stability in all ways. The open nature of *Intelligence* makes this centre of interest very advantageous for observing the overall variation.

In conclusion, the objective of this study, to observe the interaction between the variation that depends on the change in channel and that provided by the sociolinguistic variable 'gender', has been achieved in part. Even so, all of these conclusions are to a certain degree of a provisional nature, mainly since a limited sample of subjects and semantic categories was worked with. Nevertheless, from a methodological point of view, they are very valuable for future research both in lexical availability and lexical variation studies.

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Complex Predicates and Clause Linking in Chinese and Tibetan

Abstract

In this article, I discuss the difficulties in discerning between finite and nonfinite verb forms, both in Chinese and in Tibetan. I will argue that in topic-prominent languages, such as Chinese and Tibetan, secondary predicates tend to be concatenated with the primary predicate, forming a complex predicate, while in subject-prominent languages they tend to be nominalized, becoming integrated into the argument structure of the primary predicate. Moreover, I will argue that a sequence of successive clauses in Tibetan, despite the formal difference between the final and non-final verb forms, is functionally equivalent to a clause chain in Chinese. I will suggest that nominalizers, when taken by a verb in a predicating function in Tibetan, do not turn the verb into a verbal noun but move it in the axis of transitivity, turning it into a “nominal” verb instead. I will show that the same kind of deranking of the verb will happen in clause chaining structures in Chinese as well, even though no formal deranking is present. Thus, despite the formal asymmetry in Tibetan, the structures in Chinese and Tibetan are functionally similar and can be applied in a similar way to advance the narrative.

1. Introduction

In this article, I will look at clause internal and interclausal verb–verb structures in Chinese and Tibetan. In Chinese, I will deal with Mandarin, while, in Tibetan, I will consider structures in Written Tibetan, Lhasa, and Amdo.¹

I will start my presentation by looking at the definitions of different types of strategies that languages use in clause internal and in interclausal

¹ In Chinese examples, I apply the standard *pinyin* transliteration, and, in Tibetan, the *wylie* transliteration system. In Mongolic examples, transcription follows the source material so that the Cyrillic alphabet is used in examples that come from Outer Mongolia and the Latin alphabet in examples that come from Inner Mongolia in China.

linkage. The three interrelated strategies to be considered when dealing with Chinese and Tibetan are verb serialization, clause chaining, and converb formation. With each of these strategies, I will discuss the problems of distinguishing between finite and nonfinite verb forms.

Second, I will consider the typological division of languages into subject-prominent and topic-prominent. I will show that this typology correlates with the choice of the type of linkage in verb–verb structures. I will also show that complex structures in Chinese can be divided into two basic types. Embedded structures formed by nominalizations contain background information and tend to occur in the beginning of a sentence or a sequence of sentences, while serial verb structures, formed by juxtaposition of clauses (verb phrases or verbs), contain foreground information and are used to advance the narrative.

Finally, I will show that, in discerning between a verb and a noun, the same indeterminacy which is present in Chinese is also found in Tibetan, where the same form can often function as both. This leads to difficulties in the in-between cases, where the interpretation of the construction depends on the definition of the verbal form's function. I will show that, as a topic-prominent language, Tibetan is very similar to Chinese in its organization of the information in syntactic structures. Tibetan appears to be a good example of the relatedness of the strategies of verb serialization, clause chaining and formation of coordinate converbs.

2. Verb serialization

The first accounts of serial verb constructions come from West African languages (cf. Westerman 1930 for Ewe), and Caribbean creoles (cf. Sebba 1987 for Sranan). Later on serial verb constructions have been claimed in various languages and geographical areas (cf. Li & Thompson 1973; Bisang 1991 for Chinese; Nishiyama 1998 for Japanese; Lee 1994 for Korean; Crowley 2002 for Oceanic). Lord (1993) pays attention to the historical change in serial verb constructions, while Lefebvre (1991) offers several analyses of verb serialization in various theoretical frameworks, addressing the question of structure and thematic constitution of the construction, as well as the question of the differentiating aspects of grammar between serializing and non-serializing languages.

In recent literature, Muysken and Veenstra (2005), working in the formal framework, give an account of serial verb constructions mainly discussing Saramaccan structures. They (2005: 235–237) note that,

depending on the criteria, serial verbs are either a particular family of constructions, restricted to some language families, or a phenomenon found to some extent in all languages. They consider the issue of argument sharing: whether it is resolved in the lexicon or whether it is mediated through empty categories; the issue of possible concatenation principles: whether the constructions involve coordination, subordination, or adjunction; the issue of corresponding constructions in non-serializing languages, possible candidates including asymmetric coordination, verb–preposition combinations, and secondary predication constructions; and also the issue of the difference between serializing and non-serializing languages: whether it comes out by means of different options of a single parameter or through different ways of doing syntax and morphology.

Finally, Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006) offer a set of empirical studies framed in general typological-descriptive framework with a wide range of languages from Southeast Asia, Pacific, Africa, and the Americas. They (2006: 2) do not take serial verb construction as a stable category for exact cross-linguistic description or comparison, but rather a type of strategy that languages can exploit, a grammatical technique covering a wide variety of meanings and functions.

All the aforementioned writers discuss the difficulty of finding a uniform definition for a serial verb. In the earlier literature, Sebba (1987: 1–2) states that “serial verb (...) has (...) been used to refer a surface string of verbs or verb-like or verb phrase-like items which occur within what appears to be a single clause (...)”.

In recent literature, Aikhenvald (2006: 4–21) presents a more detailed definition, stating that a serial verb construction is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort. She notes that serial verb constructions are monoclausal, they have just one tense, aspect, and polarity value, and may share core and other arguments. Each component must be able to occur on its own.

Bisang (2001: 1408) for his part defines verb serialization in a broad sense as the unmarked juxtaposition of two or more verbs or verbal phrases (with or without actor and/or undergoer), each of which would also be able to form a sentence on its own. This definition is consistent with Li and Thompson (1981: 594) as they use the term in Chinese to refer to a sentence that contains two or more verb phrases or clauses juxtaposed without any marker indicating the relationship between them.

Stewart (1998: 200–201) in the formalist side, however, gives a much more restricted definition, only accepting cases where both subjects and objects are shared. He (1998: 194–195) denies the existence of serial verb constructions in Chinese altogether, arguing the clause internal structures to belong to verb compounding, while the multi-event descriptions are excluded in principle because of the presence of a separate subject. For him (1998: 250–255), control constructions with PROs involve covert subordination and a nonfinite verb form, while structures with pros involve covert coordination. He comments on the rather loose linkage between the verbs in many multi-event descriptions in Chinese, noting the possibility of negation before the second verb and a perfective marker on both verbs, as shown in (1):

- (1) a. 李白买(了)LGB看(了)。
Libai mai (le) LGB kan (le)
 Libai buy ASP LGB look ASP
 ‘Libai bought LGB and he did read it.’
- b. 李白买了LGB不看。
Libai mai le LGB bu kan
 Libai buy ASP LGB NEG look
 ‘Libai bought LGB not to read it.’ (Stewart 1998: 197.²)

Stewart does not speculate on the syntactic nature of the above constructions. He, however, refers to Wu (forthcoming) who analyzes them as coordinate constructions realized as CP adjuncts. Given that consequential serial verb constructions, which describe connected events with coreferential objects, are analyzed by Stewart as VP adjuncts, the CP adjuncts could perhaps be interpreted as involving a clause chaining type of phenomenon, where the component clauses under the same absolute tense may have temporal-aspectual interdependences.

In conclusion, the above speculations highlight the problems in distinguishing between finite and nonfinite verb forms together with coordinate and subordinate clause linkage in languages that do not make a clear formal distinction between a verb and a noun. Next, I will examine the line between finiteness and nonfiniteness, and then discuss converbs, medial verbs, and their relationship to coordinate and subordinate linkage.

² Without a context these example are a bit odd.

3. Finite vs. nonfinite verb forms

The term finite verb normally refers to a verb that takes a set of obligatory verbal markers and can stand alone to form a sentence. Nonfinite verbs, on the other hand, are dependent verb forms that lack the finite verbal marking and occur in subordinate clauses. In other words, a nonfinite verb has lost part of its verbness becoming less a verb than the finite verb is. It cannot function as an independent predicate, and must instead be integrated in the structure of another verb.

Bisang (2001: 1403) states that one way to look at the concept of finiteness is to take it as a scalar phenomenon. Increasing degree of nominalization and of thematic coherence (i.e. referential continuity, sequential action continuity, and tense-aspect-modal continuity) are both indicators of a decreasing degree of finiteness. Accordingly, nonfinite verb forms, such as participles, infinitives, and verbal nouns, are typically used in descriptions of overlapping events with more referential continuity, sequential action continuity, and tense-aspect-modal continuity. However, as I will show later, descriptions of overlapping events may also take the form of verb serialization so that the deranking of the verb, which takes place along with the increasing degree of thematic coherence, is shown in decreasing level of transitivity of the verb, rather than in increasing degree of nominalization.

Bisang (2001: 1405) continues by stating that another way to make a distinction between finite and nonfinite verb forms (languages) is to look at the asymmetry created by the obligatoriness of certain verbal markers. Languages where there are no obligatory categories cannot develop any asymmetry between finite and nonfinite clauses, since asymmetry needs either exclusion of some categories or the addition of information not necessary in the main clause to the subordinate form. Chinese is one example of such languages. However, as I will show, deranking of the verb, shown in many languages in the formal asymmetry, takes place in languages like Chinese also, even though no formal asymmetry is present, and may be shown in the verb's inability to take certain verbal markers.

Finally, Bisang (2001: 1405) notices that converbs are verb forms that are specialized for combining clauses sequentially or adverbially. They are nonfinite in the sense that they cannot form a sentence on their own. Haspelmath (1995: 4), for his part, explicitly defines converbs as nonfinite subordinate adverbial verb forms.

4. Converbs vs. medial verbs

Haspelmath (1995: 20–21) states that the notion of the medial verb has been used in verb-final Papuan languages involving switch-reference systems. Medial verbs cannot be used in isolated independent sentences; they share the mood and tense of the controlling verb, and the reference of their subject is often determined by the controlling verb. As medial verbs can be combined into long sequences, structures of this type have been characterized as clause chaining, and languages where they are prominent as clause-chaining languages. Haspelmath also suggests that sequential structures in many African languages should be considered an analogous phenomenon.

Example (2) shows clause chaining in Chuave, a Papuan switch-reference OV language:

- (2) *yai kuba i-re kei su-n-goro fu-m-e*
 man stick get-SEQ.SP dog hit-SEQ-DFP go-3SG-INDIC
 ‘The man got a stick, hit the dog, and it went away.’ (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 448.)

Example (3) shows a similar kind of phenomenon in Swahili, an African VO language, where *-ka-* is a prefix marking sequentiality:

- (3) *tu-li-kwenda mji-ni tu-ka-mw-ona Ali tu-ka-sema na-ye*
 1P-PST-go village-LOC 1P-SEQ-3SG-see Ali 1P-SEQ-speak with-3SG
tu-ka-ondoka tu-ka-rudi kwe-tu
 1P-SEQ-come.away 1P-SEQ-return LOC.CL-our
 ‘We went to the village, and saw Ali, and spoke with him, and came away, and returned to our home.’ (Bisang 2001: 1407.)

Haspelmath (1995: 23) continues stating that there are also converbs which are used analogously to medial verbs in long chaining sequences of clauses. He refers to certain converbs in Turkmenian and Kumyk, noting that Bickel (1991: 35) explicitly argues an analogous Turkish example to show clause chaining. These arguments thus set together clause chaining and converb formation, which in the above was defined as involving nonfinite subordinate adverbial verb forms. However, Haspelmath (1995: 24) points out that several linguists working on clause-chaining languages have observed that, despite the fact that a medial verb lacks its own tense, mood, etc., and cannot occur independently, medial clauses are not subordinate.

This leads to the conclusion that not all converbs are subordinate either, a fact explicitly stated by Nedjalkov (1995: 98) for certain converbs in Turkic languages. An example of coordinate converbs in Kumyk is given in (4):

- (4) *bu-lar, köl-nü gör-üp arba-syn toqtat-yp čemodan-ny*
 this-PL lake-ACC see-CONV cart-3.POSS stop-CONV suitcase-ACC
Manaj-ğa da göter-t-ip köl-nü jağa-syn-a bar-yp
 Manaj-DAT also take-CAUS-CONV lake-GEN bank-3.POSS-DAT go-CONV
čemodan-ny aç-yp šišla-ny čyğar-yp tiz-ip
 suitcase-ACC open-CONV bottle-ACC take.out-CONV put.in.row-CONV
suw-dan toltur-up qajtar-yp čemodan-ğa sal-la
 water-ABL fill-CONV return-CONV suitcase-DAT put-PRS
 ‘They see the lake, make Manaj bring the suitcase, go to the bank of the lake, open the suitcase, stop their cart, take out the bottles putting them in the row, fill them with water, and put them back into the suitcase.’ (Haspelmath 1995: 7.)

Finally, Stewart (1998: 4–5) states that certain particles in Japanese traditionally analyzed as markers of converbs have been reinterpreted and the respective structures reanalyzed as serial verb constructions. One of these is the *-te* converb (cf. Nishiyama 1995). Haspelmath (1995: 26) on the other hand refers to Kuno (1973) and notes that, according to Kuno, clauses with *-te* converb are subordinate when they are same subject, but coordinate when they are different subject. Example (6) shows the Japanese *-te* converb:

- (5) *Koobe-e it-te tomodachi-ni at-te issho-ni tabe-masu*
 Koobe-DIR go-CONV friend-DAT meet-CONV together-DAT eat-PRS.HON
 ‘[I] go to Kobe, meet my friend, and [we] eat together.’ (Bisang 2001: 1405.)

Nedjalkov (1995: 98–99) for his part divides converbs into three basic types: converbs proper which function as adverbials in simple sentences; coordinative converbs that have a similar function as the English conjunction *and*; and conjunctive converbs, whose function is similar to the function of subordinating conjunctions in European languages. From the theoretical point of view, including coordinate verb forms under the definition of converb seems a less than ideal solution in that the name converb (converted verb) implies something less than a full verb, linking converbs to other nonfinite verb forms. On the other hand, Nedjalkov’s

division gives a handy way to refer to coordinate verb forms traditionally called converbs.

In summary, both clause chaining involving medial and final verb forms and concatenation of coordinate converbs are similar to verb serialization in a broad sense in that all involve sequences of successive coordinate structures used to advance the narrative.

5. Verb–verb constructions in Chinese

Chinese is an isolating language with little morphology. It has several aspect particles, such as *le*, marking perfective; *zhe*, marking resultative (or in some cases imperfective); and *guo*, marking experiential perfect. The zero-marked neutral aspect is, however, always possible. A complicated system of complement verbs, which are grammaticalized in varying degrees, are part of the aspectual system (Smith 1991: 343). A complement verb immediately following the main verb gives the main verb a completive meaning (Fan et al. 1988: 169–170), while a complement verb mediated by the structural particle *de* conveys a non-completive (Fan et al. 1988: 154–155) or an irrealis (deontic) meaning (Fan et al. 1988: 206–207). In respect to the argument structure, the verb in Chinese shows no distinction between an active and a passive voice. However, Chinese has a system of *ba*- and *bei*-constructions, which is used to make explicit the orientation of the verb and, at the same time, to topicalize or to dispose the patient (cf. Li 1986: 222). Chinese has many sentence particles, the most common of which is the phase particle *le*, which expresses a change in reality or in the consciousness of the speaker (cf. Yue 2003: 92).

In their typological study of basic relations in simple sentences, Li and Thompson (1976: 459) divide languages into subject-prominent, where the basic relation is subject–predicate, and topic-prominent, where the basic relation is topic–comment. Topics are always definite (or generic/specific). Thus, an unmarked noun phrase in Chinese must be interpreted as definite if it occurs in the topic, but indefinite if it is part of the comment. Likewise, in Tibetan, an unmarked noun phrase in the beginning of the clause tends to be interpreted as part of the comment and is not easily taken as the topic, while a noun phrase in the beginning of the clause and succeeded by a demonstrative is readily interpreted as the topic.

Example (6) in Chinese shows how the position of a constituent in terms of topic–comment affects its interpretation as definite or indefinite.

In (6a), *che* ‘car’ functions as the topic and must be interpreted as definite, while in (6b), it occurs in the comment and is interpreted as indefinite:

- (6) a. 车没来。
che mei lai
 car NEG come
 ‘The car didn’t come.’
- b. 没来什么车。
mei lai shenme che
 NEG come what car
 ‘A car did not come.’ (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 219.)

Example (7) in Tibetan shows how the interpretation of the position in terms of topic-comment depends on the definiteness of the constituent. In (7a), *smyu gu* ‘pen’ in the beginning of the clause lacks any definite marking and is not easily interpreted as the topic; in (7b), *smyu gu* ‘pen’ in the beginning of the clause is followed by the demonstrative ‘*di* ‘this’ and is readily interpreted as the topic. In (8c), the pronoun ‘*di* ‘this’ itself functions as the topic, while *smyu gu* ‘pen’ is interpreted as part of the comment:

- (7) a. *smyu.gu nag.po red*
 pen black be:ASSERT
 ‘[This] is a black pen.’
- b. *smyu.gu ’di nag.po red*
 pen this black be:ASSERT
 ‘This pen is black.’
- c. *’di smyu.gu nag.po red*
 this pen black be:ASSERT
 ‘This is a black pen.’ (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 95, analysis mine.)

The conceptualization of an event in terms of topic–comment in topic-prominent languages is also reflected in mapping the secondary predicates in the semantic representation of the clause into syntax. The following examples show how the secondary predicates in the semantic representation of a clause have been realized in the syntactic structure in English. The semantic representations are given in Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) model, introduced by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997).

In (A), the secondary predicates in the semantic structure of the primary predicate *immerse* have been realized as adverbs of different levels in the syntactic structure of the clause:

- (A) **evident'** ([**slow'** (**do'** (Leslie, \emptyset))] CAUSE [BECOME [**complete'** (**immersed'** (language, Leslie))]])
 Leslie *has been immersing* herself **completely** in the new language **slowly, evidently**.
 (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 167.)

In (B), the locative predicate *be-on* together with its internal argument *table* is realized as a prepositional phrase *on the table*, which functions as an oblique argument in the syntactic argument structure of the primary predicate *put*:

- (B) [**do'** (Sally, \emptyset)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-on'** (table, book)]
 Sally *put* the book **on the table**.
 (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 127; where x = Sally, y = table z = book.)

In (C), the secondary predicate *use* with its internal argument *spoon* is realized as a prepositional phrase *with a spoon*, which functions as an oblique argument in the syntactic argument structure of the primary predicate *eat*:

- (C) **do'** (Abdul, [**eat'** (Abdul, cereal) ^ **use'** (Abdul, spoon)])
 Abdul *ate* the cereal **with a spoon**.
 (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 121.)

In (D), the locative predicate *be-in* with its internal argument *kitchen* is realized as prepositional phrase *in the kitchen*, which functions as an adjunct in the syntactic argument structure of the primary predicate *bake*:

- (D) **be-in'** (kitchen, [[**do'** (Sam, \emptyset)] CAUSE [BECOME **baked'** (cake)])]
 Sam *baked* a cake **in the kitchen**.
 (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 163.)

In (E), the control predicate *say* together with the clause connective CAUSE are realized as the matrix verb *persuade*, while the clause connective PURP together with the lexical predicate *get* are realized as a nonfinite verb form *to get*, which is embedded in the syntactic structure of the matrix verb *persuade*:

- (E) [**do'** (I, [**say'** (I, he_i)])] CAUSE [[**do'** (he_i, \emptyset)] CAUSE [BECOME **have'** (he_i, fish)] PURP [BECOME **have'** (mother, fish)]]
 I *persuaded* him *to get* fish for mother.
 (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 553.)

The above examples show that, in subject-prominent languages, such as English, where the basic relation is predicate and its arguments, the secondary predicates together with their internal arguments are embedded in the argument structure of the primary predicate. They lose part of their verbal character and obtain nominal features instead, occurring as adverbs, prepositions, and nonfinite verb forms in the syntactic structure of the primary predicate.

In topic-prominent languages, where the basic relation is topic and predicate, the secondary predicates providing background information are realized as NPs, PPs, or adverbs in the beginning of the clause, where they form a rather loose relationship with the predicate verb, while the secondary predicates advancing the narrative and providing foreground information are integrated in the predicate either as adverbs or as serialized verbs.

In the Mandarin example (8), the loose relationship that the topical constituents in the beginning of the clause form with the predicate verb can be seen in the possibility to leave out the preposition.

- (8) (在) 圖書館 (里) 他呆了十分鐘就離開了。
 (zai) *tushuguan* (li) ta dai le shi fenzhong jiu likai le
 (in) library (inside) he stay PRF ten minute then leave PRF:PHS
 '(In) the library, he stayed ten minutes and then left.' (Li 1986: 45, analysis mine.)

Examples (9–11) in Mandarin together with their English translations, on the other hand, show the different way the two languages handle secondary predicates of displacement (9), transition (10), and transformation (11). In English, these predicates together with their arguments are integrated into the argument structure of the primary predicate occurring as prepositional phrases, while in Chinese they form a serial verb construction with the primary predicate. The verbal status of the secondary predicate has been made explicit by the position of the aspect particle *le*, which, when present, must follow the second verb, i.e. the verb which expresses displacement, transition, or transformation and which is realized as a preposition in English:

- (9) 把我们兄弟的热血洒在了战场上，难道就为保存一堆臭粪吗？
ba women xiongdi de re xue sa zai le zhanchang shang
 DISP we brothers STR hot blood shed be PRF battlefield on
nandao jiu wei baocun yi dui chou fen ma
 how.come then because.of keep one pile stinking dung QST
 ‘How can it be that the blood of our brothers was *shed on* the battlefield just to keep a pile of stinking dung?’ (Lao 2003: 51, analysis mine.)
- (10) 它们自己已是那么自由也把自由之感传达给了别人。
tamen ziji yi shi name ziyou ye ba ziyou zhi gan
 they self already be like.that free also DISP freedom STR feeling
chuanda gei le bieren
 transfer give PRF others
 ‘They themselves were already so free and also *transferred* the feeling of freedom to other people.’ (Chi 2002: 160, analysis mine.)
- (11) 小弟让他给培养成了家里的唯一的知识分子。
xiao di rang ta gei peiyang cheng le jia li de weiyi de
 little brother pass he on educate become PRF home in STR only STR
zhishi fenzi
 intelligentsia
 ‘The younger brother was the only one in the family that was *educated to* a member of intelligentsia by him.’ (Liu 1992: 78, analysis mine.)

Moreover, examples (12–14) in Mandarin together with their English translations show the different way the two languages handle the lexical predicates in the semantic structure of a control predicate. In English, the control predicate occurs as a matrix verb, while the lexical predicate takes a nonfinite form and is integrated in the argument structure of the matrix verb. In Chinese, the lexical predicate and the control predicate together with their arguments form a serial verb construction. The verbal status of the lexical predicate has been made explicit by the position of the aspect particle *le* or *guo*, which, when present, must follow the second verb, i.e. the lexical verb which is realized as a nonfinite verb form in English.

In (12), the purposive verb *qu* ‘go’ is followed by the lexical verb *kan* ‘look at’, which takes the experiential particle *guo*:

- (12) 他病了以后，我去医院看过他。
ta bing le yihou wo qu yiyuan kan guo ta
 he get.sick PRF after I go hospital see EXP he
 ‘After he got sick, I *went* to hospital *to see* him.’ (Zheng et al. 1992: 93, analysis mine)

In (13), the causative verb *jiao* ‘tell, make’ is followed by the lexical verb *huan* ‘change for’, which takes the perfective particle *le*. In Mandarin Chinese, basic causatives are syntactically simple and do not take any aspect markers (Li 1986: 143). The lexical verb, on the other hand, is relatively free and can take any verbal marking (Li 1986: 162).

- (13) 當初不知道是什么鬼跟上了我，叫我用一只戒指換了個羅漢錢，
害得後來被人打了個半死。
dangchu bu zhidao shi shenme gui gen shang le wo
in.the.beginning NEG know be what devil follow ascend PRF I
jiao wo yong yi zhi jiezhi huan le ge luohanqian
make I use one CL ring change.for PRF CL luohan.coin
hai-de houlai bei ren da le ge ban si
do.harm-STR later pass people beat PRF CL half dead
‘In the beginning, I don’t know, what kind of devil entered in me and *made* me *change* a ring for a ‘luohan’ coin, which harmed me so that later I got beaten half dead by people.’ (Li 1986: 139, analysis mine.)

In (14), the causative verb of compulsion *qiangpo* ‘force’ is followed by the lexical verb *dingli* ‘conclude, make’, which takes the perfective particle *le*. In Mandarin, verbs of compulsion, encouragement, and demand can take the experiential particle *guo*, some of them must take the resultative particle *zhe*, and none of them can take the perfective particle *le* (Li 1986: 145). In contrast, the lexical verb is relatively free and can take any verbal marking (Li 1986: 162).

- (14) 帝國主義列強強迫中國訂立了許多不平等條約。
diguo zhuyi lieqiang qiangpo Zhongguo dingli le xuduo bu
imperialist superpowers force China make PRF many NEG
pingdeng tiaoyue
unequal treaty
‘The imperialist superpowers *forced* China to *make* many unequal treaties.’ (Li 1986: 143, analysis mine.)

The above examples show that the way the secondary predicates in the semantic representation are mapped in the syntactic structure depends on the basic relation in the language. Subject-prominent languages tend to integrate the secondary predicates in the argument structure of the primary predicate, while in topic-prominent languages, the secondary predicates tend to be concatenated with the primary predicate, forming together a serial verb construction. The above examples also show that the tightness

of the linkage between the serialized verbs varies depending on the degree of thematic coherence. With basic causative verbs, as in (13), practically no material can occur between the verbs, while with verbs of compulsion, as in (14), the first verb can take the experiential particle *guo* and the resultative particle *zhe* but not the perfective particle *le*. When the semantic relationship between the verbs gradually loosens, the restrictions on the first verb disappear.

Since serial verb constructions represent foregrounding information, they can be used in sequences of successive clauses to advance the narrative. According to Bisang (1995: 139), these chains can be used to describe a linear sequence of several events or they can be applied to establish a certain relation between two events. In both cases, the order of the verbs is iconic. In describing a sequence of events, as in (15) in Khmer, the order of the verbs follows the temporal order of the events:

- (15) *pdɣy kə: kraok laəŋ dae(r) tɣulɣ:k tuək m̄:əy kotəəh n̄h*
 husband thus get.up go.up go/walk lift/raise water one bucket DEM
yó:k t̄y sraok l̄: sa:ha:y n̄y knoŋ pi:əŋ n̄h slap t̄y
 take go pour on lover live/be.at in pitcher DEM die go
 ‘The husband got up, went away, raised one bucket of [boiling] water, and poured it over the lover [of his wife] in the pitcher [where he tried to hide] who died.’
 (Bisang 1995: 139.)

On the other hand, in establishment of a relation between two events, the first verb functions as the topic and presents an event for the second verb to establish a relation of another event with it. The topical interpretation of the first verb is consistent with the tendency of the first verb to be more restricted and static in nature, as was shown in (13) and (14) in Chinese. Example (16) shows a chain establishing a conditional relationship in Vietnamese:

- (16) *muón biết đ̄u'q'c thua phải đi hỏi*
 want know win lose must go ask
 ‘[If you] want to know [whether you] won [or] lost, [you] have to go ask.’ (Bisang 1995: 139.)

The above two functions are often intermixed in long sequences of clauses bound by verb serialization. There is a lot of indeterminacy in the interpretation of the interclausal relations and a lot of variation in the tightness of the linkage. Examples (17–19) give some chains of juxtaposed clauses with various relationships in Mandarin:

- (17) 他買了化肥找車拉回家。
ta mai le huafei zhao che la hui jia
 he buy PRF fertilizer search cart pull return home
 'He bought fertilizer, searched a cart, and pulled it back home.' (Li 1986: 130, analysis mine.)
- (18) 我留幾個蘋果回家吃。
wo liu ji ge pingguo hui jia chi
 I leave some CL apple return home eat
 'I'll leave some apples to eat after returning home.' (Li 1986: 131, analysis mine.)
- (19) 他熬夜趕稿子累病了。
ta aoye gan gaozi lei bing le
 he stay.up.all.night hurry.through manuscript be.tired get.sick PRF:PHS
 'He stayed up all night hurrying to finish a paper thus being so tired that got sick.'
 (Li 1986: 131, analysis mine.)

In coordinate structures, part of the information in establishing relations between clauses is established in the order of the clauses. A fixed position is thus an inherent property of coordination, and combines verb serialization with other coordinate clause linkage strategies. Opposed to this, as Haspelmath (1995: 13) points out in discussing the criteria for discerning subordination, subordinate clauses may come after or before the superordinate verb.

For presenting background information, Mandarin has modern constructions corresponding more or less the structures formed by subordinative conjunctions in European languages. Traditionally, however, backgrounding information is realized by embedded structures formed by nominalizations, where the nominalizer is a noun that names the relationship, as shown in (20a):³

- (20) a. 我去中国西北的时候，吃过麻辣烫。
wo qu Zhongguo xibei de shihou chi guo malatang
 I go China northwest STR time eat EXP 'mala' soup
 'When I went to the northwestern China, I ate 'mala' soup.' (My own example.)

³ Example (20) has been discussed with Huang Hua, who is a native speaker of Mandarin, graduated from the Chinese language department of Nanjing University.

Clauses headed by a relational noun, such as (20a), are subordinate, and even though (20a) is the normal order, (20b) is still possible, and can be used to express the same meaning:

(20) b. 我吃过麻辣烫，是我去中国西北的时候。

wo chi guo malatang shi wo qu Zhongguo xibei de
I eat EXP 'mala'.soup be I go China northwest STR

shihou

time

'I have eaten 'mala' soup, (this) was when I went to the northwestern China.'
(My own example.)

In this chapter, I have shown the correlation of the basic relation of subject–predicate or topic–comment in a language with its organization of information both in simple clauses and in complex sentences. I have shown that in topic-prominent languages like Chinese, multiple predicates that advance the narrative often form long sequences of successive clauses involving verb serialization. Next, I will turn to the corresponding structures in Tibetan.

6. Verb–verb constructions in Tibetan

In his grammar of Classical Tibetan, Hahn (1974: 57) states that it is more difficult to distinguish the line between a verbal stem and a nominal stem in Tibetan than in most Indo-European languages, and a notable number of stems can be treated as both by a case particle. He (1974: 111–120) notices that, when a verbal stem, or a verbal stem nominalized by the nominalizer *pa*, takes a case particle and acts as the predicate of the clause, the case particle marks the relationship of the clause with the coordinated clause which follows, or, if the verb taking the case particle is immediately followed by another verb, the relationship of the verb with the succeeding verb. Functionally, a clause (or a verbal form) formed in this way corresponds to a subordinate clause (or an infinitive) in European languages.

Hahn (1974: 61) states furthermore that the Tibetan verb paradigm contains three tenses and an imperative form and that the language also makes a distinction between a causative and a resultative stem (Hahn 1974: 189). Concerning causatives and resultatives, Vollmann (2008: 351–352) for his part goes back in the history, noticing that the old distinction of *bdag* 'self' vs. *gzhan* 'other', where present actions, the agent, and the

instrument are *bdag* ‘self’, while future actions and the object involved are *gzhan* ‘other’, seems to describe an older state of grammar, in which the present and future stem forms are opposed in the same way as nowadays the causative and resultative forms. This opposition is still seen in word formation, where a word form derived from a present tense stem is agent (action) orientated (e.g. *byed pa* ‘doer’), while a word form derived from a future tense stem is patient (result) orientated (e.g. *bya ba* ‘that which is done’) (cf. Vollmann 2008: 346). The verb in Tibetan is neutral to voice distinctions and can take both active and passive viewpoints (Hahn 1974: 28). Reorientation strategies, that take advantage of the causative–resultative distinction, allow to make the viewpoint of the verb explicit.⁴ The importance of the neutrality of the basic verb and the reorientation strategies comes clear, when changes in transitivity are discussed later.

In modern Lhasa and Amdo Tibetan verbal systems, which have their basis on the old system, temporal-aspectual categories are marked by complement verbs (or particles), which are also used to express evidential values or the perspective of the speaker. In their grammar of modern Lhasa Tibetan, Tournadre and Dorje (2003: 162–169) state that the present and imperfective past are identical, past perfective is divided into simple past perfective, which gets an aorist (sometimes a perfect) interpretation, and perfect, which conveys a durative or a resultative meaning. In simple past perfective auxiliaries, *yin* ‘be’ represents intentional and *red* ‘be’ assertive evidential mood, while in perfect auxiliaries, *red* ‘be’ represents assertive, *bzhag* ‘put, place’ inferential, *dug* ‘exist’ testimonial and *yod* ‘exist’ egophoric evidential mood.⁵

⁴ Vollmann (2007: 367–368) describes periphrastic constructions taking the auxiliary ‘*gyur* ‘become’ for resultative viewpoint and the auxiliary *byed* ‘do’ for causative viewpoint in Written Tibetan, as well as analytical verb inflections, such as the (simple past) perfective *pa yin/red*, for causative viewpoint, and auxiliaries, such as *bzhag* ‘put, place’, *byung* ‘get; appear’, *song* ‘go; become’, for resultative viewpoint in Spoken Tibetan. Vollmann notices that all these periphrastic systems or verbal constructions have developed as a result of the inability to make the phonological distinctions anymore in many cases.

⁵ Linguists working on Tibetan often analyze the perspective markers using a conjunct–disjunct system. This system was first applied by Hale (1980) to Newari. In a conjunct–disjunct system, conjunct refers to the perspective of the 1st person, and disjunct to the perspective of the 2nd and 3rd person. Intentional evidentials, referring to the 1st person’s intentional and volitional action, and egophoric evidentials, referring to

In their grammar of colloquial Amdo Tibetan, Sung and Rgyal (2005: 205–209) on the other hand distinguish plain, witnessed, focused, and durative (or resultative) past in addition to present progressive and future tenses. Plain and witnessed past are marked by a complement verb, either *btang* ‘send; make, cause’, which is taken by active (causative) verbs, or *song* ‘go; become’, which is taken by spontaneous (resultative) verbs (cf. Wang 1995: 56).⁶ Both give the main verb a completive (or a resultative) meaning (cf. Haller 2007: 91 ex. (8b, c) for *btang*; Vollmann 2007: 368 table 3 for *song*). The complement verb in plain past is either followed by the particle *nga* indicating subjective perspective or by the particle *gzig* indicating objective perspective. Denwood (2007: 59) interprets the objective perspective particle as an auxiliary indicating indirect evidence and originating from the Written Tibetan verb *zug*, past form of ‘*dzugs* ‘put, place’ (cf. Haller 2007: 91–94 ex. (8b), (9b), (20)). In witnessed past, the complement verb is followed by the particle *thal*, which indicates the speaker’s firsthand knowledge.

In above, I have given a short overview on three varieties of Tibetan and an analysis of their verbal systems. Before going to clause linkage and complex predicates, I will consider the nominalizer *pa* in more detail. As Vollmann (2007: 357–362) states in his article concerning active/stative case-marking type, Tibetan differs from English in that it can distinguish various levels of agent–patient relationships together with various levels of transitivity. Tibetan does not have any obligatory arguments or valency. I interpret this to mean that various levels of transitivity entails a continuum of verb classes between a prototypical verb and a noun with decreasing levels of transitivity reflected in the syntactic behavior of the items. The influence of the level of transitivity on the syntactic behavior of a verbal item makes Hahn’s (1974: 57) criteria for discerning between a verb and a noun on the basis of the element’s ability to take certain verbal particles problematic, as the item’s ability to take those particles also depends on its level of transitivity. And as the line between a verb and a noun is obscured in case of

the default 1st person’s perspective, belong to the conjunct viewpoint. Assertive evidentials, referring to a known fact; testimonial evidentials, referring to an event witnessed by the speaker; and inferential evidentials, referring to an event inferred by the speaker, belong to the disjunct viewpoint.

⁶ This system of complement verbs is thus also one of the systems in different varieties of Tibetan that makes explicit the distinction between the causative and resultative viewpoints.

predicating elements, there seems to be little motivation for nominalizations of a verb in a predicating function.

I argue, therefore, that the nominalizer *pa*, when taken by a verb stem in a predicating function, does not turn the verb into a verbal noun, but moves it towards the static end of the continuum, turning it into a static or a “nominal” verb instead. This leads to the deranking of the verb in a certain degree in the sense that a static verb is less able to take all the verbal markers than a dynamic or a prototypical verb. Thus, added on a verb stem, the nominalizer *pa* turns a verb into a verbal noun when the verb takes a referring function and into a “nominal” verb when the verb is in a predicating function, acting as a part of a complex predicate or a clause chain. In Amdo, these two functions of the nominalizer are marked by different particles so that the particle *no* turns a verb into a verbal noun and the particle *ne* into a “nominal” verb. In Chinese, on the other hand, even though the verbs in complex predicates or in verb chaining take no nominalizer or other overt marking, the same kind of deranking, manifested in the inability of the first verb to take certain verbal markers, happens anyway as was shown in examples (12–14). Finally, imperative forms, which are by nature dynamic, often have restrictions concerning static verbs. In Chinese, static verbs and adjectives describing states must take the resultative (imperfective) particle *zhe*, which turns the static verb dynamic (Zheng et al. 1992: 67–68). In Tibetan, past, present, and future stem can take the nominalizer (stativizer) *pa*, while the imperative stem is unable to do so.

The following examples present the different functions of the nominalizer *pa* taken by a verbal stem. In (21), the nominalizer *pa* is used to derive verbal adjectives in Written Tibetan:

- (21) *di skad bdag gis thos pa dus gcig na de'i tshe yul*
 this words I ERG hear:PST NZR time one LOC that:GEN time country
de na bram.ze phyin.te.yo.sha.sha zhe bya ba zhig yod de/
 that LOC Brahman Pindola.Dvaja so say:FUT NZR one exist CONT
bram.ze de'i chung.ma de rab.tu mi sdug cing mig
 Brahman that:GEN wife that very NEG beautiful CHN eye
gnyis kyang mi mthong ste/ mi mthong ba de la bu.pho ni
 two also NEG see CONT NEG see:PRS NZR that LOC son TOP
med kyil/ bu.mo bdun yod de/ rab.tu dngul phongs so/
 not.exist ADVERS daughter seven exist CONT very money lack DCL
 'These words once *heard* by me... That time, in that country, there was a Brahman
 (to be) called Pindola Dvaja. The wife of that Brahman was very ugly, and her two
 eyes did not see, and the *not seeing one* did not have a son, but had seven daughters,
 and [he] lacked money very much.' (Hahn 1974: 211,⁷ analysis mine.)

In (22), the nominalizer *pa* is used to derive verbal nouns with an abstract meaning in Written Tibetan:

- (22) *nad med pa ni/ rnyed pa'i mchog/ chos shes*
 illness not.exist NZR TOP find NZR:GEN most.high doctrine know
pa ni/ nor gyi mchog/ yid brtan pa/ gnyen gyi
 NZR TOP treasure GEN most.high heart settle.down NZR companion GEN
mchog/ nyan.ngan 'da pa/ bde.ba'i mchog
 most.high suffering exceed:PST NZR happiness:GEN most.high
 'Being without illness is the highest of the findings. Knowing the doctrine is the
 highest of all treasures. Having a steadfast mind is the highest of all companions.
 Being detached from suffering is the highest happiness.' (Periviita 2002: My notes,⁸
 analysis mine.)

In (23a), the nominalizer *pa* together with a case particle is added on a verb stem to form a clause connective, while in (23b), a case particle is added on a verb stem directly to form another connective in Written Tibetan:

- (23) a. *des rdo zhig blangs te' phangs pa dang/*
 that:ERG stone one pick:PST CONT be.thrown:PST NZR COORD
 'He picked up a stone, and it was thrown, and

⁷ This phrase comes from Sanskrit.

⁸ Tantra texts, possibly Candamaharosana tantra (see George 1974, personal discussion with Pirkko Periviita.)

- b. *rta'i rkang.pa la phog nas rkang.pa chag/*
 horse:GEN foot LOC hit:PST SEQ foot get.broken:PST
 hit the foot of the horse, *and so* the foot got broken.' (Hahn 1974: 212, analysis mine.)

In (24), the nominalizer *pa* together with an auxiliary are used in Written Tibetan to form complex predicates with various tense-aspectual or modal meanings depending on the case particle added to the nominalizer and the chosen auxiliary. In (24a), the verb taking the particle *pa* gets a durative present meaning, and in (24b), it gets a necessitative future meaning:

- (24) a. *(kong) 'jug ba yin/*
 (he) enter:PRS NZR be
 '(He) is (*in*) entering.' (Hahn 1974: 147, analysis mine.)
- b. *grong.khyer de dag dang yul.'khor de dag kyang kun.tu*
 city that PL SOC territory that PL also completely
bsrung bar 'gyur ro/
 guard:FUT NZR:PURP become:FUT⁹ DCL
 'Those cities and territories are *to be guarded* completely.' (Hahn 1974: 150, analysis mine.)

Finally, (25) and (26) show that the verb stem taking the nominalizer *pa* can also function as a finite predicate in Written Tibetan. In (25a, c), a verb with *pa* functions as the predicate of the clause; in (25b), a verb with *pa* followed by the auxiliary *yin* 'be' functions as the predicate; and in (25d), a simple verb form functions as the predicate:

- (25) a. *lus kyi sdom.pa legs pa ste/*
 body GEN commitment be.good NZR CONT
 'The commitment of the body *is good*,
- b. *ngag gi sdom.pa dag pa yin/*
 word GEN commitment be.pure NZR be
 the commitment of the word *is pure*,

⁹ Auxiliary 'gyur 'become' is used in translating the Sanskrit passive (Hahn 1974: 152). Notice that, as mentioned above with reference to Vollmann (2007: 367–368), the auxiliary 'gyur 'become' makes explicit the resultative viewpoint and the patient orientation of the verb, and suits thus to represent the passive function.

- c. *yid kyi sdom.pa legs pa ste/*
 mind GEN commitment be.good NZR CONT
 the commitment of the mind *is good*,
- d. *thams.cad du sdom.pa legs so//*
 everything LOC/ALL commitment be.good DCL
 the commitment of everything *is good*.' (Periviita 2002: my notes,¹⁰ analysis mine.)

In (25a, c, d), the verb is followed by a sentence particle. However, a sentence particle is not obligatory, as can be seen in (26), where in (26a), a verb with *pa* functions as the predicate, and in (26b), a simple verb form functions as the predicate:

- (26) a. *sdig.pa gang dag mi bgyis pa/*
 bad what PL NEG do:PST NZR
 'Stop doing whatever is bad,
- b. *dge.ba pun.sum.tshogs.pa spyad*
 good extreme(part.three.together) exercise:FUT
 learn to do good plentifully.' (Periviita 2002: my notes,¹¹ analysis mine.)

Examples (25) and (26) show that the verb form taking the particle *pa* is also a finite predicate. Example (24) shows that, in many complex predicates conveying various temporal-aspectual meanings, the first verb takes the nominalizer *pa*. Finally, example (23) shows that, in forming a clause connective, a case particle can either be added on a verb stem directly or mediated by the nominalizer *pa*. I will argue that, in all of these examples, the function of the particle *pa* is to stativize the verb, moving it towards the nominal end of the abovementioned continuum of decreasing level of transitivity. I will define the nominalizer *pa*, added to a verb stem in a predicating function, as a particle that marks an extension in space or time.¹² The nominalizer *pa* sets the focus on the event that gives the background in

¹⁰ Vinaya texts. See also Udanavarga (Zongtse 1990). (Personal discussion with Pirkko Periviita.)

¹¹ This text is common in all Buddhist literature, earliest found in Vinaya texts. The above is a quotation by Bon religion (see Laufer 1898). (Personal discussion with Pirkko Periviita.)

¹² Extent of an act, defined as displacement in space or time, is a category found in Tibeto-Burman languages, e.g. in Burmese, which has the particle *-k'ε* (Wheatley 2003: 203).

establishing a relationship between two events in the case of complex sentences, such as in (23); it sets the focus on the temporal-aspectual or modal values conveyed by the structure in the case of complex predicates, such as in (24); and finally, it sets the focus on the duration or distance in the case of simple predicates, such as in (25).

Indeterminacy in the line between a verb and a noun is not only a feature found in Written Tibetan, but also a feature present in varieties of modern Tibetan. Example (27) shows the nominalizer *rgyu* in modern Lhasa. A verb followed by *rgyu* is nominalized, and the nominalized verb form has a future or an imperfective past reference, often conveying a sense of obligation (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 177). In (27a), the nominalized verb form is followed by the adjectival modifier *mangpo* ‘much’:

- (27) a. *dbus.khul la mjal rgyu mang.po yod.pa.'dra*
 Central.Tibet LOC visit NZR many exist:be.likely
 ‘In Central Tibet, there seems to be *much worth visiting*.’ (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 298, analysis mine.)

In (27 b), the nominalizer *rgyu* has a function similar to a deontic auxiliary conveying a meaning of obligation. It is followed by a finite verbal marking.

- (27) b. *khong gnyid nyal rgyu ma byung song*
 he sleep fall.to.sleep NZR NEG get:PST¹³ CMT:TEST
 ‘His being obliged to get to sleep did not manage.’ (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 298, analysis mine.)

The above functions of the nominalizer *rgyu* can be compared with the functions of the deontic auxiliary ‘*dod* ‘want’ in different environments. In (28a), ‘*dod* functions as a deontic auxiliary with a meaning of desire and is followed by a finite verbal marking:

¹³ In (27b), the verb *byung* ‘get; appear’ functions as an auxiliary of completive aspect. This auxiliary is common in completive aspect of static verbs in Lhasa:

- nga de.ring yang.bskyar rgya.gar spa.se'i las.khungs la 'gro*
 I today again India passport:GEN office LOC go:PRS
dgos byung song
 need get:PST CMT:TEST
 ‘Today, I *needed to go* again to the Indian passport office.’ (Tashi 1987: 45, analysis mine.)

- (28) a. *nga tsho sgrung.deb klog 'dod yod*
 I PL story.book read:PRS want RES:EPHOR
 'We want to read some story books.' (Tashi 1990: 91, analysis mine.)

In (28b), the auxiliary *'dod* takes a nominal function and is followed by the adjectival modifier *chenpo* 'great':

- (28) b. *nga bod la 'gro 'dod chen.po yod*
 I Tibet LOC go:PRS want great exist:EPHOR
 'I have a great desire to go to Tibet.' (Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 285, analysis mine.)

Examples (27) and (28) are analogous to each other in that both the deontic verb *'dod* expressing desire and the nominalizer *rgyu* expressing obligation can turn a verbal noun act as a "nominal" (deontic) verb depending on whether the item taking *rgyu* has a referring or a predicating function. Analogous to the nominalizer *pa*, I define the nominalizer *rgyu*, added on a verb stem in a predicating function, as a particle that moves the verb towards the nominal end of the continuum of decreasing levels of transitivity and marks extension in time together with obligation.

The above examples in Written Tibetan and in modern Lhasa Tibetan show that Tibetan is like Chinese in that there is much indeterminacy in distinguishing a verb from a noun and that the same form can take both functions. A verb form may thus be interpreted as a verb, when in a predicating function, and as a noun, when in a referring function. The in-between cases, where the interpretation of the construction depends on defining the function of the verb form, are problematic, such as (23) and (24) in above. I will continue pursuing my argument that, in both cases, the verb taking the nominalizer *pa* preserves its verbal character, being turned into a static or a "nominal" verb, rather than into a verbal noun. I first consider (23) repeated here, and after dealing with it, go to (24):

- (23) a. *des rdo zhig blangs te' phangs pa dang/*
 that:ERG stone one pick:PST CONT be.thrown:PST NZR COORD
 'He picked up a stone, and it was thrown, and
- b. *rta'i rkang.pa la phog nas rkang.pa chag/*
 horse:GEN foot LOC hit:PST SEQ foot get.broken:PST
 hit the foot of the horse, and so the foot got broken.' (Hahn 1974: 212, analysis mine.)

In (23), the past tense verb *‘phangs* ‘be thrown’ followed by the particle *pa* takes the sociative case particle *dang*, and the past tense verb *phog* ‘hit’ takes the ablative case particle *nas*. One way to look at these verb forms would be to take them as nonfinite and subordinate, similar to the subordinate conjunctive converbs or quasi-converbs in many Eurasian languages. An alternative would be to take them as coordinate, similar to the coordinating converbs in Turkic, Mongolian, and many other eastern languages, where these converbs are used in chains of coordinate clauses to describe a sequence of actions in succession.

Mongolian has two coordinate converbs: the imperfective converb marked by *-ju/-cu* ‘and’ and the perfective converb marked by *-xad* ‘and then’ (Nedjalkov 1995: 110). Example (29) shows the narrative function of these two converbs as opposed to the backgrounding function of the subordinate (quasi-) converb marked by *-vsang-dur* ‘after’:

- (29) *tedüi qan köbegün anu nigen quyurqai modun-iyar beye-ben*
 then khan boy POSS one piece.of.wood wood-INSTR body-POSS
qaldqu-ju čisun yar-ya-ysan-dur bars ber čisun-i
 stab-IMPRF.CONV blood come.out-CAUS-PRF.PTCP-LOC tiger TOP blood-ACC
inu doliya-yad aman-iyar nege-n čida-yad
 POSS lick-PRF.CONV mouth-ACC:POSS open-MOD.CONV be.able-PRF.CONV
beye-deki miqan inu bara-tala ide-bei
 body-being.on meat POSS finish-TERM.CONV eat-PRT
 ‘Then the son of the khan stabbed his body with a piece of wood, *and after* he had let the blood come out, the tiger licked the blood, *and then* it was able to open its mouth, *and then* ate the flesh of his body until the end.’ (Grønbech & Krueger 1955: 44, analysis mine.)

Similar opposition was discussed in Chinese, where verb serialization has a narrative function as opposed to clauses where the verb is headed by a relational noun marking a subordinate temporal-adverbial function. Example (30) shows a similar opposition between clause connectives formed by the nominalizer *pa* together with a case particle and clause connectives formed by a relational noun in Written Tibetan:

- (30) *de.yang las rgyu.'bras la yid.ches gting tshugs pa*
 thus work cause.and.effect LOC faith foundation establish NZR
med pa'i rmongs.pa dgag ni 'dod.pa bde.ba zhid
 not.exist NZR:GEN fool PL TOP desire happiness some
thob par 'dod bzhin du las.'bras kha.stong tsam
 get NZR:PURP want be.in PURP cause.and.effect empty.words a.little.bit
las tshul.bzhin ma bsrung ba'i skyon gyis
 ABL sufficient NEG pay.attention:FUTNZR:GEN reason INSTR
bsgrub bya'i bya.ba srog.gcod ma.byin.len sogs dug
 accomplish:FUT do:FUT:GEN deed killing stealing etc. poison
gsum gyis kun.nas slangs pas sdug.bsngal 'ba'zhig gi
 three INSTR extremely lift:PST NZR:CAUS suffering only GEN
rgyu sgrub par byed de/
 reason accomplish:PRS NZR:PURP do:PRS CONT

'Thus, as for the fools that do not have a solid faith in the law of cause and effect, *because* they, in wanting to get their desires fulfilled and to find happiness and so taking the law of cause and effect nothing but empty words, do not pay sufficient attention to it, [*so*] the deeds they will accomplish, killing and stealing etc., are motivated to the extreme by the three poisons, *and thus* they get to accomplish only deeds that bring suffering.' (Bosson 1969: 120–121, analysis mine.)

Despite their similar meanings, the two connectives behave differently. In accordance to the criteria for subordination by Haspelmath (1995: 13), the clause taking the connective *ba'i skyon gyis* 'by reason of' can have a variable position in respect to the clause that expresses the consequence, as (31) shows:

- (31) *de.yang rang la sbyangs.pa sngon.song gis she.'jon med*
 so self LOC learning become.before INSTR capability not.have
pa'i skye.bo rnams kyis/ cho.srid gang thad.la
 NZR:GEN person PL ERG religion.and.politics whatever in.respect
she.'jon lhag.bsam drang.ldan gyi yon.tan.ldan dang ldan.pa.can
 capability devotion have.honesty GEN have.virtue SOC having.one
la lhag.par.du sdang bar byed pa de ni rang la
 LOC specially hate NZR:PURP do NZR that TOP self LOC
yon.tan de med pa'i rkyen gyis yin no/
 virtue that not.have NZR:GEN reason INSTR be DCL

'So, the fact that people who have not achieved capability by getting learned in the past, have a strong hatred for those who in respect to religion, politics and other things have virtues of capability, devotion and honesty, that is *because* they themselves do not have those virtues.' (Bosson 1969: 129, analysis mine.)

The clause taking the connective *pas* cannot take a variable position in the same way, since moving the clause would break the clause chain, here the

chain of cause and effect. Thus, the fixed order is not only due to syntactic rules, which demand that a clause with a finite verb form must end a chain of clauses, but it is also due to the iconicity, which is present in a clause chain and caused by the independent nature of the coordinated clauses (Haspelmath 1995: 14).¹⁴ In fact, a clause taking the connective *pas* and expressing reason can end a chain of clauses, but in that case, it does not form a pair with the preceding clause, but gives a reason for all which was said before, as (32) shows:

- (32) *de ni lhag.par du long.spyod cung.zad des khengs*
 that TOP special LOC/ALL fortune a.little.bit THAT:INSTR be.proud
te phyi nang mi shes kun la rgol ba dang/
 CONT outward inward NEG know all LOC quarrel:PRS NZR COORD
kha.drag snying.khams chen.pos chang 'thung sho rgyan sogs
 loud.voice enthusiasm big:INSTR wine drink:PRS lot cast:PRS etc.
spyod ngan sdig.spyod kho.nar 'jug par
 behaviour bad sinful.behaviour only enter.into:PRS NZR:PURP
'gyur te ngan.pa'i rigs kyi rang.bzhan yin pas so/
 become:PRS CONT bad:GEN kind GEN nature be NZR:CAUS DCL
 'As for that [person], he gets proud just for a little bit fortune, and unable to distinguish outward people from his own, he quarrels with everybody, and with loud voice and great enthusiasm drinking wine and casting lots etc. gets only into a bad and sinful behaviour, for so is the nature of bad people.' (Bosson 1969: 115–116, analysis mine.)

The above sentence shows the independent nature of the clause taking the connective *pas*. It is coordinate with the clause that precedes, but gives the reason for what follows, here for everything that was said: 'and thus it is (as was said)'.¹⁴

The different behavior of a clause taking a connective formed by a relational noun, such as *ba'i skyon gyis*, and a clause taking a connective formed by a case particle, such as *pas*, can thus be explained by the different function of the connectives. The former is a subordinate causal connective with the meaning 'by reason of', while the latter is a coordinate causal connective conveying the meaning 'and thus'. The meaning 'and' is implied by the iconicity present in clause chaining, and the meaning 'thus' is given by the case particle *-s*.

¹⁴ A similar iconicity of condition and response in a clause chain in Vietnamese was shown in above in example (16) from Bisang.

Example (33) from modern Amdo Tibetan literature is written in a literary style close to Written Tibetan. In addition to the coordinate connectives introduced above, it presents sentence particles, which show the mood of the sentence, and chain particles, which show chaining of clauses or verbs. Both particles form a coordinate linkage, where the verb taking the particle on it is medial and unable to form a sentence on its own. Example (33) presents the simultaneous connective *pa la*, the continuative particle *ste* and the chain particle *shing*:

- (33) *de ni stong.snang gi zhing.khams shig ste/ dkar.gsal zla.ba*
 that TOP empty GEN field SPEC CONT bright moon
nam.mkha'i dbyungs su mngon par 'phags shing/ rab.dkar
 sky:GEN area LOC/ALL emerge PURP rise CHN white
kha.bas g.yogs pa'i khor.yug thams.cad gsal lhang.nger
 snow:ERG cover NZR:GEN surroundings all clear clear:LOC/ALL
mngon pa la/ rab.rib kyi ldog.'od cig kyang 'tsher bzhing
 emerge NZR SIM dusk GEN reflection SPEC also radiate PROG
gda'/
 exist

'That was an empty field, *and* a bright moon emerged in the sky, *and* all the surroundings covered by bright white snow were made clearly visible, *and at the same time* had a reflection from the dusk.' (Chebrtan 1999: 27, analysis mine.)

The above analysis of nonfinal verb forms in Tibetan as analogous to coordinative converbs with a narrative function is supported by the fact that coordinative converbs are prevalent in the east of Eurasia (Nedjalkov 1995: 129). It also connects the Tibetan structures with the Chinese structures formed by chains of coordinate clauses bound by verb serialization.

Finally, I will consider the nominalizer *pa* in (24), repeated here:

- (24) a. *(kong) 'jug ba yin/*
 (he) enter:PRS NZR be
 '(He) is (*in*) entering.' (Hahn 1974: 147, analysis mine.)

- b. *grong.khyer de dag dang yul.'khor de dag kyang kun.tu*
 city that PL SOC territory that PL also completely
bsrung bar 'gyur ro/
 guard:FUT NZR:PURP become:FUT¹⁵ DCL
 'Those cities and territories are to *be guarded* completely.' (Hahn 1974: 150, analysis mine.)

In (24a), the verb takes the durative present marker *pa yin*, formed by the nominalizer *pa* and the auxiliary *yin* 'be', and in (24b), it takes the necessitative future marker *par 'gyur*, formed by the locative/allative (terminative) case on the nominalizer *pa*, and the auxiliary 'gyur 'become'. Before proceeding to the interpretation of the verb form, I will consider oppositions found in clause internal verb–verb structures in Amdo Tibetan.

In (34a), the verb *bshad* 'say' and the verb *btang* 'send; make, cause' form a serial verb construction, where the verb *bshad* functions as the main verb and the verb *btang* gives it a past completive meaning. Both verbs are unmarked and both can form a sentence on their own.

- (34) a. *ngas khur.ge 'a bshad btang nga/*
 I:ERG he LOC say CAUS.CMT SUBJ
 'I told it to him.' (Dorje 2004: my notes, analysis mine.)

In (34b), however, the first verb *bshad* 'say' takes the simultaneous particle *la*, and thereby the structure has a future completive meaning. Even though the first verb in (34b) is neither unmarked nor able to form a sentence on its own, the structure is analogous to (34a) and should be analyzed in a similar way as a linkage of two serialized verbs.

- (34) b. *ngas khur.ge yong na bshad la btang/*
 I:ERG he come LOC say SIM CAUS.CMT
 'When he comes, I will tell him.' (Dorje 2004: my notes, analysis mine.)

Moreover, in (35a), the verb *khyer* 'take' and the verb *song* 'go' form a serial verb construction, where the verb *khyer* functions as the main verb and the verb *song* marks a movement away and gives the main verb a past completive interpretation:

¹⁵ Auxiliary 'gyur 'become' is used in translating the Sanskrit passive (Hahn 1974: 152). Notice that, as mentioned above with reference to Vollmann (2007: 367–368), the auxiliary 'gyur 'become' makes explicit the resultative viewpoint and the patient orientation of the verb, and suits thus to represent the passive function.

- (35) a. *ngas za.ma khyer song nga/*
 I:ERG food take go:RES.CMT SUBJ
 ‘I took the food away.’ (Dorje 2004: my notes, analysis mine.)

In (35b), the main verb *khyer* ‘take’ takes the simultaneous particle *la*, whereby the structure gets a future completive meaning. In a structure containing the purposive particle *la*, the verb *yong* ‘come’ marks a movement towards and also gives the main verb a future completive interpretation:

- (35) b. *ngas khyod ‘a ja khyer ra yong/*
 I:ERG you LOC tea take SIM come:RES.CMT
 ‘I will bring you tea.’ (Dorje 2004: my notes, analysis mine.)

In (35b’), the verb *yong* takes the imperative form *shog* and gives the main verb an imperative interpretation:

- (35) b’. *za.ma khyer ra shog/*
 food take SIM come:IMP
 ‘Bring the food.’ (Dorje 2004: my notes, analysis mine.)

In (35c), the main verb *khyer* ‘take’ takes the sequential particle *nas*, whereby the structure gets a durative completive meaning. In a structure containing the sequential particle *nas*, the verb *song* ‘go’ marks a movement away and gives the main verb a durative completive interpretation:

- (35) c. *ngas za.ma khyer ras song nga/*
 I:ERG food take SEQ go:RES.CMT SUBJ
 ‘I went taking the food away.’ (Dorje 2004: my notes, analysis mine.)

In (35c’), the verb *yong* ‘come’ marks a movement towards:

- (35) c’. *ngas za.ma khyer ras yong nga/*
 I:ERG food take SEQ come:RES.CMT SUBJ
 ‘I came bringing the food.’ (Dorje 2004: my notes, analysis mine.)

The above oppositions indicate that clause internal verb–verb structures, such as those in (24) as well as those in (34) and (35), are best analyzed as verb serialization. In the above verb–verb structures, however, the first verb often takes a case particle and thus violates the condition that only allows two unmarked verbs which are able to form a sentence on their own to occur

in verb serialization. Notice that a similar situation also arises in Mandarin in cases where structural particles occur in serial verb constructions, as shown in (36) and (37).

In (36),¹⁶ where (36a) is a positive and (36b) a negative structure, the first verb takes the structural particle *de*, which gives the construction an interpretation of qualitative evaluation as opposed to a resultative interpretation, which is conveyed by zero marking on the first verb in (36c):

- (36) a. 他寫得好。
ta xie-de hao
 he write-STR be.good
 'He writes well.'
- b. 他寫得不好。
ta xie-de bu hao
 he write-STR NEG be.good
 'He writes not well.'
- c. 他寫好了。
ta xie hao le
 he write be.good PRF
 'He got (it) written.' (My own examples.)

In (37), where (37a) is a positive and (37b) a negative structure, the first verb takes the structural particle *de* in (37a), and the negative particle *bu* in (37b). Both give the construction a modal interpretation of ability.

- (37) a. 這件事我做得到。
zhe jian shi wo zuo-de dao
 this CL thing I do-STR reach
 'I am able to do this thing.'
- b. 這件事我做不到。
zhe jian shi wo zuo-bu dao
 this CL thing I do-NEG reach
 'I am not able to do this thing.' (My own examples.)

¹⁶ Examples (36) and (37) have been discussed with Huang Hua, who is a native speaker of Mandarin graduated from the Chinese language department of Nanjing University.

Thus, as the above examples show, clause internal serial verb construction may involve structural particles that convey meanings of temporal-aspectual or modal interdependences between the serialized verbs and lead to the deranking (detransitivization) of the first verb in some degree. However, since similar interdependences are present with zero marking on the first verb, certain degree of deranking of the first verb can be expected regardless of the presence or absence of an intermediating particle.

Finally, it can be noticed that *nas* in clause internal serial verb constructions in (35c) and (35c') is the same particle which is taken by the nonfinal verb and marks sequentiality in a sequence of two coordinate clauses in (23), and likewise *la* in clause internal serial verb constructions in (34b), (35b), and (35b') is the same particle that marks simultaneity in a sequence of two coordinate clauses in (33). It seems, therefore, that it is the coordinate nature of the particle which makes it fit to occur between clause internal serial verb constructions also. Similar correlation can be seen in Mongolian, where the same coordinative converbs occur both in clause internal and interclausal linkages, as shown in (38) and (39). In (38), the coordinate converbs, marked by *-ju/-cu* (*-ж/-ч*) and *-γad* (*-аад*), are used in clause linkage:

- (38) *эрдэмтэн Тататунга улс-ын алтан тамга-а хүзүүн-д-ээ*
 scholar Tatatunga:NOM country-GEN golden.seal-POSS neck-DAT-POSS
батла-н уя-ж тулалтаан-ы үймээн дунд
 protect-MOD.CONV tie-IMPRF.CONV battle-GEN tumult middle
хаан эзн-ээ ол-ох ээ-ж бачимда-н
 khan master-POSS seek-FUT.PTCP say-IMPRF.CONV worry-MOD.CONV
яв-аад монгол-ын цэрэг-д баривчла-гд-жээ
 go-PRF.CONV mongolian-GEN army-DAT take.prisoner-PASS-PRF
 'The scholar Tatatunga tied the nation's golden seal around his neck to protect (himself), and amidst the tumult of battle, tried to find the Khan his master, and went around worried, and then was taken a prisoner by Mongol troops.' (Sanders & Jantsangiin 1999: 205, analysis mine.)

In (39) the same converbs are used between two serialized verbs:

- (39) а. *ном-оо захиал-ж ав-ч бол-ох уу*
 book-POSS order-IMPRF.CONV take-IMPRF.CONV can-FUT.PTCP QST
 'Can I order the book?' (Sanders & Jantsangiin 1999: 195, analysis mine.)

- b. *нама-йг эмнэлэг-т хург-ээд өг- нө үү*
 I-ACC hospital-DAT/LOC take-PRF.CONV give-PRS QST
 ‘Take me to hospital!’ (Sanders & Jantsangiin 1999: 189, analysis mine.)

Examples (38) and (39) show that some converbs, such as the modal converb *-n*, always depend on the immediately adjacent verbal form, while others, such as the imperfective converb *-ju/-cu* (*-ж/-ч*) and perfective converb *-xad* (*-aad*), can be used both in clause internal serial verb structures, where they depend on the adjacent form, and in clause linkage, where they depend on the final predicate.

In summary, I have shown in this chapter that Tibetan is much like Chinese in its organization of sentence structure. The mapping of the multiple predicates in the semantic representation on the syntactic structure follows the basic relation of topic–comment both in simple and in complex sentences. Thus, like in Chinese, topic is the basic relation in Tibetan, while ergativity is a surface feature that plays the same role as word order does in Chinese, distinguishing the agent from the patient.

7. Conclusions

In this article, I have shown that the same indeterminacy in distinguishing between a verb and a noun that is present in Chinese due to its lack of morphology is found in Tibetan, where the same verb form can often take both a verbal and a nominal function. Unlike in Chinese, in Tibetan clause linkage there is an asymmetry between non-final and final verb forms, but since both forms are inherently verbal and preserve their verbal features in forming a clause chain, no asymmetry in terms of finiteness vs. non-finiteness is created.

I have shown that indeterminacy in terms of finiteness vs. nonfiniteness, or verb vs. noun, originates from the type of the basic relation of subject–predicate or topic–comment in the sentence structure. Subject-prominent languages tend to integrate the secondary predicates into the syntactic argument structure of the primary predicate. The integrated predicates must take a nonfinite verb form for their nominal status in the structure of the finite verb. In topic-prominent languages, on the other hand, the secondary predicates tend to be concatenated with the primary predicate forming a serial verb construction. The status of the concatenated predicates is not marked by their form but by their position as a part of a serialized verb

construction. Formal distinctions in the axes of the degree of finiteness are thus irrelevant in these languages, and indeterminacy in terms of finite vs. nonfinite is inherent in them irrespective of the amount of morphology they may possess.

As stated by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 22), languages should be analyzed in their own terms and categories that they do not promote should not be imposed upon them. I agree to Bisang's (2001: 1408) division of languages into finite and nonfinite, in the sense that nonfinite languages are neutral to the finite nonfinite distinction. I will, however, extend this division to those languages where the formal asymmetry does not create a functional asymmetry in terms of verbal vs. nominal function as well.

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Appendix 1. Verb categories in Chinese, Classical Tibetan, Lhasa Tibetan, and Amdo Tibetan.

I will define the following verb categories in Chinese:

Aspect particles:

了 *le* = PRF (perfective)

着 *zhe* = RES (resultative)

过 *guo* = EXP (experiential perfect)

Sentence particles:

了 *le* = PHS (phase)

Structural particles:

得 *de* = STR (structural particle)

不 *bu* = NEG (negative)

的 *de* = STR (structural particle)

Topic and focus (disposal):

被 *bei* = PASS (passive, marks the resultative viewpoint and the patient-topic)

把 *ba* = DISP (disposal, marks the causative viewpoint and the patient-focus)

Following Hahn (1974) with minor modifications, I will define here the following particles in Classical Tibetan:

Case particles:

kyis/gyis/gis = INSTR (instrumental, as a case marker)

= CAUS (causal, as a clause connective)

kyi/gyi/gi = GEN (genitive, as a case marker)

= ADVERS (adversative, as a clause connective)

tu/du/-r/ru/su = LOC/ALL (locative/allative, as a case marker)

= PURP (purposive, as a clause connective)

na/la = LOC (locative, as a case marker)

= COND (conditional)

= SIM (simultaneous, as a clause connective)

nas/las = ABL (ablative, as a case marker)

= SEQ (sequential, as a clause connective)

dang = SOC (sociative, as a case marker)
 = COORD (coordinative, as a clause connective)

Sentence particles:

ste/te/de = CONT (continuative, Hahn's semifinal particle)

'o/ro/lo/mo/bo/no/do/ngo/go = DCL (declarative, Hahn's final particle)

Other particles:

cing/zhing/shing = CHN (verb or clause chain, Hahn's coordinative particle)

Following Tournadre and Dorje (2003) with minor modifications, I will define here the following verb categories in Lhasa Tibetan:

Future tense (intentional aspect):

gi red (*red* 'be') = FUT:ASSERT (future assertative)

gi yin (*yin* 'be') = FUT:INT (future intentional)

gi = NZR (nominalizer)

Imperfective:

gi yod (*yod* 'exist') = IMPRF:EPHOR (imperfective egophoric)

gi yod red = IMPRF-ASSERT (imperfective assertative)

gi 'dug (*dug* 'exist') = IMPRF:TEST (imperfective testimonial)

Perfective (Tournadre's past simple perfective):

pa red = PRF:ASSERT (perfective assertative)

pa yin = PRF:INT (perfective intentional)

pa = NZR = (nominalizer)

Resultative (Tournadre's perfect):¹⁷

yod (*yod* 'exist') = RES:EPHOR (resultative egophoric)

yod red = RES-ASSERT (resultative assertative)

'dug ('*dug* 'exist') = RES:TEST (resultative testimonial)

bzhag (*bzhag* 'put, place') = RES:INFR (resultative inferential)

¹⁷ Both perfect and resultative aspect focus on the result or effect that remains after the completion of an action. Perfect is agent orientated, while resultative is patient orientated.

Completive:¹⁸

song (*song* ‘go; become’) = CMT:TEST (completive testimonial)

byung (*byung* ‘get; appear’) = CMT:EPHOR (completive egophoric)

Future completive:

yong (*yong* ‘come; happen’) = FUT.CMT:EPHOR (future.completive egophoric)

Experiential perfect:

myong (*myong* ‘experience’) = EXP:EPHOR (experiential egophoric)

myong song = EXP-TEST (experiential testimonial)

Following Sung and Rgyal (2005) with minor modifications, I will define here the following verb categories in Amdo Tibetan:

Future tense (intentional aspect):

rgyus (*rgyu yin*) = FUT:SUBJ (future subjective)

rgyu red = FUT:ASSERT (future assertative)

rgyu = NZR (nominalizer)

Progressive:

gi yod (*ko*) = PROG:EPHOR (progressive egophoric)

gi yod gi (*ko gi*) = PROG-TEST (progressive testimonial)

Completive:

btang nga = CAUS.CMT-SUBJ (causative completive subjective)

btang gzig = CAUS.CMT-INDIR (causative completive indirect)

btang thal = CAUS.CMT-TEST (causative completive testimonial)

song nga = RES.CMT-SUBJ (resultative completive subjective)

song gzig = RES.CMT-INDIR (resultative completive indirect)

thal = RES.CMT-TEST (resultative completive testimonial)

(*btang* ‘send; make, cause’)

(*song* ‘go; become’)

(*gzugs*, here *gzig* ‘put, place’)

(*thal* ‘undergo, arrive, become’)

¹⁸ Like resultative, completive is also patient orientated. It focuses on the completion and the final point of the action.

Durative (resultative):

yod = DUR:EPHOR (durative egophric)

yod red = DUR-ASSERT (durative assertative)

Focused perfect:

nis (ni yin) = FOC:SUBJ (focused subjective)

ni red = FOC:ASSERT (focused assertative)

Appendix 2. Abbreviations.

ABL = ablative
ACC = accusative
ADVERS = adversative
ALL = allative
ASP = aspect
ASSERT = assertative
CAUS = causal/causative
CHN = chain
CL = classifier
CMT = completive
COND = conditional
CONT = continuative
CONV = converb
COORD = coordinative
DAT = dative
DCL = declarative
DEM = demonstrative
DFP = different subject
DIR = directional
DISP = disposal
DUR = durative
EPHOR = egophoric
ERG = ergative
EXP = experiential perfect
FOC = focused perfect
FUT = future
GEN = genitive
HON = honoric
IMP = imperative
IMPRF = imperfective
INDIC = indicative
INDIR = indirect
INFR = inferential
INSTR = instrumental
INT = intentional
LOC = locative
MOD = modal

NEG = negative
NOM = nominative
NZR = nominalizer
P = person
PASS = passive
PHS = phase particle
PL = plural
POSS = possessive
PRT = preterite
PRF = perfective
PROG = progressive
PRS = present
PST = past
PTCP = participle
PURP = purposive
QST = question
RES = resultative
SEQ = sequential
SG = singular
SIM = simultaneous
SOC = sociative
SP = same subject
SPEC = specific
STR = structural particle
SUBJ = subjective
TERM = terminative
TEST = testimonial
TOP = topic

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Alireza Khanjan and Batool Alinezhad

A Morphological Doubling Approach to Full Reduplication in Persian

Abstract

The present study focuses on three types of full reduplication in Persian: pure, medial, and final full reduplication. It explores the syntactic and semantic properties of the above processes within the framework of Morphological Doubling Theory (MDT) (Inkelas & Zoll 2005). The question addressed here is: do the existing patterns of Persian full reduplication distinguish between phonological copying and morphological doubling, and if so, is the MDT approach to reduplication adequate in accommodating the data? The answer, as revealed by the study, is that the phenomena are clearly morphological in nature, and MDT accommodates them as long as the semantics of constructions is concerned. Among the most important findings of this study, the following are worth mentioning: patterns of Persian full reduplication are not limited to the morpheme or word level but, rather, they cover a range of linguistic expressions from a single word to an entire syntactic construction; the semantic feature bundle of the output of Persian full reduplication may vary on a relative continuum ranging from iconic to totally idiomatic/metaphorical meanings and, in some cases, it is affected by contextual parameters; and finally, patterns of Persian full reduplication are sometimes of stylistic significance and are subject to certain register restrictions.

1. Introduction

Reduplication is normally thought of as a morphological word-formation process in which all or some parts of a word are doubled (Inkelas 2006: 417). The label “reduplication” seems to be inappropriate from both descriptive and classificatory points of view. Moravcsik (1978: 300) has pointed out:

The terms ‘reduplication’ and ‘reduplicative’ construction are of course infelicitous, since they make vague reference to there being only two copies of the same thing in the construction in question.

In line with Moravcsik, based on results from linguistic intuition tests, Tkaczyk (2005) coined the more neutral term “cloning” and suggested that a linguistic item can “clone” itself or “can be cloned”. However, from a terminological point of view, other specific terms such as duplication, doubling, and repetition which have alternatively been used to denote the process in question are either too general or represent a different reproducing system in language (Tkaczyk 2005).

Generally speaking, the process of reduplication is divided into two main categories: total and partial. Total or full reduplication doubles the entire word or the stem (Inkelas 2006: 417) as in Indonesian Malay verb inflection (e.g., *lalat* ‘fly’, *lalatlalat* ‘flies’ (Jensen 1990: 69)). Partial reduplication, on the other hand, doubles some phonologically characterized subpart of the word or the stem as in the noun pluralization process in Ilocano, a language of the Philippines (e.g., *tálon* ‘field’, *taltálon* ‘fields’ (Jensen 1990: 70)).

The present study deals with patterns of full reduplication in Persian within two distinct subcategories: pure full reduplication and superadded full reduplication (as classified by Shaghghi 2000). The study addresses the following questions: do the existing patterns of Persian full reduplication distinguish between phonological copying and morphological doubling, and if so, does the Morphological Doubling Theory (MDT) approach to reduplication, as proposed by Inkelas and Zoll (2005), suffice to accommodate the data?

2. Review of literature

The mechanism of reduplication and the manner in which copies can differ from each other have been of fundamental concern in theoretical and descriptive linguistics over the past twenty-five years (Inkelas & Zoll 2005: 2). There have been two general approaches to reduplication in the existing literature: phonological copying and morpho-semantic (MS) feature duplication. Phonological copying is essentially a phonological process that duplicates features, segments, or metrical constituents, while under MS feature duplication, two identical sets of abstract syntactic/semantic features are to be accounted for (Inkelas & Zoll 2005: 2). The conception that reduplication must have something to do with phonology seems to go back to Bloomfield’s (1933) analysis of reduplication in Tagalog (Singh

2005: 278), while the morpho-semantic feature duplication may be traced back to the proposal made by Singh (1982: 345–351) according to which reduplication is a construction that has two semantically identical daughters whose phonological representations need not be identical and one of which may be truncated (see also Singh 2005: 272; Inkelas 2008: 353).

Despite the existence of these two different mechanisms for duplication, no attention has been given in the reduplication literature to arguing for one over the other (Inkelas & Zoll 2005: 3). Under phonological copying approaches (e.g., Marantz 1982; McCarthy & Prince 1993/2001), all reduplications, whether partial or total, are the affixation of a phonologically skeletal morpheme. In other words, the reduplicant is supposed to be an affix onto which features or segments of the base are copied. In contrast, under MDT, which is the typical representative of MS feature duplication approach, reduplication involves semantic rather than phonological identity and as such, this analytical approach allows the morphologists to account for several more patterns of reduplication.

Nevertheless, with reference to the Persian reduplication and in spite of the fact that it is a quite productive and frequently occurring word-formation process, few linguistic analyses have been reported until recent years. Shaghaghi (2000, 2002) was the first to examine the issue. She developed a classification of different types of Persian reduplication based on the data gathered from both written and colloquial spoken Persian and proposed a general rule for each reduplication category (Shaghaghi 2000: 519–533). Her work informed the present study though it has not been based upon any theoretical frameworks.

Ghaniabadi (2008) uses Optimality Theory to analyze the process of echo-reduplication in Persian. Echo-reduplication is a morphological process in which a base word is duplicated and a fixed element is specified in the repeated element such that the presence of the fixed part brings about a minimal non-identity between the base and the reduplicant (Ghaniabadi 2008: 57). In his study, Ghaniabadi accounts for a more frequent pattern of Persian echo-reduplication where the two segments /m/ and /p/ can overwrite the position of C₂ in the pattern (C₁)VX~C₂VX:

- (1) a. *mive~pive* ‘fruit and so on’
 b. *ketab~metab* ‘book and the stuff’

In another work, Ghaniabadi et al. (2006) take three distinct patterns of reduplication in Persian and argue that together they can provide strong support for MDT. The patterns consist of echo-reduplication, intensive reduplication, and indifference reduplication, the latter being previously analyzed in depth by Sadat-Tehrani (2003):

(2) a. Intensive reduplication

sefid ‘white’ → *sefid-e sefid* ‘completely/pure white’

b. Indifference reduplication

Speaker 1:

be-hešun næ-dad pul-o
to-them NEG-gave.3SG money-ACC
‘S/he didn’t give them the money.’

Speaker 2:

næ-dad pul-o ke næ-dad
NEG-gave.3SG money-ACC that NEG-gave.3SG
‘I don’t care that s/he didn’t give them the money.’

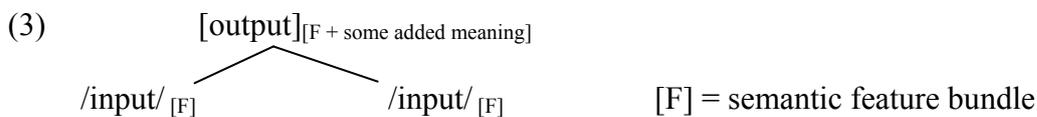
Apart from the adopted theoretical framework, MDT, the present work resembles the work by Ghaniabadi et al. (2006) in two ways: 1) both put emphasis on daughters’ semantic identity instead of phonological identity, and 2) both have adopted an analytical approach to morphological reduplication which does not confine itself to the word level but, rather, goes beyond to cover some more complex linguistic forms.

3. Theoretical background: MDT

Inkelas and Zoll (2005) argue that the deriving force in reduplication is identity at the morpho-semantic, not the phonological, level and present a new model that derives a broader range of reduplication patterns. While other theories of reduplication have focused on the duplication mechanism of phonological copying, the central thesis of the alternative MDT is that both the phonological and morpho-semantic mechanisms are needed and that their empirical domains of application are nearly complementary

(Inkelas & Zoll 2005: 2). The essential claim of MDT is that reduplication results when the morphology calls twice for a constituent of a given semantic description, with possible phonological modification of either or both the two constituents (Inkelas & Zoll 2005: 6).

MDT assumes the basic structure in pattern (3) below for morphological reduplication. A reduplication construction, as given below, has two daughters that are semantically identical, i.e., they share the same semantic features (Inkelas & Zoll 2005: 7).



By the two semantically identical sisters, MDT makes a prediction which sets it apart from all phonological copying theories: some kinds of deviation, whether morphotactic or phonological, between the two copies are expected to be possible (Inkelas & Zoll 2005: 7). Inkelas and Zoll support their thesis by providing a large quantity of evidence from more than one hundred different languages. They have referred to some 120 languages worldwide (see Inkelas & Zoll 2005: xiii–xxi) and revealed some so-called missing data that supported their hypothesis: reduplication does not necessarily involve phonological identity.

The primary motivation for MDT comes from the cases in which phonological copying cannot explain different morphotactics of the two copies or their complexity. The question is whether or not there is still a role for phonological copying. Inkelas and Zoll do not claim that morpho-semantic feature duplication can replace phonological copying altogether, but that the scope of phonological copying is limited to a narrow set of contexts (Inkelas & Zoll 2005: 20). They have mentioned four criteria for classifying a given duplication phenomenon as morphological, in which MS feature doubling is the correct analysis, or as phonological, in which phonological copying is called for (Inkelas & Zoll 2005: 22, 197; see also Inkelas 2008).

The first criterion is that phonological copying serves a phonological purpose, while morphological reduplication serves a morphological purpose, either by being a word-formation process itself or by enabling another word-formation process to take place. The second criterion is

proximity. Phonological duplication is proximal, that is, it targets the closest eligible element,¹ while this is not necessarily true of morphological reduplication. The third criterion is that the unit of analysis in phonological copying approaches is the phonological segment, while in morphological reduplication methodology, it is to be the morphological constituent. Finally, the last criterion is that, unlike in phonological copying approaches which are motivated by phonological identity, in morphological reduplication approach, the origin of identity is the morphological (semantic) component of the linguistic item.

Table 1. Phonological copying vs. morphological reduplication

	Phonological copying	Morphological reduplication
1	Serves a phonological purpose.	Serves a morphological purpose.
2	Is phonologically proximal.	Is not necessarily phonologically proximal.
3	Involves single phonological segments.	Involves morphological constituents.
4	Is motivated by phonological identity.	Is motivated by semantic identity.

4. Patterns of full reduplication in Persian

Reduplication is a very productive word-formation process in Persian. It consists of a variety of different patterns. It usually adds such concepts as emphasis, severity, addition, continuity, succession, density, and semantic extension to the base. Further it may change the grammatical category of the input (Shaghghi 2000: 525) as well. Persian full reduplication has already been classified into two main groups: pure full reduplication and superadded full reduplication (Shaghghi 2000: 525–526).

4.1 Pure full reduplication

Pure full reduplication is traditionally considered as the unmarked reduplication pattern which entails the total phonological identity of the

¹ Yu (2005) argues against the claim that phonological copying, which he labels as compensatory reduplication, is all the time proximal.

two daughters. What is interesting about Persian pure full reduplication is that it is not limited to the morpheme level but, rather, covers a full range of linguistic elements from a single word (patterns 4a, 5a, 6a, and 7a below) to an entire syntactic construction (such as a phrase² or even a complete sentence; see patterns 8a, 9a, and 10a below). Therefore, the mainstream phonological copying approach may not be an appropriate tool for analyzing Persian pure full reduplication patterns since, as discussed earlier (see the third criterion mentioned above), phonological approaches are applicable only to cases where single phonological segments are involved.

An important property of Persian pure full reduplication (also observed in other Persian reduplication patterns) is that the meaning of the output is not always iconic so that it can be derived from the meanings of the inputs involved. Rather, it is in many cases idiomatic and/or metaphorical. That is why Ghaniabadi et al. (2006) have applied Jackendoff's (1997, 2002) view of lexical entries to reduplication process in Persian where, in many cases, the meaning of the output is not compositional.³ This property provides a further support for MDT which adopts the view that the semantics of reduplication output varies from iconic to the potentially idiomatic meanings (Inkelas & Zoll 2005: 13).

According to the extracts taken from the existing Persian morphological works (e.g., Kalbasi 1992; Shaghghi 2000), patterns of pure full reduplication in terms of MDT constructional schemas in Persian are presented below.



Examples:

bezæn~bezæn 'hit' + 'hit' = 'act of hitting repeatedly', *bepær~bepær* 'jump' + 'jump' = 'act of jumping repeatedly', *beškæn~beškæn* 'break' + 'break' = 'breaking things one after another', *boxor~boxor* 'eat' + 'eat' = 'eat too much', *begir~begir* 'arrest' + 'arrest' = 'act of arresting people one after another', *bodow~bodow* 'run' + 'run' = 'act of

² For further information about phrasal reduplication, see Cole (1994).

³ Jackendoff proposes that idioms, like words, should be treated as lexical entries. Idioms may involve more than a word and have non-compositional semantic functions.

running’, *bekoš~bekoš* ‘kill’ + ‘kill’ = ‘killing a large number of people or animals one after another’

Sentence example:

- b. *æli væ hæscæn yek sa’æt bezæn~bezæn kærdænd*
 Ali and Hassan an hour hit-hit do.PST.3PL
 ‘Ali and Hassan were hitting each other for an hour (a long time).’

The inputs of this pattern are limited to the imperative and singular forms of the verb.

- (5) a. N/ADJ + N/ADJ → ADJ [ADJ] [F + having several Xs / having several X parts]
 /N/ADJ/[F] /N/ADJ/[F]

Examples:

tekke~tekke ‘piece’ + ‘piece’ = ‘cut into pieces’, *rah~rah* ‘stripe’ + ‘stripe’ = ‘striped’, *xal~xal* ‘spot’ + ‘spot’ = ‘spotted’, *surax~surax* ‘hole’ + ‘hole’ = ‘having several holes’, *pare~pare* ‘torn’ + ‘torn’ = ‘torn into pieces’, ‘scrappy’, *pær~pær* ‘feather’ + ‘feather’ = (of a flower) ‘striped of its petals’; (fig.) ‘destroyed in its prime’, ‘ravaged’

- b. *surax* + *surax* → *surax~surax*
 ‘hole’ + ‘hole’ → ‘having several holes’

diver-e surax~surax ‘the wall with several holes in it’

- c. *pare* + *pare* → *pareh~pareh*
 ‘torn’ + ‘torn’ → ‘torn into pieces’, ‘scrappy’

ketab-e pare~pare ‘a severely damaged book’

A remarkable characteristic of this pattern is that the semantics of the output may change from an absolutely iconic to a quite metaphorical or figurative meaning depending on the context in which it is used. In other words, the same output may have two (or potentially more) different meanings which are determined by contextual constraints. For example, when somebody says *qælbæm pare~pare šode* ‘my heart has got torn’, s/he may actually mean the metaphorical meaning ‘I feel strong sympathy with someone’.

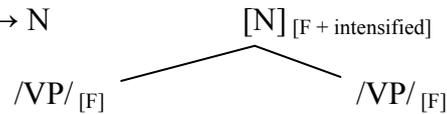
Example:

paværčîn~paværčîn ‘step on (your) foot’ + ‘step on (your) foot’ → ‘(be) on (one’s) tip-toe’

Sentence example:

- b. *dozd paværčîn~paværčîn miræft*
 thief on.(his).tip-toe move.PST.PROG.3SG
 ‘The thief tiptoed away.’

(9) a. VP + VP → N



Example:

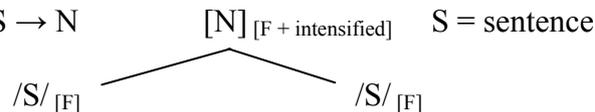
če konæm~če konæm ‘what shall I do’ + ‘what shall I do’ → ‘state of finding no way out of a problem’

Sentence example:

- b. *væq’æñ be če konæm če konæm oftadæm*
 really into what do.PRS.1SG what do.PRS.1SG get.PRS.PRF.1SG
 ‘I’ve really got into the problem of what to do.’, ‘I really don’t know what to do.’

Since in Persian, as a pro-drop language, it is possible to omit the subject (whether a noun or a pronoun), a verb phrase can also have the function of a full sentence and as such, the sample phrase *če konæm* ‘what shall I do’ may also be considered as the shortened form of the full sentence *Mæn če konæm?* ‘What shall I do?’. Therefore, the next pattern (10a) referring to Persian sentence reduplication seems to be similar to the above examples. One characteristic of the above example (9b) is that the interrogative mood of the input VP has been totally lost in the reduplicated word included in the sample sentence.

(10) a. S + S → N



Sentence example:

- b. *mæn nemiyam mæn nemiyam-et ro bezar kenar*
 I NEG.come.1SG I NEG.come.1SG-POSS.2SG ACC put aside
 ‘Don’t insist on not coming.’

An important characteristic of patterns 8a, 9a, and 10a is that they all represent a phenomenon whereby linguistic elements of higher ranks (larger units) inputted to the reduplication process are rank-shifted in the output so that they function as elements of lower ranks (such smaller units as single nouns, adverbials, etc.). In other words, these complex reduplicated expressions play the syntactic roles which are normally expected of smaller linguistic elements. In 10b above, as an instance, the sentence *Mæn nemiyam* ‘I’m not going to come’ has undergone a full reduplication process resulting in the form *Mæn nemiyam~mæn nemiyam* which has been rank-shifted to function as a nominal element carrying the bound possessive morpheme *-et* ‘your’ and the free accusative case marker *-ro*.

4.2 Superadded full reduplication

Another group of Persian full reduplication involves the addition of some free or bound grammatical morphemes (whether derivational morphemes or clitics) to the base elements. In most cases, the output of such a reduplication process has a quite different semantics; the resulting meaning is less compositional (iconic) and more idiomatic or metaphorical. The patterns are divided into two subcategories: medial full reduplication and final full reduplication. If the superadded morpheme is located between the base and the reduplicant, the process involved is called medial full reduplication. However, when the reduplicant appears right after the base element and the output ends in a derivational morpheme, the process is called final full reduplication (Shaghghi 2000: 527).

4.2.1 Medial full reduplication

Medial full reduplication involves locating a free or a bound morpheme between the two daughter elements. In terms of the criterion of proximity, medial full reduplication may appropriately be subject to MDT methodology since the two sisters are not proximally adjacent. As discussed above, Ghaniabadi et al. (2006) have already introduced two patterns of medial full reduplication in Persian, namely intensive

reduplication and indifference reduplication in support of MDT.⁴ However, some patterns of this subcategory may have specific semantic implications for the whole model. We observed earlier in this paper that the output semantics of different Persian reduplication patterns may move on a relative continuum ranging from totally iconic to completely metaphorical meanings. Nevertheless, there may be another possibility. In some Persian medial full reduplication patterns (such as patterns 14a and 16a below), the output is not semantically related to the input semantic feature bundle and hence it may be regarded as an exception to the MDT model. It will, therefore, be essential to modify the whole model, at least in its semantic component, to make it capable of handling structures such as the following.

$$(11) \text{ a. } N + P \text{ } be + N \rightarrow \text{ADV}^5$$

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{[ADV]} \text{ [F after F / from F to F / F to F / F + succession]} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ /N/_{[F]} \quad \quad be + /N/_{[F]} \end{array}$$

Examples:

šæhr~be~šæhr ‘city after city’, *ruz~be~ruz* ‘day after day’, *sal~be~sal* ‘year after year’, *čehre~be~čehre* ‘face to face’, *sine~be~sine* ‘breast to breast’, ‘from one generation to

⁴ These two patterns are not analyzed in the present paper. However, in this footnote, we bring the constructional schemas of such patterns only (as extracted from Ghaniabadi et al. 2006: 9, 14). The related examples have already been presented in the previous sections of the paper (see patterns 2a–b above). In the pattern B below, TP indicates complete clauses:

A) Intensive Echo-RED: [ADJ]_[F + intensified]

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{[ADJ]}_{[F]} + \text{Ezafe} \quad \quad \text{[ADJ]}_{[F]} \end{array}$$

B) Indifference RED: [TP.2]_[Indifference towards proposition expressed in TP.1]

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{[TP1]} \dots \text{[V]}_{[F]} \dots + ke \quad \quad \text{[V]}_{[F]} \end{array}$$

⁵ In order to add the intervening element to one of the two daughters, we need some theoretical explanation. In patterns 11a–15a, the linking element is a preposition and it can be added to the reduplicant. If it were added to the first sister, it could no longer be considered as a preposition but, rather, it would function as a postposition. However, as for the pattern 16a, the suffix *-a* is added to the first sister due to the fact that it phonologically contributes to the syllabic structure of the base element (e.g., in the word *gerd~a~gerd* /ger.da-gerd/ ‘all around’).

In this pattern again, the output semantics ranges from iconicity to idiomaticity. It seems that we deal with the phenomenon of polysemy and are required to be familiar with all the relevant meanings to recognize the iconic from idiomatic meanings. If we consider the primary meaning of the base, we will expect idiomaticity in the output. In *guš~ta~guš*, for instance, if the base *guš* is assumed to have the primary meaning ‘ear’ or ‘corner’, then the output meaning ‘all around’ cannot be broken down into its semantic components and as such, it should be classified as an idiomatic expression. However, if it is regarded diachronically as the shortened form of *gušeh* ‘corner’, then the semantic output can be interpreted as iconic ‘from corner to corner’, ‘all around’. In the latter case, the semantic output may be said to have been resulted from a semantic extension process. In the absence of such diachronic analyses, however, the above pattern seems to challenge the MDT approach since in such samples as *sær~ta~sær* (see 12b), the input semantic bundle seems to be totally lost in the output (note that in the MDT approach, the output meaning is assumed to consist of the input semantic features plus some additional meaning).

- (13) a. N + P *dær* + N → ADJ/ADV
- $$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{[ADJ/ADV]} \text{ [F + continuity/succession]} \\
 \swarrow \quad \searrow \\
 /N/ \text{ [F]} \quad \quad \quad dær + /N/ \text{ [F]}
 \end{array}$$

Examples:

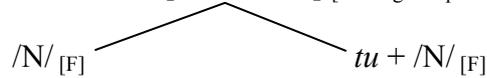
pič~dær~pič ‘turn’, ‘curve’ + ‘in’ + ‘turn’, ‘curve’ = ‘twisting and turning’, ‘maze-like’,
pošt~dær~pošt ‘back’ + ‘to’ + ‘back’ = ‘successively one after another’, ‘one generation after another’,
tu~dær~tu ‘inside’ + ‘in’ + ‘inside’ = ‘labyrinthine’, ‘having a complicated series of paths’,
pey~dær~pey ‘after’ + ‘in’ + ‘after’ = ‘successive(ly)’, ‘one after another’

Sentence example:

- b. *qar-e ælisædr saxtar-i tu~dær~tu daræd*
 cave-EZ Alisadr structure-INDF inside-in-inside have.PRS.3SG
 ‘The Alisadr cave has a labyrinthine structure.’

All patterns we have analyzed so far involve only one grammatical category in their outputs. However, in pattern (13a) above, the output may be either an adjective or an adverb depending on the context in which it appears. This property is called input-output diversity.

(14) a. N + P *tu* + N → ADV/ADJ [ADV/ADJ] [F being in a particular state / sth rather than F]



Examples:

češm~tu~češm ‘eye’ + ‘in’ + ‘eye’ = ‘face-to-face’, *xær~tu~xær* ‘donkey’ + ‘in’ + ‘donkey’ = ‘in total confusion or cock-up’, *šir~tu~šir* ‘lion’ + ‘in’ + ‘lion’ = ‘in total confusion’, ‘higgledy-piggledy’, *šax~tu~šax* ‘horn’ + ‘in’ + ‘horn’ = (of two animals) ‘the state of having their horns entangled’; (of two cars) ‘the state of being crashed’

Sentence examples:

b. *do koštigir češm~tu~češm moraqeb-e hærxæt-e hæm*
 two wrestlers face-to-face careful-EZ movements-EZ each.other
budænd

be.PST.3PL

‘The two wrestlers were, face to face, careful of each other’s movements.’

c. *tuye šæhr hæme či xær~tu~xær bud*
 in city everything donkey-in-donkey be.PST.3SG

‘In the city, everything was in total confusion.’

The preposition *tu* ‘in/inside’ is sometimes replaced by the equivalent *dær* which is typically used in formal writing and, therefore, may be replaced by the archaic, literary variant *ændær* (see pattern 15a below). This is to suggest that the intervening element in Persian medial full reduplication may be of some stylistic significance, i.e., in different contexts, different intervening elements may appear. However, the stylistic dimension of a Persian reduplication process is by no means limited to the intervening elements only. Other components may also be stylistically marked. Not only a whole pattern may have stylistic uses,⁷ but also different outputs of the same pattern may be specific to different stylistic contexts. For instance, among the examples presented for pattern 14a above, both *xær~tu~xær* and *šir~tu~šir* have the same idiomatic meanings (i.e., ‘higgledy-piggledy’), yet the latter is more polite⁸ and is therefore preferred on formal occasions.

⁷ Echo-reduplication, for example, is only used in colloquial Persian (see Ghaniabadi 2008: 57).

⁸ *xær* ‘donkey’ has a negative symbolism in the Persian culture indicating idiocy or stupidity, while *šir* ‘lion’ has positive connotations of power, respect, and braveness.

- (15) a. N + P *dær/ændær* + N → ADV [ADV] [from F to F/a subsequence of F/F + succession]
 /N/ [F] ———— *dær/ændær* + /N/ [F]

Examples:

xæm~dær~xæm / *xæm~ændær~xæm* ‘curve’ + ‘in’ + ‘curve’ = (of going or travelling through a road) ‘one curve after another’, *næsl~dær~næsl* / *næsl~ændær~næsl* ‘generation’ + ‘in’ + ‘generation’ = ‘generation after generation’, *pošt~dær~pošt* / *pošt~ændær~pošt* ‘back’, ‘generation’ + ‘in’ + ‘back’, ‘generation’ = ‘from generation to generation’, *šæb~ændær~šæb* ‘night’ + ‘in’ + ‘night’ = ‘night after night’, *pey~dær~pey* / *pey~ændær~pey* ‘after’, ‘track’ + ‘in’ + ‘after’, ‘track’ = ‘rapidly following one another’, ‘successive’, ‘consecutive’

Sentence example:

- b. *ma næsl~ændær~næsl bæraye hoquq-eman jængide'im*
 we generation-in-generation for rights-1PL.POSS fight.PRS.PRF.1PL
 ‘We have fought for our rights from generation to generation.’

It is worth mentioning here that in this pattern, the meaning of the intervening element *dær/ændær* in the output is not the same as in the input. The input *dær/ændær* literally means ‘in’ or ‘within’ but in the output, it seems to have the meaning of consequence or succession. The semantic shift occurring in this relation is assumed to be a factor involved in creating the final output idiomatic meaning.

Pattern 16a below, which may no longer be a single integrated pattern, is capable of showing the fact that in Persian, some patterns of reduplication involve the property of input-output (I-O) diversity.

- (16) a. N/ADJ/V/P + -a + N/ADJ/V/P → ADV/N/ADJ/P
 [ADV/N/ADJ/P] [F + intensification/ F + equivalence/ sth not related to F]
 /N/ADJ/V/P/ [F] + -a ———— /N/ADJ/V/P [F]

Examples:

gerd~a~gerd ‘circle’, ‘round’ + -a + ‘circle’, ‘round’ = ‘all around’, *tæng~a~tæng* ‘close’ + -a + ‘close’ = ‘very close’, ‘close-set’, *dæm~a~dæm* ‘moment’ + -a + ‘moment’ = ‘incessant(ly)’, *sær~a~sær* ‘head’ + -a + ‘head’ = ‘all over’, *læb~a~læb* ‘edge’ + -a + ‘edge’ = ‘edge to edge’, ‘full to the brim’, ‘completely full’, *bær~a~bær* ‘side’ + -a + ‘side’ = ‘on the same level’, ‘on a par’, ‘equal’, *keš~a~keš* ‘the act of stretching’ + -a + ‘the act of stretching’ = ‘a to-and-fro struggle’, ‘rat race’, *pay~a~pay* ‘foot’ + -a + ‘foot’ = ‘this for that’, ‘exchange’, *beyn~a~beyn* ‘between’ + -a +

‘between’ = ‘in the middle’, in between’, *gærm~a~gærm* ‘warm’ + *-a* + ‘warm’ = ‘while’, ‘in the midst of (work, battle, etc.)’ *pey~a~pey* ‘after’, ‘track’ + *-a* + ‘after’, ‘track’ = ‘rapidly following one another’, ‘successive’, ‘consecutive’

By I-O diversity we mean that in some particular patterns, the grammatical categories which undergo the process (the inputs) are not limited to just one single category. Further, I-O diversity indicates that the output is not always grammatically predictable. Moreover, the input-output semantic relationships, as it was stated above, are not always clear and predictable. This grammatical and semantic diversity may lead to some challenges in applying the MDT approach to reduplication in Persian. On one hand, if a trivial exceptional case is taken as a separate independent pattern, we are deviated from the principle of economy of analysis and, on the other hand, if they all are ascribed to the phenomenon of idiosyncrasy, the number of idiosyncratic items may tend to be close to cases of regularity. Thus, the very concept of regularity, as one of the most fundamental goals of descriptive linguistics, may become deviated.

In addition, if the meaning of the output is not related to the input semantic feature bundle (as in the case of *gærm~a~gærm* ‘warm’ + *-a* + ‘warm’ = ‘while’ or *xær~tu~xær* ‘donkey’ + ‘in’ + ‘donkey’ = ‘in total confusion’, see examples 14b–c above and 16d below), then the general structure governing the reduplication process (as presented in pattern 3 above) would be challenged. The reason for this is that from the MDT point of view, the semantics generally attributed to the output is assumed to consist of the input meaning plus some additional meaning (F + some additional meaning). In other words, while in accordance with the general model of MDT, the F component is believed to be common in both the mother and daughter elements, some samples of Persian reduplication, such as those presented below, do not follow this rule:

Sentence examples:

- (16) b. *sær~a~sær-e* *baq* *æz* *čæmæn* *sæbz* *bud*
 head-ø-head-EZ orchard of grass green be.PST.3SG
 ‘All over the orchard was green because of grass.’

- c. *dær donyay-e gædim mo'amelat be suræet-e pay~a~pay*
 in world-EZ ancient transactions in form-EZ foot-ø-foot
bud
 be.PST.3SG⁹
 'In the ancient world, the transactions were in the form of this for that.'

- d. *dær gærm-a-gærm-e næbærd rostæm æz æsb-æš foru*
 in warm-ø-warm-EZ battle Rostam from horse-3SG.POSS off
oftad
 fall.PST.3SG
 'In the midst of the battle, Rostam fell off his horse.'

Finally, it is worth mentioning that Persian medial full reduplication is quite comparable with some English NPN constructions analyzed by Jackendoff (2008). Jackendoff takes such English constructions as *day by day*, *point for point*, *face to face*, and *book upon book* and maintains that they represent a mixture of productivity and idiomaticity.¹⁰

An interesting discussion posed by Jackendoff (2008: 4) is that while the choice of N is fairly free in English NPN construction, the prepositions are limited to only five or six ones: *to*, *by*, *for*, *after*, and *(up)on*. A short review of Persian medial full reduplication leads us to a similar conclusion: the intervening elements in Persian medial full reduplication are limited only to *be*, *ta*, *(æn)dær*, *tu*, and *-a* (see patterns 11a–16a above). This does not imply, by any means, that the decision to be made about the productivity or idiomaticity of a Persian medial full reduplication is only a function of the semantic nature of the daughter elements. While we may easily extend a construction like *do~be~do* '2 by 2' (see pattern 11a above) to an unlimited series of new cases (such as *se~be~se* '3 by 3',

⁹ In the standard Persian, a plural inanimate noun may concord with a third person singular/plural verb. In colloquial Persian, however, the singular alternative is mostly preferred.

¹⁰ There are two major differences between English NPN construction and Persian medial full reduplication: 1) in contrast to Persian medial full reduplication, English NPN construction covers non-duplicated expressions as *hand in glove* or *tongue in cheek* in addition to such duplicated forms as *night after night* or *dollar for dollar*; 2) in contrast to English NPN construction, daughter elements of Persian medial full reduplication are not limited to one single grammatical category such as the category of noun (by virtue of a particular property we have already labelled as input-output diversity).

dæh~be~dæh ‘10 for 10’, or *sæd~be~sæd* ‘100 for 100’), by virtue of the semantic nature of the system of numbers which consists of an infinite set of quantities, we can accordingly ascribe the productivity of this pattern to the semantic nature of the intervening element involved (that is why we may have *do~dær~do* ‘two by two’ or *do~ændær~do* ‘two in two’ but not **do~tu~do* which may literally mean ‘2 by 2’).

Jackendoff (2008: 23–24) divides English NPN constructions into three major classes, according to their being productive, semi-productive, or idiomatic. Since NPN constructions are found in many languages, including Dutch (Postma 1995), Japanese (Matsuyama 2004), German, Polish, Russian, and French (Jackendoff 2008), some global implications may arise from Jackendoff’s classification. If the speakers can stretch a pattern to new cases they have not heard before with appropriate contextual support, the pattern involved can be classified as productive. In other words, if the pattern involved is productive, the speakers freely accept novel cases and know what they mean. Having in mind pattern 11a above, it may be suggested that in addition to such lexicalized cases as *čehre~be~čehre* ‘face to face’ or *dæm~be~dæm* ‘continuously’, one can generalize the pattern to some new expressions such as *rusta~be~rusta* ‘from one village to another’, *færd~be~færd* ‘individual after individual’, or *saniyeh~be~saniyeh* ‘every second’.

In semi-productive constructions, on the other hand, acceptable instances tend to cluster around central cases in family resemblance patterns and speakers may vary in the cases they find acceptable (Jackendoff 2008: 23). In addition, speakers may be able to stretch the pattern to related cases, though often not entirely comfortably. For instance, while we have the form *dæm~a~dæm* ‘continuously’ (see pattern 16a above), we do not feel comfortable in stretching it to such new cases as **ruz~a~ruz* ‘every day’, **sa’æt~a~sa’æt* ‘every hour’ or ?*šæb~a~šæb* ‘every night’ even though the semantic feature bundle of all these new instances include a time component (the expression *šæb~a~šæb* has recently been used in some registers as poetry and that is why we have not starred it as ill-formed). Thus, pattern 16a seems to be less productive than pattern 11a and may be regarded as semi-productive.

Using the terminology of Construction Grammar, Pinker (1999, quoted in Jackendoff 2008: 24) suggests that instances of productive generalizations may or may not be listed in the memory (i.e., in the

lexicon). In other words, the rule is stated as a lexical item with a variable in it. By contrast, Pinker claims that the instances of semi-productive generalizations are nothing more than some lists and that generalizations among them are implicit in memory without being extracted as lexical rules (Jackendoff 2008: 24). Jackendoff (2002 as quoted in Jackendoff 2008: 24) adopts a similar position first, but later, he writes:

An alternative possibility for the semi-productive generalizations is that there are explicit rules, but they have a different sort of variable in them, say with a feature [semi-productive]. Such a variable can be satisfied only by listed instances and occasional neologisms.

He finally adopts this alternative and suggests that “some variables are marked [productive] and others [semi-productive]” (Jackendoff 2008: 24).

As for idiomaticity, however, the idiomatic cases of Persian medial full reduplication are not capable of being stretched to new cases since the compositionality principle will no longer be at work, and hence the hearer is not able to predict the meaning. One may claim that the less the number of instances of a pattern, the more idiomatic (or less productive) the pattern will be. It is exactly for this reason that pattern 14a above, for instance, does not have a large number of instances. There are such Persian constructions as *šir~tu~šir* and *xær~tu~xær* both meaning ‘higgledly-piggledly’ but it will be impossible to stretch this pattern into **boz~tu~boz* (lit. ‘goat in goat’), **mar~tu~mar* (lit. ‘snake in snake’), or **sæg~tu~sæg* (lit. ‘dog in dog’).

4.2.2 Final full reduplication

Another subcategory of Persian total reduplication is called final full reduplication in which the reduplicant daughter is followed by a suffix element. Final full reduplication, too, is appropriate to be analyzed within the MDT framework, although according to the criterion of proximity (see table 1 above), it is possible to be analyzed through phonological copying approaches as well.

- (17) a. ADJ/N + ADJ/N + *-an* → ADV
-

Examples:

lærz~lærzan ‘the act of trembling’ + ‘the act of trembling’ + *-an* = ‘in the state of trembling’, *læng~længan* ‘lame’ + ‘lame’ + *-an* = ‘limpingly’, *xoš~xošan* ‘happy’, ‘slow’ + ‘happy’, ‘slow’ + *-an* = ‘at a leisurely pace’, ‘slowly’

Sentence example:

b. *æhmæd læng~læng-an be xane amæd*
 Ahmad lame-lame-ADV to home come.PST.3SG
 ‘Ahmad came home limpingly.’

(18) a. N/V + N/V + *-æk* → N [N]_[F+ instrumental]
/N/V/_[F] /N/V/ + *-æk*_[F]

Examples:

bad~badæk, *row~rowæk*, *qar~qaræk* ‘the sound of a crow’, ‘noise’ + ‘the sound of a crow’, ‘noise’ + *-æk* = ‘a noise maker’, ‘a rattle’; (fig.) ‘an old car’, *sut~sutæk* ‘whistle’ + ‘whistle’ + *-æk* = ‘a penny whistle’, ‘a tin whistle’

Sentence example:

b. *row + row + -æk → row~rowæk*
 ‘go’ + ‘go’ + INS → ‘rocker’

row~row-æk be bæče komæk mikonæd ke rah berævæd
 go-go-INS to child help do.PRS.3SG that path go.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 ‘A rocker helps a child to walk.’

c. *bad + bad + -æk → bad~badæk*
 ‘wind’ + ‘wind’ + INS → ‘kite’

mina ba bad~bad-æk bazi mikonæd
 Mina with wind-wind-INS play do.PRS.PROG.3SG
 ‘Mina is playing with the kite.’

(19) a. ADJ/N + ADJ/N + *-æki* → ADV [ADV]_[in a state of F]
/ADJ/N/_[F] /ADJ/N/ + *-æki*_[F]

Examples:

howl~howlæki ‘hasty’ + ‘hasty’ + *-æki* = ‘in a hasty manner’, *zir~ziræki* ‘bottom’ + ‘bottom’ + *-æki* = ‘clandestinely’, ‘surreptitiously’, *sor~soræki* ‘slippery’ + ‘slippery’ + *-æki* = ‘in a state of being slippery’, *zur~zuræki* ‘force’ + ‘force’ + *-æki* = ‘forcefully’

Sentence examples:

b. *polis mottæhæm-o zur~zur-æki dæstgir kærd*
 polis accused-ACC force-force-ADV arrest do.PST.3SG
 ‘The police arrested the accused forcefully.’

c. *mæryæm howl~howl-æki næhareš-o xord*
 Maryam hasty-hasty-ADV lunch-3SG.POSS.ACC eat.PST.3SG
 ‘Maryam had her lunch in a hasty manner.’

Here again the outputs are only used in the colloquial variety of Persian by virtue of the fact that the suffix *-æki* ‘-ly’ by its very nature cannot be used in formal situations and is specific to informal contexts.

(20) a. $N + N + -u \rightarrow \text{ADJ}$ [ADJ]_[doing frequently the act of F]
/N/_[F] /N/+ -u_[F]

Examples:

jiq~jiq ‘a shrill cry’ + ‘a shrill cry’ + *-u* = (of a person) ‘speaking with a squeaky voice’, *neq~nequ* ‘act of nagging’ + ‘act of nagging’ + *-u* = (of a person) ‘nagging frequently’, *qor~qoru* ‘grumble’ + ‘grumble’ + *-u* = (of a person) ‘given to grumbling’, ‘shrewish’, *xor~xoru* ‘act of snoring’ + ‘act of snoring’ + *-u* = (of a person) ‘snoring frequently’, *zer~zeru* ‘strumming noise’ + ‘strumming noise’ + *-u* = (of a person) ‘strumming frequently’

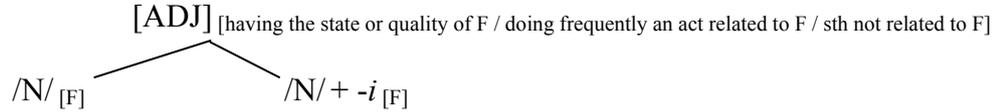
Sentence example:

b. *pirzæn-e qor~qor-u hæme ra æsæbani*
 old.woman-EZ grumble-grumble-ADJ everyone ACC angry
kærd
 make.PST.3SG
 ‘The shrewish old woman made everyone angry.’

This pattern, again, is specific to colloquial and slang registers of Persian. However, this is not merely a result of contextual restrictions governing the suffix element involved (*-u*) but, rather, it is due to the very semantic nature

of the base element itself which is attributed to informal contexts of situation.

(21) a. N + N + *-i* → ADJ



Examples:

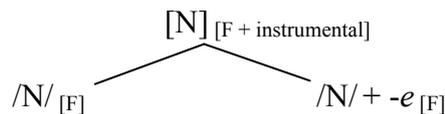
fin~fini ‘sniffle’ + ‘sniffle’ + *-i* = ‘the quality of one who sniffles frequently’, *xal~xali* ‘spot’ + ‘spot’ + *-i* = ‘spotted’, ‘marked with a mole’, *sær~særi* ‘head’ + ‘head’ + *-i* = ‘inconsiderate’, ‘careless’, *xæt~xæti* ‘line’, ‘stripe’ + ‘line’, ‘stripe’ + *-i* = ‘criss-cross’, *jun~juni* ‘life’, ‘soul’ + ‘life’, ‘soul’ + *-i* = ‘very dear’, ‘very close’, *fer~feri* ‘curl’ + ‘curl’ + *-i* = ‘curly’

Sentence example:

b. *sæg-e xal~xal-i xeyli ziba bud*
 dog-EZ spot-spot-ADJ very pretty be.PST.3SG
 ‘The spotted dog was very pretty.’

As can be seen in the examples above, the property of semantic diversity governs this pattern as well. Each of the three examples above relates to one dimension of the semantic component of the output.

(22) a. N + N + *-e* → N



Examples:

jeq~jeqe ‘a sharp sound’ + ‘a sharp sound’ + *-e* = ‘rattle’, *feš~feše* ‘a gushing noise’ + ‘a gushing noise’ + *-e* = ‘(sky-)rocket’, *ker~kere* ‘the sound of falling and raising of a curtain’ + ‘the sound of falling and raising of a curtain’ + *-e* = ‘roller shutter’, *fer~fere* ‘spin’ + ‘spin’ + *-e* = ‘peg-top’, ‘whirligig’, *qom~qome* ‘sound of pouring water’ + ‘sound of pouring water’ + *-e* = ‘canteen’, ‘flask’

Sentence example:

b. *fer~fere-ye abi æz bæqiye behtar-e*
 spin-spin-EZ blue than others better-COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘The blue whirligig is better than the others.’

The noun involved in this pattern is typically an onomatopoeic one as in *jeq~jeqe* ‘rattle’ and *feš~feše* ‘(sky-)rocket’ and as such, the output meaning is supposed to be an iconic one.

5. Discussion and conclusion

The present study aimed to analyze full reduplication patterns in Persian within the methodological framework of MDT. It examined the three Persian reduplication main subcategories in question against Inkelas and Zoll’s (2005) criteria of appropriate analytical approaches to different reduplication patterns. The study concluded that all three subcategories involved (i.e., pure, medial, and final Persian full reduplication patterns) are capable of being accounted for within the MDT framework, whereas the alternative phonological copying approaches seem to be applicable to Persian final full reduplication process only. It was also revealed that the alternative phonological copying approaches may also be capable of handling some limited patterns of Persian pure full reduplication.

One of our most striking observations is that Persian full reduplication patterns (especially those of pure full reduplication) are not limited to the level of morphological constituents (i.e., morphemes or words). Rather, they can be extended to the level of syntactic constructions (i.e., phrases or even full sentences). These larger elements, when inputted into the process of reduplication, are rank-shifted in the output in the sense that they accept the syntactic roles normally expected of smaller linguistic elements.

According to our data, in some Persian reduplication patterns, the grammatical category of the base element does not change in the output, while in other cases it does. Moreover, some patterns of Persian full reduplication show the property of input-output diversity in the sense that not only the syntactic categories which undergo the reduplication process are not limited to a single word class, but also there might be a variety of syntactic categories resulted in the output. In addition, there is also a diversity of semantic features, which makes the input-output semantic relationships unpredictable and opaque. As argued above, the input-output (semantic-syntactic) diversity may challenge the applicability of the MDT approach with respect to Persian full reduplication patterns. On one hand, if we present a separate constructional schema for any trivial syntactic or semantic changes, then we have actually deviated from the principle of

economy of analysis and, on the other hand, any increases in the syntactic or semantic properties of the linguistic elements in question would not be in line with one of the most important objectives of descriptive linguistics: capturing the linguistic regularities.

From a semantic point of view, Persian full reduplication process generally results in such meanings as repetition, continuity, sequence, intensification, alternation, succession, as well as the state of an action. However, apart from these, some stylistic dimensions may also be included in the output semantics. The point is that the patterns resulting from Persian full reduplication process may have particular stylistic functions being subject to some contextual limitations. In essence, not only may a given reduplication pattern have particular stylistic uses, but also different outputs of the same reduplication pattern may be specific to different contextual environments.

Another important characteristic of Persian full reduplication is that the input semantics will not necessarily lead to the output meaning. In other words, the output semantics generally moves on a relative continuum ranging from totally transparent iconic (compositional) meanings to quite unpredictable idiomatic and/or metaphorical meanings. Since both the two idiomatic/metaphorical and compositional meanings are lexicalized in the language, native speakers of Persian will be able to process them appropriately. Nevertheless, when it comes to such special areas as learning Persian as a second language or translating from Persian into other languages, the existence of idiomatic/metaphorical meanings may be problematic.

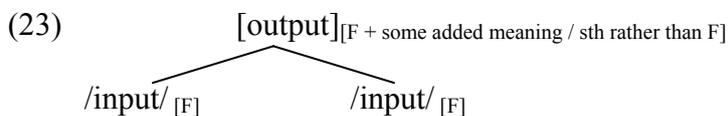
Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that metaphorical meanings in the output of a reduplication pattern are those meanings which have already been lexicalized in the language. Needless to say, most reduplicated forms, even if they have completely compositional meanings, are potentially capable of being used metaphorically. For example, the Persian sentence *ændišeha-ye rah-rah-æm ra nemixani* which roughly means '(you) don't read my striped thoughts' obviously refers to a metaphorical use of the word *rah-rah* rather than its literal meaning 'striped'. Such semantic shifts are not lexicalized in the language and hence have not been included in the present research.

The paper also shows that in some cases, the idiomatic/metaphorical semantics of output elements results from the semantic extension of input

elements involved and is therefore possible to be accounted for through some diachronic analyses. In the absence of reasonable historical analyses, however, the metaphorical aspects of Persian full reduplication may challenge the overall structure of the MDT model, at least with respect to its semantic component.

The high frequency of occurrence of reduplicated words in which the semantic feature bundle is totally lost in the output seems to challenge the general model of MDT since, as it has frequently been stated throughout the paper, according to the general constructional schema formulated in MDT (pattern 3 above), the output meaning is all the time assumed to consist of the input semantic feature bundle (F) plus some additional meaning.

Thus, in order to break this theoretical impasse, the ultimate proposal of this study is that the previous model of MDT be reformulated in terms of the following constructional schema (pattern 23). It may then be capable of accounting for both the existence and the lack of semantic relationships between the mother and daughter elements of any given reduplication process, at least in the case of Persian full reduplication:



The interpretation of the above pattern is that sister elements inputted into the reduplication process are semantically identical. However, the resulting output is not necessarily related to them semantically although in many cases, there might be some semantic relationships at work.

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Appendix. List of abbreviations

- 1/2/3 = first/second/third person
- ACC = accusative
- ADJ = adjective
- ADV = adverb
- EZ = Ezafe construction (in Persian language)
- F= feature (semantic feature bundle)
- I = interjection
- INDF = indefinite
- INS = instrumental
- I-O = input-output
- MDT = Morphological Doubling Theory
- MS = morpho-semantic (feature duplication)
- N = noun
- NEG = negation/negative
- Ø = zero element
- OBJ = object marker
- P = preposition
- PL = plural
- POSS = possessive construction
- PRF = perfect
- PROG = progressive
- PRS = present
- PST = past
- PTCP = participle
- RED = reduplication
- S = sentence
- SBJV = subjunctive
- SG = singular
- TP = a complete clause
- V= verb
- VP = verb phrase

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**Minna Laakso, Marja-Liisa Helasvuo
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**Children's Early Actions in Learning Language:
A Study of Proto-words and Pointing Gestures in Interaction
between One-year-old Child and Parent**

Abstract

The purpose of this article is to study how the meanings of one-year-old children's first proto-word expressions are interpreted in interactions with the parent. We focus our study on interactive sequences that consist of two parts: the first is a multimodal expression (a combination of gaze orientation, a proto-word, and a pointing gesture) of the child, and the second is an interpretation of that expression provided by the parent. These sequences reveal how the parents give explicit form to the implicit content of their children's pre-linguistic communication. Besides offering the adult equivalent word to the child's proto-word expression, parents often structure their interpretations as more elaborate syntactic constructions and combine them with non-verbal action. In doing so, the child's proto-utterances get treated differently either as requests for names or as requests for objects. At the age of twelve months the children also start to acknowledge or reject parental interpretations (and by rejecting, repair the course of action the parent has chosen). The emergence of children's third position repairs enables the negotiation of intersubjective understanding between the interlocutors. In sum, our analysis shows how the acquisition of shared meanings is embedded in the sequences of first proto-utterances and their interpretations in the course of daily activities at home. It also contributes to linguistic research by studying gesture and embodiment as they are used together with language. Within the field of language acquisition studies it emphasizes the role of embodied action in the acquisition of linguistic forms.

1. Introduction¹

In this article we show how children's first proto-words, combined with gaze direction and pointing gestures, serve as initiative actions in a conversational sequence. We claim that 12-month-old children actively initiate social activities in the first parts of these sequences, and that the parents' interpretative second parts, the candidate understandings of children's proto-utterances, are a device that parents use to carry over the shared meanings of words, and the social implications of speech, to their children. Thus we claim that this two-part sequence is at least one interactive practice that enables language acquisition.

In the language acquisition process, previous research has described the child as a passive receiver of the parent's linguistic input (e.g., Snow 1995). The interactions that very young children are engaged in are mostly highly routinized activities (eating, washing etc.). The language the parents use in these activities often consists of fairly short utterances that occur with great consistency and frequency in the same daily contexts (cf. Clark 2003: 31–32). As a result, it is seen as quite natural for the child to start naming these objects and actions at about one year of age. However, we do not know exactly how these first words come about. While the focus has been on the input of the parent, the actions of the child in acquiring the shared meanings of words have been neglected. We considered it important to study in detail the interactive processes by which the first meanings emerge, and also the child's actions in learning language.

According to Bruner (1975), the first referential meanings of words arise from the pre-verbal interaction between the parent and the child; non-verbal interactions are seen to “scaffold” the child's early language development (see also Bates, Camaioni & Volterra 1975; Ninio & Bruner 1978; Bruner 1983). In particular, joint visual attention of the child and parent to physical objects is seen as a pre-requisite for learning to name objects (Tomasello & Farrar 1986; Kidwell & Zimmerman 2007). According to this view, the child first learns to focus her attention on the same referent as her parent, which the parent then names. Shared focus of attention by parents and their children contributes to the establishment of

¹ The financial support from Emil Aaltonen Foundation and Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies is gratefully acknowledged.

object reference: children follow their parents' head orientation and eye gaze, and on the other hand the parents look at the things their children attend to (Bruner 1983: 70–77). Joint attention, or visual co-orientation, is thus a form of primary intersubjectivity (Trevarthen 1979) – a primitive form of shared understanding between the interlocutors. On this basis children later develop a higher level, secondary intersubjectivity, that involves a shared understanding of the signs of language, such as spoken words (Trevarthen & Hubley 1978).

At the age of 12 months, children typically produce the first articulated word-like structures, proto-words (Kent & Bauer 1985; Vihman & Miller 1988). Proto-words usually consist of one articulatory movement, such as the closure of the airway with the tongue, during phonation (Menn 1983). The proto-word does not yet have a referential linguistic meaning. However, it has been found that even before the onset of speech, a child may use proto-word, the only segmental phoneme construction s/he can produce, as a holophrase, often with diverse intonation contours, to express various needs and feelings (Dore 1975). In our view, proto-words interestingly precede the first recognizable attempts at words and are already recognized and treated by the parents as speech-like structures.

At the age of 12 months, children also make use of pointing hand gestures when communicating with others (Wootton 1994; Liszkowski 2005). In fact, pointing is one of the very first communicative devices that children acquire between 9 and 12 months (Butterworth 2003). Some studies have linked referential communication with pointing gestures to language acquisition. However, these studies have focused on the quantitative and correlational aspects showing, *inter alia*, that the amount of pointing gestures at 12 months predict the amount of words at 20 months (Camaioni, Caselli, Longobardi & Volterra 1991). The co-occurrence of gestures and vocal expressions has also been noted (see, e.g., Jones & Zimmerman 2003, on “blurred vocalizations” combined with gestures). However, prior studies have not analyzed the interactive sequential organization of pointing actions, vocalizations and parents' responses.

Two research questions emerge: first, how does the child actually shift from non-verbal communication to speaking and to the higher secondary level of intersubjectivity? Secondly, how are the interactions involving joint attention between a one-year-old child and the parent structured

sequentially? These are the questions we will answer in more detail in this article.

2. Method

2.1 Aim of the study

The purpose of the study is to examine the sequential interactive construction of activities that one-year-old children initiate using gazing, proto-word expressions and pointing gestures. Both the child's initiative action as well as the parental response are examined. More specifically, we will analyze the grammatical structure of parental responses and the sequential structure of child-parent interaction in order to consider their role in the acquisition of language and its social use.

2.2 Data

The data for the study comes from the "Child's developing language and interaction" project (PI: Minna Laakso) and its Helsinki Child Language Longitudinal Corpus, where typically² developing Finnish-speaking children were followed from the age of ten months until five years. Families took part in the research project voluntarily and written consent for participation was obtained from the parents. The children were videotaped at their homes in dyadic interactions with the parent for about half an hour at a time. A cameraman was present during the videotaping, but did not take part in the interaction. For this study we analyzed the tapes from four children: three girls (Helmi, Nuppu and Vilma) and one boy (Juha).³ In this article, Nuppu's data will be discussed in more detail in the examples (see 3.2.), while data from all four children appear in the tables (see 3.1.). We examined the tapes recorded of each child around the age of one, before the emergence of the first recognizable words (see Table 1).

² The normal development of the children was evaluated using normative language testing. Tests included Finnish versions of the Reynell Developmental Language Scales II (Reynell & Huntley 1987) and Symbolic Play Test (Lowe & Costello 1988).

³ Pseudonyms are used in referring to individual participants in any reporting of this study.

Table 1. The age of children at the analyzed recordings

Child	Age at recordings (years; months. days)					Σ
Vilma	0;9.27	0;10.24	0;11.22	1;0.26		4
Helmi	0;11.3	1;0.0	1;1.5	1;2.2	1;3.3	5
Juha	0;10.22	1;11.20	1;0.16	1;1.17	1;2.8	5
Nuppu	0;11.8	0;11.24	1;0.0	1;0.9	1;0.16	9
	1;0.23	1;0.29	1;1.3	1;1.13		

The data is comprised of 23 recordings of parent-child interaction before the onset of the first words,⁴ totaling about 12 hours. As the first words emerged from the children at different rates and the recordings began at slightly different times between the ages 0;9 and 0;11, the number of tapes from each child differs: from Vilma four, Helmi five, Juha five, and Nuppu nine.

2.3 Analysis of child-parent interaction

The analysis focused on the children's use of gazing, proto-words and pointing in initiating a sequential activity. First, the co-occurrences of these phenomena were searched for in the data base. Second, the interactive sequences initiated by the use of proto-word expressions were transcribed and studied using the principles of ethnomethodological conversation analysis (CA), (e.g. Goodwin & Heritage 1990). CA was found useful for the study of child-parent interaction as it looks at the turn-by-turn

⁴ The first meaningful words produced by the children were identified following a procedure devised by Vihman and McCune (1994). The criteria are based on both formal (phonetic) and functional considerations, such as the degree of segmental match with the adult target, use in a clearly determinative context, and identification by the parent. Each word candidate was rated for the presence or absence of each type of evidence (see Vihman & McCune 1994).

sequential properties⁵ of interaction and goes beyond categorical classification of individual elements. Applying the principles of CA, the proto-word utterances were analyzed within their local sequential environment in the ongoing interaction between the child and the parent. As well as spoken utterances, we also considered gestures, gaze, and head orientation of both the child and the parent during proto-word sequences. Furthermore, we analyzed the linguistic structure of the responses the parents gave to their children's utterances.

The child's proto-words were transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and the interaction using CA transcription conventions (see Appendix 1). The transcript of speech consists of three lines: the original utterance in Finnish, a word-by-word gloss, and a free translation into English (see Appendix 2 for glossing symbols). The speaker's own non-verbal gesturing is marked below the transcript of speech. However, if non-verbal gesture functions as an independent act in the interaction (i.e., without speech), it is described on a line of its own in the transcript. When relevant to the analysis of visual orientation towards the objects pointed at, the speaker's gaze is marked with a continuous line above the spoken utterance showing the duration of gazing (see Goodwin 1981: 52). The recipient's gaze, showing her co-orientation towards an object, is marked with a continuous line on a line of its own below the current speaker's utterance. Square brackets show the beginning and the end of simultaneous actions, either verbal or nonverbal, of different participants.

3. Proto-words and pointing gestures in child-parent interaction

3.1 Frequencies of pointing gestures by the children studied

All the children studied used pointing gestures to initiate interaction sequences with their parents (see Table 2). Children's gestures were mostly accompanied by proto-words or other vocalizations.

⁵ CA is a qualitative research approach that analyzes how interaction is constructed as a collaborative activity by the participants. The basic phenomena that are studied in interaction are the construction of turns and actions, turn-taking, sequential organization of activities, and repairs of problems in intersubjective understanding (see, e.g., Schegloff 2007).

Table 2. The frequencies of pointing gestures in the analyzed recordings

Child	Occurrences of pointing gestures in recordings					Σ
Vilma	0	2	16	4		22
Helmi	3	17	22	24	45	111
Juha	6	3	4	14	12	39
Nuppu	28	9	16	7	17	
	72	25	14	3		191

The number of pointing gestures varied from tape to tape, although they were quite frequent in all children at and around the age of one year. The activities the parent and child were engaged in may have affected the frequency: many of the pointing gestures occurred during feeding when the child was sitting in a high chair and most objects in the physical environment were out of reach. Another context where the child often initiated pointing was picture book reading. The third common activity in the tapes, that of examining toys or other objects, involved less pointing; it occurred only when the child momentarily shifted her/his attention from nearby toys to the wider physical surroundings and pointed at a more distant object. Nuppu and Helmi used pointing gestures most frequently, Vilma and Juha less often. Nuppu also most consistently combined the pointing gesture with one single and salient proto-word [ættæ]; the other children combined gestures with less stable proto-words (e.g., [tææ], [tøø]) and other vocalizations. Due to the late emergence of first words, Nuppu was taped more frequently than the other children during this period, and thus there is an extensive collection of proto-word utterances from her. In what follows, we will inspect the interactive sequences that are initiated by proto-words using extracts from Nuppu's data at 12 months as examples of the whole corpus.

3.2 Interactive use of proto-words and pointing gestures by one-year-old children

On the basis of our analysis we found that the children's proto-word utterances were interpreted by the parents as referring to multiple referents and as performing various conversational activities. Although the proto-word remained approximately the same in all these utterances, the context and the accompanying non-verbal activities varied, which appeared to induce different parental interpretations. To show the interactive construction of proto-word sequences in more detail, we present here four extracts from the interaction between Nuppu (age 1;0) and her mother. The extracts come from the videotaping of a mealtime in the kitchen, where Nuppu is sitting in her high chair and her mother is feeding her porridge.

Nuppu has only one proto-word in her vocabulary, namely [ættæ] (the vowel quality of the production sometimes varying a bit, resulting in [ætti]). Although Nuppu's proto-word does not have any fixed referential meaning, it structurally resembles the first words of children learning Finnish. Finnish children's early words more often fall into a geminate⁶ template, (C)VCCV, with the initial consonant only an optional segment (Savinainen-Makkonen 2000, 2007), whereas in English, first words are usually structured as CVCV (Ingram 1999). In Finnish, the geminate structure seems to be overrepresented in child-directed speech and even more so in child forms of Finnish words.⁷

Our main observation was that Nuppu actively used her proto-word [ættæ]/[ætti] to initiate conversational sequences. Furthermore, she was encouraged to continue this, as she repeatedly received an interpretative response from her mother, a response that was structured as a candidate understanding of the meaning of Nuppu's proto-word and gesture combination. Within CA, a candidate understanding is defined as a device

⁶ Consonants have two phonological lengths in Finnish: short (single) and long (geminate). The quantity of the sound changes the meaning of the words (e.g. [kuka] 'who' vs. [kukka] 'flower').

⁷ In Vihman's and Velleman's (2000) study dealing with Finnish children more than 50% of children's early words had a geminate structure. In Savinainen-Makkonen's (2007) case study the proportion was even bigger: of Joel's 50 first word forms 74% had a geminate structure.

that the recipients of talk use to articulate a tentative reading of a previous turn (cf. Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977; Ochs 1988). Here Nuppu’s mother’s candidate understandings display that she interpreted Nuppu’s initiations to perform (at least) two kinds of actions: naming and requesting. The first two extracts presented below are naming sequences, and the last two, request sequences (although the latter request sequence is not clearly treated as a request by the mother).

Naming sequences: Extracts 1 & 2

In Extract 1, Nuppu initiates a naming sequence typical of the whole data corpus. The sequence is initiated in line 2 where Nuppu turns towards the camera and points at it. Nuppu’s multi-modal action consists of both gazing and pointing at the camera (or the person behind it) as well as the production of the proto-word. The gesture in line 2 can be seen in Picture 1.

Extract 1. Child’s initiative action treated as a request for naming

- 01 M: FEEDING N (5.0)

- 02 N:
 camera
 ↑[ætti],
 POINTS AT THE CAMERA

proto-word + gaze + pointing gesture

- 03 (2.0)

- 04 M:
 N
 Nii. (1.0) Siel on tã↑ti,
 PRT there is auntie
 ‘Yeah. (1.0) There is an auntie.’

**response particle + pause +
 candidate understanding
 [LOC + V + N]**

- 05 (0.8) N CONTINUES TO LOOK AT THE CAMERA, M FEEDS HER

M=mother; N=Nuppu; [LOC=locative; V=verb; N=noun].



Picture 1. Nuppu is pointing at the camera (see Extract 1, line 2)

Here the mother is verbalizing the referents that are within the focus of Nuppu's attention in the physical environment. However, it is Nuppu in line 2 who initiates this sequence by saying [ætti] and gazing and pointing towards the referent. Nuppu also uses a very high pitch thus marking the referent possibly as something new and worth mentioning (see, e.g., Vainio & Järvikivi 2006). The mother responds to this action first by acknowledging it with the response particle *nii* (appr. 'yeah'; cf. Sorjonen 2001) thus treating Nuppu's proto-word utterance as the first pair part of an interactive sequence. Then she provides a candidate understanding of the possible referent of Nuppu's proto-word expression (*siel on täti* 'there is an auntie', line 4). As is often the case in child-directed speech, the main NP occurs last in the utterance and is marked with a pitch raise (Cruttenden 1994). It is noteworthy that both the child's [ætti] (line 2) and mother's *täti* 'auntie' (end of line 4) are prosodically marked with a raise in pitch.

The caregiver's two-part response to the child's initiation is not only doing responding to the child. Both parts of the parental response are doing a specific action. Besides acknowledging, the first part, *nii*, also agrees and affiliates with the child's initiation displaying that the caregiver understands the child and what the child is pointing at. In the second part, candidate understanding, the caregiver mentions the referent and thus takes

the sequential opportunity not only to affiliate with the child but also to teach language to her. The child conforms to this by not initiating repair (cf. later, in Extract 4, the child rejects mother's candidate and initiates repair).

The candidate understanding is structured as an existential construction with an initial locative element *siel* 'there', followed by a verb and a referring NP *täti* 'auntie.' It is interesting to note that the mother does not look at the "auntie" (the woman operating the camera) but rather at the child. We could argue that while acknowledging the child's attempt to bring in a new referent, the mother does not shift her attentional focus to that referent. This is reflected not only in her gaze direction but also in the linguistic form, the existential construction: it has been shown that even though the existential construction functions to bring new referents into discourse in Finnish, these referents tend not to be further tracked in subsequent discourse; i.e., they do not become topics in the interaction (Helasvuo 1996). We may also note that the referring element (*täti* 'auntie') is a bare noun phrase with no modifiers. This means that in the referring NP there is no element that would function to direct the interaction in a certain way. For example, there is no element that would indicate that the referent should remain within the focus of subsequent talk (cf. Helasvuo 2001: 99–100). Thus, the linguistic form of the candidate understanding is designed so that it directs the interaction and projects no further talk on the referent mentioned.

In Extract 2, Nuppu has shifted her gaze towards the window (line 8). She then produces the proto-word [ættæ] while simultaneously looking and pointing towards the window (line 9). Here again the mother responds to this with the particle *niih* (appr. 'yeah') and with a candidate understanding (line 11). There are two butterflies hanging in the window for decoration. In the transcript, the butterflies are marked b1 (the butterfly closest to the camera) and b2 (the butterfly closest to the mother). Pictures 2a and 2b show Nuppu's pointing gestures towards the butterflies.

Extract 2. Child's initiative action treated as a request for naming

07 M: [Vähä häikäsee.
 [a.little glares
 ['(The sun) glares a bit.]

- 08 N: [NUPPU IS LOOKING AT THE WINDOW
- 09 N: _____ window
[ættæ], NUPPU POINTS AT B1 **proto-word + gaze + pointing gesture**
- 10 N: _____ shifts gaze to b2
(1.5)
NUPPU POINTS AT B2
- 11 M: _____ b1,,, _____ b2
[Niih. (.) Ne on ne ↑perhoset °siellä ikkunassa.°
[PRT they are those butterflies there window+INE
[‘Yeah.(.) They are those ↑butterflies °there in the window.°’
[MOTHER POINTS AT THE BUTTERFLIES
[**response particle + pause + candidate understanding**
[**[PRON + COP + [MOD + N] + LOC]**
[
[
- 12 N: [LOOKING AT THE WINDOW
- 13 (11.0) M CONTINUES FEEDING N

M=mother; N=Nuppu; b1=butterfly 1; b2=butterfly 2;
[PRON=pronoun; N=noun; MOD=modifier; COP=copular verb; LOC=locative].



Picture 2a. Nuppu is pointing towards butterfly 1 in the window (Extract 2, line 9)



Picture 2b. Nuppu is pointing towards butterfly 2 in the window and mother is shifting her gaze towards the butterflies and points at them (Extract 2, line 11)

In line 8, Nuppu is looking at the window, and in line 9 she points at a referent in the window, namely the butterfly which is closest to the camera (and furthest away from the mother) and simultaneously produces the proto-word [ættæ] (line 9, see Picture 2a). After the proto-word Nuppu continues looking at the window and silently shifts her gaze and point towards the butterfly that is closest to her mother (see Picture 2b). When producing her response in line 11, the mother gazes in the same direction where Nuppu is gazing, and thus, joint attention on the same object is achieved. With her double pointing and shifting gaze, Nuppu has picked multiple referents, namely, the butterflies. While producing her response (line 11), the mother scans the butterflies in the same order as Nuppu did just a moment earlier, starting from the butterfly closest to the camera and ending with the one closest to herself (see Picture 2b).

Similar to Extract 1, the mother first produces a response particle *niih* ('yeah') and then a candidate understanding displaying both her understanding of the child's referring expression as well as verbalizing it in order to model language to the child. Furthermore, similar to Extract 1, the mother also again marks the named referent (butterflies) with a pitch raise as something to be noticed.

The candidate is structured as a predicate nominal clause *ne on ne perhoseet siellä ikkunassa* 'They are those butterflies there in the window' where the predicating NP is formed as Modifier + Head (line 11). The mother uses the modifier *ne* 'those' which conveys that the referent is adequately identified for the purposes at hand, and, furthermore, that it needs no further discussion (Laury 1997, Etelämäki 2005: 19–20). By using a plural form, she acknowledges the multiplicity of the referents Nuppu has brought to her attention by non-verbal means. In her utterance the mother names the referents with the noun phrase *ne perhoseet* 'those butterflies' and then states the location in a silent voice. This is done using a locative phrase *siellä ikkunassa* 'there in the window'.

In sum, child-initiated naming sequences consist of two parts. First, there is the initiative action by the child, and second, the candidate interpretation provided by the parent. Usually there are no third parts, such as the child's acknowledgement of the interpretation, in these sequences, but children conform to their caregivers' responses by not initiating repair. Furthermore, although the parent names the referent of the child's pointing gesture, the referent does not become a topic of their subsequent

interaction. We have shown that the choice of the syntactic construction where the naming of the referent is embedded serves to guide the further course of the interaction, including further talk regarding the referent. In the following request sequences, the opposite is the case.

Request sequences: Extracts 3 & 4

In Extract 3, the mother treats Nuppu’s proto-word utterance as a request. Nuppu produces the proto-word [ættæ] and turns and reaches her pointing hand towards the kitchen sink (line 31). The mother provides the possible referent *vettä* ‘water’⁸ (line 33) which Nuppu may be aiming at. Nuppu sustains her twisted body posture until line 36 and then turns back to the table when her mother stands up and goes to the sink to get water. Nuppu’s reaching body posture in line 31 can be seen in Picture 3b. However, as she has turned her back to the camera, her pointing hand is not seen in the picture.

Extract 3. Child’s initiative action treated as a request

30 M: *Otaksä vielä vähän.*
 take+Q+you still a.little
 ‘Do you still take some.’
 M OFFERS N A SPOONFUL OF PORRIDGE

31 N:	° [ættæ].°	sink	proto-word + gaze + turning
	*REJECTS SPOON AND TURNS TO THE SINK WITH A POINTING HAND	*(1.0) [ættæ]. *MAINTAINS HER POSTURE AS TURNED TOWARDS THE SINK	

⁸ Nuppu’s proto-word [ettæ] later in the sequence (line 38) comes already close to the Finnish word /vettæ/ (*vettä*), which means water and what the mother offered as the candidate to Nuppu in line 33.

32 (0.8) N MAINTAINS HER POSTURE AS TURNED TOWARDS THE SINK

33 M: ↑*Vettä.*
water+PAR
'Water.'

34 (2.5)

35 M: *Siel on nokkamuki.*
there is sippy cup
'There is your sippy cup.'

candidate understanding [N]

+ pause

+ elaboration
(lines 33–35)

36 (15.0) N TURNS BACK TO THE TABLE WHEN M STANDS UP TO GET THE WATER FROM THE SINK

37 (15.0) N DRINKS FROM THE CUP

38 N: [ettæ].
(water)

M=mother; N=Nuppu; [N=noun].



Picture 3a. Nuppu refuses to take the food offered (Extract 3, line 31)



Picture 3b. Nuppu turns towards the kitchen sink (Extract 3, line 31)

In more detail, this interaction can be analyzed as follows. The mother is offering a spoonful of porridge to Nuppu (line 30). She verbalizes the offer with a question *otaksä vielä vähän* ‘do you still take some’. In her response (line 31) Nuppu is combining two actions: first, she rejects the offer (see Picture 3a), and second, initiates her alternative action for eating by turning and pointing towards the sink (see Picture 3b). Both actions are accompanied by proto-words. While producing the first proto-word, Nuppu starts to turn her body towards the kitchen sink, located behind her. She then produces the proto-word again more loudly and maintains her twisted body posture towards the sink. The silent voice quality of the first proto-word may have something to do with the act of refusing to take the food offered.

The caregiver does respond immediately to Nuppu’s initiative action that offers an alternative to what the mother had been doing (feeding porridge). Furthermore, the caregiver’s response is very simple. After a pause (line 32), the mother verbalizes Nuppu’s request as *vettä* ‘(some) water’ (line 33). Structurally, the turn is formed by a bare noun phrase, a mass noun which is inflected in the partitive case indicating unbound quantity. As such, it indicates the fact that there is water (available) at the sink. At the same time, however, the turn (line 33) is formed so that it is

morpho-syntactically fitted to the previous offer by the mother in line 30. In the offer, the object NP is ellipped in the Finnish original; it can be inferred from the context (porridge). The mother's turn on line 33 adds the missing object NP to the question (*otaksä vielä vähän + vettä* 'do you still take some + water').

We may further note that the NP *vettä* is also marked with a very high pitch that has a questioning quality. Thus the mother is treating Nuppu's initiation as a potential request for water and asks for Nuppu's confirmation for her candidate understanding. As Nuppu maintains her position turned towards the sink, the mother elaborates on this theme ('there is your sippy cup', line 35) and finally carries out the request (line 36). When the mother stands up to go to the sink, Nuppu turns back to the table and thus conforms to the caregiver's action.

After the caregiver has given her water in the sippy cup, the child produces something that could be an early attempt to imitate the mother's speech (note the change of vowel quality in the proto-word [ettæ] in line 38). If so, it could be one of the first occurrences of a third position turn showing verbal acceptance of the candidate understanding (and the action of giving water to her) by repeating the target noun *vettä* (water). It also is one of the first signs of the process of learning the pronunciation of the word. In fact, *vettä* was among the first fifteen words that Nuppu had in her productive vocabulary. It is also of interest to note that the children used this kind of repetitive imitations later, when they were approaching two years of age, to acknowledge adults' corrections and improve their pronunciation (Laakso 2010).

In Extract 4, the referent *kukka* 'flower' has been talked about before and Nuppu has tried to reach for it several times. In line 107, Nuppu produces the proto-word, gazes and points at the flower, and stretches out to point at it. At the same time, she also leans her body towards the flower. However, the mother treats Nuppu's proto-word simply as naming a referent (line 108). Nuppu's response (lines 110 and 113) reveals that she is not satisfied with this interpretation, and she displays this by crying. Nuppu's crying can be seen as a third position repair that rejects the candidate offered by the mother as not adequate (see also Wootton 1994, for observations of early third position repair). There seems to be some disagreement about the ongoing activity, requesting vs. naming. Nuppu's pointing gesture is seen in Picture 4.

Extract 4. Child's request treated as naming

- 106 (2.5)
- 107 N: flower
 ↑[ættæ],((stressed production)) **proto-word + gaze + pointing gesture**
 POINTS AT THE FLOWER AND STRETCHES OUT TO REACH
 FOR IT
- 108 M: N
Kukka?
 flower
 'Flower?' **candidate understanding [N]**
- 109 (2.0) N STOPS POINTING WHEN M HAS PRODUCED
 CANDIDATE
- 110 N: looks down
 (K)hhbb[hybhybhy. ((cries))
- 111 [M OFFERS N HER SPOON
- 112 M: *Mmm[:h.*
 [
- 113 N: [(k)bbhybhybhy, ((cries))
- 114 M: *Tossa lusikka. (1.0) Ai niin meidän piti ottaa noi (.)*
 there spoon PRT PRT we+GEN should take those
 'There (is) spoon. (1.0) Oh yeah, we should take those
 M STANDS UP, GOES TO GET THE VITAMINS
- 115 *vitamii°nitipat.°*
 vitamin-drops
 vitamins.'

M=mother; N=Nuppu; [N=noun].



Picture 4. Nuppu is pointing at a flower on the table (Extract 4, line 107)

Extract 4 stands in contrast with the previous examples in several ways. First, the mother and the child do not have a shared focus of attention: while the child is looking at the flower and trying to reach it, the mother is gazing only at the child. Secondly, the mother's utterance in line 108 is structured as a bare NP not fitted to any clausal construction. (It is a so-called free NP; Helasvuo 2001.) Thirdly, its prosody does not mirror in any way the highly prominent production of the child in line 107. Fourthly, the mother quickly moves on by first offering the spoon (line 111) and then initiating another activity, taking the vitamins (lines 114–115). It is obvious that here the child and the mother have different agendas: the child is not only shifting her attention towards the referent but is also making a request in order to get it, while the candidate understanding by the mother simply states the name of the referent. It is interesting to note that after the mother has produced the candidate, the child immediately stops pointing (line 109), and, as a reaction to the mother's bare naming response, she also starts to cry (line 110). So she displays her dissatisfaction with her mother's actions and tries to repair the course of action her mother has chosen. Similarly, in line 111, as the mother offers Nuppu the spoon (instead of the flower Nuppu has been interested in), Nuppu reacts by crying. Thus in

extract 4, the child displays initiative requesting but the mother does not adapt to it. Most importantly, Nuppu's rejections of her mother's candidate interpretations (as in Extract 4) (and also confirmations as in Extract 3) in the third turn clearly make the negotiation of intersubjective understanding between the interlocutors visible. Thus, in Extracts 3 and 4 emerge the first interactive three-part-sequences with child's request, caregiver's response, and child's acceptance/rejection.

4. Conclusions and discussion

In the present article we focussed on parent-child interaction when parent and child are working out the meanings of the child's proto-word utterances. In particular, we studied interactive sequences which the child initiates by using a multi-modal expression (a combination of a proto-word, gazing at a referent, and a pointing hand gesture). Despite having limited skill in articulating more than a proto-word, i.e. a word-like structure with no actual linguistic meaning, with the interpretive help of the parent the children were actually able to perform quite complex activities of requesting both the names of objects and the referents themselves. Furthermore, as the caregivers respond to the children's proto-word expressions with names and by conducting some actions, during the course of these interactive proto-word sequences the children start to learn the linguistic signs/names of different referents. Thus, through this sequential work the child can acquire the meanings (and forms) of the shared signs of language.

In contrast to previous studies stressing the input of the parent in language acquisition (e.g. Snow 1995; Clark 2003) it is notable that in our data for one-year-olds, it is most often the children who actively initiate the interaction, by using proto-words and pointing gestures. In the sequences initiated by the children's proto-word expressions, the parents respond by either naming the referent or by providing more elaborate interpretation about the nature of the child's action. The responses of the parent also provide a model of adult production of the words and meanings the child is trying to express using proto-words and pointing gestures. Thus the responses provide referentially grounded models for the child's first words. The first sign of the proto-word changing into a recognizable word is seen in Extract 3, where, after mother's model, the child produces her proto-

word in an altered form [ettæ] which comes already close to the Finnish word /vettæ/.

Along with the shared meanings of words, we see the parents' responsive interpretations as a means to carry over the meanings of different social activities to their children. The parents' responses may take various grammatical forms: just a bare noun phrase with no determiners or modifiers as in Extracts 3 and 4, a response particle followed by an existential clause as in Extract 1, or a predicate nominal clause as in Extract 2. These grammatical forms serve different interactional functions: the bare noun phrase deals primarily with reference, while the more elaborate constructions offer a certain perspective or stance towards the referent (e.g. that the referent is identifiable as in Extract 2 or that the referent should not form the focus of attention and further talk as in Extracts 1 and 2). The bare noun phrase response can, however, display different activities depending on the actions the mother combines it with. If the mother produces the NP and simultaneously offers the child the corresponding item (such as water in Extract 3), the child's initiative action gets displayed as a request for something, whereas if the mother provides the NP but moves on to other activities (Extract 4), the child's initiative action gets interpreted as a simple naming request (but the child rejects this interpretation by crying).

Our linguistic analysis thus aimed to show that the acquisition of language and linguistic forms is embedded in social interaction. The meanings of words are learnt as embedded in larger syntactic constructions which serve to direct the interaction in certain ways and make projections about the subsequent course of the interaction. We hope to contribute to linguistic research by studying gesture and embodiment as they are used together with language. Within the field of language acquisition studies our study emphasizes the role of embodied action in the acquisition of linguistic forms.

We have further shown through a close analysis of the interactive sequences in their local contexts how the meanings of objects and the actions they imply are negotiated in interaction between the parent and the child. This negotiation may be smooth as in Extracts 1, 2 and 3, or it may result in child's rejection of the candidate meaning the parent is offering (as in Extract 4). Also under negotiation is the kind of activity that the participants are engaged in and are co-producing in interaction. This was exemplified by Extracts 3 and 4. In Extract 3 the mother's activity was

offering food to Nuppu, whereas Nuppu reached for her sippy cup. As a result, the mother offered her water in the cup. In Extract 4 the mother was naming a referent that Nuppu was reaching for, and mother did not change her response although Nuppu reacted to it by crying. Instead, the mother tried to shift Nuppu's attention to other things by offering her a spoon. More generally the children's pointing and proto-word expressions, and the working out of their reference, are embedded within larger sequential structures, where the children make their initiations also to restructure ongoing sequences and to alter the course of the projected parental actions.

According to Trevarthen and Hubley (1978), joint attention is a prerequisite for primary intersubjectivity. Our findings confirm previous studies' observations that shared attentional focus is indeed a recurring element in child-parent interactions (e.g., Bateson 1979; Tomasello & Farrar 1986; Kidwell & Zimmerman 2007). Similarly, our study supports the suggestion of Jones and Zimmerman (2003: 178) that a child's pointing gesture and the response by the caregiver could form a conversational "proto-adjacency pair". In addition to these prior findings, we have shown that attentional shifts (with gaze and pointing hand gestures) are combined with the child's proto-word utterances; i.e., these non-verbal elements accompany the child's first attempts at articulated speech. We believe that proto-words are very integral parts of these expressions and enhance parental responsiveness. As the parents interpret these first attempts, they provide a model of the target words that the children can then imitate and learn (an early display of that was seen in Extract 3 where after the mother's response, Nuppu articulated her proto-word in a manner similar to the mother's speech). The multi-modal proto-word utterances thus serve as a transition phase towards the first referential words and also towards worded speech activities, such as the formulation of requests.

With multi-modal proto-word utterances the child actively initiates conversation-like sequences. Furthermore, it is through these child-initiated sequences that the meanings of referring expressions are being negotiated. Thus, in contrast with many previous studies emphasizing adult initiation (e.g., Estigarribia & Clark 2007) and input (e.g., Snow 1995), we have shown how the child can direct the course of the interaction and her own language learning through initiative actions. Through the sequential construction of interaction that follows these initiative actions, the children acquire shared understanding of social activities and the signs of language;

in other words, they develop a higher level of intersubjectivity. The present study suggests that there is an embodied interactive origin of language: adults who scaffold infants' earliest communicative intentions promote children's abilities to communicate and learn language. However, more in-depth follow-up studies of children's early interactions are still needed to show the connections between sequential parental interpretations and the emergence of first words.

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Appendix 1. Transcription symbols

The notation used is basically the same as that used in conversation analysis literature (see, e.g., Atkinson & Heritage 1984: ix–xvi). The notation of non-verbal actions (gestures) is added (cf. Laakso 1997: 12–14) as well as a simplified notation of gaze following Goodwin (1981: vii–viii).

Overlap and pauses

- (0.5) A pause and its duration in tenths of seconds
- (.) A micropause (less than 0.2 seconds)
- [Beginning of overlap
-] End of overlap

Intonation contour

- . A falling intonation
- , A continuing (level) intonation
- ? A rising intonation

Prosodic shifts and speech volume

- ↑ The word/segment following the arrow is uttered in a higher pitch than the surrounding speech.
- ↓ The word/segment following the arrow is uttered in a lower pitch than the surrounding speech.
- ° ei ° A silently pronounced word or utterance.

Duration

- la- A cut-off word (a hyphen indicates self-interruption of the word)
- la: A stretch (a colon indicates lengthening of a sound)

Other

- .joo A word pronounced with inbreath
- .hh Inbreath (each h indicating one tenth of a second)
- hh Outbreath
- (koira) Single parentheses indicate transcriber's doubt
- (-) An unclearly heard word or utterance

Gestures and gaze

POINTS AT A DOLL

Non-verbal actions are described in capital letters on a separate line below the utterance they co-occur with, or on a line of their own if there is no simultaneous talk.

 b
[ættæ]

A line above the utterance indicates that the speaker is gazing at an object or person; here the b indicates that the child is looking at a butterfly.

Appendix 2. Principles and abbreviations used in glossing

In the gloss, morphemes have been separated with a plus sign (+).

COP	Copular verb
GEN	Genitive
INE	Inessive
LOC	Locative element
MOD	Modifier
N	Noun
PAR	Partitive
PRON	Pronoun
PRT	Particle
Q	Question clitic

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Maarit Niemelä and Mirka Rauniomaa

Mobilizing (Re)tellings of a Story to Accomplish Multiple Social Actions

Abstract

The paper introduces an instance of retelling: a series of telephone calls in which a young man tells about a recent event to three different recipients. Drawing on previous research on storytelling in conversation, the paper argues that the telling of the story is mobilized in each interactional context to accomplish multiple social actions, such as troubles telling and requesting advice, and that it forms an integral part of each action. Similar structural units of these tellings resonate in meaning, form and content but some lexico-syntactic details of these units vary according to the social actions that are being accomplished via the tellings. The actions are also seen as important contributions to the overall stance-taking activity of the participants. Moreover, the paper examines a feature of retelling that occurs in the data: reference to prior renderings of the same story, which highlights the import of a telling and guides recipients towards relevant response.

1. Introduction

The detailed examination of stories as they are told in conversational interaction typically leads us to treat any instance of storytelling as unique. After all, storytelling is a situated activity: interactants in a given setting and at a particular point in time work together to initiate a story, deliver it and bring it to completion in their jointly negotiated roles as tellers and recipients. Nevertheless, interactants, and also we analysts, may sometimes come across a retelling, i.e. the recounting of a story that has evidently been told before. Although such retellings intuitively seem common in conversations, it is relatively rare to find an initial telling and consecutive retellings captured on tape. Here, we use the term *retelling* to refer to any stretch of talk that can be recognized to have occurred before and to serve as a story in conversation. The focus of this study lies solely on retellings

by the same teller to different recipients, but the research discussed below may also include other types of settings.¹

In this paper, we are concerned with the dynamics of storytelling and, in particular, in how a speaker accomplishes multiple social actions through separate tellings about the same event to different recipients. That is, the speaker can be seen to mobilize the telling of a story for the purposes of a particular interactional moment. We argue that in doing so, the speaker and, consequently, the recipients also involve themselves in stance taking, i.e. position themselves in relation to the reported event and the co-participants. Additionally, we shall discuss the ways in which the speaker indicates that he has recounted the story in the past. Such elements guide recipients towards a relevant interpretation of the story and contribute to the stance taking of the participants.

The following section outlines previous research on conversational storytelling, stance taking and retold stories. Section 3 introduces the data, a series of three phone calls by one speaker to different recipients. In section 4, we analyse the calls and the tellings within them, focusing on the way in which the speaker designs his speech to perform different social actions. Finally, we give our concluding remarks in section 5.

2. Storytelling and stance taking in conversation

The following subsections introduce the formal and functional characteristics of a conversational story (2.1), consider displays of stance in storytelling (2.2) and discuss previous work on retold stories (2.3).

2.1 Conversational storytelling

A conversational story to us is an extended, structured turn of talk taken by (typically) one teller to give a report of an event in chronological order to one or more recipients in order to perform a social action (e.g. a complaint, an apology, a boast, an explanation, an expression of solidarity, a solicitation of empathy). Much of the current linguistic work on stories relies on the notion that the formal characteristics of a story stipulate a sequence of at least two narrative clauses (Labov & Waletzky 1967; Labov

¹ What is not discussed here, however, is the co-construction of stories that are familiar to most, if not all, participants present. For an examination of such retellings, see e.g. Norrick (1997) and Georgakopoulou (2005).

1972). In other words, in order to be understood as a story, the extended turn must include a temporal sequence of at least two events, which can be achieved by means of past tense, for example. Sacks (1992a: 244) gives a classic example of such a temporal sequence: in *the baby cried, the mummy picked it up* the chronological order between the incident of the baby first crying and the mummy then picking it up is highlighted. Sacks (1974) provides a structural outline of a story, consisting of a preface sequence, a telling sequence and a reception sequence. Labov & Waletzky (1967) similarly identify the overall structural units of a story as abstract, orientation, complication, evaluation, climax, resolution and coda. In this study, we employ Sacks' (1974) classification of the story components. Additionally, the general terms story plot and high point are used to refer to what Labov & Waletzky (1967) call the complication and the climax of the story, respectively.

Although the temporal fixedness of stories is a central requirement for many scholars working with narratives, recent approaches to stories in the field of linguistics and sociology call attention to the unfixed nature of the narrative in a discourse environment. Conversational stories are designed for their local, situated telling and are usually produced in close collaboration by the interactants (Ochs & Capps 2001: 54; Thornborrow & Coates 2005; Georgakopoulou 2007); that is, conversational narratives are seen as rather unconstrained, changeable units of talk. The recipient's role in conversational storytelling is also significant from the structural point of view: a story is something that is perceived as a story by the recipient, i.e. it is the recipient who gives the teller an opportunity in the flow of conversation to tell a story (Jefferson 1978; Sacks 1974; Sacks 1992b: 244).

What is more, a teller's awareness of who the audience are manifests in recipient design. Sacks et al. (1974: 272) explicate their understanding of recipient design as "a multitude of respects in which the talk by a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants". They further propose that recipient design shows itself in multifaceted features of talk-in-interaction, such as topic selection, word selection, ordering of sequences as well as options and obligations for starting and terminating conversations. Furthermore, Goodwin (1981: 166) has shown that, in the course of telling a story to several recipients at the same time, a teller modifies the telling with the recipients' knowledge of the reported event in mind. Such on-line recipient design is the teller's way

of reworking the telling with reference to the recipients' varied degrees of knowledge. The present paper further adds to previous research on storytelling by examining the resources of recipient design that a teller uses when telling the same story over a series of telephone calls to different recipients, who have varying degrees of knowledge of and perspectives on the reported event.

2.2 Displays of stance in storytelling

This paper, along with previous studies on stance taking (Kärkkäinen 2003, 2007; Wu 2004; Haddington 2005; Keisanen 2006; Du Bois 2007; Englebretson 2007; Rauniomaa 2007, 2008), views stance taking as an interactive and intersubjective activity between the interlocutors of a given interactional situation. Moreover, stance is not regarded as an "inner state" of the conversation participant but rather as a situated activity, a socially relevant positioning of oneself in view of the object of contemplation and in view of prior interactional turns and events. Du Bois & Kärkkäinen (under review), for instance, argue that it is possible to illustrate the socially situated nature of human feelings as they are displayed in interaction, i.e. "[t]he analysis of stance displays relies first and foremost on the participants' orientation towards, and interpretation of, the trajectories of talk and unfolding action, as distinct from the analysts' orientations to same". Such analysis reveals the various means of displaying affective, evaluative and epistemic stance in unfolding sequences of interaction. Based on evidence from the interactions, we analyse how the interlocutors portray themselves and others in a certain light in view of the subject matter at hand. In this study, stance-taking activity is seen to comprise a sequence of turns that display stances.

As interlocutors tell stories and produce social actions, they are simultaneously taking stances. The stance-taking activity is organised by the concurrent social actions and the sequential organisation of the ongoing interaction. In this study, we focus on the resources and practices of stance taking, discussing them as parallel phenomena to social actions and activities. As Rauniomaa (2008: 40) suggests, an examination of stance taking may enrich sequential analyses of conversational fragments because it entails a multifaceted description of how the interactants position themselves in view of the matter at hand and one another. By way of analyzing the stance taking process, we can thus provide a diverse analysis of the interlocutor's level of involvement and positioning toward the co-

participants and the reported characters and events in storytelling (see also “convergent and divergent stance” in Du Bois 2007: 162).

Stivers (2008: 31) postulates that “[w]hen someone tells a story, the teller provides the recipient with ‘access’ to an event and to the teller’s stance toward that event”. Her data show that there is a preference for the recipients to affiliate with the teller’s stance on the reported events. A story is not only in itself a display of stance, but a storytelling sequence may, and typically does, contain evaluations that are provided by both the teller and recipient(s) and that also function as displays of stance, aligning with and supporting the main storytelling and stance-taking activities (Sacks 1992a, 1992b; Niemelä 2005; Stivers 2008). It should also be noted that through different renderings of the same story, a teller can position himself in view of current recipients and interactional tasks, as is suggested in the studies that are reviewed in the following subsection.

2.3 Retellings

Polanyi (1981) was among the first to acknowledge the potential of studying retellings and suggested that “multiple tellings may reduce to the same underlying semantic structure in which the same events, set in a similarly constructed storyworld communicate the same global ‘point’”. However, Polanyi considered only a single telling, rather than multiple tellings. With the help of pertinent empirical data, others have since compared initial tellings with subsequent ones and explored their structural organization as well as their cognitive and interactional implications, emphasizing the significance of retellings for the narrative experience (see Ferrara 1994; Chafe 1998; and commentary by Norrick 1998a; Schiffrin 2006).

There are also a few studies that focus on how retellings are invoked by and integrated into their interactional environment. Norrick (1998b) argues that although the general structure of a story and perhaps some individual segments of it (e.g. a stretch of reported dialogue) may remain remarkably intact in retellings, the teller also brings in variation “to match the story with diverse topics and audience responses”. That is, each telling can be distinguished according to what purpose the story serves in the context and who the co-participants are (see also Norrick 2005). Günthner (2005) examines two tellings of a complaint story and contrasts them with the actual source of the complaint, a message that the teller’s neighbor has left on her answering machine. Günthner reveals the ways in which the

teller recontextualizes the story for the interactional purposes of each occasion: on the first telling, soon after receiving the message, the teller presents the story as a piece of news and on the second telling, over a year later, produces it as a contribution to a round of stories about bad experiences with neighbors. On both occasions, Günthner points out, the use of code-switching, prosody and other modifications (e.g. foregrounding some details of the story and backgrounding others) does not originate from the neighbor's message but from the teller's need to present the neighbor in a certain light. Similarly, Lappalainen (2005) presents a case in which a young man reports on a radio interview of a musician first to his friends and later at a congregational meeting for youth. Lappalainen shows that the first telling contains more paralinguistic variation (e.g. in fundamental frequency and intensity) and is thus more affective than the second one. Additionally, Lappalainen notes that the content of the tellings varies, the second one being more concise and less detailed for the purpose of illustrating a particular point. In other words, Günthner (2005) and Lappalainen (2005) both demonstrate that tellers may employ a range of modifications in order to position themselves in relation to the reported event, on the one hand, and the telling event, on the other.

In an exploration of evidentiality, Fox (2001) also touches upon retellings by discussing two telephone calls in which a speaker reports on his work situation to two friends and uses divergent evidential marking in referring to the same circumstances. Fox suggests that the speaker distances himself from his new employer considerably when talking to a friend who has training in the same field of profession as the speaker but who has been less fortunate in finding relevant employment. Based on this observation, Fox argues that speakers' use of evidentials both conveys their stance towards the issue at hand and indexes their relationship with co-participants. In various ways, then, the design of retellings can be seen to reflect and, in a sense, also maintain participant relationships.

The findings of the present paper contribute to the line of research that considers (re)tellings as evoked by and embedded in their interactional context. More specifically, we shall provide close sequential analyses of the (re)tellings to argue that each telling accomplishes not only one but multiple social actions and that each telling forms an integral part of those actions. That is, unlike previous reports on retellings, the present study underlines how a teller mobilizes tellings of a story to carry out certain actions not only across several interactions but within a single conversation and how the tellings in effect provide a basis for the actions so that they can

be carried out in the first place. We shall also show that the actions are interwoven together with the participants' stance-taking activity. Furthermore, we shall discuss a previously unexplored feature of retellings, which plays an important role in the examined calls: reference to prior renderings of the same story that highlights the import of a telling and guides recipients towards an appropriate uptake. This kind of metacommentary reveals that the teller considers the story to be the same on the separate tellings.

3. Data

As noted in several studies that deal with retellings (e.g. Chafe 1998: 285; Norrick 1998b: 77–78; Fox 2001: 177; Günthner 2005: 287), it may take some effort and require some luck to find instances of retelling in recorded naturally occurring interactions. We have gone through a collection of data that we have known to contain conversations involving the same speaker(s). In this study, we shall present a single case that comprises three tellings of a story by the same speaker to different recipients. The case is drawn from the corpus of conversational Finnish that is maintained by the Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies at the University of Helsinki, Finland (Keskusteluntutkimuksen arkisto, HY SKL). The data have been transcribed according to the conventions of Conversation Analysis (Jefferson 1984); keys to relevant transcription symbols can be found in Appendix I. Each line of the Finnish transcript is followed by an interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme gloss (see Appendix II) and a free English translation.

Let us briefly introduce the case here. A young man, Vesa, makes a series of telephone calls to his friends within the same day (and possibly in almost immediate succession) to report on a recent event. The level of intimacy between the caller and individual recipients varies, as do the particular purposes that each call serves. However, the general reason for the call (Sacks 1992b: 773–779) in all the instances relates to the trouble that Vesa has had with his computer monitor. Recipients either display to have knowledge of or are explicitly made aware of the fact that Vesa's monitor has broken down and he has taken it to warranty service some time ago. In all three calls, Vesa then constructs a topical story, a troubles telling: he has now received the monitor back from the service, but after he has hooked it up and used it for a short period of time, it has broken down again.

4. Mobilizing (re)tellings

This section introduces a series of telephone calls that the young man makes to several recipients during the same day. The analysis of the tellings within the three calls illuminates the way in which the speaker designs his speech in each call with the given interactional tasks and recipient in mind. The tellings and the calls are analysed in terms of the unfolding sequential structure, the overall stance-taking activity and the implicit or explicit references that are made to other calls. A comparison of the structural units of the tellings, namely the story plot and high point, is also provided.

4.1 Call 1: Troubles telling to request advice from a legal expert

Vesa makes his first call about the computer monitor to a law student, Jore. Vesa asks Jore for legal advice and also vents his frustration during the telephone call.

(1) Jore (HY SKL sg122_a2)

- 01 JORE: *Joel Repka?*
 first_name last_name
 ‘Joel Repka’
- 02 VESA: no Vesa täs terve,
 PRT first_name here PRT
 ‘it’s Vesa here hi’
- 03 JORE: ↑*no2 terve,*
 PRT PRT
 ‘oh hi’
- 04 VESA: *.mt .hh kuule,*
 PRT
 ‘listen’
- 05 JORE: *joo?*
 PRT
 ‘yes’

² The Finnish particle *no* cannot be directly translated into English. In most cases, we have not translated it at all. Where it seems to receive particular emphasis, we have translated it as ‘oh’ and ‘yeah’.

- 06 VESA: *tota;*
PRT
'I mean'
- 07 *krhm .mt hh .hh*
- 08 *vitsi ku sä oo-t tollane a-lakimies,*
gosh because 2SG be-2SG like.that lawyer
'gosh you being a lawyer and all'
- 09 *ja nyt mu-a vitutta-a?*
and now 1SG-PTV piss.off-3SG
'and now I'm pissed off'
- 10 JORE: *no [:]?*
PRT
'yeah'
- 11 VESA: *[ku] mu-l on*
because 1SG-ADE be:3SG
'because I'm having
(.) *mu-n monitori-huollo-n kans ongelm-i-a,*
1SG-GEN monitor-service-GEN with problem-PL-PTV
trouble with my monitor service'
- 12 *ni osaa-t sä neuvo-o yhtään,*
so can-2SG 2SG advise-INF any
'can you give (me) any advice'
- 13 *siis mä vaan aattel-i-n et mu-n täytyy nyt*
PRT 1SG just think-PST-1SG that 1SG-GEN have.to now
'I mean I just thought that I have to
jolleki saada vähän purka-a tä-tä .hhh [:],
someone:ALL get.to a.little vent-INF this-PTV
vent this a bit to someone now'
- 14 JORE: *[mhm]?*
- 15 VESA: *se ol-i-*
3SG be-PST:3SG
'it was'
- 16 (.) *monitori ol-i huollo-s puoltoist viikko-o,*
monitor be-PST:3SG service-INE one.and.half week-PTV
'the monitor was in service for a week and a half'
- 17 *mä sa-i-n takuu-seen se-n,*
1SG get-PST-1SG warranty-ILL 3SG-ACC
'I got it covered by warranty service'

- 18 *ihan okei,*
quite okay
'that was okay'
- 19 *mut vaan men-i aika-a,*
but just take-PST:3SG time-PTV
'but it just took some time'
- 20 *.hhh nii-l ei ol-lu ees tarjota niinku*
3PL-ADE NEG be-PCP even offer PRT
'they didn't even have like
(.) *vara-monitori-a tila-lle?*
spare-monitor-PTV place-ALL
a spare monitor to offer (me) in its stead'
- 21 *[.hh]*
- 22 JORE: *[mm]?*
- 23 VESA: *ja nyt se tul-i tänne,*
and now 3SG arrive-PST:3SG here
'and now it arrived here'
- 24 *.hh paketi-ssa tänään,*
parcel-INE today
'in a parcel today'
- 25 *.hh mä h- kytk-i-n se-n konee-seen,*
1SG hook-PST-1SG 3SG-ACC machine-ILL
'I hooked it up on the computer'
- 26 *se ol-i nyt tunni-n käytö-s,*
3SG be-PST:3SG now hour-GEN use-INE
'it was now in use for an hour'
- 27 *nyt se hajos*
now 3SG break.down:PST:3SG
'now it broke down'
ihan sama-l lai-lla uuestaan.
exactly same-ADE way-ADE again
'in exactly the same way again'
- 28 JORE: *@voi paska/@.*
PRT shit
'oh shit'
- 29 VESA: *.hh ni on-ks mitään (.) niinku,*
so be:3SG-Q any PRT
'so is there any like'

- 30 (.) *esimerki-ks*,
 example-TRANS
 ‘for example’
- 31 *on-ks su-l mitään käsitys-tä että*,
 be:3SG-Q 2SG-ADE any idea-PTV that
 ‘do you have any idea that’
- 32 *teke-e-ks firma-t sellas-t että*,
 do-3SG-Q company-PL like.that-PTV that
 ‘do companies do so that’
- 33 *.hh nss että*,
 that
 ‘that’
- 34 (0.5) *ehm*,
- 35 (0.5) *niinku-*
 PRT
 ‘like’
- 36 (.) *on-ks su-l mitään t- käsitys-tä*,
 be:3SG-Q 2SG-ADE any idea-PTV
 ‘do you have any idea’
- 37 *esimerki-ks huollo-ssa*,
 example-TRANS service-INE
 ‘for example in service’
- 38 *et jos joku homma ei skulaa*,
 that if some thing NEG work
 ‘that if something doesn’t work’
- 39 *ni ne vaihta-a se-n uute-en*,
 so 3PL exchange-3SG 3SG-ACC new-ILL
 ‘they’ll exchange it for a new one’
- 40 *voi-ks niinku vaati-i vaihtaa uute-en*,
 can-Q PRT demand-INF exchange new-ILL
 ‘can one like demand (them) to exchange it for a new one’
- 41 *tällase-s tilantee-s*,
 like.this-INE situation-INE
 ‘in a situation like this’

After identifications and greetings, Vesa produces the particle *kuule* ‘listen’ (l. 4) that anticipates the introduction of the reason for the call (Hakulinen et al. 2003). The particle functions similarly to the English *listen*, which prefaces turns that initiate some new course of action (e.g. an arrangement-making sequence) at an interactionally-appropriate moment (e.g. after a

reciprocal how-are-you inquiry sequence) (Sidnell 2007: 402). The reason for this particular call begins to unfold when Vesa identifies Jore as an expert on legal matters, *vitsi ku sä oot tollanen a- lakimies* ‘gosh you being a lawyer and all’ (l. 8). The pro-adjective *tollane*, literally ‘like that’, draws attention to the characteristics of the category that follows, here *lakimies* ‘lawyer’ (ISK § 1411). Sacks (1992a: 41) argues that “any member of any category is presumptively a representative of that category for the purpose of use of whatever knowledge is stored by reference to that category”. Sacks further shows that introductions of categories occur in early parts of conversations, which allows interactants to formulate the topic according to what kind of knowledge the category implies. In this case, the evoked category suggests that Vesa will proceed with the topic of legal matters.

Before doing so, however, Vesa introduces an additional motive for contacting Jore: he initiates a troubles-telling sequence (Jefferson & Lee 1981; Jefferson 1984, 1988), *ja nyt mua vituttaa* ‘and now I’m pissed off’ (l. 9). The stance-laden evaluation seeks affiliation from the recipient, indicating to the recipient that the teller is in a particularly aggravated state of mind and that a sympathetic response would be appropriate (see Sacks 1992b: 228). Vesa thus offers two aspects of the topic to be dealt with: some yet unspecified legal matters and his own emotional state. As a response, Jore produces a go-ahead, *no* ‘yeah’ (l. 10), preparing himself for further talk by Vesa (see Sorjonen 2002: 172). Vesa then carries on both aspects of the topic by prefacing a subsequent story about the trouble that he has, *ku mul on mun monitorihuollon kans ongelmia* ‘because I’m having trouble with my monitor service’ (l. 11), and a request for advice from Jore, *ni osaat sä neuvoa yhtään* ‘can you give (me) any advice’ (l. 12). Rather than providing Jore an opportunity to respond, Vesa continues to account for the call, *siis mä vaan aattelin et mun täytyy nyt jolleki saada vähän purkaa tätä* ‘I mean I just thought that I have to vent this a bit to someone now’ (l. 13). The account further highlights the emotional side of the matter and sets up expectations for subsequent recipient uptake. All in all, Vesa primes Jore to anticipate a telling that illuminates the trouble that Vesa is having with his monitor service, a telling that serves, on the one hand, as a factual request for advice and, on the other hand, as an emotional venting of frustration. In other words, Vesa positions himself as someone who desperately needs some advice from his lawyer friend.

Vesa further explains that he did not experience trouble over getting the monitor repaired under warranty, *mä sain takuuseen sen, ihan okei* ‘I got it covered by warranty service, that was okay’ (ll. 17–18), which might

be the most obvious reason for a legal complaint. Instead, he has been kept waiting for quite a while: the warranty service have taken a week and a half to repair Vesa's monitor. He further validates his position as someone who has come in for unjust treatment by providing an explicit complaint, *niil ei ollu ees tarjota niinku varamonitoria tilalle* 'they didn't even like have a spare monitor to offer (me) in its stead' (l. 20). The extreme case formulation *ei ees* 'not even' legitimizes the complaint by highlighting a possible, perhaps even typical, means of compensation for which he as a consumer is eligible (see Pomerantz 1986). Jore acknowledges the complaint by producing the particle *mm* (l. 22).

As Vesa's talk unfolds, he provides Jore with the specifics of his monitor trouble. The plot of the first telling explicates that the cargo delivery arrived right then on that day, *ja nyt se tuli tänne, paketissa tänään, mä h- kytkin sen koneeseen, se oli nyt tunnin käytös* 'and now it arrived here, in a parcel today, I hooked it up on the computer, it was now in use for an hour' (ll. 23–26). Vesa's relatively high-pitched, groaning and whiny voice with wide-ranging pitch movement depicts utter frustration as he delivers the highpoint of the telling, *nyt se hajos ihan samal lailla uuestaan* 'now it broke down in exactly the same way again' (l. 27). The plot and the highpoint will be compared with the second and third telling in section 4.4. It is worth noting here, however, that in the second telling, the reoccurrence of the monitor trouble is emphasized but the manner of the trouble is not specified. Further, unlike in the third call to a technically-oriented friend, Vesa here diagnoses the monitor break-down, indicating that he knows that the exact same monitor fault has occurred.

In the course of the telling, Vesa's stance-taking activity is displayed through a series of social actions. The story-initial announcement of the teller's emotional state and the source of his troubles not only prime the subsequent telling and request for advice but also allow the teller to position himself with regard to the reported event. Throughout the telling, Vesa nurses a grievance concerning the monitor service, and turn by turn Vesa builds his case and positions himself as the victim of unjust treatment by the monitor service. Jore responds to Vesa's telling with a highly emphatic evaluation *voi paska* 'oh shit' (l. 28), taking a convergent stance with Vesa's. Jore affiliates with Vesa's prior troubles telling and thus legitimizes Vesa's position as a customer who has been treated unjustly. Over the next 13 lines, Vesa continues to formulate his request for advice which concerns whether the manufacturer is obliged to replace his monitor with a new one or at least provide him with a spare monitor while his is in

service. The legitimacy of Vesa's complaint is dealt with later on in the call (data not shown).

It is worth noting that through the different ways in which he refers to the recipient, Vesa subtly implies that different aspects of the reported event may be brought to light. On the one hand, Vesa makes a personal request for help, referring to Jore as a lawyer and explicitly seeking advice from him (l. 8 and 12). In this way, Vesa suggests that he has specifically chosen Jore as a recipient because of Jore's knowledge of the law. On the other hand, Vesa engages in general troubles telling, as he explicitly states on line 13: *siis mä vaan aattelin et mun täytyy nyt jolleki saada vähän purkaa tätä* 'I mean I just thought that I have to vent this a bit to someone now'. The indefinite pronoun *jolleki* 'to someone' hints at the possibility that Vesa would also have been able to relate the trouble to other, unspecified recipients. To put it differently, Vesa implies through very subtle means that Jore is one among several possible recipients. Through this single utterance, Vesa positions himself with regard to the source of his troubles, the current recipient who can help him with certain aspects of the troubles as well as his circle of friends and acquaintances who could potentially assist him with other aspects of the troubles.

Moreover, once Jore has given Vesa legal advice on the matter, Vesa goes on to recap the trouble he has had with the monitor and begins to close the call: *mä aattelin et nyt mun täytyy soittaa kaikille ystäväilleni ja kiroilla ja sit niitten pitää lohduttaa mua* 'I thought that now I have to call all my friends and curse and then they will have to comfort me'. This remark makes explicit what was earlier implied; it reframes the call as possibly one among several that deal with this particular matter. At the same time, the extreme case formulation *kaikille ystäväilleni* 'to all my friends' highlights the seriousness of Vesa's trouble (see Pomerantz 1986). Indeed, after consulting Jore on legal matters, Vesa turns to another call recipient to sort out domestic practicalities.

4.2 Call 2: Troubles telling to inform a flatmate

In another telephone call recorded on the same day, Vesa relates the story to a young woman, Mirkku. She evidently lives in the same household as Vesa and can therefore be affected by the recent turn of events. The relatively close relationship between the two is mainly inferable from data that are not shown here but also from certain features of the telling in the following extract.

(2) Mirckku (HY SKL sg122_a3)

- 01 MIRKKU: *hello?*
- 02 VESA: *no Vesa t(h)äs h(h)ei,*
 PRT first_name here PRT
 ‘it’s Vesa here hi’
- 03 MIRKKU: *no moi,*
 PRT PRT
 ‘hi’
- 04 VESA: *.hhh tiä-t sä mit(h)ä,*
 know-2SG 2SG what
 ‘you know what’
- 05 *(.) .hhhh (.)*
- 06 *se mu-n [moni]tori<*
 3SG 1SG-GEN monitor
 ‘that monitor of mine’
- 07 MIRKKU: *[mitä?]*
 what
 ‘what’
- 08 *(.)*
- 09 VESA: *se mu-n monitori hajos taas.*
 3SG 1SG-GEN monitor break.down:PST:3SG again
 ‘that monitor of mine broke down again’
- 10 *(0.4)*
- 11 MIRKKU: *↑taas.*
 again
 ‘again’
- 12 *(.)*
- 13 VESA: *joo-o.*
 PRT
 ‘yes’
- 14 *(0.8)*
- 15 MIRKKU: *hm,*
- 16 VESA: *se ol-i tunnin tai puoltoist päällä,*
 3SG be-PST:3SG hour-GEN or one.and.half on
 ‘it was on for an hour or an hour and a half’

- 17 *ä: y- tä-st on nyt jo vähän aika-a,*
 this-ELA be:3SG now already a.little time-PTV
 ‘it’s been a while now’
- 18 *mut mä just tajus-i-n et*
 but 1SG just realize-PST-1SG that
 ‘but I just realized that
- mä e-n vielä su-lle soitta-nu.*
 1SG NEG-1SG yet 2SG-ALL call-PCP
 ‘I didn’t call you yet’
- .hhhhh*
- 19 (0.5)
- 20 *siis Tom eht-i pela-ta si-llä<*
 PRT first_name get.to-PST:3SG play-INF 3SG-ADE
 ‘I mean Tom got to play on it
- (.) *puol tunti-i,*
 half hour-PTV
 for half an hour’
- 21 *mä e-n ehti-ny käyttä-ä*
 1SG NEG-1SG get.to-PCP use-INF
 ‘I didn’t get to use
- £mu-n konet-ta ollen#kaa#£,*
 1SG-GEN machine-PTV at.all
 my computer at all’
- 22 (.) *.hhh*
- 23 MIRKKU: *mhm,*
- 24 VESA: *sit se ol-i vähän aika-a käynnis,*
 then 3SG be-PST:3SG a.little time-PTV on
 ‘then it was on for a little while’
- 25 *nyt se hajos taas.*
 now 3SG break.down:PST:3SG again
 ‘now it broke down again’
- 26 (0.6)
- 27 *mä oo-n niin rikki.*
 1SG be-1SG so shattered
 ‘I’m so shattered’
- 28 (0.5)
- 29 MIRKKU: *.mt*
- 30 (0.9)

- 31 VESA: *oikeesti siis, [.hhhh]*
 seriously PRT
 ‘I mean seriously’
- 32 MIRKKU: *[ei(h),]*
 NEG
 ‘no’

Line 4, *tiät sä mitä* ‘you know what’, can be interpreted by the recipient either as a story preface or a pre-announcement (see Sacks 1974; Jefferson 1978; Terasaki 2004: 181; Schegloff 2007: 37–44): it invites the recipient to assess the newsworthiness of the speaker’s following talk. Furthermore, the breathy quality of the utterance can be heard to serve as a display of tiredness, suggesting to the recipient that what is projected is something negative (i.e. it makes the speaker weary) and that an appropriate response is expected from her.

Vesa then proceeds to the telling: he provides an identification of the referent and an initial characterization of it, *se mun monitori hajos taas* ‘that monitor of mine broke down again’ (l. 9). The demonstrative determiner *se*, here translated as ‘that’, marks the referent identifiable (Laury 1997), implying that Mirkku is able to pin down the correct monitor based on her knowledge of some prior events. Additionally, the adverb *taas* ‘again’ reveals that the series of events has now recurred. These implications are confirmed by Mirkku’s display of disbelief, the repetition of the adverb *taas* ‘again’ with a high onset (l. 11).

The fact that Mirkku is aware of certain events in the past is also reflected in the details that Vesa includes in, or rather excludes from, the story. Information about how Vesa initially took the computer monitor to be serviced and how he has now got it back, which form a large part of the first telling, do not appear in the second telling. Moreover, Mirkku does not orient to the absence of such information in any way. Instead, she remains quiet while Vesa goes on to relate the most recent developments in the computer monitor incident, or to provide the story plot, *se oli tunnin tai puoltoist päällä* ‘it was on for an hour or an hour and a half’ (l. 16). Reference to time possibly gives an impetus to a brief digression that details the timing of the reported episode in relation to the present telephone call, *ä: y- täst on nyt jo vähän aikaa, mut mä just tajusin et mä en vielä sulle soittanu* ‘it’s been a while now, but I just realized that I didn’t call you yet’ (ll. 17–18). Vesa then returns to the main story line, explaining that his friend had had a chance to play for half an hour on the

monitor but, to Vesa's disappointment, he himself had not got to play at all (ll. 20–21). He further reports that the monitor had been on, unused, for a while and then provides the story highpoint, *nyt se hajos taas* 'now it broke down again' (ll. 22–25). The delivery of the highpoint is emphatic; yet Mirkku remains silent. After a 0.6-second pause, in lack of recipient response, Vesa evaluates his own emotional state, *mä oon niin rikki* 'I'm so shattered' (l. 27).

In terms of stance taking, Vesa positions himself through various social actions as deserving pity due to his monitor trouble. In fact, the story preface at the very beginning of the call, uttered in a wretched and discouraged voice, *tiät sä mitä* 'you know what' (l. 4) and the news delivery *se mun monitori* < *se mun monitori hajos taas* 'that monitor of mine < that monitor of mine broke down again' (l. 6 and 9) seek commiseration from Mirkku. After explaining that his friend Tom has had a chance to play on the monitor for a while, Vesa further provides a particularly bleak appeal for pity (l. 21), *mä en ehtiny käyttää mun konetta ollenkaa* 'I didn't get to use my computer at all'. He laments, in a pouting manner, that he himself did not get a chance to play on his own monitor at all, which is a particularly unfortunate development of events from Vesa's point of view and thus justifies the display of self-pity and solicitation of sympathy. This perhaps somewhat exaggerated lament elicits only a minimal response from Mirkku, the particle *mhm* (l. 23). Throughout Vesa's telling, Mirkku provides only minimal or delayed responses, and at points Vesa explicitly displays his stance, pursuing a more sympathetic uptake (*mä oon niin rikki* 'I'm so shattered', l. 27, and *oikeesti siis* 'I mean seriously', l. 31). However, even the final receipt of the news by the recipient is a minimal *ei* 'no' (l. 32), the breathy quality of which is perhaps designed to correspond with the weary way in which the teller initially framed the story.

Similarly to the first telling, this second telling contains a brief commentary on the teller's choice of recipient and the relationship between different tellings of the story. While digressing from the main story line, Vesa makes a remark that suggests the telling is one in a series: *ä: y- täst on nyt jo vähän aikaa, mut mä just tajusin et mä en vielä sulle soittanu* 'it's been a while now but I just realized that I didn't call you yet' (ll. 17–18). The word order of the utterance is marked: the adverbial *sulle* 'to you' precedes the predicate *soittanu* 'call' and thus puts emphasis on the recipient of the call rather than the call activity. Furthermore, the position of the particle *vielä* 'yet' immediately before the adverbial brings out two

slightly different perspectives: temporality and accountability. Not only does the particle here indicate that the present call is somewhat delayed with reference to the reported event but it also implies that the present recipient in effect ranks high on the list of possible recipients. In other words, Vesa indicates that he is in some sense responsible for informing Mirkku what goes on in their household while she is away. The troubles telling and the news delivery thus serve a practical purpose in this call, letting the recipient know what she can expect to see when she returns home: a broken-down computer monitor and, because of that, a ‘shattered’ man (as Vesa formulates on line 27).

Interestingly, soon after the extract presented here, Vesa reports on the first call, starting with *sit mä soitin äsken Jorelle* ‘then I just called Jore’. In this way, Vesa expands the story in order to pursue an appropriate response from his current recipient. The report covers some later developments of the incident (i.e. developments that are only reportable in subsequent calls because they involve the first one) and provides an account for why Vesa may have selected Jore as the first recipient. The report also makes it explicit that Vesa has at least two relevant recipients for the story. Despite the apparent problems in recipient uptake, the teller here succeeds in delivering the news and telling about his current troubles to a recipient for whom he is accountable, and also in portraying the news and troubles as serious. The third call that Vesa makes contains another instance of troubles telling and news delivery, but with a different emphasis.

4.3 Call 3: Troubles telling to solicit sympathy from a fellow player

Vesa makes his third call to Jukka, who, judging by Vesa’s technical talk, appears to be more knowledgeable about computer monitors than the previous call recipients.

(3) Jukka (HY SKL sg122_a4)

01 JUKKA: *Jukka-setä?*
first_name-uncle
‘Uncle Jukka’

02 VESA: *saatana mu-n monitori hajos taas.*
satan 1SG-GEN monitor break.down:PST:3SG again
‘bloody hell my monitor broke down again’

03 (0.5)

- 04 JUKKA: *tä.*
PRT
'what'
- 05 VESA: *joo-o.*
PRT
'yeah'
- 06 (0.8)
- 07 JUKKA: *se tul-i ensin [kom-]*
3SG arrive-PST:3SG first
'it arrived first (to kom-)'
- 08 VESA: *[siis] se tul-i äsken*
PRT 3SG arrive-PST:3SG just
'I mean it just arrived'
- niinku kargo-na sie-ltä,*
PRT cargo-ESS there-ABL
'as cargo from there'
- 09 *niinku ne toimitt-i tänään se-n,*
PRT 3PL deliver-PST:3SG today 3SG-ACC
'like they delivered it today'
- 10 *me kannet-t-i-in se Tom-in kans*
1PL carry-PASS-PST-4 3SG first_name-GEN with
'we carried it with Tom'
- Comsoli-st,*
company_name-ELA
'from Comsol'
- 11 *ku se tul-i sinne päivä-llä .hh,*
when 3SG arrive-PST:3SG there day-ADE
'when it arrived there during the day'
- 12 *takuu-seen,*
warranty-ILL
'covered by warranty'
- 13 *ilmase-ks,*
free-TRANS
'for free'
- 14 *ei mitä[än],*
NEG any
'no problem'
- 15 JUKKA: *[mm]?*

- 16 VESA: *.hh kytket-t-i-in se to-hon,*
hook-PASS-PST-4 3SG that-ILL
'we hooked it up on that'
- 17 *se ol-i tunni-n päällä,*
3SG be-PST:3SG hour-GEN on
'it was on for an hour'
- 18 *Tom pelas siin Karmageddoni-a,*
first_name play:PST:3SG there game_title-PTV
'Tom played Karmageddon'
- 19 *.hh sit me istahet-t-i-in tähän sivu-un,*
then 1PL sit-PASS-PST-4 here side-ILL
'then we sat down here beside it'
- 20 *yhtäkkiä se alko väaristä-ä,*
suddenly 3SG start:PST:3SG warp-INF
'suddenly it started warping'
- 21 *silleen et ne,*
so that 3PL
'so that they'
- 22 *.hh e- mitä lie elektroni-t,*
what may.be electron-PL
'whatever they are electrons'
- 23 *kun ne- se pommitta-a nii-t to-hon,*
when 3PL 3SG bomb-3SG 3PL-PTV that-ILL
'when they- it shoots them on the'
- 24 *(.) to-hon,*
that-ILL
'on the'
- 25 JUKKA: *joo,*
PRT
'yes'
- 26 VESA: *kuva-putke-lle?*
picture-tube-ALL
'picture tube'
- 27 *.hh se alko niinku liikku-ma-an sivu-un.*
3SG start:PST:3SG PRT move-PCP-ILL side-ILL
'it started like moving sideways'
- 28 *(0.5) silleen et se niinku,*
so that 3SG PRT
'so that it like'

- 29 *tuo-lt laida-st niinku men-i silleen*
 there-ABL side-ELA PRT go-PST:3SG so
 ‘got like all’
ihan väänkyrä-lle,
 quite warp-ALL
 warped on the side’
- 30 *et ne se- selvästi-kin jotain niinku*
 that 3PL 3SG clearly-CLI something PRT
 ‘so that clearly something like’
alko tapahtu-u.
 start:PST:3SG happen-INF
 started to happen’
- 31 JUKKA: *[mm],*
- 32 VESA: *[mut] ei silleen silm-i-n havaita-*
 but NEG so eye-PL-INSTR (observe)
 ‘but not like so visibly’
- 33 *mä kato-i-n et hei,*
 1SG look-PST-1SG that PRT
 ‘I looked at it like hey’
- 34 *miks toi on to-n näkönen,*
 why that be:3SG that-GEN looking
 ‘why does it look like that’
- 35 *.hh sit yhtäkkii se vaan sammu.*
 then suddenly 3SG just die:PST:3SG
 ‘then suddenly it just died’
- 36 (0.5) *ihan sama-lla lai-lla,*
 exactly same-ADE way-ADE
 ‘in exactly the same way’
- 37 *nyt se ei käynnisty.*
 now 3SG NEG start
 ‘now it won’t start’
- 38 JUKKA: *hm,*
- 39 VESA: *.hh hh nyt sä oo-t jo kolmas vai neljäs ihminen*
 now 2SG be-2SG already third or fourth person
 ‘now you’re already the third or fourth person’
ke-lle mä soita-n niinku ihan vihase-na,
 who-ALL 1SG call-1SG PRT really angry-ESS
 I’m calling like really angry’

Jukka expresses astonishment in receiving Vesa's news and requests confirmation of its accuracy by way of the particle *tä* 'what' (l. 4) (see Haakana 2008: 100–101, see also Selting 1996), and Vesa confirms the news with *joo-o* 'yeah' (l. 5). Jukka then produces a story provocation (Lerner 1992: 254): he indicates his knowledge that Vesa's monitor was serviced in a company called Comsol and invites Vesa to give an account of what has happened by producing a truncated intonation unit *se tuli ensin kom-* 'it arrived first (to kom-)' (l. 7). Indeed, Vesa takes over the telling by producing an overlapping turn, *siis se tuli äsken niinku kargona sieltä, niinku ne toimitti tänään sen* 'I mean it just arrived as cargo from there, like they delivered it today' (ll. 8–9). Vesa goes on to tell how he and another friend of his, Tom, carried the monitor home from Comsol, specifying to where the monitor had actually been delivered, *me kannettiin se Tomin kans Comsolist, ku se tuli sinne päivällä* 'we carried it with Tom from Comsol, when it arrived there during the day' (ll. 10–11). As in the previous calls, Vesa here emphasizes the fact that there was no problem with warranty agreement: *takuuseen, ilmaseks, ei mitään* 'covered by warranty, for free, no problem' (ll. 12–14). He thus indicates that he is not dealing with a warranty dispute, which could be considered a typical cause of trouble. Jukka acknowledges the announcement with the particle *mm* (l. 15), encouraging Vesa to go ahead with the telling.

Vesa proceeds to give Jukka an elaborate description of the physical and technical trouble that directly gets in the way of his game-playing activities, e.g. having to carry the monitor home, the monitor then acting up, shutting down and not starting after an hour's use. He walks Jukka through the process of the monitor malfunctioning: he produces a reporting clause followed by direct reported speech, *mä katoin et hei, miks toi on ton näkönen* 'I looked at it like hey, why does it look like that' (ll. 33–34), which, on the one hand, indicates that he could see that something was wrong with the monitor and, on the other hand, displays his astonishment and alarm in realising that the monitor started acting up again. Jukka's direct reported speech builds the telling towards its highpoint, the monitor dying, *sit yhtäkkiä se vaan sammuu, ihan samalla lailla* 'then suddenly it just died, in exactly the same way' (ll. 35–36). The phrase *ihan samalla lailla* 'in exactly the same way' highlights the recurrent and therefore particularly frustrating nature of Vesa's trouble. The highpoint is followed by the resolution, *nyt se ei käynnisty* 'now it won't start' (l. 37), explicating the desolate state of affairs.

The highpoint and the resolution elicit a subdued minimal response from Jukka in the form of the particle *hm* (l. 38). Thus Vesa provides a more explicit evaluation of his own emotional state and appeals for consolation, *nyt sä oot jo kolmas vai neljäs ihminen kelle mä soitan niinku ihan vihasena, niinku et nyt mä tarviin lohdutusta* ‘now you’re already the third or fourth person I’m calling like really angry, that I need comforting now’ (ll. 39–40), which indicates that Jukka’s response was inadequate in the first place. On line 41, Jukka coughs a couple of times and still fails to respond in an affiliative manner, which prompts Vesa to escalate his appeal for affiliation by emphasizing the depth of his trouble, *oikeesti* ‘seriously’ (l. 42), and resorting to an emphatic interjection, *siis niinku saatanan perkele* ‘I mean fucking hell’ (l. 43). After a 1.0-second pause and no response from Jukka, Vesa produces yet another evaluation, *tää on niinku väärin* ‘this is like unfair’ (l. 46). Finally, Jukka provides Vesa with a high-onset, emphatic display of agreement and affiliation, *niin on* ‘it sure is’ (l. 47), and offers justification for his prior lack of response, *vähän vaikee sanoo enää mitään* ‘it’s a bit hard to say anything anymore’ (l. 48).

Vesa’s third telling also consists of social actions that contribute to the overall stance-taking activity. The abrupt and emphatic news delivery at the beginning of the call sets up the highly indignant stance that is re-validated by further displays of stance. For instance, Vesa describes his emotional state on several occasions as angry and in need of comforting and his situation as frustrating and unfair. In all three calls, Vesa solicits sympathy and an affiliative response from the recipient. Nonetheless, in each call he positions himself differently in view of the trouble and the recipient: In the first call, he presents himself as a victim of wrong-doing in need of expert advice in legal matters. In the second call, he not only informs his flatmate of the monitor trouble but also takes a stance as a lamenting sufferer in an unfortunate incident, who deserves the recipient’s pity. In the third call, he positions himself as an upset and indignant sufferer of monitor trouble in a more laddish and coarse manner.

It is worth pointing out that the recipient design of the third call is geared towards technically-oriented troubles telling: it involves soliciting sympathy from a potentially like-minded game-playing enthusiast, who truly understands the technicalities and frustrations of the teller’s trouble. By contrast, the first call is oriented towards seeking legal advice from Jore. Vesa does not describe the technical details to the recipient but makes reference to the time spent without his monitor as potentially relevant grounds for legal compensation, e.g. *mut vaan meni aikaa* ‘but it just took

some time' and *puoltoista viikkoo* 'a week and a half'. By further contrast, the monitor delivery, technical details or loss of monitor time are not mentioned at all in the second call to Mirkku because they appear irrelevant in relation to the emotional yet practical purpose of Vesa's call to her. In sum, the recipient design of the tellings is manifested at different levels of detail in the description of the trouble, in the manner of presenting the news and in the position adopted by the teller.

What is particularly striking about the third telling is that it contains an explicit reference to preceding telephone calls. After Vesa has told the story and Jukka has given only a minimal response *hm* (l. 38), Vesa claims his right to tell about his troubles by remarking that *nyt sä oot jo kolmas vai neljäs ihminen kelle mä soitan niinku ihan vihasena, niinku et nyt mä tarviin lohdutusta* 'now you're already the third or fourth person I'm calling like really angry, that I need comforting now' (ll. 39–40). This remark foregrounds the troubles telling: a description of the teller's current emotional state and a suggestion for relevant recipient responses sums up the gist of the ongoing conversation. Moreover, the remark implies that despite the numerous calls, Vesa has not yet received enough consolation for his troubles. In this way, he is able to present the trouble as serious, to account for the retellings and also to put pressure on Jukka to provide an appropriate response. Indeed, by making past explicit in the calls, the teller pre-empts the possibility that he will be brought to account for his position in the recipients' following turns or on another occasion (see Keisanen 2007 for how speakers can be challenged for a claim or position that they have just expressed).³

4.4 Comparison of the structural units of the tellings

In all three calls, which Vesa makes to Jore, Mirkku and Jukka, he tells the same story about how he has received his monitor back from the service, but after he has hooked it up and used it for a short period of time, it has broken down again. The degree of detail varies considerably between the tellings depending on the recipient and the relevant social actions. However, some parts of the story are (re)told by the teller in more or less

³ It is worth noting that the calls were made during the same day, which might be one reason for the explicit mentions. Also, as evidenced by comments elsewhere in the calls and by the references to Tom in the last two calls, the calls are made in the presence of a person who has first-hand experience of the reported event. This may also make the teller accountable for repeatedly telling the same story (see Goodwin 1979, 1980).

the same way in all three tellings; for example, the story plot leading up to the highpoint of the story contains a reference to the amount of time that the computer monitor was on. Although in many respects similar, the time references have certain subtle lexico-syntactic differences that relate to the social action that is accomplished via the telling.

(4) The story plot

Call 1 (Jore)

26 VESA: *se ol-i nyt tunni-n käyttö-s,*
 3SG be-PST:3SG now hour-GEN use-INE
 ‘it was now in use for an hour’

Call 2 (Mirkku)

16 VESA: *se ol-i tunnin tai puoltoist päällä,*
 3SG be-PST:3SG hour-GEN or one.and.half on
 ‘it was on for an hour or an hour and a half’

Call 3 (Jukka)

17 VESA: *se ol-i tunni-n päällä,*
 3SG be-PST:3SG hour-GEN on
 ‘it was on for an hour’

This part of the story is rendered in the same copular form in the three tellings: ‘it was [on/in use] for [reference to time]’. The first telling is different from the other two in that it claims the monitor was in use rather than simply on, *se oli nyt tunnin käyttö-s* ‘it was now in use for an hour’ (Call 1, l. 26). As the first telling acts as a prelude to a request for legal advice, the adverbial *käytös* ‘in use’ (which describes a more active process compared to the adverbial *päällä* ‘on’) correlates with the social action in question. The (un)use of the monitor is a highly relevant aspect in a potential lawsuit over warranty service.

In the first call, the adverbial *nyt* ‘now’ underlines the acuteness of the trouble. According to Vesa, the computer has been in use for an hour. It is likely that the unit for the measurement of time, an hour, is here used as a conventional approximation. The time estimate is nevertheless rather precise compared to the second call in which the reference to time is more

unspecific, *se oli tunnin tai puoltoist päällä*, ‘it was on for an hour or an hour and a half’ (Call 2, l. 16). In fact, Vesa offers a longer time frame between two conventional approximations, ‘an hour’ and ‘an hour and a half’, giving the impression that he does not know the exact length of time that the computer was on. In the third call, the estimate is the same as in the first call, an hour, but the adverbial *nyt* ‘now’, denoting acuteness, is not present. The plot of the telling in the first call (to acquire legal advice) contains features that underscore the acuteness of the trouble and contribute to the preciseness in describing the facts. In comparison, the telling in the second call contains a less specified and more relaxed time-span that correlates with the non-urgent nature of the call, which is also manifested in Vesa’s subsequent realisation, *mut mä just tajusin, et mä en vielä sulle soittanu*, ‘but I just realised that I didn’t call you yet’ (Call 2, ll. 18–19). It appears that these lexico-syntactic differences support the overall design of the tellings with regard to the recipient and the accomplished action.

Also, the consecutive highpoint of the story is presented in a similar way in all the tellings, but the individual highpoints contain some lexico-syntactic differences that correlate with the social action that is accomplished by the tellings.

(5) The highpoint of the story

Call 1 (Jore)

27 VESA: *nyt se hajos ihan sama-l lai-lla uuestaan.*
 now 3SG break.down:PST:3SG exactly same-ADE way-ADE again
 ‘now it broke down in exactly the same way again’

Call 2 (Mirkku)

25 VESA: *nyt se hajos taas.*
 now 3SG break.down:PST:3SG again
 ‘now it broke down again’

Call 3 (Jukka)

35 VESA: *.hh sit yhtäkkii se vaan sammu.*
 then suddenly 3SG just die:PST:3SG
 ‘then suddenly it just died’

- 36 (0.5) *ihan sama-lla lai-lla,*
 exactly same-ADE way-ADE
 ‘in exactly the same way’
- 37 *nyt se ei käynnisty.*
 now 3SG NEG start
 ‘now it won’t start’

The highpoint of each telling describes the breaking down or switching off of the monitor yet again. In the first call, Vesa provides Jore, the legal expert, with details of the way in which the monitor has broken down, *nyt se hajos ihan samal lailla uuestaan*, ‘now it broke down in exactly the same way again’ (Call 1, l. 27). Importantly, the adverbial phrase *ihan samal lailla* ‘in exactly the same way’ is embedded within the same intonation unit. Vesa thus indicates that he knows that the exact same fault has reappeared. By contrast, in the highpoint of the third telling to technically-oriented Jukka, Vesa first merely provides him with the description of the monitor trouble, *sit yhtäkkiä se vaan sammui*, ‘then suddenly it just died’ (Call 3, l. 35), and then further describes the symptoms with *ihan samalla lailla* ‘in exactly the same way’ (Call 3, l. 36) in a separate intonation unit. It is noteworthy that Vesa does not provide Jukka with a diagnosis of the monitor break-down as he does in the calls to Jore and Mirkku (the monitor ‘broke down again’; Call 1, l. 27 and Call 2, l. 25). In other words, he provides Jukka with the symptoms and leaves the actual diagnosing to the expert. Vesa also states that the monitor will not start again, *nyt se ei käynnisty* ‘now it won’t start’ (Call 3, l. 37), acknowledging the fact that he has indeed tried, unsuccessfully, to restart the monitor. The highpoint of the second telling, *nyt se hajos taas* ‘now it broke down again’, emphasizes the reoccurrence of the monitor trouble in a more subtle way, namely by way of the adverbial *taas* ‘again’. The telling is used to inform Mirkku, who shares a home with Vesa, of the trouble Vesa is having with his monitor and how that affects his emotional state. The particulars of the monitor trouble are not significant in doing so. The lexico-syntactic details of each highpoint fit the social actions that are being accomplished via the tellings.

The chronological order of events presumes that some elements of the story structure are similar no matter who the recipient is. The narrative clauses of a story are temporally ordered, and that order cannot be reversed without changing the meaning of the story (Labov & Waletzky 1967). In the present case, the plot first proceeds in a set fashion and then reaches the

highpoint, which is manifested in all three examples in a recognisably similar form. A previous study (Niemelä under review) on first and second stories told by different tellers concludes that the lexico-syntactic, prosodic and semantic features of the highpoint of the second story usually resonate to a great degree with those of the first story. The highpoints of the stories told by the same teller similarly resonate in meaning, form and content. However, current analysis shows that some lexico-syntactic details of the tellings vary according to the social actions that are being accomplished via the tellings.

To sum up, (re)tellings of a particular event contain some essential parts of the story, e.g. elements that establish the temporal junction of the story, that remain more or less the same every time. The less constant aspects of the story, e.g. the evaluations and the degree of detail in the telling, are shaped by the teller's stance, the reason for the call, the recipient and the overall telling context. In the case that has been discussed here, such dynamic aspects further include references to the possibility or actuality of multiple tellings, which convey the teller's stance towards the reported trouble and at the same time account for that stance.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have performed sequential analyses of three calls in which the caller tells the same story to three different recipients. The analyses have not aimed at disclosing a core story but have nevertheless highlighted some similarities between the tellings. A more detailed look at the similarities has revealed subtle differences within them that are part of the overall design of the telling. In comparing the structural units of the tellings, we have shown that some units (e.g. the highpoints of the stories) resonate in meaning, form and content but that some lexico-syntactic details of these units vary according to the social actions that are being accomplished via the tellings. In other words, the lexico-syntactic details of specific structural units of the tellings correspond with the social action that is accomplished via the telling. The design of the telling for a particular purpose is manifested even in the smallest details of each unit within the telling.

We have added to previous research on retellings by showing how the teller mobilizes the tellings to accomplish certain actions both across the three calls and within single calls. Furthermore, we have shown that the (re)tellings form an integral part of each accomplished action; i.e. they

provide a basis on which the actions can be constructed. In the first call, the telling functions as an instance of troubles telling and a prelude to a request for legal advice from a legal expert concerning the teller's monitor trouble. The second instance of troubles telling is utilised to inform a recipient who as the teller's flatmate is entitled to know about the trouble. Finally in the third call, the teller provides a detailed technical description of the monitor trouble to a technically-oriented fellow game-player; by way of troubles telling, the teller solicits sympathy from a friend who understands how frustrating monitor trouble can be. The main contribution of the analyses has uncovered the individual features of the tellings that are designed with the recipient in mind (e.g. type of relationship, common interests) and that take into account the telling context (e.g. the timing and order of the tellings).

The actions that are accomplished by these (re)tellings are also seen as important contributions to the overall stance-taking activity of the participants. It has earlier been argued that a teller's need to present the reported characters and the issue at hand in a certain light is manifested in the use of code-switching, prosody and other modifications, for example. We have further shown that all the calls in our data contain layered social activity: on the one hand, they involve multiple social actions such as troubles telling, seeking advice and informing; on the other hand, the actions display the teller's stance and position him even more strongly with regard to the recipient and the reported event. An examination of these layered social activities reveals the complex constellation of relationships, objects and events within which participants position themselves that an analysis of individual social actions alone cannot unravel.

We have also put emphasis on how the teller orients to the tellings as retellings. Each telling contains metacommentary on the circumstances of that particular telling event. We examined these references to prior renderings of the same story and showed how they highlight the import of a telling and guide recipients towards relevant response. That is, we noted how the teller makes implicit and explicit references to the previous and possible subsequent calls to other recipients about his current troubles. These remarks aid the recipients in interpreting the story as troubles telling and, furthermore, in putting the trouble into proper perspective: it is serious and urgent enough to require the attention of the teller's friends and to elicit displays of sympathy and consolation. What is more, the remarks add an extra twist to the stance taking that the participants are involved in: the teller assumes responsibility of his stance taking by reporting on it himself.

In a sense, then, the teller reserves the right to go on telling about the trouble he has had, to these recipients and others.

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APPENDIX I

Transcription Key

Based on Jefferson (1984)

.	terminal contour: falling
?	terminal contour: strongly rising
,	continuative contour: slight rise
[]	overlapping
=	latching
(.)	micropause (less than 0.2 sec)
(2.0)	length of pause in approximate seconds
ye:s	stretching of sound
ye-	truncated word
<	word finished abruptly (but not truncated)
hhh	audible breath
.hhh	audible in-breath
ye(hh)s	within-speech aspiration, usually indicating laughter
↑	a marked upward shift in pitch, high pitch has sudden onset but gradually wanders down
@yes/@	change in voice quality, usually reported speech
£	smiley voice quality
#	creaky voice quality
.mt, krh(m), .nss	vocal noises

APPENDIX II

Gloss Abbreviations

Based on Bickel et al. (2008)

-	morpheme boundary in the original and the gloss when morphemes are segmented in both
:	morpheme boundary in the gloss when morphemes are not segmented in the original
.	morpheme boundary in the gloss when one morpheme in the original corresponds with several in the gloss
1SG, 2SG, 3SG	first person singular (ending or personal pronoun), etc.
1PL, 2PL, 3PL	first person plural (ending or personal pronoun), etc.
4	passive person ending
ABL	ablative ('from')
ACC	accusative
ADE	adessive ('at, on')
ALL	allative ('to')
CLI	clitic
ELA	elative ('out of, from')
GEN	genitive
ILL	illative ('into, to')
INE	inessive ('in')
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instructive ('with')
NEG	negation
PASS	passive
PCP	participle
PL	plural
PRT	particle
PST	past tense
PTV	partitive ('part of')

Q	question clitic
TRANS	translative ('into, for')

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Susan Schlotthauer

Kontaktinduzierter Sprachwandel im Bereich der estnischen Verbretion? Teil I: Verbkomplemente in Form kasusmarkierter Nominalphrasen

Zusammenfassung

Die sprachliche Beeinflussung des Estnischen durch das Deutsche wird in neueren Publikationen zur Sprachkontaktforschung (Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Thomason 2001, Aikhenvald 2006, Heine & Kuteva 2006) gern als ein gut dokumentiertes Beispiel für langfristige strukturelle Interferenzen herangezogen, illustriert wird dies u.a. an Interferenzen in den Bereichen Wortfolge, Partikelverben, Artikelsystem, Instrumental-/Komitativbedeutung. Allein eine Betrachtung der synchronen Verhältnisse beider Sprachen lässt kontaktinduzierten Sprachwandel im Estnischen als evident erscheinen, so möchte man die Forschungslage erklären. Tiefergehende, in die diachronen Verhältnisse einsteigende Untersuchungen fehlen bis auf wenige Ausnahmen (Hasselblatt 1990, Habicht 2000). Der vorliegende Beitrag geht der Frage nach, inwieweit der Bereich der estnischen Verbretion von deutschem Einfluss erfasst wurde. Zunächst werden Komplemente in Form von Nominalphrasen einer detaillierten Analyse unterzogen; eine Untersuchung von Komplementen in Form von Adpositionalphrasen folgt in einem gesonderten Beitrag in der nächsten Ausgabe.

1. Deutsch und Estnisch im Rahmen der Sprachkontaktforschung

Wie lässt sich die Sprachkontaktsituation Deutsch-Estnisch in das Bild der aktuellen Sprachkontaktforschung einfügen? Dieser Frage soll im Folgenden nachgegangen werden. Thomason & Kaufman (1988) führen in die Sprachkontaktforschung die deutliche Unterscheidung zweier Sprachkontaktsituationen mit jeweils ganz unterschiedlichen Auswirkungen auf die betroffenen Sprachen ein: (*interference through*) *borrowing* ('Interferenz über Entlehnung') und (*interference through*) *language shift* ('Interferenz über Sprachwechsel'). Gleichzeitig und unabhängig davon hat auch Coetsem (1988) diese Unterscheidung (speziell in Bezug auf den

phonologischen Bereich) getroffen, bei ihm *phonological borrowing* und *imposition* genannt (Coetsem 1988: 10/11). Definiert wird *borrowing* als "incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language" (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 37), dabei bleibt die aufnehmende Sprache erhalten, wird aber durch die aufgenommenen Elemente verändert. Im Allgemeinen werden zu Beginn einer Entlehnungssituation, wenn der nach Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 77) „kulturelle Druck“ noch minimal ist, nur lexikalische Einheiten des peripheren Wortschatzes übernommen; bei verstärktem „kulturellen Druck“ sind auch Entlehnungen im phonetisch-phonologischen und morphosyntaktischen Bereich zu erwarten. Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 74–76) unterscheiden fünf verschiedene Stufen des Entlehnungsprozesses und ordnen diese auf einer Skala an, die von der Übernahme reiner Kulturwörter bis zur massiven Beeinflussung des grammatischen Systems unter Einschluss der Flexionsmorphologie reicht. Von Metslang (1997: 172) und auch bereits von Thomason & Kaufman selbst (1988: 84) wird die strukturelle Beeinflussung des Estnischen durch das Deutsche gemäß dieser Skala als „moderate strukturelle Entlehnung“ (entspricht der Stufe 4) eingestuft.

Eine sprachliche Beeinflussung in Form von *interference through shift* ist aus soziolinguistischer Sicht hingegen dadurch gekennzeichnet, dass eine gesamte Sprechergruppe eine andere Sprache annimmt, diese aber fehlerhaft erlernt. Die Fehler breiten sich aus, indem sie von den Muttersprachlern der Zielsprache übernommen werden. Bei der Zielsprache handelt es sich in den meisten Fällen um die „dominante“ Sprache eines Gebiets, diese Sprache ist in bestimmten (wichtigen) Bereichen das bevorzugte Kommunikationsmittel innerhalb einer zweisprachigen Sprechergruppe. Die Norm der dominanten Sprache wird durch die Muttersprachler gesetzt, je größer diese Gruppe ist, desto weniger Fehler der Nichtmuttersprachler werden toleriert. Im Gegensatz zur Entlehnung beginnt die Interferenz hier nicht im Bereich der Lexik, sondern im lautlichen und syntaktischen Bereich. Zu erklären ist dies damit, dass für eine erfolgreiche Kommunikation in der neu erworbenen Sprache das Vokabular von größter Notwendigkeit ist, hingegen die Aussprache und die Abfolge der Wörter im Satz für den Zweck der Verständigung gegenüber dem Lexikon sekundär sind. So setzt sich der Einfluss der Muttersprache in den Bereichen Phonologie und Syntax am ehesten durch.

Die Frage, der sich die deutsch-estnische Kontaktlinguistik zu stellen hat, lautet: Welche der beiden Arten von sprachlicher Interferenz liegt im

Falle des deutschen Einflusses auf das Estnische vor? Ist es tatsächlich „Entlehnung“ (*borrowing*) wie Thomason & Kaufman und Metslang wie selbstverständlich annehmen?

Denn nicht zu vernachlässigen ist die Möglichkeit, dass eine Sprache sowohl von Entlehnungsprozessen als auch Substrateinfluss erfasst wird (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 45). In einem Fall einer über mehrere Jahrhunderte andauernden gesellschaftlichen Zweisprachigkeit, wie er in Bezug auf das Deutsche im Baltikum vorliegt, erscheint es schwierig, eine Trennung beider Prozesse vorzunehmen bzw. bei diachroner Analyse im Nachhinein zu entscheiden, welcher Prozess für welche Interferenzerscheinung maßgeblich gewesen ist.

Van Coetsem (1988: 13–17) weist auf den Fakt hin, den man auch bei der Betrachtung deutschen Einflusses auf das Estnische nicht außer Acht lassen darf, nämlich die Möglichkeit einer Beeinflussung der Norm der nicht-dominanten Sprache (in diesem Fall des Estnischen) durch dominante (hier deutsche) Sprecher, für die die nicht-dominante Sprache Zweitsprache ist. Im Falle des deutsch-estnischen Kontakts können wir ohne weiteres davon ausgehen, dass die Beeinflussungen nicht nur durch estnische Muttersprachler verursacht waren, es sich also im Sinne von Thomason & Kaufman nicht nur um Entlehnung handelt, sondern dass bei der Übernahme deutscher Interferenzen ins Estnische auch deutsche Muttersprachler eine wesentliche Rolle spielten. Dies betrifft in erster Linie die Entstehungszeit der estnischen Schriftsprache, in deren Anfängen waren fast ausschließlich deutschstämmige Geistliche die treibende Kraft. Schließlich waren deutsche Muttersprachler die ersten und über lange Zeit hinweg die einzigen, die estnische Texte schrieben, übersetzten und das Estnische in Grammatiken und Wörterbüchern dokumentierten. Insbesondere die syntaktischen Eigenheiten des Estnischen deuten auf eine Beeinflussung durch deutsche Muttersprachler hin. In diesem spezifischen Fall müsste man somit von einem deutschen Superstrat im Estnischen sprechen, das durch das hohe Prestige, das die deutschstämmigen Geistlichen besaßen, bedingt ist; viele ihrer „Fehler“ wurden nach einer gewissen Zeit nicht mehr als solche betrachtet, „weil sie gedruckt und gelesen worden sind“ (Hasselblatt 1990: 29).

Doch wollte man von einem Superstrat sprechen – also einer Sonderform der *interference through shift* –, so wäre Vorsicht angebracht: Die deutsche Bevölkerung hat ihre Muttersprache nicht aufgegeben, es

liegt kein Sprachwechsel i.e.S. vor, deshalb kann auch von einem Superstrat im herkömmlichen Sinne keine Rede sein. Hinzu kommt auch, dass ein fortwährender Zuzug deutschsprachiger Bevölkerung nach Estland stattgefunden hat. Zwar ist davon auszugehen, dass deutsche Interferenzen in der estnischen Rede (und „Schreibe“) der deutschen Muttersprachler Ausgangspunkt für die langfristigen Interferenzen waren, doch muss die danach einsetzende Entwicklung als Entlehnungsprozess in die Rede estnischer Muttersprachler aufgefasst werden. Damit wären dann auch die hohe Anzahl an deutschen Lehnwörtern erklärt,¹ die für *language shift*-Prozesse im eigentlichen Sinne nicht typisch sind. Eine eben solche Kontaktsituation beschreibt auch Thomason (2001: 5):

Both types of interference will combine to form the shifting group's version of the TL [target language]. But as the original TL speakers integrate into a single community with the shifting group, they will borrow – in the narrow sense of Thomason & Kaufman 1988 – some features from the shifting group's version of the TL; the result will be a third version of the TL, a version that incorporates a subset of the interference features in the shifting group's version.

2. Einige Bemerkungen historischer Art

Einige Worte zum historischen Hintergrund: Die deutsche Herrschaft im heutigen Estland setzte im 13. Jh. ein, zunächst auf den südlichen Teil beschränkt, bis 1346 Dänemark Nordestland an den Deutschen Ritterorden verkaufte. Dieser belehnte nun deutsche Ritter und Bürger mit Besitzungen, die Gründung von Städten nahm mit dem Anschluss an die Hanse großen Aufschwung. Bis zum 16. Jh. stieg der Anteil der deutschen Bevölkerung an der Gesamteinwohnerzahl der Städte auf ca. ein Drittel. Betrachtet man die Aufteilung der verschiedenen Nationalitäten nach der sozialen Schichtung, zeigt sich die herausgehobene Stellung der Deutschen: Die Oberschicht in Tallinn war zu 100% deutsch, die Mittelschicht zu 59%, die Unterschicht dagegen nur zu 2%, währenddessen die Esten zu 73% die Unterschicht und nur zu 18% der Mittelschicht stellten (Johansen & Mühlen 1973: 124).

Die Geistlichkeit wurde vollkommen von Deutschen dominiert, bis ins 19. Jh. hinein waren Esten unter den praktizierenden Pfarrern eine un-

¹ Nach einer Auszählung von Rätsep (1983) beläuft sich die Anzahl niederdeutscher Lehnwörter auf ca. 800, die der hochdeutschen Lehnwörter auf ca. 500 (von insgesamt ca. 2200 seit dem 12. Jh. entlehnten Wortstämmen).

bedeutende Minderheit.² Dagegen gab es unter der Bauernschaft überhaupt keine Deutschen (Mitzka 1923: 94).

An dieser Situation änderte sich auch nichts, als der Deutsche Orden in der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts seine Macht verlor und 1559 die Provinz Ösel-Wiek an Dänemark und kurz darauf 1561 Nordestland an Schweden abtreten musste. Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts gelangte ganz Estland unter schwedische Herrschaft. Dennoch blieb Estland weitestgehend deutschsprachig, außerhalb des bäuerlichen Lebens kam der estnischen Sprache keinerlei Bedeutung zu. Auch nachdem im Großen Nordischen Krieg Estland an Russland fiel und zum russischen Gouvernement wurde, blieb die beherrschende Stellung der Deutschen im wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Leben Estlands erhalten. Sie schwächte sich erst mit dem Ende des 19. Jh.s einsetzenden Russifizierungstendenzen ab und wurde durch die Ausrufung der estnischen Unabhängigkeit 1918 sowie endgültig durch die Aussiedlung der Deutschen 1939 beendet.

Die wechselnden politischen Verhältnisse haben somit an der vorherrschenden Stellung des Deutschen in fast allen Lebensbereichen nichts geändert. Der einheimischen Bevölkerung Estlands war es so gut wie unmöglich einer Berührung mit deutscher Sprache und Kultur aus dem Weg zu gehen; abseits der Städte war die Kirche Träger dieses Einflusses.

3. Materialgrundlage und Methodik

Das Ziel der vorliegenden Studie ist es, die Ähnlichkeiten auf dem Gebiet der Verbrektion des Estnischen und Deutschen zunächst synchron darzustellen, sie in den Rahmen der (insbesondere deutschen) Sprachentwicklung einzuordnen und ausgehend davon die Frage zu klären, inwieweit sich diese Ähnlichkeiten auf Sprachkontakt zurückführen lassen. Denn als Erklärung kommen selbstverständlich auch universale Grammatikalisierungsprozesse bzw. eine zufällige Übereinstimmung in Frage. Insbesondere auf das Zusammenspiel externer und interner Sprachwandelprozesse wird bei der Betrachtung der Verbrektionen einzugehen sein. Der Bereich der Verbrektion ist sicherlich ein Paradebeispiel für eine „Analogie zwischen zwei Sprachen“ (Anttila 1989: 170), basierend auf der

² Nach Wittram (1939: 211) sollen 1881 von insgesamt 142 Pfarrern in Est- und Lettland nur 10 der einheimischen Bevölkerung angehört haben.

Identifikation zweier Funktionswörter (z.B. zweier Adpositionen) und der sich daran anschließenden Funktionserweiterung des betreffenden Funktionswort in der Replikasprache nach dem Vorbild der Modellsprache (vgl. Weinreich 1953: 30). Speziell in diesem Bereich der „Lehngrammatikalisierung“ ist die Rolle der internen Faktoren und die der externen Faktoren schwer, wenn nicht gar unmöglich, auseinanderzuhalten.

Den „Verdacht“, dass bestimmte Rektionstypen im Estnischen deutschen Ursprungs sein könnten, hat bereits der estnische Sprachreformer Johannes Aavik (1912: 354) geäußert. Insbesondere Adpositionalphrasen, die er gern durch ans Finnische angelehnte Alternativkonstruktionen ersetzt gesehen hätte, waren es, die seine Aufmerksamkeit erregten. Angeführt werden von ihm Beispiele wie *Jumala sisse uskuma* wörtl. ‘in Gott glauben’, *kellegi peale lootma* ‘auf jemanden hoffen’, *millegi üle naerma* ‘über etwas lachen’, die allesamt auch in vorliegender Arbeit zur Sprache kommen werden.

In Ermangelung estnischsprachiger Quellen aus der Zeit vor Einsetzen des deutsch-estnischen Sprachkontakts dient das Finnische als Vergleichsbasis. Der Zustand des Finnischen wird aufgrund der vorherrschenden Meinung zu dessen Konservativität als derjenige angenommen, der die ostseefinnischen Strukturen am besten bewahrt hat, und somit hypothetisch auch den Sprachzustand des Estnischen vor dem anzunehmenden Einfluss des Deutschen repräsentieren kann. Alle estnischen Verben, bei denen sich zu ihrem finnischen Bedeutungsäquivalent ein Unterschied hinsichtlich des Rektionsverhaltens feststellen ließ, sind in dieser Studie aufgeführt und bilden somit letztendlich das Korpus für die Untersuchung.

Grundlage der Studie ist die Auswertung des estnisch-deutschen Wörterbuches von Johann Ferdinand Wiedemann (WWB), das im Jahre 1869 in erster Auflage erschien. Darüber hinaus wurde Wiedemanns estnische Grammatik von 1875 (WGR) ausgewertet. Die Wahl dieser Quellen liegt darin begründet, dass sie eine noch „unverfälschte“, d.h. von den sprachpflegerischen Bemühungen des 20. Jh.s noch nicht erfasste, Volkssprache repräsentieren. Für einen möglichen fremdsprachigen Einfluss bedeutet dies, dass ein solcher tief im Estnischen verwurzelt sein muss, wenn er auch in der bäuerlich-ländlichen Umgangssprache zutage tritt, die sich in Wiedemanns Wörterbuch und Grammatik findet. Aus diesen Quellen sind alle Beispielphrasen zur Analyse herangezogen worden, die Auskunft über die Rektionsverhältnisse der betreffenden Verben geben. Aus dem sich daraus ergebenden Korpus wurden alle Verben isoliert und aus der weiteren Analyse ausgeschlossen, die nur ein

direktes Objekt (d.h. Partitiv- oder Akkusativobjekt) als Komplement bei sich führen, da hier keine für die Arbeit relevanten Erkenntnisse erwartet wurden. Zwischen dem Finnischen und Estnischen bestehen zwar sehr wohl Unterschiede hinsichtlich des Gebrauchs von Partitiv und Akkusativ als Objektkasus (vgl. Verben wie es. *nägema* / fi. *nähdä* ‘sehen’, die im Estnischen generell den Partitiv regieren, im Finnischen aber je nach Aspektualität mit Partitiv oder Akkusativ stehen), doch ist in diesem Bereich nicht von deutschem Einfluss auszugehen.

Die in den Jahren 1600–1606 verfassten Predigten Georg Müllers, die zu den ältesten längeren estnischen (allesamt von gebürtigen Deutschen verfassten) Texten gehören, werden einer Prüfung dahingehend unterzogen, ob die heute als deutsch erscheinenden Konstruktionen sich bis in die Frühphase der estnischen Schriftsprache zurückverfolgen und sich somit u.U. auf ein deutsches „Superstrat“ zurückführen lassen. Zur Auswertung dieser Texte wurde von dem über das Internet zugänglichen Korpus zur alten estnischen Schriftsprache der Universität Tartu Gebrauch gemacht (<http://www.murre.ut.ee/vakkur/Korpused/Myller/myllerj.htm>), aus dem auch die Beispielsätze zitiert werden.

Darüber hinaus wurden auch Belege aus anderen ostseefinnischen Sprachen in die Betrachtung einbezogen. Eine weitergehende Untersuchung müsste in jedem Fall derartige Vergleiche noch stärker berücksichtigen, denn nur mit Hilfe weiterer Belege kann mit größerer Sicherheit nachgewiesen werden, welche Rektionen auf indigener Entwicklung beruhen und welche tatsächlich fremdsprachlich beeinflusst sind. Nicht zu vernachlässigen ist aber die Tatsache, dass alle diese Sprachen einer z.T. tiefgreifenden Beeinflussung durch das Russische bzw. – im Falle des Livischen – durch das Lettische ausgesetzt waren und sind, so dass die Belege aus diesen Sprachen stets mit großer Vorsicht zu behandeln sind. Nötig wären auch in diesen Fällen gründlichere Untersuchungen dazu, welche dieser Konstruktionen auf Fremdeinfluss zurückzuführen sind. Ein Versuch, russische Einflüsse im Bereich der Rektion des Karelischen darzustellen, stammt von Öispuu (1998). Angeführt werden von ihm Fälle der Verwendung eines dativischen Kasus (wie er auch im Russischen verwendet wird) bei Verben wie kar. *avuttua* ‘helfen’, *käškie* ‘befehlen’, *uškuo* ‘trauen, vertrauen, glauben’, *rakaštuo* ‘bedienen’, deren finnische Entsprechungen Partitivrektion aufweisen. Eben dieses Phänomen führt Mullonen (1967: 40) auch für das Wepsische an, auch hier regieren Verben

wie *abutada* ‘jemandem helfen’, *uksta* ‘jemandem glauben’, *loita* ‘zu jemandem beten’ den Allativ, den sie als Äquivalent für den russischen Dativ ansieht. Von Suhonen (1990: 101) wird eine systematische Fremdbeeinflussung der Verbrektion in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen insgesamt jedoch in Abrede gestellt. Er räumt jedoch ein, dass es durchaus Einzelercheinungen gebe, die auf fremden Einfluss hindeuten. Genannt werden von ihm allerdings nur das Livische mit evtl. vom Lettischen beeinflussten Konstruktionen sowie das Wepsische mit den eben angeführten Fällen. Spezielle Untersuchungen dazu, inwieweit sich im heutigen Estnischen fremde Einflüsse im Bereich der Verbrektion bemerkbar machen, wurden bisher offenbar noch nicht durchgeführt. Die Verbrektion in der älteren estnischen Schriftsprache ist Thema eines Artikels von Habicht (2001), in dem sie auf zahlreiche an das Deutsche erinnernde Rektionen hinweist, die sich in erster Linie durch einen verstärkten Gebrauch von Adpositionalphrasen auszeichnen. Deutscher Einfluss wird von ihr als gegeben vorausgesetzt. Keldt (2003) wiederum untersucht die Verbrektion in dem in der südestnischen Varietät verfassten Kirchbuch von Joachim Rossihnius (erschienen 1632) und findet auch da zahlreiche „deutsch anmutende“ Rektionen (vgl. *lootma kelle peale* ‘hoffen **auf** jemanden’, *ootama kelle peale* ‘warten **auf** jemanden’, *pelgama mille eest* ‘sich fürchten **vor** etwas’). Untersuchungsgegenstand dieser Studie sollen im Gegensatz dazu aber nur die Strukturen sein, die tatsächlich Teil des estnischen Sprachsystems wurden.

4. Bemerkungen zur Entwicklung der Verbrektionen im Deutschen

Der Zeitraum, in dem der Kontakt zwischen dem Deutschen und Estnischen zu verorten ist, erstreckt sich über mehrere Jahrhunderte. Auszugehen ist davon, dass die ersten direkten sprachlichen Kontakte ins 12.–13. Jh. fallen. In den ältesten uns vorliegenden schriftlichen Quellen des Estnischen, die aus dem 16.–17. Jh. stammen, können sich neben den Interferenzen, die auf unzureichender Sprachbeherrschung der Autoren beruhen, bereits auch langfristige Interferenzen manifestieren, die aus der gesellschaftlichen Zweisprachigkeit der vorangegangenen Jahrhunderte herzuleiten sind. Ebenso wie auch späterhin weitere Interferenzen ihren Weg ins Estnischen gefunden haben können.

Der im Fokus stehende Abschnitt der deutschen Sprachgeschichte (14.–17. Jh., d.h. recht genau die Periode des Frühneuhochdeutschen) ist im Bereich der Verbrektion durch starke Umwälzungen gekennzeichnet, deren

zentrale Linie die des Rückzugs des Genitivs als Objektkasus und des Aufkommens neuer Präpositionalobjekte ist. Dies trifft in gleicher Weise auch auf das Mittelniederdeutsche zu (vgl. Schröder 1938: 104).

Für das Althochdeutsche ist die Existenz von Präpositionalobjekten, d.h. von Verbkomplementen mit semantisch leerer Präposition, noch umstritten; vereinzelt sind aber bereits Präpositionalobjekte anzutreffen, z.B. *denken an* (Ebert 1986: 54). Die Ablösung des Genitivs als Objektkasus durch präpositionale Objekte beginnt im Mittelhochdeutschen (z.B. bei *sich schämen*, vgl. Ebert 1986: 40) und kommt dann in frühneuhochdeutscher Zeit in starkem Maße zur Geltung. Untersuchungen hierzu liegen u.a. von Rausch (1897), Ebert (1986) und Fischer (1987, 1991) vor. Vergleichbar ist die Situation im Niederdeutschen. Für das Altniederdeutsche kann nicht mit Sicherheit gesagt werden, ob bereits Präpositionalobjekte vorliegen. So ist im Heliand z.B. die Verbindung *thenkian te* ‘denken an’ zwar zweimal belegt, doch kann es sich hier ebenso gut um eine austauschbare Adverbialangabe handeln (Romare 2004: 138). Für das Mittelniederdeutsche erkennt Romare (2004: 216) das Präpositionalobjekt allerdings als Kategorie an, bei jedoch noch starker Variabilität der Präpositionen: Vgl. in den Predigten von Johannes Veghe (1490–1500) die Varianz zwischen *in* und *an* beim Verb *truwen* ‘glauben an’, *In gode getruwe ic* vs. *Ic getruwede auer an die, here* (Romare 2004: 217). Laut Schröders Untersuchungen (1938: 104) überwiege im Mittelniederdeutschen der Genitiv noch die Ersatzbildungen durch Präpositionalphrasen.

Wie jeglicher Sprachwandel setzen sich die Präpositionalobjekte allmählich durch, lange Zeit besteht Variation zwischen beiden Objekten – und in der Mehrzahl der Fälle stehen verschiedene Präpositionalobjekte als Alternativen zur Verfügung, die mehr oder weniger frei variieren. Rausch (1897) untersucht 260 zwei- oder dreistellige Verben, die ursprünglich über ein genitivisches Komplement verfügten und kommt zu dem Schluss, dass „die große Mehrzahl aller Verben im 14.–15. Jahrhundert in ihrer genitivischen Konstruktion mit Erfolg erschüttert wird“, bei ca. 120 verschwinde der Genitiv völlig, bei ca. 75 sei er im Aussterben begriffen. Fischer (1987) betrachtet den Zeitraum der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jh.s differenziert nach Textsorten und stellt fest, dass Akkusativ- und Präpositionalobjekte in solchen Texten deutlich bevorzugt werden, die eine Nähe zur gesprochenen Sprache aufweisen und „auf einen größeren

Empfängerkreis gerichtet waren“ (Fischer 1987: 278). Genitivobjekte seien dagegen häufiger in Texten für einen kleineren, gebildeten Nutzerkreis, z.B. in Fachtexten. Auch Fischers (1991) Untersuchung zum Zeitraum um 1600 ergibt, dass die Ersetzung des Genitivs am ehesten in Texten mit „volkstümlichem Gepräge“ (Fischer 1991: 334) anzutreffen sei. Nach Sprachlandschaften geordnet ergibt sich (bei zugegebenermaßen eingeschränkter Aussagekraft) folgendes Bild (Fischer 1991: 314): Progressiv in der Verwendung von Präpositional- und auch Akkusativobjekten anstelle von Genitiven erscheint das Ostmitteledeutsche und das Ostoberdeutsche (omd. 47,4% Genitivobjekte, oobd. 45,4% Genitivobjekte, dagegen norddt. 57,4% bei einem Durchschnitt von 52,8% Genitivobjekten). Das Bild sei allerdings etwas verfälscht, da keine unterhaltenden und keine Privattexte aus dem norddeutschen Raum ausgewertet wurden (Fischer 1991: 316). Betrachtet man aber ausschließlich Chroniken und Berichtstexte aus Norddeutschland im Vergleich zu derartigen Texten aus anderen Gebieten, so wird der noch geringere Anteil an Genitivobjekten deutlich: 54,2% vs. omd. 58,8%.

Gegen Ende der frnhd. Zeit ist der Objektsgenitiv zwar noch oft gebräuchlich, „jedoch in vielen Fällen nur oder überwiegend in poetischem oder archaischem Stil oder in regionalem (meist süddeutschem) Gebrauch“ (Ebert 1986: 40). Nur bei einigen wenigen Verben hat sich der Genitiv als Objektkasus bis in die heutige Zeit erhalten.

Für den Untersuchungsbereich ergeben sich letztlich folgende Konsequenzen:

1) Die deutschen Kontaktvarietäten des Estnischen sind am ehesten im norddeutschen Sprachgebiet zu finden, hier haben wir es mit einer progressiven Sprachlandschaft zu tun, bei der wir im Kontaktzeitraum mit verstärktem Vorkommen bzw. bereits mit der Durchsetzung von Präpositionalobjekten rechnen können. Die Ausgangslage für die Annahme von möglichen Kontakteinflüssen, speziell für die Annahme von „Lehnübersetzungen“ deutscher Adpositionalphrasen ins Estnische, ist somit günstiger, als wenn das Genitivobjekt (wie im süddeutschen Raum) noch stärker im Sprachgebrauch verankert wäre.

2) Auch die Tatsache, dass der fortschreitende Gebrauch seinen Ursprung eher in der Umgangssprache hat, ist günstig für die Annahme von Kontakteinflüssen.

3) Aufgrund der noch nicht gefestigten Situation bezüglich der Wahl der Präpositionen in Präpositionalobjekten müssen (bzw. können) wir

immer von mehreren möglichen Vorlagen für eventuelle estnische Nachbildungen ausgehen.

5. Verbkomplemente in Form kasusmarkierter Nominalphrasen

Ein Vergleich des Gebrauchs der estnischen und finnischen Kasus im Bereich der Verbkomplemente zeigt wesentliche Unterschiede für die sechs Lokalkasus und den estnischen Komitativ. In der Verwendungsweise von Essiv und Translativ haben sich bei der Auswertung der Quellen keine Unterschiede zum Finnischen ergeben,³ und der Abessiv und der Terminativ kommen von vornherein nicht als Verbkomplement in Frage. Präsentiert werden die Daten in folgender Reihenfolge: Komplemente in Form der äußeren Lokalkasus Allativ und Adessiv (5.1), Komplemente in Form des Elativs (5.2) und schließlich Komplemente in Form des Komitativs (5.3).

5.1 Die äußeren Lokalkasus Allativ und Adessiv

Bei einer Gegenüberstellung des estnischen und finnischen Kasusgebrauchs fällt auf, dass im Estnischen die äußeren Lokalkasus (ALLATIV, ADESSIV, ABLATIV) einen weitaus breiteren Anwendungsbereich haben als die entsprechenden Kasus im Finnischen, sie also auch in Fällen gebraucht werden, in denen im Finnischen einer der inneren Lokalkasus (ILLATIV, INESSIV, ELATIV) benutzt wird. Demgegenüber ist die Anwendungsbreite der estnischen inneren Lokalkasus eingeschränkter. Dies betrifft nicht nur die Lokalkasus als Ergänzungen des Verbs, sondern auch adverbiale Bestimmungen zum Ausdruck temporaler oder lokaler Umstände: es. *tööl* [ADE] *olema* ‘auf Arbeit sein’ vs. fi. *töissä* [INE] *olla*, es. *seenele* [ALL] *minna* ‘in die Pilze gehen’ vs. fi. *sieneen* [ILL] *lähteä* (vgl. dazu auch

³ Der Gebrauch von Essiv und Translativ in den heutigen Standardsprachen unterscheidet sich allerdings sehr wohl voneinander: Der Essiv wurde erst im 19. Jh. wieder in die estnische Sprache eingeführt und ist nicht zuletzt deshalb im Gebrauch viel stärker eingeschränkt als sein finnisches Äquivalent: Vgl. es. *Pean sind oma sõbraks* [TRA]. ‘Ich halte dich für meinen Freund.’ vs. fi. *Pidän sinua ystäväni* [ESS]. ‘ds.’.

Uuspõld 1992).⁴ Festzuhalten bleibt aber, dass diese Aussagen nur in Bezug auf die Standardsprachen ihre Gültigkeit haben, dialektal sind innerhalb des Estnischen Schwankungen im Gebrauch der Lokalkasus auszumachen.⁵ Eine detaillierte Analyse des Lokalkasusgebrauchs (bezüglich der Wahl der inneren oder äußeren Lokalkasus) in den Dialekten beider Sprachen harrt noch ihrer Ausarbeitung. Zu den Verhältnissen im alten Schriftestnischen lassen sich dagegen recht klare Aussagen treffen: Schon in den ältesten, bis Ende des 16. Jh.s, überlieferten Texten des Estnischen ist – so haben Kingisepp & Ehasalu & Habicht & Peebo (1997: 87) festgestellt – die Vorkommenshäufigkeit des Allativs im Vergleich zu der des Illativs ungleich höher.⁶ Ähnliche Häufigkeits-verhältnisse bietet auch der Adessiv im Vergleich zum Inessiv. Interessanterweise gelten diese Verhältnisse aber nicht im Bereich der Trennungskasus, hier wird der Elativ als innerer Lokalkasus häufiger als der Ablativ verwendet. Gestützt wird diese Beleglage durch das Bild, welches die ersten Grammatiken des Estnischen bieten: In Stahls Grammatik (1637: 4) fehlen im Paradigma Illativ und Inessiv gänzlich. Allativ und Adessiv präsentiert er als Dativ, wobei er keine unterschiedlichen Kasus in beiden sieht, sondern den Allativ als Dativ Plural und den Adessiv als Dativ Singular bezeichnet. Auch bei Gutschlaff (1976/1648: 15) wird von den inneren Lokalkasus nur der Elativ angeführt und der Allativ als Dativ präsentiert. Selbst noch zu Beginn des 19. Jh.s, in der Grammatik von Hupel (1818) wird offensichtlich kein inhaltlicher Unterschied zwischen Adessiv und Allativ gemacht, beide gelten als Entsprechungen des deutschen Dativs: „Von diesem doppelten Dativ wird bald der eine bald der andere, doch mehr der letzte, nemlich der sich auf l endigende, gebraucht.“ (Hupel 1818: 31.) Diese Beurteilung bestätigen auch die Texte Stahls, der beide Kasus offenbar ohne

⁴ Im Finnischen ist darüber hinaus der Gebrauch des Essivs anstelle des Adessivs im Estnischen verbreiteter: es. *nädalavahetusel* [ADE] ‘am Wochenende’ vs. fi. *viikonloppuna* [ESS].

⁵ „Oft sind für dasselbe Verhältnis beide Gruppen der Locative gleich gut anwendbar, man kann z.B. sagen *töö on käzil*, *käzis* (die Arbeit ist unter Händen), *ta on ammetil*, *ammetis* (er ist im Amte), *hakkab tööle*, *tööse* (er macht sich an die Arbeit), *rukis on õiel*, *õies* (der Roggen ist in Blüte), *käib pähklil*, *pähklis* oder *marjul marjus* etc. (er ist beim Nüssepflücken, Beerenpflücken), [...]“ (WGR 341).

⁶ Nicht außer Acht lassen darf man allerdings die Tatsache, dass die Bestimmung der Kasusformen in diesen Texten z.T. große Schwierigkeiten bereitet, was besonders auf den sog. kurzen Illativ zutrifft, dessen Form sich in zahlreichen Fällen (wenn auch der Kontext keinen Aufschluss gibt) aufgrund der uneinheitlichen Orthographie schwer von Partitiv, Genitiv oder Nominativ abgrenzen lässt.

Bedeutungsunterschied verwendet, dabei aber den Adessiv bevorzugt (vgl. Ross 1997: 194). Die von Ross (1997: 187) vorgenommene Auszählung der Vorkommenshäufigkeit der Kasusformen bei Müller und Stahl zeigt die deutliche Übermacht des Allativs als Richtungskasus über den Illativ. Die von ihr angeführte Auszählung von Valge (1970: 153) zeigt die deutlich höhere Verwendungshäufigkeit des Allativs auch in neuerer Zeit. Eine Ursache für dieses Bild in der frühen Schriftsprache ist, dass statt Illativ und Inessiv meist die Postpositionen *sisse* ‘in ... hinein’ und *sees* ‘in’ verwendet werden, nur bei Lexemen mit überdurchschnittlicher Frequenz wie *taevas* ‘Himmel’ wird auf die analytische Konstruktion verzichtet (*Waidt Kolmandel Peiwal Surmast ielles v'llestoußnut ninck v'lles mennut Tajwase* [ILL] ‘aber am dritten Tag vom Tod wieder auferstanden und hinaufgefahren **in den Himmel**’, Müller 1.2.2). Der Elativ ist hingegen der übliche Trennungskasus, demgegenüber ist das Vorkommen des Ablativs verschwindend gering und die separativische Postposition *seest* ‘aus ... heraus’ kommt zumindest bei Müller gar nicht vor.

5.1.1 Der estnische Allativ gegenüber dem finnischen Illativ

Ein wiederkehrendes Muster, das sich bei einem Vergleich estnischer und finnischer Verbkomplemente erkennen lässt, ist die Entsprechung Allativ im Estnischen – Illativ im Finnischen (fi. *vaikuttaa johonkin* [ILL] ‘auf etwas einwirken’). Dabei handelt es sich sowohl um zwei- als auch um dreistellige Verben, die sich allesamt als „Verben des Beeinflussens“ (Breindl 1989: 197) charakterisieren lassen. Die deutschen Entsprechungen verlangen (mit Ausnahme von (*ein*)wirken) ein Präpositionalobjekt mit *zu*, was sich teilweise bis ins Ahd. zurückverfolgen lässt: *daz reizta got ze zorne*. (Notker 77, 17; GRWB Bd. 14), [...] *sondern iederman zur tugent ermanen sol*. (2 Macc. 6, 31; GRWB Bd. 3), [...], *die mûs man twingen zû dem dienste gotz* (Tauler pred. 182 Vetter; GRWB Bd. 32).

(1) *äritama* ‘reizen’: *vihale* [ALL] *äritama* ‘zum Zorn reizen’ (WWB 74)⁷

⁷ Alle Belege aus Wiedemanns Wörterbuch (WWB) und Grammatik (WGR) sind der heutigen estnischen Orthographie angepasst worden. Jedem Verb ist mindestens ein Beleg zugeordnet, der Aufschluss über die formale Realisierung seiner Ergänzungen gibt. Die Übersetzungen stammen allesamt aus den Wiedemannschen Quellen, wurden aber ebenfalls der aktuellen Orthographie angepasst. Aus Platzgründen wird zu jedem

- (2) *kihutama* ‘erregen’: *vihale* [ALL] *kihutama* ‘zum Zorn reizen’ (WWB 279)
- (3) *kiusama* ‘versuchen, verleiten’: *kurjale* [ALL] *kiusama* ‘zum Bösen verleiten’ (WWB 300)
- (4) *mõõduma* ‘messen intr.; einwirken’: *se kahju mõõdub ka rahvale* [ALL] ‘dieser Schade erstreckt sich auch, wirkt auch, auf das Volk’ (WWB 621)
- (5) *noomima* ‘ermahnen’: *korrale* [ALL] *noomima* ‘zur Ordnung rufen’ (WWB 680)
- (6) *sundima* ‘zwingen; richten’: *surmale* [ALL] *sundima* ‘zum Tode verurteilen’ (WWB 1091)
- (7) *turtsuma* ‘sprudeln, ausplatzen’: *naerule* [ALL] *ehk nutule* [ALL] *turtsuma* ‘in Lachen oder Weinen ausbrechen’ (WWB 1225)
- (8) *ülendama* ‘erhöhen’: *auule* [ALL] *ülendama* ‘zu Ehren gelangen lassen’ (WWB 1271)

Die Texte von Müller bieten leider keine Hilfe bei der Lösung der Frage, inwieweit die Allativreaktion der betreffenden Verben in der alten estnischen Schriftsprache verankert war. Keines der aufgeführten Verben findet sich in Müllers Texten. Davon abgesehen ist eher anzunehmen, dass die Verwendung des Allativs bei diesen Verben in der allgemeinen Bevorzugung der äußeren gegenüber den inneren Lokalkasus im Estnischen begründet ist. Eine tatsächliche Entsprechung von *zu* wäre auch erst mit den Adpositionen *juurde* und *poole* ‘zu’ gegeben. Erstere findet sich bei Müller aber nur in konkreter, räumlicher Bedeutung, dagegen ist *poole* bei sinnverwandten Verben als Übersetzungsäquivalent gebräuchlich (*ninck kutzub weel nüitkit keick Inimeßet sen Ello Parrandufe pohle* ‘und ruft auch jetzt noch alle Menschen **zur Verbesserung** des Lebens’, Müller 9.3.12), ohne dass es den Weg in die moderne estnische Schriftsprache geschafft hätte. In der Gegenwartssprache ist es wie *juurde* eine Adposition rein lokaler Bedeutung.

Verb im Regelfall nur eine Übersetzung geliefert, im Ausnahmefall auch zwei oder drei, und zwar dann, wenn die im zugehörigen Beleg realisierte Bedeutung stark von der im WWB als erste genannten Bedeutung abweicht.

5.1.2 Der estnische Allativ gegenüber dem finnischen Partitiv

Das Verb es. *aitama* / fi. *auttaa* ‘helfen’ regiert in den modernen Schriftsprachen durchgängig den Partitiv (es. *aitama kedagi* / fi. *auttaa jotakuta* ‘jemandem helfen’). Belege bei Wiedemann zeigen allerdings eine Konstruktion, die an das Deutsche erinnert (vgl. auch mnd. *helpen* + DAT, Ahldén 1952: 133), wenn man den estnischen Allativ als die funktionale Entsprechung des deutschen Dativs ansieht, wie es in den ersten estnischen Grammatiken gängig war.

(9) *aitama* ‘helfen’: *mis se mulle* [ALL] *aitab* ‘was habe ich davon’ (WWB 14), wörtl.: ‘was hilft es mir’

(10) *aitama* ‘helfen’: *aita mulle* [ALL] *tööd lõpetada* ‘hilf mir die Arbeit zu beenden’ (WGR 332); *aita mulle* [ALL] *leikust lõpetada* ‘er half mir die Ernte beenden’; *aita mulle* [ALL] *vett tuua* ‘hilf mir Wasser tragen’ (WGR 635)

Die Annahme, dass diese Verwendung auf deutschen Einfluss zurückgeht, findet in den Texten Müllers keine Unterstützung. Laut Habicht (2001: 845) tritt nur in einem einzigen Fall der Adessiv als Verbergänzung des Verbs *aitama* auf, ansonsten wird durchgängig der Partitiv verwendet:⁸ *täema woib ninck tahab meit* [PAR] *awitada* ‘er kann und will **uns** helfen’ (Müller 3.13.22).

Die anderen ostseefinnischen Sprachen weisen in die Richtung der Wiedemannschen Belege und somit in die Richtung, dass mit der Verwendung eines äußeren Lokalkasus als Ergänzung des Verbs der Bedeutung ‘helfen’ eine indigene Entwicklung vorliegt, vgl. lüd. *mina abutaa šillei* [ALL] ‘ich helfe dir’ (LyydS 1944: 2), kar. *miwla pidäw avuttua šiula* [ALL] ‘ich muss dir helfen’ (KKS I: 92). Doch diese Belege haben keine hohe Beweiskraft, wurde doch schon darauf hingewiesen, dass bei dieser Allativ- bzw. Dativrektion russischer Einfluss vorliegen kann.

Wird das Verb darüber hinaus noch durch einen Infinitiv ergänzt (10), zeigt das heutige Estnische neben einer Parallelkonstruktion mit Partitiv eine Adessivergänzung (*aita mul* [ADE] *seda teha* ‘hilf mir dies zu tun’),

⁸ In den Texten Stahls hingegen ist die Verwendung des Adessivs neben der des Allativs der Regelfall (Habicht 2001: 845).

im Gegensatz zum Allativ bei Wiedemann. Dafür findet sich wiederum kein Beleg bei Müller, in diesem Fall verwendet er generell den Partitiv: *sýß tulleb se Pöha W: ninck awitab meidt* [PAR] *iße kandada* ‘dann kommt der Heilige Geist: und hilft **uns** es tragen’ (Müller 10.6.15).⁹

Anders als das heutige Estnische weisen das Wotische, Ingrische, Karelische und Wepsische in diesem Fall den Allativ als Kasus des sog. indirekten Objekts auf: wot. *iilija proro-k avitti jürätä jumalalõõ* [ALL] ‘Prophet Elias half Gott zu grollen’, *kallaa siipi avitap kalalõõ* [ALL] *uujua* ‘die Flosse des Fisches hilft dem Fisch zu schwimmen’ (VKS 1: 134); kar. *avutteliin hänellä* [ALL] *paimendua* ‘ich half ihm, (die Tiere) zu weiden’ (KKS I: 92). Pajusalu (1958: 256), Mullonen (1967: 40) und Õispuu (1998: 31) interpretieren dies jeweils als Verwendung nach Vorbild des russischen Dativs.

Mit dem schwankenden Kasusgebrauch zwischen Adessiv und Partitiv verhält sich das Verb *aitama* ganz äquivalent der im Folgenden zu behandelnden Verben.

5.1.3 Der Ausdruck des Adressatobjekts bei deontischen Sprechaktverben

Im Gegenwartsestnischen dient zum Ausdruck des indirekten Objekts der deontischen Sprechaktverben *andma* ‘geben; gestatten’, *käskima* ‘befehlen’, *laskma* ‘lassen’, *lubama* ‘erlauben’, *keelama* ‘verbieten’, ebenso wie beim eben behandelten Verb *aitama* sowie bei weiteren Verben wie *paluma* ‘jemanden bitten etwas zu tun’, *segama* ‘jemanden bei etwas stören’, *soovitama* ‘jemandem etwas empfehlen zu tun’, *takistama* ‘jemanden an etwas hindern’, der Adessiv (*mul* [ADE] *lubati varem ära minna* ‘man hat mir erlaubt, früher zu gehen’), während im Finnischen hier je nach Verb entweder der Partitiv oder Genitiv zur Anwendung kommt. Alternativ ist der Partitiv auch im Estnischen möglich (EKG II: 64). Dieses Adressatobjekt ist Objekt des finiten Verbs (welches bei fehlender Infinitivergänzung durch den Partitiv ausgedrückt wird) und gleichzeitig Agens der durch den Infinitiv ausgedrückten Handlung. Dieser Infinitiv kann im Finnischen in Abhängigkeit vom Verb verschiedene Formen annehmen, entweder den Elativ oder Illativ des *-m*-(bzw. 3.) Infinitivs, den *-t*-(bzw. 1.) Infinitiv, oder es tritt ein Verbalsubstantiv auf. Im Estnischen schwankt der

⁹ In diesem Beleg zeigt sich gleichzeitig die vom heutigen Estnischen abweichende Verwendung des *-da*-Infinitivs (*kandada*) anstelle des *-ma*-Infinitivs.

Gebrauch von Verb zu Verb ebenfalls zwischen *-da-* und *-ma-*Infinitiv sowie Verbalsubstantiv, was aber nicht Gegenstand der folgenden Ausführungen sein soll.

Wiedemann bietet hinsichtlich des indirekten Objekts ein sehr gemischtes Bild vom Estnischen, was sich auch im heutigen schwankenden Kasusgebrauch spiegelt. Betrachtet man die estnischen Dialekte, so erkennt man eine Zweiteilung des Sprachgebietes in dieser Hinsicht. In den südlichen, mittleren und östlichen Mundarten ist allgemein der Adessiv gebräuchlich, z.B. *ma kässizin seppal* [ADE] *kaks uut rauDa teha* 'ich befahl **dem Schmied**, zwei neue Eisen zu machen' (Pajusalu 1958: 256), dagegen dominiert in den Küsten- und Insel- sowie in den westlichen Dialekten der Partitiv. Eben diese Verteilung bietet auch Wiedemann: Bei den Verben 'lassen, befehlen' stehe im Südestnischen („Dörphestnischen“) der Adessiv, im Nordestnischen („Revalehestnischen“) der Allativ oder ein „directer Objectscasus“ (d.h. Partitiv oder Akkusativ; WGR 331).

(11) *andma* 'geben, gestatten': *külm viljale* [ALL] *ei anna kasvata* 'die Kälte lässt das Getreide nicht wachsen' (WWB 32); *külm ei anna wiljal* [ADE] *kaswada* 'die Kälte lässt **das Getreide** nicht wachsen' (südes., WGR 331); *sedä ei anta meil* [ADE] *maitsgi* 'das lässt man **uns** nicht einmal kosten' (südes., ebd.)

(12) *käskima* 'befehlen; negat. verbieten': *sest ei kästud mind* [PAR] *mitte hinnata* '**mir** wurde verboten, davon etwas zu verlautbaren' (WWB 251); *kes on sulle* [ALL] *seda käskinud*, „besser“ *kes on sind* [PAR] *käskinud seda teha* 'wer hat **dir** das befohlen' (WGR 635); *kas ma käsin mehe* [GEN] *sisse tulla* 'soll ich **den Mann** heißen hereinzukommen' (WGR 635); *ma käzi sepäl* [ADE] *kats rauda tetä* 'ich lasse **den Schmied** zwei Eisen machen' (südes., WGR 331)

(13) *keelama* 'verbieten, hindern': *ei tõrv teda* [PAR] *keela mädanemast* 'Teer hindert **es** nicht am Verfaulen' (WWB 271); *ilm keelas meid* [PAR] *wälja minemast* 'das Wetter hinderte **uns** auszugehen' (WGR 635); *kas sa tahad mulle* [ALL] *suud keelda* 'willst du **mir** den Mund, das Reden verbieten' (WGR 634)

(14) *laskma* 'lassen': *kui ta peaks tulema, siis lase teda* [PAR] *oodata* 'wenn er kommen sollte, so lass **ihn** warten' (WGR 659); *laze ahjol* [ADE] *leendiüdi*

(südes.) ‘lass **den Ofen** etwas kühler werden’; *laze mehel* [ADE] *sisse tulla* ‘lass **den Mann** herein kommen’ (südes., WGR 331 u. 635)

(15) *paluma* ‘bitten’: *ta palus mind* [PAR] *kaasa tulla* ‘er bat **mich** mitzukommen’ (WGR 334)

Zieht man das Wotische zum Vergleich heran, zeigt dieses zumindest in den konsultierten Quellen ebenfalls einen vom Finnischen abweichenden Kasusgebrauch: *anna mille* [ALL] *tšävvä* ‘lass mich laufen’ (Ariste 1968: 27), *tšähsi tüttärellē* [ALL] *panna vöölē tšin* ‘er befahl der Tochter, (es) an ihrem Gürtel zu befestigen’ (ebd.). Wie beim Verb der Bedeutung ‘helfen’ findet sich der Allativ ebenso auch im Wepsischen, Karelischen und Ingrischen. Pajusalu (1958: 256–257) betrachtet diesen als aus dem Russischen übernommen, während der Gebrauch des Adessivs im Estnischen in jedem Fall ursprünglich sei, d.h. bis in die ostseefinnische Grundsprache zurückreiche.

Der Adessiv als Markierung für das indirekte Objekt deontischer Sprechaktverben gehört in einen Problemkomplex, der auch den Ausdruck des *experiencer* in sog. *experiencer*-Sätzen der Art *Mir ist kalt* einschließt. Auch hierfür gilt, dass dem estnischen Adessiv (*Mul* [ADE] *on külm.*) im Finnischen ein Genitiv (*Minun* [GEN] *on kylmä.*) gegenübersteht, an dessen Stelle allerdings alternativ ebenso ein Adessiv stehen kann (*Minulla* [ADE] *on kylmä.*). Klaas (1994) sieht dieses Phänomen in einem areal-linguistischen Zusammenhang, indem sie darauf hinweist, dass im gesamten sog. baltischen Sprachareal – neben dem Estnischen auch im Lettischen, Litauischen, Russischen und Deutschen – sowohl bei den genannten Infinitivkonstruktionen als auch bei den *experiencer*-Sätzen ein Dativ bzw. ein dem Dativ äquivalenter Adessiv zu stehen kommt. Die Frage, ob es sich um baltischen, germanischen oder slawischen (bzw. speziell russischen) Einfluss handelt, lässt sie offen. Am naheliegendsten sei eine Annahme arealer Beeinflussungen, die sich aus langwährendem Kontakt ergeben haben sollen (Klaas 1994: 63). Der auch heute übliche *experiencer*-Adessiv ist auch bei Müller die Regel: *Perrast on meil Inimeße Lapsel* [ADE] *raße vsckuda* ‘dann fällt es **uns Menschenkindern** schwer zu glauben’ (Müller 31.4.1).

Eine vollständige Herleitung der Allativ-/Adessivmarkierung aus dem Deutschen erscheint auch deshalb als fragwürdig, weil die deutschen Sprechaktverben nicht in jedem Fall den Dativ, sondern teilweise auch den Akkusativ fordern (‘jemanden etwas tun lassen’). Darüber hinaus

überwiegt auch bei Müller die Variante mit Partitiv, auch wenn sich eine gründliche Beurteilung als schwierig erweist, da nur das Verb *laskma* mit indirektem Objekt und zugleich Infinitivergänzung belegt ist, bei dem aber durchgängig Partitiv verwendet wurde (*Hoja sina mind sen igkew: Surma eddest, nīck laße mind* [PAR] *sinu kz ellada* ‘Bewahre mich du vor dem ewigen Tod, und lass **mich** mit dir leben’, Müller 14.7.24). Dies findet letztlich seine Bestätigung in den Wiedemannschen Belegen, die nur für das Südestnische den Adessiv aufweisen.

Die anderen beiden vorkommenden Verben *käskima* und *keelama* hatten jeweils keinen Infinitiv, sondern stattdessen einen mit *et* ‘dass’ eingeleiteten Nebensatz bei sich, der Adressat der Handlung wird bei Müller durch den Allativ bezeichnet, was dadurch zu begründen ist, dass Müller diese Verben hier wie jedes andere diktivische Verb der Art *üttelema* ‘sagen’ verwendet: *Iumall kessib keickelle Inimeselle* [ALL] *keickede paikas, eth næmat hend piddawat parrandama* ‘Gott befiehlt **allen Menschen** überall, dass sie sich bessern müssen’, Müller 17.4.41). Vom Standpunkt der modernen Standardsprache aus gesehen zeigt dies einen „falschen“ Sprachgebrauch: Anstatt des Allativs ist gegenwartsestnisch der Partitiv gebräuchlich. Beim Verb *andma* ‘geben’ liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass für die Allativverwendung die konkrete Bedeutung des Verbs ‘jemandem etwas geben’, in deren Fall der Adressat formal durch den Allativ realisiert wird, eine entscheidende Rolle spielt. So zeigt auch das heutige Estnische hier den Allativ.

Müller war offensichtlich der Adessiv in Funktion des indirekten Objekts bei deontischen Sprachaktverben nicht bekannt. Die Grundlage für diesen gegenwartssprachlichen Kasusgebrauch liegt im Südestnischen. Für das Nordestnische und auch speziell den Sprachgebrauch Müllers ist vielmehr der Wechsel zwischen Allativ und direktem Objektkasus charakteristisch.

5.2 Elativ

Wie bereits einleitend erwähnt, ist die Frequenz der inneren Lokalkasus im Estnischen weitaus geringer als im Finnischen. In den Wiedemannschen Quellen begegnet uns kein einziger Fall, in dem ein Verb den Illativ regierte, ohne dass dies auch auf die finnische Entsprechung zutreffen würde. Eine ausgesprochen geringe Anzahl von Verben fordert im heutigen

Estnischen eine Ergänzung im Illativ. Laut EKG (EKG I 1995: 56), die natürlich auch keine abschließende Liste anbietet, trifft das auf die folgenden Verben zu: *armuma* ‘sich verlieben (in jemanden)’, *kiinduma* ‘sich anschließen (an etwas)’, *suhtuma* ‘sich verhalten (gegenüber etwas), sich beziehen (auf etwas)’, *surema* ‘sterben (an etwas)’. Die Anzahl der Beispielverben zu anderen Kasus wie dem Komitativ oder Allativ machen ein Vielfaches dessen aus, die Schwäche des Illativs als Rektionskasus ist somit unübersehbar.

Was über das Vorkommen des Illativs ausgesagt wurde, gilt in ähnlicher Weise für den inneren Trennungskasus Elativ: Zwar ist der Elativ als Rektionskasus im Estnischen gefestigt, aber es gibt kaum Verben, die im Estnischen den Elativ, im Finnischen dagegen einen anderen Kasus fordern. Elativrektion in beiden Sprachen zeigen z.B. es. *hoolima* ‘sich um etwas kümmern’ – fi. *huolehtia*, es. *taganema* ‘sich von etwas zurückziehen’ – fi. *vetäytyä*.

Dem Illativ im Finnischen bei Verben wie *kyllästyä johonkin* [ILL] ‘etwas satt haben, von etwas gesättigt sein, genug haben’ und *väsyä johonkin* [ILL] ‘einer Sache müde werden’ entspricht im Estnischen bei den Verben mit gleicher Bedeutung (*küllastuma*, *tüdinema*, *väsima*) der Elativ. Die elativische Ergänzung beim Verb es. *surema* ‘sterben’ ist nur eine Alternative zum Illativ, laut Wiedemann kommt hierdurch eine andere Bedeutungsnuance zum Ausdruck.

(16) *surema* ‘sterben’: *suri haavast* [ELA] ‘er starb in Folge einer empfangenen Wunde’; *suri sest hoobist* [ELA] ‘er starb durch diesen Schlag’; dagegen: *suri haava* [ILL] ‘er starb an der Wunde, die Wunde verschlimmerte sich, bis sie den Tod herbeiführte’ (WGR 345)

(17) *tüdimä* ‘müde, überdrüssig werden’: *tüdis ära tööd tegemast* [ELA] ‘er wurde des Arbeitens überdrüssig’ (WGR 450)

(18) *väsima* ‘ermüden’: *väsiv ära rääkimast* [ELA] ‘er ermüdete vom Sprechen’ (WGR 450)

Schon bei Müller ist für das Verb *tüdimä* diese Kasusverwendung anzutreffen: *eth näemat omast ellost* [ELA] *omat tüddinuth* ‘dass sie **ihres Lebens** müde sind’ (Müller 23.2.7).

Zieht man in Betracht, dass der Elativ in frühen Texten und Sprachbeschreibungen übliches Mittel zum Genitiversatz war, kann man einen deutschen Ursprung dieser Kasusverwendung durchaus glaubhaft

machen. So werden in Stahls Paradigma als Genitivformen die Ausdrücke *öhest Jummalast* [ELA] als Singular und *öhede Jummalade* [GEN.PL] als Plural vorgestellt (Stahl 1637: 4). Nur bei letzterer handelt es sich um die eigentliche, korrekte Genitivform, erstere ist die Elativform und identisch mit der an gleicher Stelle von Stahl als Ablativ bezeichneten Form. Im Deutschen gehören die erwähnten Verben zu den wenigen, deren Genitivobjekt sich bis in die nhd. Zeit gehalten hat, und auch in frnhd. Zeit war es nicht durch Konkurrenzformen gefährdet. Speziell im Falle des Verbs *sterben* bestanden allerdings bereits seit mhd. Zeit eine ganze Reihe von alternativen Präpositionalobjekten mit *an*, *durch*, *von*, *vor*, *durch* (GRWB Bd. 18).

In ähnlicher Weise, mit der Interpretation des Elativs als Entsprechung des deutschen Genitivs, werden Verwendungsweisen erklärbar, die den Elativ bei Verben, die im Finnischen einen direkten Objektkasus regieren (vgl. fi. *hävetä jotain* [PAR] ‘sich wegen etwas schämen’), zeigen:

(19) *mälestama* ‘gedenken, sich erinnern’: *ma olen sest* [ELA] *mälestamata* ‘ich habe keine Erinnerung davon’ (WWB 585)

(20) *häbenema* ‘sich schämen’: *häbenege seda uskumast* [ELA] ‘schämt euch das zu glauben, dass ihr so etwas glaubt’ (WGR 450)

(21) *unema* ‘träumen; vergessen’: *minä uneti ütlemast* [ELA] ‘ich vergass zu sagen’ (südes., WGR 450)

Müller verwendet für das Verb *mälestama* neben einigen Fällen mit Partitivreaktion (*eth mina sijn paliu peaxin wöjra Rachwa Exemplit* [PAR] *ninck Hystoriat* [PAR] *mälestama* ‘dass ich hier viel an das Beispiel und die Geschichte eines fremden Volkes erinnern müsste’, Müller 9.1.31) überwiegend die Elativreaktion: *tahaxin mälestada*, *neist Puist* [ELA], *Rohost* [ELA], *Blömikefest* [ELA], *sest rucki echk Pöllu kaßwmesest* [ELA] ‘ich wollte mich erinnern an die Bäume, das Gras, das Blümchen, das Wachsen von Roggen und Feld’ (Müller 31.6.23). Einen Elativ beim Verb *unustama* ‘vergessen’ zeigt nur ein einziger Beleg von Müller, ansonsten dominiert der Partitiv.

Bei den deutschen Bedeutungsäquivalenten *sich erinnern* und *erwähnen* ist in der Zeit um 1600 die Verbindung mit dem Genitiv die

vorherrschende: *erwähnen* zeigt zu 100% ein Genitivobjekt (Fischer 1991: 285), *sich erinnern* zu 85,4% (Fischer 1991: 290). Das Verb *sich schämen* gehört ebenfalls zu den Verben, deren Genitivobjekt selbst in neuhochdeutscher Zeit noch nicht auf den poetischen bzw. archaischen Stil beschränkt ist (Ebert 1986: 41), wenn auch in diesem Fall bereits in mhd. Zeit konkurrierende Präpositionalobjekte auftauchen (*sust schemstu dich vor*, Ebert 1986: 53) Mnd. *sik schamen/schemen* fordert ebenso den Genitiv (Nissen 1884: 31). Auch beim Verb *vergessen* dominiert noch um 1600 klar der Genitiv gegenüber dem Akkusativ (76% gegen 24%; Fischer 1991: 289), erst im 17. Jh. geht hier der Gebrauch des Genitivs gegenüber dem des Akkusativs stark zurück (Fischer 1991: 299ff.).

Die gegenwartsestnische Standardsprache geht mit den Wiedemannschen Angaben nur teilweise mit: *mälestama* regiert einen direkten Objektkasus, *häbenema* und *unustama* ebenfalls (dies ist auch bei Wiedemann belegt: *ta häbeneb oma rumalust* [PAR] ‘er schämt sich seiner Dummheit’, WWB 63). Wird – wie in den Wiedemannschen Belegen – eine Infinitivergänzung angeschlossen, so geschieht dies (gleich dem Finnischen) durch den 1. (bzw. *-da-*)Infinitiv oder (im Fall von *unustama*) durch den Abessiv des *-ma*-Infinitivs (*ma unustasin leiva osta / ostmata* ‘ich vergaß Brot zu kaufen’), nicht durch eine Elativform. Als Variante ist ein elativisches (sowohl nominales als auch infinitivisches) Komplement auch heute bei *unustama* zugelassen.

Die sprachlichen Verhältnisse im Deutschen schließen eine Fremdbeeinflussung als Erklärung für die unterschiedlichen estnischen und finnischen Rektionsmuster zumindest nicht aus. Ein davon unabhängiges Erklärungsmuster sollte aber zumindest nicht unerwähnt bleiben. Allen hier erwähnten Komplementen (mit Ausnahme des Komplements des Verbs der Bedeutung ‘vergessen’) ist die Bedeutungskomponente ‘Ursache, Grund’ gemeinsam, wodurch immer auch Alternativkonstruktionen mit dt. *wegen*, es. *pärast* o.ä. möglich sind. Ein solches Argument wird auch im Finnischen teils durch den Elativ ausgedrückt (*vapista raivosta* [ELA] ‘vor Wut beben’, *itkeä ilosta* [ELA] ‘vor Freude weinen’). Vom Mittel zum Ausdruck der Ursache ist es nur noch ein kleiner Schritt zum Ausdruck des Agens im Impersonal, anzutreffen (neben Varianten mit Adpositionalphrasen mit *poolt* ‘von seiten’, *läbi* ‘durch’) sowohl im frühen Schriftestnischen, bei Wiedemann (*teda tapeti waenlastest* [ELA] ‘er wurde von den Feinden getötet’, WGR 328) als auch in der Gegenwartssprache.

5.3 Komitativ

Der Komitativ des Estnischen, markiert durch das Suffix *-ga*, gilt als eines der Paradebeispiele für Grammatikalisierungsprozesse. Ursprünglich ein Substantiv **kansa* mit der Bedeutung ‘Volk, Leute; Freund, Gefährte’ hat es sich über das Stadium einer Postposition ‘mit’ von rein komitativer Semantik, wie man sie heute noch in der finnischen Postposition *kanssa* antrifft, zu einem Kasusuffix entwickelt, dessen Funktionen weit über diese rein komitative Bedeutung hinausgehen. Diese umfassen auch instrumentale, temporale, modale und rein grammatische Verwendungsweisen. Zumindest Teile dieses Grammatikalisierungsweges sind in allen ostseefinnischen Sprachen zu finden. Wohl durch schwedischen Einfluss kam es auch im Finnischen zur Bedeutungserweiterung der Postposition *kanssa* (Nau 1995: 134): *se lähtee vasta ajan kanssa* ‘das geht erst mit der Zeit weg’, *hankaluuksia työn kanssa* ‘Schwierigkeiten mit der Arbeit’, *taskulampun kanssa* statt *taskulampulla* [ADE] ‘mit einer Taschenlampe’. Anzutreffen sind diese Erscheinungen in den westlichen Dialekten und in der Umgangssprache von Helsinki sowie in Texten des Altschrift- und Frühneufinnischen. Für den angenommenen schwedischen Einfluss spricht in erster Linie ihr gehäuftes Vorkommen in den genannten Varietäten. Erste Klitisierungs- und Fusionsprozesse sind auch hier zu beobachten: In der finnischen Umgangssprache tritt *kanssa* auch in Form eines Suffixes *-ka* auf.

Im Estnischen ist der Grammatikalisierungsprozess weiter fortgeschritten. Kennzeichen dafür ist, dass der Komitativ von der Valenz einiger Verben gefordert wird (z.B. *tutvuda kellega* ‘sich mit jemandem bekannt machen’), im Unterschied z.B. zum Komitativ (auf *-ine-*) des Finnischen, der nie vom Verb regiert sein kann. Nach Oinas (1961: 53 und 175–180) haben sich bereits im Späturfinnischen Postpositionen und Adverbien aus dem Substantiv **kansa* herausgebildet, die Agglutination dieser Partikel zu Suffixen sei aber erst in einzelsprachlicher Zeit geschehen. Was das Estnische angeht, war diese letzte Stufe in der Zeit der frühen Schriftlichkeit noch nicht erreicht, sowohl bei Müller als auch bei Stahl wird es (bis auf fünf Fälle) noch als Postposition gebraucht.¹⁰

¹⁰ In Verbindung mit Pronomen begann die Klitisierung und Fusion schon wesentlich früher, in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jh.s (Habicht 2000: 46).

Grammatikalisierung findet sowohl auf der Ausdrucks- als auch auf der Inhaltsebene statt. Charakteristisch für diesen Prozess ist, dass die inhaltliche Veränderung der formalen vorangeht. Im Falle des Komitativs war die Entwicklung auf der semantischen Seite zur Zeit der Texte Müllers schon so weit fortgeschritten, dass die Postposition, deren verschiedene Formen (*kaes*, *kahs*, *ka*, *kz* etc.) den sich auf der Ausdrucksebene abspielenden Prozess der phonologischen Abschwächung widerspiegeln, nicht nur die konkrete Komitativität ausdrückte, sondern wie in der modernen Sprache auch Instrumentalität, Modalität und Temporalität (Habicht 2000: 43). Das heutige Kasussuffix zeigt somit die gesamte Entwicklung von einer lexikalischen, autonomen Einheit zu einem grammatischen, gebundenen Morphem. Ob bei der Ausweitung der Funktionen der vormaligen Adposition und des heutigen Kasussuffix *-ga* fremdsprachlicher Einfluss eine Rolle gespielt hat, lässt sich aus den Sprachdaten nicht herauslesen; allein die Tatsache der weitgehenden Deckungsgleichheit der Funktionen von dt. *mit* und es. *-ga* deutet darauf hin. Betrachtete man aber den Prozess der Grammatikalisierung des estnischen Komitativs im Laufe der Jahrhunderte, ließe sich bei Vorliegen der entsprechenden Daten sehr wohl ein Unterschied feststellen.

Heine & Kuteva (2003: 539) nennen den Vorgang der Grammatikalisierung mithilfe eines fremdsprachigen Vorbilds (im hier vorliegenden Fall die dt. Präposition *mit*) ‘replica grammaticalization’ und beschreiben ihn in folgender Weise:

- a. Speakers of language R notice that in language M there is a grammatical category Mx.
- b. They develop an equivalent category Rx, using material available in their own language (R).
- c. To this end, they replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in language M, using an analogical formula of the kind [My > Mx] = [Ry > Rx].
- d. They grammaticalize category Ry to Rx.

Die Modellsprache stattet die Sprecher der Replikasprache somit schon mit „Anweisungen“ aus, wie eine grammatische Kategorie via Grammatikalisierung auszudrücken ist. Die Erweiterung der Kasusfunktionen ist ein typisches und häufig zu beobachtendes Beispiel hierfür (Heine & Kuteva 2003: 540). Ganz ähnlich wie im Estnischen hat z.B. im

Baskischen der Komitativ eine weitreichende Funktionserweiterung erfahren, nämlich nach dem Vorbild der Komitativ-Instrumental-Polysemie der Präpositionen der Kontaktsprachen (Französisch, Gaskognisch) auch die instrumentale Bedeutungskomponente angenommen (vgl. Haase 1992: 67). In solchen Fällen verläuft der Grammatikalisierungsprozess tatsächlich nicht in anderer Weise als bei Grammatikalisierungen ohne fremdes Vorbild.

Davon abzugrenzen ist aber ein Phänomen, das Heine & Kuteva (2003: 555) als ‘polysemy copying’ (bzw. ‘grammatical calquing’) bezeichnen. In einem solchen Fall sei kein Prozess auszumachen, sondern es sei nur der Anfangs- und Endpunkt der „Grammatikalisierung“ erkennbar. Die Frage, die sich nun beim estnischen Komitativ stellt, ist, ob ein solcher Prozess von weniger grammatikalisierten Verwendungen zu stark grammatikalisierten auszumachen ist, oder der Endpunkt der ‘Grammatikalisierung’ (z.B. die Komplementfunktion bei Verben wie *passima* ‘übereinstimmen mit etwas’) gleichzeitig mit weniger grammatikalisierten Verwendungen (z.B. der instrumentalen Funktion) übernommen wurde. Wenn derartiges zu beobachten ist, verläuft kontaktinduzierter Sprachwandel in gewissen Fällen eben doch anders als rein interner. Wenn uns allerdings nur Daten vorliegen, in denen bereits alle Verwendungsweisen anzutreffen sind, und dies ist im frühen Schriftestnischen der Fall, ist im Nachhinein wiederum nicht zu bestimmen, ob ‘replica grammaticalization’ oder ‘polysemy copying’ vorliegt (ganz abgesehen von einer rein internen Entwicklung). Heine & Kuteva (2003: 559) wollen mit folgenden Argumenten ihre Hypothese untermauern, dass in den meisten der in der Literatur diskutierten Beispiele Grammatikalisierung vorliege und eben nicht ‘Lehnübersetzung’ o.ä.:

- a) Die replizierten Kategorien tragen Eigenschaften, die ihre Grammatikalisierungsgeschichte offenbaren, wie Desemantisierung und phonologische Erosion.

Desemantisierung scheint aber ein unumgänglicher Begleiter erweiterter Polysemie (im Sinne des Gebrauchs in rein grammatischen Kontexten) zu sein und ist nicht allein in Grammatikalisierungsprozessen zu beobachten. Phonologische Erosion setzt wiederum auch in Grammatikalisierungsprozessen erst nach der Ausweitung der Verwendungskontexte ein,

wohl als Folge der erhöhten Gebrauchsfrequenz, kann also auch der Lehnübersetzung nachfolgen.

Stichhaltiger erscheint die zweite Beobachtung:

- b) Die Replikonstruktion sei oft weniger grammatikalisiert als die Modellkonstruktion, der Prozess sei also der Vorbildsprache entnommen worden, dann aber „auf halbem Wege“ stehen geblieben:

For example, in the initial stage of grammaticalization, the new category tends to be ambiguous between its literal and its grammaticalized meaning, it tends to be confined to few contexts, and its use is optional [...].

Der Komitativ des Estnischen weist nun keinesfalls einen geringeren Grammatikalisierungsgrad auf als sein mögliches Vorbild, die Präposition *mit*. Dies kann als Hinweis darauf gewertet werden, dass deutsche Muttersprachler bei der Übernahme des Estnischen die Polysemie des dt. *mit* tatsächlich ‘kopiert’ haben; auf die Schreiber der frühen estnischen Texte trifft dies sicher zu. Darüber, inwieweit diese Konstruktionen damals bereits Teil des estnischen Sprachsystems waren, ist aber keine Aussage möglich, ebenso wenig wie eine Antwort auf die Frage möglich ist, welcher Prozess hier nun vorgelegen hat, ob ‘replica grammaticalization’ oder ‘polysemy copying’. Dazu fehlen die Daten, die uns Aufschluss über die diachrone Entwicklung bis zu diesem Sprachzustand geben würden. Wie bereits angesprochen, treffen wir im frühen Schriftestnischen schon das ganze Spektrum der deutschen „Mit-Bedeutungen“ an.

Das Finnische zeigt eine nach Bedeutung differenzierte Verteilung der sprachlichen Ausdrücke, diese Verteilung kann als „Blaupause“ für die verschiedenen Grammatikalisierungsgrade der jeweiligen Kasusverwendungen dienen.

Am wenigsten grammatikalisiert erscheint die Verwendung in „reziproken Prädikatsausdrücken“ (GDS 2141): dt. *verlobt / verheiratet / einverstanden / vereint sein mit, sich prügeln mit, sich verstehen mit, kämpfen mit, streiten mit*; vgl. mnd. *strît / kîf hebben mit* (MNDHWB Bd. 2/1, Sp. 9993). Hier ist die Komitativität als Grundbedeutung gegeben, das Finnische zeigt hier die Postpositionen *kanssa* als Komplementausdruck (fi. *tapella jonkun kanssa* ‘mit jemandem kämpfen’).

(22) *kannatama* ‘ertragen, Geduld haben’: *kannatage minuga* [KOM] ‘habt Geduld mit mir’ (WWB 202)

(23) *taplema* ‘zanken’: *ma taplen silmadega* [KOM] ‘ich plage mich mit den Augen’; *unega* [KOM] *taplema* ‘mit dem Schlafe kämpfen’; *laev tapleb tuulega* [KOM] ‘das Schiff kämpft mit dem Winde’ (WWB 1119)

(24) *tõrelema* ‘zanken’: *ta tõreleb minuga* [KOM] ‘er zankt, streitet, mit mir’ (WWB 1187)

(25) *võitlema* ‘kämpfen’: *tööga* [KOM] *võitlema* ‘seine Arbeit zu beendigen suchen’ (WWB 1391)

Zum Ausdruck der Instrumentalität dient im Finnischen üblicherweise (d.h. abgesehen von der erwähnten Verwendung von *kanssa* in einigen Varietäten) der Adessiv. Im Estnischen war der Gebrauch des Adessivs als Instrumentalkasus schon im 19. Jh. auf „(alte) sprichwörtliche Redensarten“ beschränkt (WGR 331). Mit der Aufteilung der komitativen und instrumentalen Funktion auf verschiedene Marker ist das Finnische übrigens im Einklang mit der Mehrzahl der Sprachen der Welt, wie eine Untersuchung von Stolz ergab (1996: 127). Nur ein Viertel der Sprachen nutzt einen einzigen Marker mit einer Komitativ-Instrumental-Polysemie zum Ausdruck dieser Relationen. Betrachtet man allerdings nur die europäischen Sprachen, befinden sich die Sprachen mit zwei unterschiedlichen Markern mit einem Drittel klar in der Minderheit. Die Ausbreitung der Komitativ-Instrumental-Polysemie z.B. im Ostseeraum beschreibt Stolz (2001: 604) als ‘germanicization of the comitative-instrumental distinction’. Die folgenden Wiedemannschen Belege können in den Bereich, instrumentale Verwendung des Komitativs’ eingeordnet werden:

(26) *aitama* ‘helfen; sich behelfen mit etwas’: *aita sellega* [KOM] ‘behilf dich damit’ (WWB 14)

(27) *elatama* ‘ernähren’: *ei ole heinu, miska* [KOM] *meie lojusid elataksime* ‘es ist kein Heu da, womit wir das Vieh erhalten könnten’ (WWB 93)

(28) *prassima* ‘prassen; quälen’: *sa prassid mind tööga* [KOM] ‘du quälst, drückst mich mit Arbeit (eig. vergeudest mich od. meine Kraft)’ (WWB 873)

(29) *teenima* ‘dienen; verdienen’: *ta teenis puu-raiumisega* [KOM] *neli rubla nädala pealt* ‘er verdiente mit Holzhauen vier Rubel wöchentlich’ (WGR 648)

(30) *toitma* ‘ernähren’: *tema toitits oma tööga* [KOM] ‘er ernährte sich, lebte, von seiner Arbeit’ (WWB 1168)

(31) *vältama* ‘sich behelfen, auskommen’: *küll sellega* [KOM] *vältan* ‘damit reiche ich wohl schon aus’ (WWB 1331)

Eine kurze Anmerkung zum Deutschen: Das Verb *sich behelfen* verfügte ursprünglich über eine Genitivreaktion, diese erhält aber bereits (spätestens) im 14. Jh. Konkurrenz durch ein Präpositionalobjekt mit *mit* (GRWB Bd. 1, Sp. 1334), um 1600 überwiegt dann deutlich das Präpositionalobjekt (Fischer 1991: 290). Auch für das Mittelniederdeutsche ist die Rektion mit *mit* bereits belegt (Schröder 1938: 106): mnd. *ik my ok mit der nyen werlt nicht behelpen en kann*.

Müller verwendet als Ausdrucksmittel für den Instrumental ausschließlich den Komitativ: *kuÿ tæma kogkonis lebbi se Iuda ma`a` olli kewnut, ninck palio Imme|asÿade kaas oma Iutluÿe olli kinnitanut* ‘als er in einer Menge durch das Land Judäa gegangen war und **mit vielen Wundern** seine Predigt bestätigt hatte’ (Müller 1.1.27).

Der Adessiv ist in dieser Funktion innerhalb der ostseefinnischen Sprachen (neben dem Finnischen) nur noch im Wotischen einigermaßen gebräuchlich (*meni-väd_лаивалла* [KOM] *sinne* ‘they went there by boat’, Ariste 1968: 28), wobei allerdings der Komitativ, der die gleiche Entwicklung genommen hat wie der im Estnischen, in dieser Verwendungsweise gebräuchlicher wird (ebd.: 29). Auch in estnischen Dialekten existierten zumindest noch im letzten Jahrhundert in der älteren Generation Reste der Verwendung des Adessivs zum Ausdruck der Instrumentalität (Pajusalu 1958: 252, vgl. auch WGR 331). Die Stufe der Instrumentalität wurde auch von der livischen Postposition *iñe* ‘mit, zusammen’ erreicht: *ta sie kuo`ig_ĩñe tu`l` rĩgest täne* ‘er kam mit diesem Schiffe von Riga hierher’ (Kettunen 1938: 80).

Die nächste Stufe der Grammatikalisierung ist erreicht, wenn eine komitative oder instrumentale Bedeutung nur noch schwach erkennbar ist. Unterscheiden könnte man hier zwischen Komplementen „mit instrumentaler Note“ und solchen „mit komitativer Note“ (GDS 2145). Bei ersterem liegt eine „Metaphorisierung instrumentaler Vorstellungen im Zusammenhang abstrakter Gegenstände“ vor (GDS 2145); Beispielverben im Deutschen hierfür sind *mit etwas beeindrucken, belästigen, angeben*,

prahlen, blamieren, entschuldigen, bezeichnen, kennzeichnen, charakterisieren. Das Finnische zeigt hier als Zeichen dieser „instrumentalen Note“ den Adessiv. Als noch weiter fortgeschritten kann die Desemantisierung (und damit die Grammatikalisierung) von *mit* bei der zweiten Gruppe gelten:

Eine autonome semantische Funktion von *mit* ist bei folgender Gruppe kaum mehr erkennbar: *sich begnügen, sich abmühen, zu Rande kommen, sich abfinden, vergnügen, langweilen, vorliebnehmen, zufrieden, glücklich mit [...]*. Allenfalls die komitative Grundvorstellung eines [...] gleichzeitigen Vorhandenseins des durch die *mit*-Phrase bezeichneten Ereignisbeteiligten kann herangezogen werden. (GDS 2145)

Das Finnische zeigt denn in seiner Ausdruckswahl auch keinerlei Verbindung zur Komitativität: Die Komplemente dieser Verben erscheinen im Illativ (fi. *tottua johonkin* [ILL] ‘sich an etwas gewöhnen’, *tyytyä johonkin* [ILL] ‘sich mit etwas begnügen’). Die deutschen Entsprechungen zeigten noch in frnhd. Zeit Komplemente in genitivischer Form. Laut FISCHERS Angaben (1991: 292) überwog z.B. bei *sich gewöhnen* noch um 1600 mit 57,1% das Genitivobjekt, das Präpositionalobjekt hatte sich (zumindest in der Schriftlichkeit) mit 28,6% bei weitem noch nicht durchgesetzt (der Rest macht das Akkusativobjekt aus). Gängigste Präposition bei *sich gewöhnen* / mnd. *sik gewennen* ist aber seit jeher *zu* / mnd. *tô* und nicht *mit*; als Vorbild anzunehmen wäre aber ebenso gut *sich vertraut machen* / *vertraut sein mit etwas*. Prinzipiell ist die Wahl der Präpositionen im Deutschen im Frühneuhochdeutschen noch lange nicht gefestigt: In Verbindung mit *zufrieden* erscheint (neben dem Genitiv) ein buntes Gemisch aus verschiedenen Präpositionen (*an, auf, bei, in, mit*). Es erscheint deshalb fraglich, allein das Vorbild des deutschen *mit* als Ursache der Verdrängung des Illativs in diesen Fällen anzunehmen. Die Tatsache, dass es wieder der Illativ ist, der im Estnischen durch einen anderen Kasus verdrängt wurde, ist allerdings bemerkenswert. Möglicherweise hat die in den älteren Texten beobachtbare Vermeidung dieses Kasus durch die deutschen Schreiber die Ersetzung durch den Komitativ begünstigt; Müller verwendet den Illativ prinzipiell nur bei den frequentesten Wörtern wie *maha* ‘auf die Erde’, *taiwasse* ‘in den Himmel’.¹¹

¹¹ Ganz ähnlich wird die Situation für das Lettische beschrieben, auch hier sind komitative und instrumentale Funktionen in einem Marker (die Präposition *ar* ‘mit’)

(32) *hooplema* ‘prahlen’: *hoopleb tarkusega* [KOM] ‘er prahlt mit seiner Klugheit’ (WGR 551)

(33) *leevima* ‘gelinder, ruhiger werden’: *kiill laps leevib ka sellega* [KOM] ‘das Kind wird sich wohl auch an diese (neue Wärterin) gewöhnen’ (WWB 493)

(34) *leppima* ‘sich vertragen, sich zufrieden geben’: *piskuga leppima* [KOM] ‘mit Wenigem zufrieden sein’; *oma osaga* [KOM] *leppima* ‘sich in sein Los fügen, ergeben’ (WWB 488)

(35) *lõimema* ‘verbunden sein’: *need on enne teine teisega* [KOM] *lõimend* ‘die haben schon früher zusammengesteckt, miteinander zu schaffen gehabt’ (WWB 538)

(36) *õppima* ‘lernen, sich gewöhnen’: *ta õpib selle söömaga* [KOM] ‘er wird sich an dieses Futter gewöhnen’ (WWB 740/741)

(37) *panetama* ‘sich schicken in etwas, sich einleben’: *tööga* [KOM] *panetama* ‘eine Arbeit gewohnt werden’ (WWB 765)

(38) *passima* ‘passen’: *see passib jutuga* [KOM] ‘das stimmt mit der Erzählung überein’ (WGR 550)

(39) *väänama* ‘wenden, biegen’: *mis ta käänab ja väänab selle jutuga* [KOM] ‘was dreht und windet er sich mit dieser Geschichte (um nicht zu gestehen)’ (WWB 1335)

(40) *valima* ‘wählen’: *valib minuga* [KOM] ‘er passt zu mir’ (WWB 1298)

(41) *viluma* ‘sich gewöhnen’: *loomad on ära vilund selle kohaga* [KOM] ‘die Tiere haben sich eingelebt mit dieser Stelle’ (WWB 1362)

(42) *võrduma* ‘gewohnt sein’: *ma olen sellega* [KOM] *võrdund* ‘ich bin es gewohnt’ (WWB 1396)

zusammengefallen. Nach Stolz (1996) war das Lettische ebenso wie das Estnische und Samische von der ‘Germanisierung der Ostseesprachen’ betroffen. Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli (2001: 681) geben allerdings zu bedenken, dass die “weak morphological distinctiveness of the instrumental case” auch im Lettischen dieser Entwicklung förderlich gewesen sein könnte.

Noch einen Schritt weiter in der Grammatikalisierung geht das Deutsche mit dem Gebrauch von *mit* in Komplementen zu Phasenverben wie *beginnen*, *fortfahren*, *aufhören*. Auch bei Müller findet sich diese Verwendung des Komitativs: *Kolmandel on kz se meje tehl, eth nente Surnude v"lestousmeße kaas, v"ppris kauwa wibixe* 'Drittens ist auch das auf unserem Weg, dass es **mit der Auferstehung** der Toten sehr lange dauern würde' (Müller 31.5.2).

Bei einem Blick auf die anderen ostseefinnischen Sprachen fällt auf, dass zumindest im Wotischen und Livischen die Verwendung des Komitativs als Verbergänzung in Verbindung mit Verben der Bedeutung 'zufrieden sein mit etwas' und 'sich an etwas gewöhnen' ebenfalls geläufig ist: liv. *izànd_iz_ùo sieks* [KOM] *mi'eriG* 'der Herr war nicht damit zufrieden' (Kettunen 1938: 223), wot. *õõ seneka* [KOM] *kiüll, mitä sill on* 'sei mit dem zufrieden, was du hast' (VKS 2: 377), wot. *nōrik vēl_eb ehtinnü tuttInIs Imaz mehè taroka* [KOM] (Tsvetkov 1995: 367) 'die Braut hat sich noch nicht an das Haus ihres Mannes gewöhnt'. Eine Aussage, wie dies zu werten ist, erscheint schwierig. Möglich ist zweierlei: eine jeweils von den anderen ostseefinnischen Sprachen unabhängige Entwicklung, hervorgerufen durch den Einfluss des Deutschen, Russischen bzw. Lettischen, oder ein allen gemeinsamer Prozess, dessen Anfänge bis in die Zeit der ostseefinnischen Grundsprache zurückreichen und der in den Einzelsprachen schließlich zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen geführt hat. Letzteres kann selbstverständlich auch unter fremder Beeinflussung vonstatten gegangen sein. Angesichts der typologischen Ähnlichkeit aller Kontaktsprachen in dieser Hinsicht wären die sich gleichenden Resultate dann keine Überraschung.

6. Schlussbemerkung

An dieser Stelle soll ein zunächst vorläufiges Fazit gezogen werden: Die synchron feststellbaren Abweichungen der estnischen Rektionsmuster vom Finnischen sind nur partiell dem Sprachkontakt mit dem Deutschen zuzuschreiben. Für die häufigere Verwendung der äußeren Lokalkasus Allativ und Adessiv als Rektionskasus ist eine innersprachliche Erklärung vorzuziehen. Eine durch Sprachkontakt beeinflusste Ausbreitung des Komitativs hingegen lässt sich in Anbetracht der weitgehenden Parallelität zu Entwicklungen im Deutschen eher wahrscheinlich machen. Angesichts

der parallelen Entwicklungen in weiteren ostseefinnischen Sprachen ist eine monokausale – rein kontaktinduzierte – Entwicklung als Erklärungsmuster allerdings schwer zu rechtfertigen.

(„Teil II: Verbkomplemente in Form von Adpositionalphrasen“ folgt in der nächsten Ausgabe)

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Abkürzungen

ADE – ADESSIV, ahd. – althochdeutsch, ALL – ALLATIV, DAT – DATIV, dt. – deutsch, ELA – ELATIV, es. – estnisch, ESS – ESSIV, fi. – finnisch, frnhd. – frühneuhochdeutsch, GEN – GENITIV, ILL – ILLATIV, kar. – karelich, KOM – KOMITATIV, lüd. – lüdisch, mnd. – mittelniederdeutsch, nhd. – neuhochdeutsch, norddt. – norddeutsch, omd. – ostmitteldeutsch, oobd. – ostoberdeutsch, PAR – PARTITIV, TRA – TRANSLATIV, wot. – wotisch

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The Uses of Impersonals in Spoken Estonian¹

Abstract

This paper analyses impersonal constructions in spoken Estonian. The impersonal constructions found in two spoken corpora differing in levels of formality are examined and classified according to five readings of the implicit argument: universal, vague and specific existential, corporate and a future-hypothetical reading. The analysis focuses on the implicit impersonal actor referent, investigating differences in its interpretation as well as overt expressions of the implicit argument. We account for the diverse readings of the implicit actor as being derived through pragmatic means. The impersonal construction is taken to bear a unified semantics, which specifies only that the implicit argument has the default semantic features of human, plural, and actor. The argument receives its full interpretation through pragmatics and the surrounding discourse context.

1. Introduction

This paper examines the functions of the Estonian impersonal construction as used in spoken language. Cross-linguistic impersonal constructions have become an area of considerable attention in recent years (see, for instance, Siewierska 2008; Solstad & Lyngfelt 2006, for studies on various languages). The Estonian impersonal voice has also been included in cross-linguistic comparisons (e.g. Blevins 2003; Kaiser & Vihman 2007) and has attracted much attention in recent Estonian linguistics (e.g. Lindström 2010; Torn 2002, 2006a, 2006b; Torn-Leesik 2007, 2009; Vihman 2004; Viitso 2005). However, the research has not focussed on spoken data. In

¹ The names of the authors are in alphabetical order.

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this study, we investigate the use of impersonals in spoken language. Our analysis rests on the interpretation of the implicit impersonal actor referent, rather than the event denoted by the impersonal construction. We account for the diverse readings of the impersonal referent as taking place on the level of pragmatics; we take the impersonal construction to bear a unified semantics which gives the impersonal actor referent certain canonical semantic features but leaves it open to specification by the discourse context.

The paper investigates the use of the impersonal construction in two corpora of spoken language, one more informal than the other. The results support existing descriptions of the functions of the impersonal, with some key differences. Chief among these is the finding that the impersonal is used relatively often in spoken language for salient or identifiable (even identified) referents, in addition to its more canonical uses to refer to unidentified or generalised actors. In the cases where the referent is known, the impersonal cannot be seen to be employed to either mask the agent or generalise its referent. Rather, these uses seem to have various motivations, from echoing impersonal constructions used earlier in the discourse to politeness and stylistic nuances. Hence, the variation in readings of the impersonal actor arises not from the semantics of the construction, but rather from contextual effects and discourse pragmatics.

The paper first briefly introduces some background to the impersonal construction in Estonian and our approach in section 2 and describes the data examined in section 3. In section 4, the data are discussed and classified according to five readings of the implicit actor – universal, vague and specific existential, corporate, and hypothetical – as well as with respect to agentive phrases used with impersonals. Section 5 discusses the findings and concludes the paper.

2. Theoretical background

Descriptions of grammatical voice typically focus on the opposition between the active and passive voice, most likely due to the influence of English and other Indo-European languages (cf. Langacker & Munro 1975; Siewierska 1984). Another voice distinction, however, attested in Balto-Finnic, Celtic, some Slavic languages and elsewhere beyond Europe, is better described in terms of the opposition between personal and impersonal voice. Although passive and impersonal voice may appear similar in communicative function, in fact they are different constructions

with different morphosyntactic constraints. While the passive is a valency-reducing operation that demotes the subject of the active transitive clause, impersonalization merely constrains argument realization and does not affect the valency of the verb (see Blevins 2003; Torn-Leesik 2009). Moreover, impersonals can be formed from unaccusative verbs, which lack passive counterparts (see Perlmutter 1978).

The Estonian voice system includes both of these oppositions. The active impersonal (example 1a) takes as input verbs both transitives and intransitives, as well as modals and unaccusatives, unlike the personal passive (see Torn-Leesik 2007, 2009). The impersonal is often regarded as the more basic voice construction in Estonian (and in Finnic generally, Viitso 1998). The periphrastic “resultative” passive (1b), which can be formed only with transitive verbs, appears to be an innovation based on the participial passives of Indo-European languages (see Haspelmath 1990: 49; Vihman 2007: 169–170).

- (1) a. *Kadunud auto lei-ti kraavist.*²
 lost.APP car.NOM found-IMPERS.PST ditch.ELA
 ‘**They found** the lost car in the ditch.’ / ‘The lost car **was found** in the ditch.’
- b. *Auto on üles lei-tud.*
 car.NOM be.PRS.3 up found-PPP
 ‘The car **has been found**.’

The simple present and past impersonal are formed with verbal inflections (as in example 1a). The perfect forms of the impersonal paradigm are formed with the verb *olema* ‘be’ and the past passive participle, resulting in a formal overlap with the simple forms of the personal passive (as in 1b, a resultative passive). This isomorphism between the periphrastic elements of the two paradigms has led to disagreement about whether Estonian manifests two discrete voice constructions (e.g. Blevins 2003; Pihlak 1993; Rajandi 1999/1968; Torn 2002, 2006a, 2009; Vihman 2004), or a more general construction that subsumes both the impersonal and the personal passive (e.g. Erelt 1989; Erelt et al. 1993; Tauli 1980). We regard impersonals and passives as two distinct constructions,³ and this paper focuses only on the impersonal construction. In order to avoid ambiguity, we have taken as our object of scrutiny only synthetic impersonals, which

² *Postimees* 27.05.99.

³ Arguments explaining why we follow this approach can be found in e.g. Rajandi (1999/1968); Torn (2002, 2006a); Torn-Leesik (2009); Vihman (2004).

do not coincide with the periphrastic passive and hence belong uncontroversially to the impersonal paradigm.

The Estonian impersonal has no overt syntactic subject and is marked with distinct morphology, namely a synthetic verbal affix in the simple present and past. In order for a verb to be accessible for impersonalisation, it must have a minimum of one argument, and the highest argument must be able to refer to a human referent (Torn 2002). The object of the transitive impersonal verb is marked just as objects in other subjectless constructions are marked in Estonian, such as imperatives: partial objects remain partitive, whereas total objects take nominative case (Erelt et al. 1993; Rajandi 1999/1968). However, the nominative objects do not trigger verb agreement, and they take partitive case under negation; hence, the Estonian impersonal does not involve promotion to subject, despite a tradition of labelling the construction a passive (see Rajandi 1999/1968: 104–105).

The semantics of the Finnish impersonal have been explored by Shore (1988), whose analysis is also illuminating for the Estonian impersonal. She notes that the Finnish impersonal has a generalised exophoric referent. Setting up two semantic prototypes for the uses of the impersonal, Shore compares her Prototype I with the English use of the indefinite 3PL pronoun *they*. The actor has generalised reference and is plural in number. The scope of the indefinite actor referent can be delimited by location or temporal adverbs. This type is exemplified by examples such as (2a).

- (2) a. *Yleensä viete-tään viikonloput maalla.*
 generally spend-IMPERS.PRS weekends country.ADE
 ‘**People** generally **spend** the weekends in the country.’
- b. *Nigeriassa teh-tiin sotilasvallankaappaus.*
 Nigeria.INE do-IMPERS.PRS military.coup
 ‘A military coup **was carried out** in Nigeria.’

(Shore 1988: 164–165)

Shore’s Prototype II, exemplified in (2b), is more similar to the English agentless passive. The “indefinite” actor refers to a specific person or group who performs the action, but the identity of this actor is left unspecified. In this case, the actor “would not be interpreted as having generalised exophoric reference, but as referring to an unspecified group of people (...). As the participant is textually unimportant, its precise identity remains unspecified” (Shore 1988: 166).

This paper shows that these two prototypes can be found among typical examples of the Estonian impersonal as well. Contrary to textbook descriptions of the impersonals, however, the spoken language data also include a surprising number of impersonals which might be classified as Prototype II, but where the identity of the actor is in fact not unspecified, but entirely clear and specific to both discourse participants – sometimes even overtly stated. We discuss these in section 4, under specific existential referents. We argue that these distinctions are not in fact part of the semantics inherent to the impersonal construction, but rather they derive from the discourse context and the pragmatics involved in interpreting the impersonal. Both of Shore's prototypes, as well as the unexpected examples where the impersonal actor referent is known, are derived from a unified basic semantics associated with the impersonal, which is given different readings based on the discourse context and pragmatics.

The implicit argument associated with the Estonian impersonal also picks out a generalised exophoric referent, which has the default semantic properties of being human, plural, and agentive (Vihman 2004). The impersonal referent occupies an argument position without actually being available for cross-sentential anaphoric reference (see Kaiser & Vihman 2007). The referent of the impersonal implicit actor is unspecified and open to various interpretations. As the data presented in this paper show, the impersonal most commonly does not refer to a generalised, universal referent, but rather a referent with narrower scope. The impersonal actor referent, then, necessarily receives its more detailed content from the discourse context.

Discourse Representation Theory (e.g. Kamp & Reyle 1993) holds that semantic representations contain two types of information, discourse markers and predicative conditions. This distinction is useful in understanding the effect of impersonals in discourse: the impersonal referent bears certain semantic information but depends on the discourse context (or exophoric knowledge) for its full interpretation. Koenig & Mauner (2000) have shown that "a-definites" (French impersonal *on*, or indeed Estonian impersonal verb endings, see Kaiser & Vihman 2007) satisfy an argument position without introducing a discourse marker into the Discourse Representation Structure. Their argument is based on availability of the implicit argument for anaphoric reference: because "a-definites" do not introduce a discourse marker, the referent is unavailable for further reference, although the argument position is satisfied. This argument is also in line with our claim that the only semantic

content attached to the impersonal implicit argument is that its default reading is a generalised human actor. This actor receives different readings, however, which derive not from the impersonal construction itself but from the discourse surrounding it. Because the implicit argument referent is unspecified and not linked to a discourse marker, it is open to various types of readings. Koenig & Mauner discuss inferencing, the process which accommodates certain types of anaphoric reference. We see this inferencing taking part in most uses of the impersonal construction, where the preceding (and subsequent) discourse provides the semantic content of the implicit actor.

The discourse context and pragmatics provide the information for fleshing out that argument referent with more specific content or with the reading of a generalised, unspecified human group. Cabredo Hofherr (2003) has proposed a five-way distinction for readings of 3PL arbitrary pronouns. These include existential readings (specific, vague and inferred existential), a corporate reading and a universal reading. Her scheme reads the semantics directly from overt linguistic cues, whereas our data show a less exact mapping between structure and function.

However, we make use of the distinction between readings with existential, universal, and corporate actor referents, and subdivide existential impersonals into those with specific and vague actors. While the impersonal actor is semantically present in the sense that its argument slot is filled and unavailable for any other referent, its interpretation depends on the predicate, the broader discourse context and pragmatics.

3. Data

Data for the analysis were taken from two sources of spoken language: the Corpus of Spoken Estonian⁴ and the unedited minutes of the *Riigikogu*, or Estonian Parliamentary sittings.⁵ This choice was prompted by our aim of obtaining a representative sample of the use of impersonals from spoken language data and our interest in further comparing these data with written language data.

Minutes of the *Riigikogu* sittings, recorded by a stenographer but not edited, were chosen for analysis because the language used in them bears elements of both spontaneous spoken speech and more formal, written

⁴ <http://www.cl.ut.ee/suuline>

⁵ <http://www.riigikogu.ee/?op=steno&stcommand=calendar&year=2009&month=01>

Estonian. People appearing before the Parliament are often given the questions they will be asked in advance, and hence their answers are also often pre-prepared, and show signs of being closer in style to written language. However, the minutes also include spontaneous questions and answers. The language of the minutes is noticeably more formal in style than the data from the Corpus of Spoken Estonian, and it also represents institutionalised language and formal relationships, often including politically diplomatic repartee. The content of the minutes of the *Riigikogu* is also quite different from that of the spoken language corpus, affecting the context in which the impersonal constructions are used and, in turn, their readings.

We were also interested in the use of agentive phrases in spoken language. Here, too, the choice of two data sources, reflecting more and less formal speech, was important. As the optional expression of the agent has not previously been analysed in spoken Estonian (with the exception of Lindström & Tragel 2007, who examine adessive agents used with impersonals but not agentive expression more generally), we wished to determine to what extent the agentive phrases claimed to be used with impersonals in Estonian are restricted to written and formal registers. We expected the more formal *Riigikogu* sittings to contain more examples of agentive phrases than the spoken language corpus, especially agentive phrases using *poolt*, or *by*-phrases.

We analysed 117 transcribed everyday conversation files from the Corpus of Spoken Estonian. Most of the files contain dialogues and everyday conversations, but some monologues and interviews are also included. Altogether, this amounts to 113,516 lexemes in the Corpus of Spoken Estonian, in which we found 268 impersonals. The second source of data comes from the unedited minutes of the *Riigikogu* sittings of January 2009. The month of January was chosen at random. The file includes a total of 101 809 lexemes. A total of 623 impersonals were found in the *Riigikogu* minutes. Only synthetic forms of simple present and past-tense impersonals and their corresponding negative forms were included in the analysis. A summary of the data can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. Summary of Data Sources

	Spoken Corpus	<i>Riigikogu</i> minutes
Total number of lexemes	113,516	101,809
Total number of impersonals	268	623

4. Data analysis: Readings of impersonal constructions

This section discusses in turn each of the five readings which arise from the impersonals used in the data included in this study. The categorisation of impersonal predicates can be based on either the type of event (e.g. generic or episodic) or the referent of the actor of the predicate. Our categorisation rests on the interpretation of the impersonal actor referent. While certain associations of a particular reading with a particular tense, for instance, are evident (see Table 2, below), these remain but tendencies, not rules, and the readings cannot be related directly to any overt elements in the construction itself, but are, rather, derived from the context within which the impersonal construction is used. The centrality of the implicit actor referent and differences in its interpretation – including examples where the referent is identified and salient – belies the assumption that the sole function of the impersonal is to background the agent.

As can be seen from Table 2, the two sets of data present different distributions of the various readings of the impersonal. It is noteworthy that the total number of impersonals culled from the *Riigikogu* data is more than twice that of the spoken corpus data, and it is also important to note the overwhelming majority of corporate referents among the impersonals used in the *Riigikogu* minutes (amounting to three quarters of the total). The spoken corpus displays a more even distribution, with the most impersonals indicating vague existential referents (42.2%), but also including sizable groups of universal (19%) and corporate (27%) referents.

Also noteworthy is the relationship between present and past tenses, particularly in universal and existential categories. In the spoken data, the temporal relation has an effect on the interpretation, as universal impersonals are twice as likely to be expressed in present as past tense, whereas the reverse is true for existentials, with both vague and specific referents. This tendency, however, is not borne out by the *Riigikogu* data,

where both universals and existentials are much more frequently used in the present tense.

The final category of hypothetical referents also needs to be introduced here, as it has not been discussed in the literature. This category emerges in both datasets in a minority of examples which do not fit well in other categories. It comprises constructions which refer to future or *irrealis* events coded in the present tense but not referring to any potential referent, and so falling outside the category of vague referents whose existence is predicated with the impersonal construction. The hypothetical impersonals contain referents which are not left unidentified or backgrounded, but which are, rather, nonexistent.

Table 2. Analysis of impersonal forms in the two corpora

Reading of Impersonal Actor Ref.	Spoken Corpus						Riigikogu Minutes					
	Present		Past		Total	%	Present		Past		Total	%
	Aff	Neg	Aff	Neg			Aff	Neg	Aff	Neg		
Universal	31	4	14	2	51	19	21	1	6	0	28	4.5
Existential, Vague	35	6	66	6	113	42.2	55	8	30	2	95	15.2
Existential, Specific	7	0	14	0	21	7.8	11	10 ⁶	6	1	28	4.5
Corporate	38	3	31	0	72	26.9	279	25	153	7	464	74.5
Hypothetical	10	1			11	4.1	8	0			8	1.3
Total					268	100					623	100

4.1 Universal reading

Impersonal constructions can prompt a universal reading, applying to all referents within the relevant context. We use the term *universal* to represent a referent that picks out a maximally generalised referent, applying to *all x...*, *x* denoting human actors within the relevant context. The core features associated with the impersonal referent by virtue of the semantics of the construction are [+human], [+agentive], and [+plural] (Vihman 2004). Hence, the impersonal is well-suited for the universal interpretation, maximising the plurality and generalising to all humans within a specified domain. A typical usage of the impersonal cross-

⁶ The unusually high proportion of negatives to affirmatives in the existential specific category, in the *Riigikogu* data, is a result of question-answer pairs repeated throughout the minutes (e.g. example 23).

b. *aga`millest see tuleb, kas see tulene:b kodusest`kasvatusest vői*

elementaarset`viisakusest, et vastu-`vastutulijale öel-dakse
that passer-by.ALL say-IMPERS.PRS

kodurajoonis`tere näiteks
home-area.INE hello for.example

‘but what does it come from, does it come from upbringing or basic politeness, that **people say** hello to a passer-by in their neighbourhood for instance’

Universal generic impersonals are also used to describe a habit or custom that people follow. Here again, reference is made to a more general group of actors, where the scope of the actor referent is bounded by the context, either within the same sentence or in the discourse. The impersonal construction refers to a general human actor by default, and the interpretation of a universal actor is derived from the discourse context – often from a temporal or location adverbial, or else from the broader context, as in (3) above, where the implication of applying to all Americans comes from the discourse context beyond the impersonal clause. Universal impersonal constructions may describe current customs or traditions which people used to follow. These tend to delimit the domain of the referent with time adverbs such as *vanasti* or *ennemalt* ‘in the old days’. Descriptions of old customs are illustrated by example (4), in which the speaker talks about how people used to decorate Christmas trees, again not referring to any specific actor, but rather a generalised group from the past.

(4) *ennemalt ei old ju neid (.) niisuguseid kuuse`ehteid nagu`praegu on. (0.3)*

`siis pan-di kuuse külge nimodi =et eehe ((ohkab)) õige tilluksed
then put-IMPERS.PST fir-tree.GENon so that really tiny.PL

`õunad (0.5) ... sis pan-di vati (0.5) ee`vatti valget
apples.NOM then put-IMPERS.PST cotton.GEN cotton.PART white.PART

[vatti nagu oleks] lumi`sadand,
cotton.PART as be.COND snow.NOM rain.APP

‘in the old days there weren’t these kinds of Christmas tree ornaments like there are now. Back then **they put** like this, uh, (sighs) really tiny apples on the trees... then **they put** cotton, uh white cotton [cotton as if] snow had fallen,’

Impersonals with a universal, generic interpretation appear often in sayings and proverbs, which are seen as applying to everyone, as in example (5). Here the saying *vigadest õpitakse* ‘people learn from their mistakes’ is a

generalisation that is deemed to apply universally – a general truth, which in this particular example ought to apply to Eve.

- (5) *Eve`ise ka ei saa=`aru, (.) miks ta: `niimodi `tegi, miks selline (0.8) `hea `inimese \$ tunne talle järsku `peale tuli \$ ja ta selle raha `välja `andis, aga `vigadest*
but mistakes.ELA

`õpi-takse=ja ja tema \$ praegu siis arvatavasti `õpib
learn-IMPERS.PRS

‘Eve herself doesn’t understand why she acted like that, why such a good-person feeling came over her and she gave the money away, but **people learn** from their mistakes and and so now she’ll probably learn’

The spoken corpus also contains numerous utterances using the impersonal verbs *räägitakse* and *öeldakse* ‘it is said / people say’. These verbs often seem to be used in order to evoke a universal reading, even where perhaps only a few people may have said what is reported. As the identity of the one having reported the statement is not important – or is intentionally veiled – the impersonal is a convenient way to convey a general belief without directly claiming that it is general. This is illustrated by example (6):

- (6) *`see mh (0.4) aa (0.6) täendab `Raudla (0.4) räägi-takse ju=et (0.4) pidi: (.)*
say-IMPERS.PRS

`esimese kooli `direktoriks saama.

‘this, mh, uh I mean Raudla, **they say**, was supposed to become the first school director.’

In the *Riigikogu* minutes we found few examples of impersonals with universal interpretations. Of the 623 impersonal verbs analysed in the *Riigikogu* data, only 28 instances contained a clearly universal referent. This is closely linked to the political issues under discussion and the action-oriented content of the minutes. Impersonal constructions in the minutes include (7), an example of a core, wide-scope impersonal referent with intended application to the whole culture, and example (8), again with the impersonal verb *öeldakse*, to introduce a proverb.

- (7) *Meid on maast-madalast, põlvest-põlve õpeta-tud,*
et kõigi pereliikmete vajadustega arvesta-takse, et
 that all.GEN family-members.GEN needs.COM consider-IMPERS.PRS that
hooli-takse nende eest, kes abi vajavad, hooli-takse
 care-IMPERS.PRS 3PL.GEN for who help.PART need.PRS.3PL care-IMPERS.PRS
perekonna nõrgemate liikmete eest.
 family.GEN weaker.PL.GEN members.GEN for
 ‘We’ve been taught from the very beginning, from generation to generation, that the needs of all members of the family **are considered**, that **people care** for those who need help, **people care** for the weaker members of the family.’
- (8) *Teadupärast öel-dakse seda, et kapten lahku*
 as.we.know say-IMPERS.PRS this.PART that captain.NOM leave.PRS.3SG
laevalt viimasena.
 ship.ABL last.ESS
 ‘As we know, **they say** that the captain is the last to leave the ship.’

The impersonals with universal interpretation do not dominate the data from either source, despite seeming to capitalise so well on the semantic features of the impersonal.

4.2 Existential readings

Across all the spoken data examined here, by far the most common use of the impersonal gives rise to an existential interpretation. Indeed, the existential category was also the category which accommodated most unclear cases: where universal readings are ruled out, the impersonal referent can usually be understood as referring to a smaller unidentified group of actors. *Existential* here implies a referent with narrower scope than the universal reading. The existential implicit argument can be paraphrased with existential quantification, although this is only truth-conditionally adequate, not taking into account the implicit argument’s actual contribution to discourse. The existential examples do not imply maximally broad scope nor generalised reference, referring to a smaller group or even singular individuals. The [+plural] feature usually applies, but with a narrow-scope referent. A surprising number of examples, however, override even the [+plural] feature. In those cases, there must be another motivation for the use of the impersonal, as a singular referent is a

Pihlak 1993), this is a crucial piece of evidence that the function of the impersonal, at least in spoken Estonian, is broader than has been assumed. In this section, we examine both the vague and specific impersonals.

Corporate referents comprise a final category which, at least in part, belongs under the existential umbrella in its broadest sense, in that they refer to a corporate actor that is identifiable and not universal (e.g. a particular company, a government committee, or a generalised group such as shopkeepers). We devote a separate section (4.3 below) to the corporate reading.

4.2.1 Vague existential referents

The cases of vague referents include those where the speaker does not know the identity of the actor as well as those where the speaker knows the identity and leaves it unspecified – whether because of relevance or politeness considerations. Whatever the motivation, the identity of the impersonal referent is not recoverable from the discourse, nor is it intended to be resolved.

In this section, we examine examples of vague existential impersonals from our data. In the spoken language corpus, we classified 113 impersonal examples as vague existential, proportionally far more than any other category (42%). In the *Riigikogu* minutes, there were proportionally fewer vague existentials, 95 instances, or 15%.

Example (9a–b) shows a series of impersonal verbs used within one narrative. The first one (a) is temporally unanchored, in the present tense, and refers to a generalised event type with a vague actor referent; the verbs in (b) all refer to a specific event, introduced by the initial temporal word *suvel* ‘in the summer’, and are in the past tense. Note that no specific actor referent exists here, as the identity of the actor is unknown.

- (9) a. *on* `sissemurdmisi= ja (.) `väljastpoolt **lõhu-takse** *mõnikord*
 be.PRS.3 break-ins.PART and from.outside break-IMPERS.PRS sometimes
 =*mõnikord* `haknad *ära*.
 sometimes windows.NOM away
 ‘there are break-ins and sometimes **they break** windows from the outside.’

- b. *alles`suvel siin käi-di mul korteris`sees=ja*
 just summer.ADE here go-IMPERS.PST 1SG.ADE apartment.INE in
 (0.5) *ku ma`remonti tegin, (0.8)käi-di`sees=ja: (0.5) kõige*
 go-IMPERS.PRS in
`hämmastavam oli`see et ei puudu-tud¹⁰ =õõ (1.2) mitte`midagi:
 that not touch-PPP not something
kodu`tehnikast ei: triik`raudasid=ega ega`kosmeetikat mitte`midagi,
ära ainult`varasta-ti minu`seelikud= ja: (2.2) ja= sis
 away only steal-IMPERS.PST my skirts.NOM and and then
mu elukaaslasel ühed(.)\$`lühikesed`püksid
 my partner.ADE one.PL short.PL trousers.NOM

‘just this summer my apartment **was entered** when I was refurbishing, **they entered** and the most shocking was that **they didn’t touch** anything: of the household appliances, not irons, nor cosmetics, nothing, only **they stole** my skirts and and then a pair of my partner’s shorts’

Example (10) contains vague existentials referring to actors that are not identified, because they are not known to the speaker, inconvenient to mention (not easily identifiable), or irrelevant to the discourse.

- (10) a. *noh`päris kummitused. ega se Transil- (.)`Transilvaanias või kuskohas se oli,*
see mõel-di`välja ju. ja see krahv [`Draakula (seal) on`lihtsalt mingi:
 this think-IMPERS.PST out
`vend.]
 ‘well real ghosts. in Transylvania or wherever it was, that **was made up** and that count Dracula (there) is just some guy.’
- b. *`Aabram`abiellus (.)`teist=korda`uuesti (1.5) ja (1.0) nad`surid (.) mõlemad*
ühel`ööl. (1.2)`lapsed`jaota-ti (.) küla= päle`laili, (1.0)
 children.NOM divide-IMPERS.PST village on.ALL around
`enamus neist said endale`uued`nimed, (1.5)`Eljale`an-ti`üks
 Elja.ALL give-IMPERS.PST one
`laps,
 child.NOM

¹⁰ The negative past impersonal is formed with the negative word *ei* ‘not’ and the past passive participle.

‘Aabram got married again for the second time and they both died in one night. the children **were distributed** around the village, most of them got new names, **they gave** Elja a child.’

In the *Riigikogu* minutes, 95 of the impersonal constructions analysed give rise to readings with vague existential referents. Example (11) refers to a group of people who may have sent incomplete or incorrect documents to the Pension Insurance Agency, without identifying these people. In example (12), Prime Minister Andrus Ansip describes the reactions of the media (the unidentified impersonal actor) to his words at a press conference.

- (11) *Kas viivitus on tingitud sellepärast, et dokumendid, mis esita-ti*
that documents.NOM which submit-IMPERS.PST

pensionikindlustusametisse olid vigased?
pension.insurance.agency.ILL be.PST.3PL faulty.PL

‘Does the delay result from the documents, which **were submitted** to the Pension Insurance Agency, being faulty?’

- (12) *Kui mina kolm aastat tagasi pressikonverentsil rääkisin sellest, et vabaturumajanduse tingimustes on kinnisvara krahh möödapääsmatu ja paratamatu, siis pee-ti*
then consider-IMPERS.PST

mind tulnukaks. Ega mind väga ei usu-tud, küsi-ti,
1SG.PART alien.TRANS and.not 1SG.PART very not believe-PPP ask-IMPERS.PST

miks ta järsku sellest räägib.
why 3SG suddenly this.ELA talk.PRS.3SG

‘Three years ago, when I spoke at a press conference about a real estate crash being unavoidable and inevitable in free market conditions, then I **was considered** an alien. I **was not** really **believed**, **they asked** why is he suddenly talking about that.’

While the reference in examples (11–12) can be interpreted as implying several unspecified actors, it can also be read as pointing to one person whose identity is unclear. This is illustrated more clearly in example (13), which refers to a telephone conversation, implying that the impersonal referent is one person on the other end of the line.

(13) *Küsis, et miks ei ole näiteks Kuressaares kedagi vastamas,*

siis väga nipsakalt vasta-ti teisel pool toru otsas,
 then very curtly answer-IMPERS.PST other.ADE side on.the.phone

et selleks ei peagi nad seal vastama, et nad saaksid tööd teha.

‘[S/he] asked why for example there’s no one answering in Kuressaare, then **they answered** very curtly on the other end of the line, that they don’t have to answer in order to do their job.’

As Shore (1988) and others have shown, the implicit impersonal arguments (where they are not further specified in the text) receive their referent interpretation exophorically. Even the implicit arguments in two impersonals in successive clauses do not necessarily pick out the same referent, as shown in example (14). Each impersonal stands on its own, and introduces no discourse marker, hence cannot be semantically equated with another. There is no contradiction in using two successive impersonals which point to different referents. This is most evident with existential impersonals, where the referents do not overlap as they may seem to do with universal, generalised actors.

(14) *`nõugude ajal ehita-ti mingi: `uus maja, (.)*
 Soviet time.ADE build-IMPERS.PST some new.NOM house.NOM

nüüd=nüüd `hiljuti teh-ti mingi `uus `juurdeehitus. (0.5)
 now now recently make-IMPERS.PST some new.NOM addition.NOM

‘during Soviet times some new house **was built**, now recently an addition **was made**.’

4.2.2 Specific existential referents

Impersonal constructions with specific and identifiable referents are the least expected, considering the importance which has been placed on the agent-demoting function of impersonals in the literature. The spoken data analysed here, however, contain a total of 49 impersonal constructions which unquestionably refer to specific referents. These raise the question of why the speakers use impersonals in these contexts despite the fact that the referent is salient or recoverable, sometimes present – even, on occasion, one of the discourse participants. Because our data present a nontrivial number of impersonals with referents with specific semantic content recoverable from the context (7.8% of the spoken corpus impersonals,

4.5% of those from the *Riigikogu* minutes), we classify these separately as specific existential impersonals.

Some examples of specific existentials from the Corpus of Spoken Estonian are given below. The actor referent in (15a) is clearly identifiable to all discourse participants – indeed, the impersonal refers to a person who is present, among the hearers, and has just committed the act referred to in the utterance. The remark seems to use the impersonal for dramatic effect, to achieve a distancing, commentator-like position with respect to the event described. The referent in (15b) is identified in the immediately preceding discourse, marked in the example in bold, with no italics. The impersonal here is not existential-presentational, and it is not the actor referent but the predicate itself which is in focus and presents new information.

- (15) a. [vaadake kus mul **visa-ti** praegu `jootraha
look.IMP.2PL where 1SG.ADE throw-IMPERS.PST now tip

allatulemise eest. (.)
coming.down for

‘look how I **was thrown** a tip just now for coming downstairs.’

- b. *ja=sis lugesin head artiklit.* (.) \$ *vist Pere ja Kodu ajakirjast, kus oli ka \$* (.)

*`loed ja noh nagu täielik `idüll tundub kõik, et **perel** on mingisugune oma*

`maja=ja (.) *ja tuleb välja=et* (.) *`iga reede **teh-akse***
every Friday do-IMPERS.PRS

`suurkoristus ja ja `mees ka koristab [jõle `hoolega
big.clean-up.NOM and and man.NOM also clean.PRS.3SG awful care.COM

ja kõik on väga ilus
and all.NOM be.PRS.3 very beautiful

‘and then I read a good article from the magazine Family and Home, I think, where you read and it just seems like a complete idyll, where **the family** has their own house and it turns out that every Friday **they do** a big clean-up and and the man also cleans up awfully carefully and everything’s so nice’

Both examples raise the question of why the speakers choose an impersonal construction. In (15a), the impersonal creates a humorous, dramatic effect. In (15b), immediately after introducing a new discourse referent *pere* ‘family’, the speaker suppresses the identity of that same referent with the impersonal. If not for suppressing the actor, then what is the function here of the impersonal? In this example, it seems the impersonal serves to

highlight the generalisation, not in this case to a broader group of people, but rather to a weekly routine that takes place in this family every Friday. We will return to the question of referents already present in the immediately preceding discourse in section 4.2.2.1. However, the discourse in example (15b) continues with the following (16), which describes a particular event in the course of this routine.

- (16) *siuke probleem on= et, no jõu-takse: riidekapi*
 such problem.NOM be.PRS.3 that well reach-IMPERS.PRS wardrobe
koristamiseni=ja=sis naine avastab et kule et sul on sin umbes kolgend kaks
 clean-up.TERM
siidsärki, mida sa ei `kanna, (.) need on `moest läind, ja igasugused imelikud=et
äkki me viskaksime nad `ära=või paneks `kaltsuks või: (.) midagi sellist.

‘so the problem is, well **they arrive** at the wardrobe clean-up and then the woman discovers that hey, you have about thirty silk shirts here that you don’t wear, they’re out of fashion, and all kinds of weird ones and maybe we could throw these away or make rags out of them or something’

Here the use of the impersonal may come from parallelism with the preceding impersonal rather than any canonical impersonal function. This does not appear to describe a routine in itself, but merely continues the already established usage of the impersonal construction in the text.¹¹

Example (17) provides counter-evidence to the notion that impersonals exclude specific, first and second-person discourse participants (see also Helasvuo 2006). In this dialogue, the two participants (E and P) discuss what to do with the baby, who is also present (T), when they go to a school show. E then turns and reports to the baby that s/he is “being talked about”, i.e. that the speakers themselves are talking about the baby (i.e. *sinust räägitakse* ‘one is speaking about you’ can be paraphrased as ‘we are speaking about you’):¹²

¹¹ Note, too, that the impersonal verb in (16) is unaccusative. As discussed in Blevins (2003), Torn (2002, 2006a), Torn-Leesik (2009), and Vihman (2004), the Estonian impersonal takes unaccusative verbs, and here we can see that unaccusative impersonals occur in naturally occurring spoken language. This has been appealed to as one argument against analysing the Estonian impersonal as a passive.

¹² This is an example of “motherese”, as pointed out by a reviewer. We note that impersonals are often used in the same way the 1PL forms may be used in English motherese (e.g. *We’re getting a little sleepy, aren’t we?*). Nevertheless, this impersonal

- (17) E: *a mis me selle `selliga teeme. (0.3)*
 ‘but what’ll we do with this guy.’
- P: *midagi. (0.3) \$ võtame `kaasa. \$ (0.7)*
 ‘nothing. we’ll take him along.’
- T: *mqm*
- P: *laseme `lava peale. (2.2) mhemhe (1.2)*
 ‘we’ll let him go up on the stage. haha’
- E: *jaa, `sinust räägi-takse . (4.4)*
 yes 2SG.ELA talk-IMPERS.PRS
 ‘yes, **one is talking** about you.’

The examples of impersonals with existential interpretation provide plenty of referents that are not only specific, but also singular, contrary to the strong expectation that impersonals tend to be plural. The following is an example of a presumably singular impersonal actor referent.

- (18) *`onkel (.) oli `ka (.) ä bussipeatuses. (.) rohkem rahvast ei olnud. mina `mõtlen seal omi `mõtteid=ja (.) vaatan et mingisugune (.) `auto peatub, (.) ei tee sellest autost `väljagi, mutkui: seisan=edasi. (.) siis see (.) `onkel küsib minu käest et=õ (.) kas `teid hõiga-takse. (.)*
 Q 2PL.PART yell-IMPERS.PRS
- mina vaatan, ei sellist autot ma (.) `küll ei tea, ühtegi \$ tuttavat sellisega ei `sõida. \$ (0.5) ütlesin et `vaevalt. (0.5) tema vaatas mind väga `kahtlustavalt. [noh (.) ja (.)] ja= siss teh-ti sealit `kõvemat häält.*
 and and then make-IMPERS.PST there.ELA louder.PART noise.PART
- (.) ja=siis tuli=välja=et hoopis seda meest `ennast*
 that.PART man.PART himself.PART
- hõiga-ti.***
 yell-IMPERS.PST

‘there was an uncle at the bus stop, there weren’t any other people. I’m there thinking my own thoughts and I see some car stop and don’t pay any attention to it, just keep standing there and then the uncle asks me **are you being called**. I look and see that I sure don’t know any car like that, I don’t know anyone who drives a car like that. I said hardly. He looked at me very suspiciously. well and then **they made** a louder noise and then it turned out the man himself **was being yelled at**.’

use should be classified as a specific referent, as Estonian does not otherwise employ impersonal verb forms with a 1PL meaning, unlike Finnish.

In (19), the actor refers to a small possible set of people. Indeed, (19) may be an example of discretion, wherein the impersonal is used to avoid overt self-reference, or it may be a rhetorical device in this reported speech for exaggerating the nerviness of the original questioner, who arrives and immediately asks whether s/he will be fed:

- (19) *Sis ta küsis kohe väga resoluutseltet noh kas süia ka ikka*
 then 3SG ask.PST.3SGright very resolutely that well Q food also still

ant-akse

give-IMPERS.PRS

‘Then s/he asked very resolutely: well, **will food also be given**’

The *Riigikogu* minutes also contain examples of existential impersonals with specific referents (28 instances altogether). In example (20), Member of Parliament Marek Strandberg talks about a survey conducted by Georg Tamm. While in the first sentence he specifies the person who conducted the survey, Strandberg subsequently switches to the impersonal form when describing how the survey was carried out. The use of the impersonal here leads the hearer to assume that Georg Tamm is not the only one who questioned the respondents, but that he led a group conducting the survey.

- (20) *Kunagi aastate eest Tallinna Ülikoolis ühte olulist uuringut tehes selline
 sotsioloog nagu Georg Tamm tuvastas väga huvitava asja.*

Kui küsitle-ti ettevõtjaid ja küsitle-ti inimesi
 when survey-IMPERS.PST entrepreneurs.PART and survey-IMPERS.PST people.PART

sel teemal, et kas nad on valmis olema säästlikud
 this.ADE topic.ADE

*oma tehnoloogiavalikutes jne, jne, tuli välja üks oluline kriteerium ja nimelt see,
 et kõik olid nad seda valmis, kuid ainult ühel juhul – kui kõigile kehtivad samad
 reeglid.*

‘One time years ago while conducting an important study a sociologist by the name of Georg Tamm discovered a very interesting thing. When entrepreneurs **were surveyed** and people **were surveyed** on the topic of whether they were ready to economise in their technological choices, etc., etc., an interesting criterion came out, namely that everyone was ready for it, but only on one condition – that the same rules apply to everyone.’

In examples (21–22) the impersonal form clearly refers to a specific person. While in (21) the Prime Minister uses the impersonal to refer specifically to Toomas Varek, the Member of Parliament who put the questions to the Prime Minister, in (22) MP Vilja Savisaar clearly refers to the Speaker Ene Ergma, who has the authority to allocate time to Members of Parliament to ask questions.

- (21) *Head arupärijad! Kuna küsimused loe-ti kõik ette,*
 dear.PL questioners.NOM since questions.NOM read-IMPERS.PST all aloud
siis ei ole mul mingit tarvidust neid uuesti kordama
 then not be 1SG.ADE any.PART need.PART these.PART again repeat.INF
hakata.
 begin.INF

‘Dear questioners! Because all the questions **were read** out loud, there is no need for me to repeat them again.’

- (22) Ergma: *Head kolleegid! Palun üks küsimus korraga! Ja palun nüüd küsimus, kolleeg Vilja Savisaar!*

‘Dear colleagues! One question at a time, please! And now your question please, colleague Vilja Savisaar!’

- Savisaar: *Kas mulle aega ka an-takse või?*
 Q 1SG.ALL time.PART also give-IMPERS.PRS or

‘**Will I be given** time as well?’

- Ergma: *An-takse, an-takse! Palun uuesti, Vilja Savisaar.*
 give-IMPERS.PRS give-IMPERS.PRS

‘**One gives / you will be given** time! Again, please, Vilja Savisaar.’

Example (22) is particularly curious, in that Speaker Ergma picks up on the impersonal and echoes it, in effect using the impersonal to refer to none other than herself. The use of impersonal forms in these examples can be regarded as a politeness strategy. The speakers do not want to refer to their interlocutors (let alone themselves) directly and hence opt for the impersonal form, which satisfies an argument slot whose referent must be filled through interpretation of the context on the part of the hearer. Referring to Brown and Levinson (1978), Hakulinen (1987) addresses the notion that languages differ in politeness strategies regarding reference to the addressee. While in English it is polite to mention the name of the addressee, the opposite strategy is used in Finnish (Hakulinen 1987: 142)

and Estonian (Erelt 1990, Lindström 2010). Hakulinen claims that avoiding explicit reference to human agents is very common in Finnish and one of these avoidance strategies is the use of the Finnish “impersonal passive” construction. Moreover, she claims that “one of the motivations behind the development of an impersonal passive has been politeness: to avoid referring to the participants too explicitly when uttering a face-threatening act” (1987: 146). Lindström (2010) has recently analysed various politeness strategies used in Estonian to avoid reference to the participants as well, including the impersonal. The following example (23) again shows use of the impersonal to refer to second-person discourse participants, presumably an effect of both the formal register used in the Parliament sittings and more generally used politeness strategies.

- (23) *Kas soovi-takse avada läbirääkimisi? Läbirääkimisi*
 Q wish-IMPERS.PRS open.INF negotiations.PART negotiations.PART
*avada ei soovi-ta*¹³
 open.INF not wish-IMPERS
 ‘Does one wish to open negotiations? No one wishes to open negotiations’

4.2.2.1 Further specifying the actor: Overt mention

Contrary to what is commonly taken to be the canonical function of the Estonian impersonal, the corpus reveals a number of examples of the impersonal used where the referent is not only salient or known to both speaker and hearer, but even occurs with antecedent pronouns or NPs in the immediately adjoining discourse. Here we examine some further examples which are not in accordance with the prototypical descriptions of impersonal constructions as actor-suppressing or backgrounding devices.

The following examples all have overt reference to the actor in the discourse preceding the impersonal construction. The impersonal merely recodes that known and salient referent. Hence these are all examples of specific existential referents. Example (24) shows a 3SG pronoun recoded in the subsequent turn with an impersonal; (25) contains reference to two people by name, referred to in the subsequent clause by impersonal morphology.

¹³ The negative present impersonal is formed with the negative *ei* ‘not’ and the impersonal stem ending in *-ta*.

- (24) M: *mis ta kirjutab seal.* (0.8)
 what 3SG write.PRS.3SG there
 ‘what does **he** write there.’
- K: *kultuuril on `eeslikõrvad.* (.) ***kirjuta-takse*** (2.0)
 culture.ADE be.PRS.3 donkey’s.ears.NOM write-IMPERS.PRS
 ‘culture has donkey’s ears (.) **is written**’
- M: ((*loeb ajalehest*)) ***Ka:rho Funk.*** (.)
 ‘((reading from the newspaper)) **Karlo Funk** [a journalist].’
- (25) *ja= sis* (.) ***Heiki*** *ja* ***Olev*** *ja=tantsivad* *`puntratantsu.* (.)
 and then Heiki and Olev and dance.PRS.3PL huddle.dance.PART
loomulikult sis ***haara-ti*** *mind* *`ka* *ja= sis* (.) *no=* *`keegi*
 naturally then grab-IMPERS.PST 1SG.PART also and then well someone
peab *ju* *`nalja* *tegema*
 must.PRS.3SG well joke.PART make-INF
 ‘and then **Heiki and Olev** and they’re dancing a huddle dance naturally then **they grabbed** me too and then well someone has to be funny’

In (25), the shift from personal reference with proper names to impersonal reference is also accompanied by a shift in tense, from present to past. What seems to have invoked the use of the impersonal here is the participation of the narrator; the impersonal has the effect of distancing the event from the speaker, although the narrator is not the actor, but rather the undergoer, coded as a direct object.

The examples in (26) show a personal verb (shown without italics) followed by an impersonal verb (in bold), sharing the same actor referent. (26a) involves self-correction or interruption in the move from a personal to impersonal verb form, whereas in (26b), the shift from a first person plural verb (no italics, *läksime* ‘we went’) to impersonal (*[h]akati* ‘one started/it was begun’) is more subtle. Here the shift seems to result from the speaker’s desire to remove him or herself from the event described, which evolved into drunken revelry.

- (26) a. *lähed* *välja`käiku* *no* *`ükski asi* *ei* *`seisa.* (.) *panime*
 go.PRS.2SG outhouse.ILL well one thing not stand put.PST.1PL
`uued *noh* *uued* *`kaaned* ***pan-di.*** *`minema* *vii-di.*
 new.PL well new.PL lids.NOM put-IMPERS.PST away take-IMPERS.PST
 ‘you go to the outhouse, well not one thing is standing up, *we put* new, well, new lids **were put.** they were taken away.’

- b. *s=läksime `koju. (0.5) sis **aka-ti** `tähistama seda, (0.8)*
 go.PST.1PL home then start-IMPERS.PST celebrate.INF that
ja=s=`Pohlakas=sai mingid ee ekspeditsiooni `rahad (.) ja `selle eest ta=ostis
`puhtalt `viina=noh. (...) ((lauanõude kolin, köhatust)) sis nad (.) kammisid
ennast nii `segi=ja

‘then we went home then **one started** to celebrate it and then Pohlakas got some expedition funds and he just bought vodka with the money, well ((sounds of dishes clattering, a cough)) then they got drunk and’

It is also not uncommon in the spoken language data to find specifications of the impersonal referent following the use of impersonals. In (27), the topic of discussion is the temperature, and how cold it has to be (‘20 degrees below zero’) for a school event to be cancelled. The impersonal may be intended to be read with a corporate meaning (i.e. ‘school officials said’), but when the mother (E) asks for identification of the impersonal actor, then P specifies the actor with a singular referent, ‘the teacher’ (in bold).

- (27) P: *`kaks`kiimmend `öel-di.= ((veendunult))*
 twenty say-IMPERS.PST
 ‘twenty **it was said.** ((with conviction))’

E: *= `kes `ütles. ((nõudlikult))*
 ‘who said. ((demandingly))’ (1.1)

- P: *`õpetaja `ütles.= ((veendunult))*
 teacher.NOM say.PST.3SG
 ‘**the teacher** said. ((with conviction))’

In (28), however, no specification is asked for, yet the actor is identified nevertheless. In this example, it seems that the impersonal is used as convenient shorthand where the actor is not judged to be relevant at first. The effect of what was said is judged to be more important than who said it, and the speaker may also be unsure about who said it. However, as this involves blaming someone for having said something wrong, the speaker eventually feels the need to specify (adding the hesitant ‘probably’), again producing a singular actor (‘the coach’, in bold) for the previously impersonal referent.

- (28) A: \$ ehhei \$ (.) `ei, [seal oli vist mingi niuke] noh
 no no there be.PST.3SG probably some kind well
 `rattaülekande, (.) noh `see, (1.0) talle **öel-di** `valesti, (.)
 bike.drivetrain well this 3SG.ALL tell-IMPERS.PST wrong
 ‘no there was some kind of a bike drivetrain but well he **was told** wrong.’

M: [(---)]

A: selle (1.5) kellele ta `kaotas, (.)
 ‘the one he lost to,’

M: `ameeriklasele [niikuinii.]
 ‘an American of course.’

A: [nono] ameeriklasele jah, sellele `Jangile=et, (0.5) et ee (3.0) noh kuidagi
 mingi ratta selle ee ketiülekande ee `valeinfo oli noh.
 ‘well, yeah, an American, to that Jang that uh, well somehow there was some
 bike – uh chain transfer, um, and it was the wrong information.’

M: *mhmh*

A: et **öel-di** talle `ühtepidi, aga tegelikult oli
 that tell-IMPERS.PST 3SG.ALL one.way but actually be.PST.3SG
 `teistpidi, ja=sis=ta (1.0) ee noh ei suutnud ei `saanud enam ü- ümber (.)
 another.way
 `orienteeruda=noh [liiga vähe] `aega oli.

‘he **was told** one thing but actually it was the other way around and then well
 he wasn’t able to – he couldn’t reorient himself, there was too little time.’

M: [*mhmh*] *hehe*

A: `sõidu ajal **öel-di** talle seda, noh `treener
 drive.GEN during tell-IMPERS.PST 3SG.ALL this.PART well coach.NOM
 ütles vist, ta (.) `rääkis kuskil= vä.
 tell.PST.3SG probably 3SG say.PST.3SG somewhere or
 ‘during the race **he was told** that, well, **the coach** I think said somewhere,
 or.’

Finding a number of specific impersonal referents among the examples culled from spoken data, we must reexamine what the impersonal construction is used for. Certainly impersonalisation, or backgrounding the actor, remains an important motivating factor, but the impersonal seems to have other pragmatic effects as well, such as distancing the speaker from the event (25, 26b), drawing attention to some unexpected element in a

situation (15a, 19), and framing the utterance in a pragmatically marked way (17, 22).

4.3 Corporate readings

Another frequent use of impersonal constructions is to give rise to a corporate reading.¹⁴ The corporate reading applies when the impersonal referent is a socially designated group of people, such as the government, committees, or institutions and authorities such as the school, the police, and others. Utterances with corporate readings form a type of sub-class of existentials, yet they form a large group distinct from either specific or vague referent existentials. In most cases, if not explicitly expressed, the discourse context makes the corporate referent clear and distinguishable from ordinary specific and vague referents; alternatively, the corporate impersonal is used when the exact identity or name of institutional agents is not known or not considered relevant, or indeed when the agents involved in some institutional action are too diverse and distant for the speakers to track. In the spoken language corpus, we found 72 instances of corporate impersonals, compared to a very high proportion of corporate impersonals in the minutes of the *Riigikogu* (a total of 464 instances), due to stylistic and content factors we discuss below. The identity of corporate referents is often easy to identify, but it is not usually overtly mentioned.

Examples (29–30) illustrate sentences with corporate readings from the spoken corpus. In example (29) the speaker refers to the Ministry of Education, which issues education certificates, and in example (30) to the school authorities who made it possible for teachers to attend psychology courses. In both examples a reference to the corporate body (*ministeerium* and *kool*) appears either in the same clause as the impersonal, as in (29), or in the subsequent clause, as in (30), which rules out a vague reading of the impersonal referent.

¹⁴ It is noteworthy that the *poolt* agentive phrases in written Estonian impersonal sentences often receive a corporate reading (see Torn 2006b).

- (29) A: [*@ MIS `VAHE= ON `HARIJDUSE `TASEMEL KUI `PABER*
 what difference be.PRS.3 education.GEN level.ADE if paper.NOM
 ``*SAADE-TAKSE MINISTEERIUMIST.@=)*
 send-IMPERS.PRS ministry.ELA
 ‘what difference does the level of education make if the paper **is sent** from **the ministry**.’
- (30) *meile vői- õpetajatele võimalda-ti minna (.)*
 1PL.ALL or teachers.ALL enable-IMPERS.PST go.INF
psühholoogiakursustele kahepäevastele kool maksis selle
 psychology.courses.ALL two-day.PL.ALL school.NOM pay.PST.3SG this
`kinni= ja.
 for and
 ‘**it was made possible** for us – or teachers – to attend two-day psychology courses, **the school** paid for it and.’

Examples in which no explicit reference is made to the designated actor referent are more commonly attested. For instance, in example (31) speakers discuss student loans and benefits in Finland and Estonia but do not mention who releases the loans and disburses the benefits (and most likely could not name the responsible bodies). It is usually possible to infer a probable referent of the corresponding impersonal actor from the context or real-world knowledge. These utterances cannot be attributed a universal meaning because the use of impersonal forms here does not imply ‘everyone/someone does something’ but rather that there are certain designated bodies with the authority to do something; the procedure is in place, and it is irrelevant who is formally responsible.

- (31) E: =*Soomes ja igal=`pool an-takse üliõpilastele*
 Finland.INE and everywhere.ADE give-IMPERS.PRS students.ALL
`soodustusi ja `stipendiumeid maks-takse, (0.5)
 benefits.PART and stipends.PART pay-IMPERS.PRS
 ‘in Finland and everywhere **they give** benefits to students and **they pay** stipends.’
- M: *ja `meil ei maks-ta.*
 and 1PL.ADE not pay-IMPERS
 ‘and with us (here), **they don’t pay**.’

E: `meil ei (.) maks-ta `midagi
 1PL.ADE not pay-IMPERS nothing
 ‘here **they don’t pay** anything’

Example (32) gives a slightly different type of corporate referent. Here the actor of the impersonal verb is not the government but weather forecasters, another socially designated group with authority in a certain realm.

(32) E: nüüd luba-takse `külma `küll aga ma=i=tea kas `piisavalt külma.
 now promise-IMPERS.PRS cold
 ‘now **they forecast** cold but I don’t know if it’s cold enough.’

P: .hh `kahäkümne `kraadiga me=võime `koju jääda, sest siis ei `tule seda `ketti.
 (1.5)
 ‘with twenty degrees we can stay home, because then the chain won’t happen.’

The impersonals used in the minutes of the *Riigikogu* most often refer to a corporate agent. There were 464 instances of corporate impersonals, amounting to 74.5% of the total impersonals culled from the Parliamentary minutes, as compared to 27% of the spoken language data. These results reflect the authors’ expectations, as the parliamentary setting is conducive to an array of corporate actors, making the impersonal an unusually frequent construction, specifically with the corporate reading.

In most cases, matters discussed in the minutes involve the actions of socially designated agents, i.e. ministries, committees of the *Riigikogu*, the Cabinet, etc. Examples (33–34) illustrate corporate readings of impersonals in the *Riigikogu* data. While in example (33), reference is made to the Ministry of Social Affairs, example (34) refers to a commission convened by the Cabinet. The corporate referents can clearly be inferred from the discourse, as in this context the body who prepares a law or takes a decision is socially or legally designated.

(33) Kui valmista-ti ette puuetega inimeste sotsiaaltoetuste
 when prepare-IMPERS.PST disabled.PL.COM people.GEN social.support.PL.GEN
 seaduse muudatusi, siis oli meil väga pikalt arutlusel ka Eesti Puuetega
 law.GEN amendments.PART
 Inimeste Kojas, millal seadus peaks jõustuma.

‘When the amendments to the disabled persons welfare benefits act were **being prepared**, then we also had long discussions in the Estonian Chamber of Disabled People regarding when the law should go into effect.’

- (34) *Koosolekul otsusta-ti moodustada töögrupp, et välja töötada*
 meeting.ADE decide-IMPERS.PST form.INF work.group.NOM

meetmed kütuse valdkonnas toimuvate maksupettuste ärahoidmiseks.

‘**It was decided** at the meeting to form a work group to develop measures to prevent ongoing tax fraud in the area of fuel.’

Example (35) presents an interesting case, and is emblematic of the highly formal register used in the *Riigikogu* setting. Kristiina Ojuland is the Vice Speaker chairing the *Riigikogu* sitting at the time. She says that she has accepted two parliamentary questions and then uses the impersonal form to say that these will be replied to in accordance with the Parliamentary Procedure Act. According to this statute, the Board of the *Riigikogu* has the power to make procedural rulings in parliamentary matters. Ojuland, as a member of the Board, first uses the personal and then the impersonal form to refer to the power that is vested in her – thus the whole impersonal sentence can be given a corporate reading.

- (35) *Olen juhatuse poolt vastu võtnud kaks arupärimist. Vastavalt Riigikogu*
 according.to Parliament.GEN

kodu- ja töökorrasedusele võe-takse need menetlusse.
 home and work.procedure.act.ALL take-IMPERS.PRS these processing.ILL

‘I have accepted two queries on behalf of the board. According to the Parliament’s Rules of Procedure Act these **will be processed**.’

The corporate reading of impersonals and similar constructions has been discussed in the literature, and is in line with what we know about impersonals. The next section, however, introduces a new functional type, which emerges partially from particularities of the Estonian grammatical system.

4.4 Hypothetical impersonals

Among the Estonian spoken language examples, certain predicates resist analysis according to the categories previously described. Certain *irrealis* predicates (predicates referring to nonfactual events or with nonactual referents) are not easily subsumed under either existential or universal labels: cases where the predicate refers to an event which is not generalised in either its frequency of occurrence or the scope of its agent, and where the impersonal voice seems to be chosen precisely because of the

indeterminacy of its actor and its occurrence. These predicates refer to a hypothetical or future event and involve reference to an abstract or nonexistent potential actor. Hence, the actor here is not vague and unspecified, but rather unspecifiable. The motivation for using the impersonal is therefore different from vague existential examples.

Because Estonian has no fully grammatical expression of a future tense category, the present-tense form of verbs is used to project events in the future. One common, and partially grammaticalised (Erelt, Erelt & Ross 2000: 396–397) overt means of expressing future events in Estonian is the verb *hakkama* ‘start’ used with the lexical verb, and this is attested among our future-hypothetical examples, as shown in example (36).

- (36) *mis: ta: `lassoga haka-takse `hambaid välja tõmba[ma= võ.]*
 what 3SG lasso.COM begin-IMPERS.PRS teeth.PART out pull.INF or
 ‘what she... **they’re going to start** pulling out teeth with a lasso.’

This example derives from a simple misunderstanding between interlocutors – the speaker of example (36) mishears the verb used by the previous speaker (*lass aga hambad erituvad* ‘let the teeth come out’), and repeats the misheard utterance in confusion. Hence, the impersonal actor has minimal semantic content. The utterance is a repetition of a misheard phrase, but the use of the impersonal form of the verb phrase, *hakatakse välja tõmbama* ‘one will start to pull out’, shows that the impersonal is convenient when no conceptual agent is referred to. In this example, the impersonal is employed in order to avoid reference to an incomprehensible agent with null semantic content – the focus is on the predicate.

In example (37), the speaker describes a new system in the school where she teaches, according to which the teacher designated as hall monitor during breaks between classes is responsible if the fire alarm is mishandled. The conditional clause makes use of an impersonal verb to refer to a hypothetical event which has not occurred and therefore designates no particular agent:

- (37) *Ja ku korrapidaja õpetaja ei nää ja tema korrapidamise ajal*
 and if teacher.on.duty not see and 3SG.GEN duty.GEN during
katki teh-akse siis maksab ise trahvi
 broken make-IMPERS.PRS then pay.PRS.3SG self fine.PART

‘And if the teacher on duty doesn’t see and **it’s broken** during his/her duty then s/he pays the fine him/herself’

Negative sentences often describe non-occurrence, and so contain either a referent who is not actualised as an actor or else a referent who remains unspecified, unfilled with semantic detail. Especially with reference to a future event, the use of a negative predicate may be associated with a particular actor, but often lends itself to the use of an impersonal or unmarked verb form. In the interchange in (38), the speaker P amends E's reference to a possible future event of the schoolhouse burning down with an impersonal causative 'someone burning it down':

- (38) P: [{-} `kool] *saab vanaks.* [`kolgend=viis.]
 'the school is going to get old [thirty-five].'
 E: [ei `tea.] (0.7)
 '[don't know.]'
 E: *kui ta enne `maha ei põle.*
 'if it doesn't burn down first.'
 P: `ei `põleta-ta.
 not burn(causative)-IMPERS
 'it isn't burnt down.'

Finally, generalisations which refer not to a specific event but to hypothetical future events are best categorised along with the above examples. Example (39) refers not to a universal actor, but to a purely hypothetical event with an indeterminate (though potentially specific) actor.

- (39) *no= aga `keegi ütleb kunagi `ikkagi on esimene*
 well but someone say.PRS.3SG sometime still be.PRS.3 first
kord ku talle üteldakse
 time when 3SG.ALL say-IMPERS.PRS
 'well but someone will say sometime there will have to be a first time when **it is said** to her'

Koenig & Mauner (2000) discuss the difference in meaning in French between *quelqu'un* 'someone' and the impersonal pronoun *on*. Here, the speaker begins with *keegi* 'someone', and finishes with *üteldakse* 'it is said', moving away from a semantically filled indefinite pronoun (which introduces a discourse marker) to a focus on the event itself (with the argument position satisfied but no discourse marker introduced), leaving the actor semantically unspecified. Anyone could be the first, but when it

happens, it will be a referent with narrow scope. Likewise, example (40) refers to a counterfactual event, an ironic comment on the etiquette of the host. This example again employs the impersonal as a rhetorical device for underlining a point as well as avoiding self-reference:

- (40) *panid hirmuga nii `kaugele=et `ära süü-asse =*
 put.PST.2SG fear.COM so far that away eat-IMPERS.PRS
 ‘you put it so far out of fear that **it’ll get eaten** up’

A final example of a hypothetical future event is an idiom which serves to illustrate the use of impersonals for hypothetical reference to irrealis events.

- (41) *ema naeris= et enne pee-takse noor*
 mother.NOM laugh.PST.3SG that before hold-IMPERS.PRS young.NOM
`sõda maha kui meie isa ükskord oma `püssi kätte
 war.NOM down than 1PL.GEN father.NOM once his gun.GEN hand.ILL
[saab.]
 get.PRS.3SG
 ‘mother laughed that first a young war **will be fought** before father finally gets his gun.’

Here, no agent is intended as really waging war, but the figure of speech is invoked to describe an unlikely event (akin to *over my dead body*). The impersonal is used, as the actor referent may refer to a generalised group of people, an unidentified group of people, an easily identified group, or it may represent an intentionally unfilled slot.

The hypothetical category is suggested strongly by the use of these marked impersonals which neither refer to a generalised actor nor to an unidentified but existing actor. These nonexistent actors seem to provide a distinct motivation for use of the impersonal. This category needs to be furnished with more examples in order to enable further analysis and research, but this is beyond the scope of the current paper.

4.5 Agentive phrases

Our analysis rests on the interpretation of the implicit actor referent. It is also pertinent, then, how freely the referent may be expressed alongside the impersonal construction. In addition to the explicit mention of the specific

referents in the impersonal as discussed in 4.2.2.1, Estonian voice constructions also accept various types of agentive phrases (see Lindström & Tragel 2007; Rajandi 1999/1968; Torn 2006b). Each type tends to display a preference for particular constructions and for either written or spoken language. The most frequent agentive phrase in written Estonian is the *poolt* agentive (the agent expressed in a *by*-phrase), followed by agents in oblique cases, particularly adessive and sometimes elative case. Although *poolt* agentive phrases occur with impersonal constructions, they are subject to several restrictions. Torn (2006b), examining written Estonian, shows that *poolt* agentive phrases typically include a collective noun that refers to a corporate group of people such as the police, the government, a jury, etc. When a singular noun or personal name is used, it generally refers to an authority or institution (e.g. the Prime Minister). Differences are also shown between synthetic and periphrastic impersonal forms, the latter being used with *poolt* agentive phrases more frequently. This difference is likely to be a result of language contact (Nemvalts 1998). As the periphrastic forms can be interpreted as personal passives, they are more likely to take *by*-phrases in analogy with English and other passives.

Lindström & Tragel (2007) investigate the use of adessive arguments and their semantic roles in impersonal and passive constructions in spoken Estonian. They find that in synthetic impersonals, an adessive argument does not tend to express an agent but realises rather location, addressee or possessor roles. In periphrastic impersonals, the adessive argument is more frequently used in an agentive capacity, yet here too it fulfills other semantic roles as well. The adessive argument is most often realized as the agent in passives and impersonals with a total object. A preliminary conclusion that may be drawn on the basis of these studies is that periphrastic impersonal and passive constructions accept agentive phrases in general more readily than synthetic impersonal forms.

One aim of this study was to investigate the use of agentive phrases in spoken impersonal utterances. Analysis of the material, however, turned up only one instance of the *poolt* agentive phrase used with an impersonal construction through all the data included from the Corpus of Spoken Estonian. This indicates that *poolt* agentive phrases are uncommon in ordinary spoken language. Echoing the findings of Torn (2006b), the only *poolt* phrase in the data does not refer to a specific person but to an institution (*haridusministeerium*, ‘Ministry of Education’).

- (42) *ja= siis* (.) *too-di* (.) *haridusminis`teeriumi* *poolt* *koolile*
 and then bring-IMPERS.PST education.ministry.GEN by/from school.ALL
\$`kingituseks \$ (1.0) tehnika`ime.
 present.TRANS technology.wonder.NOM
 ‘and then a technological miracle **was brought** to the school as a present **by/from**
the ministry of education.’

The *Riigikogu* data contain four instances of *poolt* agentive phrases used with synthetic impersonal forms. All of these phrases refer to a corporate body such as the Ministry of Finance, the police, or the public:

- (43) *Me teame, et möödunud aasta septembrikuus lahvatas niinimetatud*
spiooniskandaal, kus kaitsepolitsei poolt pee-ti kinni
 where security.police.GEN by hold-IMPERS.PST closed
Herman Simm ja Heete Simm, keda kahtlustati riigireetmisele kaasa aitamisel.
 Herman Simm and Heete Simm
 ‘We know that last year in September the so-called spy scandal erupted, where
 Herman Simm and Heete Simm, who were suspected of being accessories to
 treason, **were arrested by the intelligence service.**’

Regarding *poolt* agentive phrases in periphrastic ‘be’ + *-tud* (past passive participle) constructions in the corpora studied, the spoken language corpus does not include a single instance of such phrases, while the *Riigikogu* corpus contains 48 instances, 29 of which were used by the Vice-Speaker Jüri Ratas within the same utterance. These 29 instances represent a listing of proposed amendments that were presented by Erika Salumäe (19), the legal affairs committee (1), the bill’s lead committee (8) and the Centre Party (1).

Compared to the use of *poolt* agentive phrases, the use of adessive phrases is slightly more frequent in the spoken language corpus. Data from the corpus contains nine instances of adessive phrases in the synthetic impersonals and eight in ‘be’ + *-tud* constructions. However, analysis shows that only one of these phrases in synthetic impersonal forms could be considered an agentive phrase proper, as illustrated in (44). It is worth noting that while *poolt* phrases used as agentives generally receive an explicit agentive interpretation, adessive phrases may often be open to various interpretations. In (44), we could assume that it is we who are killing the rabbits, but the utterance can also be read to mean something like ‘rabbits are being killed at our place’ (i.e. we ourselves do not have to

be the agents involved). The latter reading would be analogous to *meil ei maksta* ‘here they don’t pay’ in example (31) above, where the agentive reading is ruled out.

- (44) *Jälle meil tape-takse jäneseid*
 again 1PL.ADE kill-IMPERS.PRS rabbits.PART
 ‘Rabbits **are being killed by us/at our place** again’

Periphrastic constructions in our data show seven instances of agentive adessives. Other adessive arguments fulfill other roles. There are only two adessive agentive phrases in the *Riigikogu* corpus. Such a scarcity of instances of adessives in this corpus may be explained by the more formal nature of the corpus; the use of adessives and *poolt* phrases is in almost complementary distribution through the two registers.

Rajandi (1999/1968) suggests that relative agentive phrases can also be used in impersonal and passive constructions. Our corpora reveal no explicitly agentive relative examples. Yet some relative phrases found in the data refer to a location that can be seen to create a frame for the referent fulfilling the agentive role. In example (29), repeated in (45), for instance, the relative *ministeeriumist* ‘from the ministry’ sets the context for the unspecified agent, an individual exercising the authority of the Ministry of Education.

- (45) A: [@ MIS `VAHE= ON `HARI]DUSE `TASEMEL KUI `PABER
 what difference be.PRS.3 education.GEN level.ADE if paper.NOM
 ``*SAADE-TAKSE MINISTEERIUMIST.*@ =)
 send-IMPERS.PRS ministry.ELA
 ‘what difference does the level of education make if the paper **is sent** from **the ministry**.’

We also found instances of other locative phrases that do not explicitly refer to the agent but help set a frame for possible agents. This is illustrated in (46), where the potential agents are people living in the East.

- (46) *ta ei tea kas idamaal seda süü-akse et tema*
 3SG not know whether east.land.ADE this.PART eat-IMPERS.PRS that 3SG
võib mulgi putru teile pakkuda.
 may.PRS.3SG Mulgi porridge.PART 2PL.ALL offer.INF
 ‘s/he doesn’t know if in the east this is eaten, s/he can offer you Mulgi porridge.’

In summary, overt agentive phrases are very infrequent in both of our spoken corpora, contrasting with higher frequency in written texts. When used, they tend to appear more frequently with periphrastic ‘be’ + *-tud* constructions, which may often be ambiguous between impersonal and personal passive readings. Adessive phrases are more common in ordinary spoken language, while *poolt* phrases tend to occur in more formal contexts.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

As impersonals are widely used in spoken language but have not been previously studied in Estonian spoken data, this paper’s contribution in mapping out their interpretations sheds new light on the semantics of the Estonian impersonal construction. The spoken-language impersonals examined here generally support existing analyses, but new data call into question some of the reigning assumptions. The very multiplicity of readings of the impersonal is problematic if we attempt to read the semantics directly from the overt linguistic cues, but can be accommodated quite naturally with the hypothesis that the interpretation of the actor is derived from context, overlaid on the unspecified semantics.

The finding that the Estonian impersonal is used in spoken language for well-known, salient referents is problematic for the backgrounding theory of impersonal semantics. We do not see the backgrounding of the actor as the sole primary function of the impersonal. Rather, in our view the basic semantics of the impersonal construction attributes the core semantic features of plurality, humanness and agentivity to the unspecified actor argument referent. Because it is unspecified, the actor is also often backgrounded, but this is not part of the core semantics. The rest of the interpretation, and the interpretational differences, derive from discourse context.

The fact that the implicit actor argument usually refers to a generalised group or unspecified actor has the effect of de-emphasising the actor argument, and often results in a focus on the predicate rather than the argument. The fact that the impersonal can be used to describe situations without specifying the actor leads to its usage as an actor-backgrounding device, as well as a politeness strategy, allowing the speaker to avoid mention of either the discourse participants or any overt actor and serving as a face-saving mechanism in Estonian (Lindström 2010).

In general, the universal and vague existential referents are most prominent in the spoken data, and these are best matched to the impersonal construction, in which the actor is not overtly marked. The impersonal verbal inflection satisfies the actor argument without contributing a discourse marker and leaving its content unspecified. In general, this is most commonly interpreted as an unspecified and generic or intentionally vague actor referent, but the existence of specific existential referents in the spoken data makes it clear that factors other than the veiling of the identity of the actor also motivate the use of the impersonal. These factors may include rhetorical style, pragmatic emphasis on an unusual aspect of the situation, or politeness considerations.

The corporate reading of impersonals is not new in cross-linguistic analyses, but analyses of the Estonian impersonal have not explicitly mentioned the corporate referent as a distinct reading (though Torn 2006b discusses the corporate nature of many of the referents of agentive *poolt* phrases). The *Riigikogu* data show that the corporate reading holds an important place in impersonal semantics. In these examples, the identity of the actor is usually not masked, but instead it is taken to be either irrelevant or obvious. The emphasis is on the predicate and the event denoted by it, not the implicit actor. The actor is interpreted as the corporate body whose responsibility it is to carry out the action in question. The hypothetical reading additionally highlights some usages of impersonals which have not been examined, particularly the use of the impersonal to form predicates which have semantically empty actor referents. In these cases, the impersonal may indeed be employed to mask the actor referent, implying that some actor may fill the role of carrying out the action, but that this actor does not currently exist or the status of the action is nonactual, relegated to an unspecified and maybe questionable future time.

The very infrequent use of agentive adverbials or any other overtly specified agents in the spoken data may support the view that the impersonal construction is used to deflect attention from the actor, yet it also shows that the implicit actor fills the argument slot it occupies. If it is to be specified or identified, that takes place on the level of discourse pragmatics, but not within the semantics that is read directly from the utterance, and typically not through an adverbial linked to the implicit argument. The more frequent use of agentive adverbials in written language is most probably a result of influence from Indo-European languages with personal passives, and these examples are often judged to be awkward by many native speakers.

As impersonals in written Estonian have not been classified according to the readings discussed in this paper, it is as yet unclear to what extent our findings are particular to spoken language. It is clear, however, from the comparison of the two datasets analysed here, that differences exist between registers and levels of formality. Because of attributes particular to the spoken and written registers, the specific existential category may not prove to be highly relevant in written Estonian, whereas it is unavoidable in analysing spoken Estonian. The interactional nature of spoken language, and the salient factor of common knowledge and common discourse context allows the interpretation of implicit actors as pointing to specific and identifiable referents. This is achieved through the discourse context, and pragmatic considerations also account for why speakers may choose the impersonal construction when the aim is not to background the actor, but rather to mark the utterance in some way. This may serve as a reminder of the importance of including spoken data in linguistic analysis to ensure a complete picture.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	NEG	negative
ADE	adessive	NOM	nominative
AFF	affirmative	PART	partitive
ALL	allative	PL	plural
APP	active past participle	PPP	passive past participle
COM	comitative	PRS	present
COND	conditional	PST	past
ELA	elative	Q	question marker
ESS	essive	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	TERM	terminative
ILL	illative	TRANS	translative
IMP	imperative	1	first person
IMPERS	impersonal	2	second person
INE	inessive	3	third person
INF	infinitive		

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Balteiro, Isabel (2007a) *A Contribution to the Study of Conversion in English*. Münster/New York/München/Berlin: Waxmann. Pp 152.

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Reviewed by Félix Rodríguez González

Conversion (for example, noun *father* → verb *father*) is one of the frequent ways in which English words are coined. Indeed, the device seems to be absent in most other Indo-European languages and, in the few which do have it, it is rare (for instance, French verb *être* → noun *être*, Spanish verb *ser* → noun *ser*). Although it is taken to be a minor way of forming words when contrasted with major ones such as compounding, derivation, and borrowing, its significance cannot be overlooked, as it represents probably over two percent of the words now coined in English.¹ The frequency of conversion gives the language plasticity not found in other Indo-European languages.

Despite its apparently uncomplicated nature, when thoroughly examined this phenomenon proves to be complex and its boundaries are not easy to define. Henry Sweet (1898) seems to have been the first to study conversion and to call it by that name. Many researchers have since tried to deal with conversion, probably no two having agreed on its scope (what one may consider conversion, another might not) and hence on its nature. Balteiro's two books propose how conversion should be understood and why certain phenomena which have often been misunderstood as conversion should be excluded.

The first book (*A Contribution to the Study of Conversion in English*), more general than the second one (*The Directionality of Conversion in English: A Dia-Synchronic Study*), looks at conversion from the morphological, lexical, syntactic, and semantic viewpoints. The author examines earlier research, in which the phenomenon was seen as either a derivational process (researchers taking that approach called it

¹ “Functional change words comprise 2 percent of neologisms in Present-Day English, although many more are used as nonce words for stylistic effect” (Simonini 1966: 755).

“recategorisation”, “morphological metaphor”, “semantic extension”, and “zero-suffixation”, amongst other names) or as a functional change (researchers taking that approach called it “multifunctionality”, “word-class exchange”, or “category underspecification”). Balteiro’s frequent cross-references and comparisons between those two approaches make it easier for the reader to evaluate the different trends and also to avoid seeing them as two different and unconnected sections in her book. (Balteiro 2007a.)

After distinguishing conversion treated as a morphological process and as a process of word-formation, the author states her own position. She defines conversion as “a conceptual syntactic-semantic process, consisting in the use of an already existing lexical item (...) in a different syntactic context, which leads to a change of category or word-class” (Balteiro 2007a: 65).

As for the boundaries of conversion as well as the differences between conversion and (apparently) similar phenomena, Balteiro acknowledges the fuzziness of English word-classes and takes a clear position by stating that “(...) only if word-class distinctions are maintained or acknowledged does it make sense to speak of conversion, since conversion is precisely the change of one word-class or category into another” (2007a: 74). She is thus able to speak of “true conversions” and rejects some examples of so-called “partial conversions” (such as adjective *poor* → *the poor* and adjective *intellectual* → *an intellectual*) as not being true conversions. Instead, she explains those cases as occurrences of other linguistic phenomena such as ellipsis, compounding, and shortening. Similarly, Balteiro analyses pairs of words differentiated only by stress (for example, noun *rélay* versus verb *reláy*) and those differentiated only by the presence of voicing (noun *house* versus verb *house*) and concludes that they are not examples of conversion. She acknowledges so-called “total conversion” as an existing category but, unlike previous researchers, recognizes it only for the following types: noun → verb, verb → noun, and adjective → verb. In spite of this new perspective, and probably for the sake of the reader’s understanding, the sections or structure in the book reflect previous classifications, that is, the distinction between partial and total conversion, which nevertheless she rejects. However, I would argue that, as happens with other linguistic categories, there is often a gradation and, therefore, not always can one expect categories to be sharply distinct.

Balteiro also examines so-called “change of secondary word-class”, that is, “changes” within a given word-class, for example non-count nouns → count nouns and vice versa, as in *two coffees* or *an inch of pencil*, or intransitive verb → transitive verb, as in *run the water*, which Quirk et al. (1985) and other authors have defined as conversions. Balteiro, however, after justifying her position, considers them to be instances of semantic or syntactic adjustments within a given category rather than examples of conversion.

In her second book, *The Directionality of Conversion in English: A Dia-Synchronic Study*, the author exclusively deals with the direction of the mechanism, which she considers “a problematic word-formation process”, although she also points out other problematic issues on conversion which have been differently treated by earlier writers. In doing this she goes back to the idea in her first book (*A Contribution to the Study of Conversion in English*) concerning the fact that this mechanism of word-formation is often nothing more than a dumping ground.

After contextualising the question of the direction of conversion within the main problems of conversion, the author focuses on the “chicken-and-egg” issue, that is, on the directionality of the process. Balteiro critically reviews previous approaches to the question of the direction of conversion, which range from perspectives claiming that conversion is non-directional to those that claim that conversion is directional and, therefore, that its direction may be determined. Among the latter, different proposals are also critically explored: multidirectionality, bidirectionality, and unidirectionality. Questions such as the weight given to diachronic and synchronic data by different approaches, as well as the importance of morphological and phonological criteria, are addressed. Furthermore, Balteiro says that “the idea of directionality is built into the definition of conversion itself” (2007b: 89). That is to say, in her view, “whenever conversion is assumed, a directional relation between a base word and the output of the process is also necessarily assumed since, as the word conversion itself indicates, there is a turn/change/transformation or reorganisation of something into something else which also (and inevitably) implies a direction” (2007b: 84).²

² However, I would argue that sometimes we cannot determine the direction even though we know that there was a direction.

Balteiro's most important contribution in this book is her corpus-based study of the direction of the most characteristic type of conversion (noun → verb). However, the author's introductory critical discussion of the criteria proposed by earlier linguists for determining the direction is also useful. She raises questions such as the distinction between potential and apparent conversions, on the one hand, and true conversions, on the other, which she considers a necessary step previous to determining the direction. Balteiro seems to be the first to go beyond the mere theoretical discussion of the directionality of this word-formation process, as she claims in the Introduction. She analyses empirical data, a corpus of over 367 potential conversion word pairs, both diachronically and synchronically. To do so, she applies ten criteria which have been put forward by previous authors, mainly Marchand (1964). These criteria include etymology, first recordings, semantic dependence, usage restriction, semantic range, semantic pattern, phonetic shape, morphological type, stress, and the principle of relative markedness. Application of each criterion to the potential conversion word pairs selected leads Balteiro to provide a good amount of critical comments questioning not only the criteria used but also their applicability.

Balteiro's results suggest that the best way to solve the directionality of conversion is by resorting to diachronic criteria, mainly the etymological one, and not dates of first records as many previous scholars tended to claim.

Despite her conclusions, she admits that there is still a long way to go on this topic because a redefinition of the criteria is still called for. Numerous hints and arguments for such an enterprise are found in this book.

Both books, which are well documented and employ straightforward terminology, are essential for anyone interested in conversion and word-formation in general.

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Idström, Anna & Sosa, Sachiko (eds.) (2009) *Kielissä kulttuurien ääni* [The voice of cultures is in the languages], Tietolipas 228. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura. Pp. 311.

Reviewed by Kalle Korhonen

Kielissä kulttuurien ääni is a popularizing collection of articles intended for a broader readership, not just linguists, competent in Finnish. Its purpose is to offer up-to-date information of the relationship between *kieli* and *kulttuuri*, which translate in this case as “language” and “culture” in English. In their introduction (“Johdanto”, pp. 7–12) the editors define the difficult concept of “culture” broadly as “the acquired and not inherited characteristics of humans ... [culture] is something that belongs to the members of a group and is not the personal feature of an individual” (p. 7). The introduction also contains short resumés of the articles in Finnish.

Urho Määttä’s answer to the question “Why does the grammarian forget the culture?” (pp. 17–34) is based on the author’s conception of the essence of human language. In an intelligent discussion, Määttä emphasizes the emergent nature of linguistic or grammatical description. Linguistic description is, according to the author, a language game that emerges in order to make the rules of language more explicit. Like a writing system, linguistic description then starts to have an influence on the language itself. Linguistics is a part of the culture of language, but the norm-constructing nature of social institutions has created the idea that language is separate from the rest of human culture. Furthermore, Määttä explains why Noam Chomsky’s approach to language is so popular, but also controversial, by comparing it to a monetary system: a “Chomskyan” description of the monetary system would be limited to the arithmetic relations between the monetary units.

Ulla Vanhatalo discusses (pp. 35–47) Anna Wierzbicka’s semantics and her ‘natural semantic metalanguage’ (NSM). NSM is based on the idea of a small core of basic and universal meanings that are common to all human languages, and that are used to analyze all the other meanings. Vanhatalo stresses the significance of Wierzbicka’s personal experiences first in the different academic cultures in Europe and in the US, and then as an immigrant in Australia. According to Vanhatalo, Wierzbicka has meant the NSM to be usable across the lexicon, although it is not very evident

how this could be done. The metalanguage seems especially well suited to the analysis of, say, emotional terminology and norms.

One could say that three contributions, those by Anna Idström (pp. 51–69), Zsuzsánna Bodó (pp. 70–83) and Maria Kela (pp. 84–98), all approach translation, but from different angles. Idström focuses in an illuminating way on metaphors and their life cycle and shows why, for a speaker of Inari Sami, hunger is in the buttocks. Bodó discusses the factors that make translating possible and claims that cultural differences test the competence of the translator. Especially interesting is the short discussion on how target groups have recently been taken into account in the translation of dialects. E.g., when Kalle Päätalo's popular Finnish novels were translated into English, the original code switching between dialect and standard was not maintained, because the translations were addressed to Finnish immigrants in America who had switched language. In this case, even the use of standard English gave the audience the possibility to experience its own past at an emotional level.

The Bible is one of the most widely translated works in the world, and Maria Kela's article discusses how biblical metaphors that originated in Hebrew have been translated into different languages. Bible translations have in the course of time created several strange expressions or misunderstandings (e.g., the "horns of Moses"). Kela focuses on the metaphors "God's son", "Son of Man" and "the right hand" and explains in a lucid manner why the phrase *Ihmisen Poika* ("the son of a human being", Finnish for "Son of Man") has disappeared from the most recent Finnish Bible translation. The element "son" was in the original Hebrew undergoing grammaticalization and the phrase was a dead metaphor with the meaning "a human being".

The contributions of Ekaterina Gruzdeva (pp. 101–122) and Lotta Aunio (pp. 123–136) look at how humans use language to create order in the world. Gruzdeva's theme is the numeral classificators in Nivkh, a Palaeosiberian language spoken in Outer Manchuria and in Sakhalin and rapidly becoming extinct. The classificators can be divided into three groups, of which the special classificators illustrate the cultural context of Nivkh as it was until a century ago. Transport vehicles, fishing equipment, long wooden objects, kinship terminology and time and space all have numerous special classificators. Due to language attrition, the classifier system is now rapidly declining. Aunio focuses on the expressions of time in Bantu languages, particularly in Ha, Ikoma and Swahili. She starts with John S. Mbiti's influential and much-abused idea of "the African

conception of time”, in which the future is allegedly not included. In practice, this is not the case in the languages discussed by Aunio: there are tenses that refer to the future. Like in many other languages, some tenses do not only refer to time but can also be used to express the *Aktionsart*. Especially interesting is the author’s account of how locative noun classes can be used to express temporal relations.

Two Uralic (Finno-Ugrian) languages on the brink of extinction, Hanti and Mansi, receive attention in Sachiko Sosa’s (pp. 137–155) and Ulla-Maija Kulonen’s (pp. 156–183) articles. Sosa discusses the prerequisites for understanding Hanti narratives. Hanti is a Uralic language spoken in Western Siberia. Sosa offers comments on some passages in Hanti narrative. Among the rich material, what is interesting in particular is how the taboo word “bear” can be avoided even in everyday discourse, or how it used to be avoided before language attrition began. The bear, a “totem animal” for the speakers of many Uralic languages, briefly returns to the scene in Ulla-Maija Kulonen’s contribution. Her focus is on the lexicon relating to love and sex in the Eastern Mansi dialect, an extinct variant of Mansi spoken until the 20th century in Western Siberia. In a brilliant discussion, Kulonen looks at heroic legends in particular. The discussion has interesting implications for the research on sexuality: the Mansi heroic legends do not consider same-sex relationships as a threat to the society, but have a more open approach. Both sexes are listed as possible partners for relationships, and a successful person is competent in both men’s and women’s tasks. Even the sexual identity of the bear is ambiguous. As regards the Uralic languages, the volume also contains Merja Salo’s useful overview (pp. 225–245) of how the lexicon of this language group reflects different cultural contexts and contacts.

The common theme in the fascinating contributions of Riikka Länsisalmi (pp. 184–205) and Kimmo Granqvist (pp. 206–222) is politeness. Länsisalmi discusses the polite registers in Japanese (*keigo*). The elaborate language of politeness used to indicate the strict hierarchy of the society, but nowadays the speakers of Japanese use them to assess and indicate the limits of their own in-groups (*uchi*) and the formality of the situation. A related issue is the controversial position of personal pronouns in Japanese. There are words that can be defined as personal pronouns, but the pragmatic rules of the language do not allow references made with a 2nd or 3rd person pronoun to a person who is higher in the social hierarchy than the speaker. Granqvist analyzes how social structures are reflected in Finnish Romani inter-generational and inter-gender discourse. Like the

other Romani variants, the Finnish Romani shows strong influence of the languages with which the Roma community has been in contact: the Germanic languages and Finnish. The politeness system is asymmetric: the older members of the community rank higher than the young. The pragmatics of politeness in Finnish Romani includes a highly evolved system of how to communicate taboo expressions and words between persons whose social position is different.

The common theme in Eeva Sippola's (pp. 246–264) and Riho Grünthal's (pp. 265–289) articles is language attrition. Sippola focuses on Chabacano – cover term for the varieties of Philippine Creole Spanish – and looks at several different phenomena of contact. The author sees the future of the language in a positive light. Two Uralic languages are mentioned in the title of Grünthal's article, Mordvin and Veps, but the scope is wider. The author provides interesting information about the position of Uralic minority languages in contemporary Russia in general. Although the speaker community of Erzya Mordvin seems large at first sight (hundreds of thousands), similar attrition phenomena are attested in it as in Veps, which only has some thousands of speakers and is rapidly declining.

Grünthal's article contains a most useful introduction for the lay reader to the central concepts of linguistic identity, ethnicity and nationality. Important points on these matters are also made in the final chapter, by Anna Mauranen (pp. 290–305). This contribution seeks to establish if English, as a global *lingua franca* (ELF), has a cultural context at all. The diffusion of English has stirred emotions in recent decades because, on the one hand, there is concern for global Anglo-Americanization and, on the other, English speakers may feel that they are being deprived of their heritage. It is quite obvious that as a *lingua franca* English has no single cultural context, but Mauranen emphasizes the multiplicity of the contexts involved. The author also claims that the use of English as a *lingua franca* in global communication can make more room for local multilingualism than the use of several international languages. This seemingly paradoxical idea is intelligent and plausible. Of course it remains to be seen how many global *lingua francas* there will be in the future; it is not impossible that they will be more than one.

In all, some chapters seem at first rather specific for a popularizing publication, but all of them reach a sufficient level of generality. Most are based on original research by the authors themselves. Although the primary viewpoint is in most cases language, the cultural context remains always in

sight. The chapters are concise, sometimes even too short, given that many authors of necessity begin with an introduction of a general kind. The lack of a subject index is a disappointment, and it might have been a good idea to include the summaries in another language than Finnish. On the contents side, there is some room for criticism: given that language attrition and extinction are themes in several chapters, the authors might have elaborated on how to act against them. However, in its genre, the volume is of the highest quality and makes a most inspiring read.

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Korhonen, Jarmo; Mieder, Wolfgang; Piirainen, Elisabeth & Piñel, Rosa (Hrsg./Eds.) (2010) *Phraseologie global – areal – regional: Akten der Konferenz EUROPHRAS 2008 vom 13.–16.8.2008 in Helsinki*. Tübingen: Narr Verlag. 416 Seiten.

Rezensiert von Anna Urban

Auf dem Phraseologiesymposium in Oulu/Finnland im Jahr 1986 wurde beschlossen, alle zwei Jahre in einem europäischen Land eine Tagung für die germanistische und allgemeine Phraseologieforschung zu veranstalten. Diese Initiative, 1988 „EUROPHRAS“ getauft, ging von der Germanistik aus, und bis auf zwei Einzelfälle wurden alle bisherigen Tagungen von Germanisten ausgerichtet (Korhonen 2007: 487).

Auch im Jahr 2008 veranstalteten das Germanistische Institut der Universität Helsinki und die Europäische Gesellschaft für Phraseologie mit Unterstützung des Finnischen DAAD-Vereins vom 13. bis zum 16. August 2008 in Helsinki eine internationale Konferenz mit dem Rahmenthema „Phraseologie global – areal – regional“ (im Weiteren EUROPHRAS 2008 genannt).

Die Konferenz, die über 200 Wissenschaftler aus 34 Ländern versammelte, bestand aus zwei Teilen, und zwar aus einem Symposium zu „Languages and Cultures under the Pressure of Globalization: Phraseology – a Burden or a Benefit?“ und aus der Arbeit in Sektionen sowie einem Workshop „Collocations in Specialized Discourses“. Das Programm des Symposiums beinhaltete sieben Plenarvorträge und die Anzahl der Referate in den Sektionen sowie im Workshop belief sich auf 162 (mehr zum Verlauf der Konferenz auf der Website http://www.europhras.org/bulletin/Europhras_Bulletin_Gesamt_2009.pdf, S. 7–11). Die Vielfalt der Fragestellungen und der Zugänge setzt den Leser in Staunen.

Demzufolge mussten die Herausgeber des vorliegenden Konferenzbandes eine Entscheidung hinsichtlich der Auswahl der Referate treffen und kamen zu dem Schluss, die Beiträge in den Band aufzunehmen, welche „sich direkt auf das Rahmenthema beziehen oder kontrastiv bzw. vergleichend zwischen verschiedenen Sprachen oder Sprachvarietäten angelegt sind“ (S. 9.). Andere Referate sollen im Internet bzw. in separaten Sammelbänden zum Workshop und zu den Themenbereichen Routineformeln und computergestützte Phraseologie veröffentlicht werden.

Der vorliegende Band enthält 43 Beiträge und gliedert sich in zwei Teile: „Phraseologie global – areal – regional“ (21 Beiträge) und „Phraseologie kontrastiv bzw. vergleichend“ (22 Beiträge). Insgesamt sind 59 Autor(inn)en an diesem Konferenzband beteiligt. 27 Beiträge wurden auf Deutsch, 13 auf Englisch, zwei auf Spanisch und einer auf Französisch verfasst. Die Bedeutung der Germanistik für die Konzeption dieses Sammelbandes ist somit offensichtlich,¹ denn mehr als die Hälfte der Beiträge stammt von Germanisten.

Elisabeth Piirainen aus Steinfurt beschäftigt sich in ihrem Beitrag mit den gemeinsamen Charakterzügen der europäischen Sprachen aus kultureller und arealer Perspektive vor dem Hintergrund ihres von der ganzen EUROPHRAS-Gesellschaft unterstützten Projekts zu weit verbreiteten Idiomen in Europa und darüber hinaus. Antonio Pamies-Bertrán aus Granada geht in seinem Referat auf nationale linguo-kulturelle Spezifität versus linguistische Globalisierung unter dem Aspekt der figurativen Bedeutung ein. Wolfgang Mieder aus Burlington, Vermont, wendet sich in seinem Beitrag „Many roads lead to globalization“ der Übersetzung anglo-amerikanischer Sprichwörter in Europa zu. Der Beitrag von Wolfgang Eismann aus Graz ist russischen Phrasemen in europäischen Sprachen gewidmet. Der Beitrag Harald Burgers und Peter Zürrers aus Zürich geht den französischen und italienischen Einflüssen auf die deutsche Phraseologie nach. Die Suche auf die Zeit seit dem Frühneuhochdeutschen beschränkend, typologisieren die Autoren die phraseologischen Entlehnungen und stellen methodische Probleme sowie zusätzliche Schwierigkeiten bei der Suche nach Entlehnungen dar. Csaba Földes aus Veszprém richtet sein Augenmerk auf Auswirkungen des Deutschen auf die Phraseologie seiner östlichen Nachbarsprachen und spricht in seinem Beitrag die Phraseologie als Gegenstand der Sprachkontaktforschung, zwischensprachliche Konvergenzen und Phraseologismen deutschsprachiger Provenienz am Beispiel des Ungarischen an. Im Lichte seiner Überlegungen plädiert er für die „Konstitution einer interkulturellen (oder transkulturellen) Linguistik“ (S. 105). Kari Keinistö aus Turku untersucht exemplarisch zwei Beispielidiome² deutscher Herkunft im hohen Norden und spricht einige sprach- und kulturhistorische Aspekte der deutsch-finnischen Lehnphraseologie an. Gyula Paczolay aus Veszprém vergleicht

¹ Auf die Bedeutung der Germanistik verweist auch Korhonen (2007: 488).

² Das onymische Substantividiom *Arme Ritter* und das verbale Idiom *zwischen Baum und Borke sein/sitzen/stecken/stehen*.

einige Beispiele globaler, regionaler und lokaler Sprichwörter in Europa und im Fernen Osten, während Bettina Bock aus Jena die Frage zu beantworten versucht, ob man indogermanische Phraseologismen systematisch rekonstruieren kann. Liudmila Diadechko aus Kiew diskutiert die nationkonsolidierende Funktion Geflügelter Worte („nation consolidating factor“, S. 137), die sie Eptonyme nennt. Vor dem Hintergrund ihres HiFoS-Projekts³ erörtert Natalia Filatkina aus Trier die historische Phraseologie des Deutschen in der regionalen und globalen Perspektive der „formulaic globalization“ (S. 150). Željka Matulina aus Zadar und Zrinka Ćoralić aus Bihać suchen nach dem Fremden im Eigenen, und zwar nach Methoden der Einbettung von Topoi fremden Ursprungs in kroatische bzw. deutsche Kontexte. Sabine Fiedler aus Leipzig verfolgt den Einfluss des Englischen auf die Phraseologie der deutschen Gegenwartssprache, indem sie phraseologische Entlehnungsprozesse einer systematischen Analyse zu unterziehen versucht. Anita Pavić Pintarić aus Zadar wendet sich dem Thema der deutschen Einflüsse auf die kroatische Phraseologie zu. Mudite Smiltena aus Riga wertet lettische Entsprechungen weit verbreiteter Idiome im Rahmen des Projekts „Weit verbreitete Idiome in Europa und darüber hinaus“ aus. Günter Schmale aus Metz wiederum stellt französische Auswirkungen auf phraseologische Ausdrücke des Rheinfränkischen dar. Bernhard Brehmer aus Hamburg stellt Vorüberlegungen zur komparativen Phraseologie der slawischen Sprachen an.⁴ Ane Kleine aus Trier/Luxemburg untersucht jiddische Phraseologie „als Musterbeispiel wie auch als Sonderfall für eine **globale, areale** und **regionale** Phraseologie“ (S. 205). Matthias Funk aus Ponta Delgada weist auf kurz- und langfristige Tendenzen in der Sprichwortentwicklung hin, während Anna Idström aus Helsinki die Herausforderung der Dokumentation der Idiome der gefährdeten inarisamischen Sprache in Nordfinland annimmt („Inari Saami [...] spoken in the area around Lake Inari in Northern Finland“, S. 221). Annette Sabban aus Hildesheim behandelt „sprechsprachliche und dialektale Elemente“ (S. 229) von Phraseologismen am Beispiel von *für 'n Appel und 'n Ei*.

³ Historical Formulaic Language and Traditions of Communication / Historische formelhafte Sprache und Traditionen des Formulierens: www.hifos.uni-trier.de.

⁴ Der Autor beschränkt sich auf Russisch und Ukrainisch, Polnisch, Tschechisch und Slowakisch, Slowenisch, Kroatisch, Serbisch, Bulgarisch und Makedonisch sowie auf Weißrussisch und Sorbisch.

Den kontrastiv ausgerichteten zweiten Teil des Konferenzbandes eröffnet ein Beitrag von Viktoria Umborg aus Tallinn. Sie thematisiert feste Wortverbindungen (als Oberbegriff für Phraseologismen, Mehrworttermini und phraseologische Termini) in Fachtexten und unterzieht sie einem Vergleich mit ihren estnischen und russischen Äquivalenten. Dmitrij Dobrovol'skij, Tatjana V. Filipenko und Artëm V. Šarandin aus Moskau stellen die Prinzipien der Aufnahme von Phraseologismen ins „Neue Deutsch-Russische Großwörterbuch“ dar. Peter Ďurčo aus Bratislava berichtet über Deutsch-Slowakisches Kollokationswörterbuch, und Iva Fidancheva aus Skopje beleuchtet die verletzende Funktion malediktischer Euphemismen. Berit Balzer und Rosa Piñel aus Madrid schlagen ein klassifikatorisches Modell für „Routineformeln psycho-sozialer Art“ (S. 269) vor, indem sie eine Sechs-Gruppen-Gliederung aufstellen und weitere Klassifizierungen für unnötig halten. Carmen Mellado Blanco aus Santiago de Compostela plädiert für eine funktionale Äquivalenz im Bereich der Phraseographie. Encarnación Tabares Plasencia aus Leipzig setzt sich mit ausgewählten Übersetzungsproblemen der juristischen Phraseologie im deutsch-spanischen Vergleich auseinander. Heike van Lawick aus Castelló de la Plana untersucht Phraseologismen im Katalanischen vor dem Hintergrund der Kandidaten für weit verbreitete Idiome im Sinne von Elisabeth Piirainen.⁵ Ayfer Aktaş aus Istanbul führt eine kontrastive Analyse der deutschen und türkischen Phraseologismen mit der Kernkomponente Geld unter dem Aspekt von Übersetzungs- und Äquivalenzproblemen durch. František Čermák aus Prag widmet sich der Untersuchung von Zwillingsformeln und ihrer Natur und Struktur im Tschechischen und in anderen Sprachen. Joanna Szerszunowicz aus Białystok erörtert kulturelle Konnotationen von Idiomen, die Ausdruck des kollektiven Gedächtnisses sind, am Beispiel des kulturspezifischen Idioms *gest Kozakiewicza*. Der auf Französisch verfasste Beitrag von Maria Celeste Augusto aus Utrecht erörtert Phraseologismen mit der Kernkomponente Auge im Portugiesischen und Niederländischen unter lexikalisch-semantischem Aspekt. Maria Husarciuc und Anca-Diana Bibiri aus Iași vergleichen die Okkurrenzen von Phraseologismen mit Tierkomponenten in Korpora des Französischen und des Rumänischen.

⁵ www.widespread-idioms.uni-trier.de.

Antonio Pamies-Bertrán et al.⁶ stellen auf Spanisch das interkulturelle Wörterbuch der Kultureme am Beispiel des Geiers in zehn Sprachen⁷ vor, während Elena Berthemet aus Brest sich dem Problem der phraseologischen Äquivalenz in digitalen multilingualen Wörterbüchern zuwendet. Juan de Dios Luque Durán aus Granada und Lucía Luque Nadal aus Málaga zeigen am Beispiel des Stierkampfes, wie kulturbedingte Metaphern und Idiome gebildet werden, und erörtern auf Spanisch theoretische Grundlegungen eines interkulturellen Wörterbuchs, das solche kulturspezifischen Metaphern und Idiome enthalten wird. Stefan Hauser aus Zürich liefert Beobachtungen zum Konzept Sprache als kulturelles Gedächtnis am Beispiel der Presseberichterstattung über Dopingfälle. Melanija Larisa Fabčič aus Maribor erörtert pop-kulturelle Aspekte der phraseologischen Kompetenz anhand von „text- und (denk)stilbildenden Potenzen“ (S. 375) von Phraseologismen in deutschen und slowenischen Hiphop-Texten. Sabine Mohr-Elfadl aus Straßburg äußert sich zum Ausdruck von Temporalität in Phraseologismen an deutschen und französischen Beispielen. Tamás Forgács aus Szeged untersucht phraseologische Einheiten des Deutschen und des Ungarischen hinsichtlich ihrer lexikalischen Bedeutung. Nihada Delibegović Džanić und Sanja Berberović aus Tuzla behandeln die Theorie der konzeptuellen Integration und der Metonymie („conceptual integration theory and metonymy“, S. 397) in Modifikationen von Idiomen. Stephan Stein aus Trier versteht seinen abschließenden Beitrag als Plädoyer für eine kontrastive Analyse der diatextuellen Distribution von Phraseologismen und strebt eine Untersuchung der gesprochenen und geschriebenen Sprache aus phraseologischer Perspektive an.

Zu jedem einzelnen Beitrag könnte man eine separate Rezension verfassen, denn alle Texte sind wertvoll und erwähnenswert. Dass es jedoch unmöglich ist, dem Leser auf ein paar Seiten über alle Details ausführlich zu berichten, möchten wir uns auf drei Beiträge, die oben schon angedeutet wurden, beschränken.

Es sollen drei Forscherinnen in Bezug auf ihre Verdienste um die Phraseologie genannt werden.

⁶ Unter Mitarbeit von José Manuel Pazos, Kamilla Tutáeva, Katarina Kekić, Itziar Martínez, Angela Mura, Anna Sztuba, Rosemeire Monteiro, Náder Al-Jallad und Evlampia Chelmi.

⁷ Spanisch, Portugiesisch, Italienisch, Französisch, Englisch, Deutsch, Polnisch, Russisch, Serbisch, Arabisch.

Elisabeth Piirainen sucht nach gemeinsamen Charakterzügen der europäischen Sprachen aus kultureller und arealer Perspektive vor dem Hintergrund ihres Projekts zu weit verbreiteten Idiomen. Die Verfasserin will historische, geographische, gesellschaftliche und kulturelle Faktoren der Verbreitung bestimmter Idiome in vielen Sprachen in Europa und darüber hinaus finden; es genüge nicht, nur einige große europäische Standardsprachen zu vergleichen. Es sollten mehrere Forscher in einer „large-scale investigation“ (S. 16) nicht zufällige Unterschiede oder Gemeinsamkeiten erarbeiten, sondern über so viele Sprachen wie möglich arbeiten. An der Untersuchung der ca. 350 weit verbreiteten Idiome seien etwa 80 Sprachen und über 200 Personen beteiligt.

Innerhalb des HiFoS-Projekts „Formelhafte Sprache und Traditionen des Formulierens“ von Natalia Filatkina wird die Herausbildung der formelhaften Wortverbindungen des Deutschen vom 8. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert untersucht. Die im Jahr 2006 mit dem mit einer Million Euro dotierten Sofja Kovalevskaja-Preis ausgezeichnete Wissenschaftlerin arbeitet an der Schnittstelle von Historischer Linguistik und EDV-Philologie und unternimmt eine epochenübergreifende Dokumentierung und Kommentierung historischer Variation und Gebrauchsdynamik der Formelhaftigkeit in älteren deutschen Texten unterschiedlichster Textsorten (S. 149). Filatkina setzt auch eine Verlinkung der HiFoS-Datenbank mit zwei anderen an der Universität Trier entstehenden Datenbanken (zu jiddischen Phraseologismen [Jphras] und zu den so genannten Sprichwortbildern [GnoVis]) in Aussicht.

Anna Idström nimmt die Herausforderung der Erfassung und Beschreibung der Idiome der gefährdeten inarisamischen Sprache in Nordfinnland und damit die gesamte darin tradierte Welt und Kultur wahr. Die Notwendigkeit der Dokumentierung des Dialekts in Form eines idiomatischen Wörterbuchs liegt auf der Hand. Um die Welt der Inari-Samen vor Vergessenheit zu retten, muss man mit Hilfe der letzten kompetenten Dialektsprecher(innen) in diese Welt hineindringen. Von etwas oberflächlich behandelten terminologischen Fragen abgesehen, bildet der Ansatz eine gute Möglichkeit zu erfahren, wie die Erhebung der Daten geschieht, wie mit Versuchspersonen gearbeitet wird und wie die einzelnen Wörterbucheinträge aufgebaut werden, um den Wünschen des potentiellen Wörterbuchbenutzers gerecht zu werden. Es bleibt zu hoffen, dass auch Idiome anderer bedrohter Sprachen vor Vergessenheit gerettet werden und den Weg in idiomatische Wörterbücher finden, bevor es zu spät ist.

EUROPHRAS 2008 war mit mehr als 200 Teilnehmern und rund 170 Vorträgen die bisher größte in der Geschichte der EUROPHRAS-Tagungen. Weil sich die Gesellschaft unter anderem wegen der weit gefächerten internationalen Mitgliederstruktur der Vielsprachigkeit verpflichtet sieht, kann der Leser in dem vorliegenden Konferenzband auch Beiträge auf Französisch und Spanisch lesen.

Mehrere Vortragende widmeten sich eher theoretischen Problemen, wie etwa dem (problematischen) Definitionskriterium der Polylexikalität oder auch der Frage der Nutzung elektronischer Korpora in der Phraseologieforschung. Reges Interesse weckte die Frage der Darstellung von Phraseologismen in Wörterbüchern (z. B. im Goethe-Wörterbuch, im Neuen Deutsch-Russischen Großwörterbuch, in korpusbasierten Kollokationswörterbüchern, im deutsch-finnischen Wörterbuch der Routineformeln) sowie der textsortenspezifische Einsatz von Phraseologismen und ihre Einbringung in den Fremdsprachenunterricht.

Eingeweihte Leser finden in dem Konferenzband die aktuellsten Beiträge aus der Phraseologie im weiten Sinne und können sicher sein, dass die Beiträge mit großer Umsicht nach inhaltlichen und qualitativen Kriterien ausgewählt wurden. Der Band dokumentiert nicht nur den Stand der Forschung, sondern signalisiert auch weitere Forschungsmöglichkeiten und beschreibt eine Reihe laufender Projekte.

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Reviewed by Leena Maria Heikkola

1. Introduction

As the title suggests, *Johdatus kielitieteeseen* [Introduction to Linguistics] is an introduction to linguistics. According to the authors, the aim of the book is to familiarize the reader with the nature and study of language (p. 8). The book is written from a typological perspective, looking at world languages as well as the language situation in Finland.

Johdatus kielitieteeseen is divided into three main parts, which are further divided into a total of 10 chapters. Part One introduces the reader to the variety of languages spoken around the world, and the relationships between them. This part is subdivided into 4 chapters. As the book has an overall typological perspective, the first chapter consists of a presentation of the language situation in the world, i.e. how many, and what kind of languages there are. In chapter 2, different ways of categorizing languages are introduced. Chapter 3 introduces world languages continent by continent, and the language situation in Finland. The fourth chapter takes us into the future by looking at the prospects of, and the possible threats to, world languages.

The authors stress that the book is written from a meaning and use(r)-based point of view (p. 8). In part Two, the authors answer the question, “What is in a language?”. This part is subdivided into three chapters, chapters 5–7. Chapter 7 examines what kind of meanings can be expressed by language, and how they are expressed; and as such, forms the core of Part Two. Chapters 5 and 6 present structural elements of language as background information for chapter 7. The focus is on the possible sounds and morpho-syntactic forms of language.

Part Three of the book concentrates on what language is, focusing on the nature of language, as well as language variation and change. This part is subdivided into 3 chapters, chapters 8–10. Chapter 8 discusses the nature of language on a general level, focusing e.g. on how meanings are conveyed through language. In chapter 9, the authors present language in a

social environment and finally, in chapter 10, they discuss language change and how it comes about. Finally, the book answers the question “What is the study of language?” by briefly introducing the history and aims of linguistics, as well as current and historical methodology.

Within the different chapters, there are information boxes with more in-depth information about selected topics discussed in the text. All the parts of the book are followed by an annotated bibliography listing references used in the text, as well as references for more information. At the back of the book, the authors have added a bibliography of the books from which they have extracted the different language examples used in the text. In addition, they have enclosed a list of the world languages mentioned in the book with information about the language family they belong to, and the region where the languages are spoken, accompanied by a world map. There are also tables of sound symbols and an index of essential terms at the back of the book.

2. Background

As pointed out by the authors themselves, *Johdatus kielitieteeseen* is aimed to be comprehensive, yet compact introductory textbook to linguistics (p. 9). This book succeeds two popular Finnish language introductory textbooks in linguistics, namely Fred Karlsson’s *Yleinen kielitiede* [Linguistics] (1998) and Kaisa Häkkinen’s *Kielitieteen perusteet* [Basic Linguistics] (1995). Instead of only talking about different fields within linguistics, *Johdatus kielitieteeseen* takes one field, namely typology, as the lens through which linguistics is seen. This is justifiable, as linguistics is about language in general, and the layman’s idea of linguistics is more often than not that of typology. Thus the typological approach brings the book closer to the reader’s earlier notions of what linguistics is, or can be. In addition to this typological approach, the book succeeds in its other aim of examining language from a point of view of conveying meanings, and how this is done in communication among human beings.

3. Analysis

3.1 Which languages are there?

In chapter 1, the authors discuss the definition of language through concepts of natural versus created language, and language versus dialect.

They refer to Gordon's *The Ethnologue* (2005) in introducing assessments about the number of languages in the world, and the number of speakers for the biggest languages. Their discussion is also illustrated in a list of the most spoken languages and a graph depicting the fact that a few major languages have the most speakers. As the authors have chosen a typological approach for the book, it is appropriate to begin the book with the introduction of world languages. The text is well-written and engaging from the very beginning.

Chapter 2 discusses four different ways to categorize languages, namely genealogical, geographic, sociolinguistic, and typological. Genealogical categorization is based on origin. Languages that can linguistically be proven to originate from the same proto-language belong to the same genealogical category (p. 24). This is illustrated in the book by a helpful graph of a fictitious language family. As a concrete example the authors introduce the Indo-European language family. The genealogical categorization is based on the historical comparative method in which lexicon and grammatical elements are compared for analogies in sounds. In the book this is illustrated in a table of analogies of words in selected Indo-European languages (p. 26). The table facilitates understanding the method behind genealogical categorization, despite the small mistake for the French word for 'new'.

The second way to categorize languages is geographic. In geographic categorization languages are divided according to their geographic areas, while also considering the influence different languages and cultures have on each other (p. 33). The third method is sociolinguistic, in which languages are divided according to a language's status and function in society (p. 36). The fourth, and final, way of categorizing languages is typological, which is the predominant approach in the book. In typological categorization tens or hundreds of languages are compared for similarities and/or differences in vocabulary and form (p. 38). In all of the subchapters new linguistic terms pertaining to each type linguistic categorization are presented in a clear manner, and the reader is able to absorb a great deal of new information with great ease.

Chapter 3 discusses the languages of the world, continent by continent. This discussion also takes linguistic macro areas into consideration. The five main areas discussed are Africa, Europe, Asia, Oceania, and the Americas. The language situation in Finland is discussed as a local example (p. 44). This chapter is possibly the most cumbersome in the book due to the multitude of new languages and terms presented.

However, as the result of the authors' ability to write in a well-structured and engaging manner, the reader is able to follow the text without greater difficulty. The chapter on the local language situation in Finland puts the previously presented information into perspective, and shows how different aspects can influence a language in a specific linguistic environment. The fact that all the mentioned languages are marked on a map at the back of the book makes it easier for the reader to form a general view on the languages and language families discussed. In chapter 4, the authors focus on the future of world languages, especially on the change and death of many natural languages (p. 67). Language change and variation are further discussed in chapter 10.

3.2 What is in a language?

In Part Two, the authors discuss the differences between sound and meaning, form and meaning, and vocabulary and grammar (p. 76). In connection to the differences between meaning and form, the authors also discuss different areas within linguistics and language, which are illustrated in a graph dividing language into two levels: the level of the form and the level of the use, i.e. meaning. The graph gives a clear picture of the different areas of the study of language, and thus helps the reader to structure the information in the chapter into meaningful units. Some new terms are explained in the introduction in order to make chapters 5–7 more accessible to the reader.

The division of language into meaning and form is anchored to Saussure's concepts *signifiant* (signified) and *signifié* (signified). These are illustrated with a circle that has a picture of a tree in the upper half, and the word 'tree' in the lower half. The picture supports the explanation of the difference of these concepts in the text. It also helps the reader to understand why and what kind of differences there are in languages.

Chapters 5 and 6 present background information for chapter 7. They focus on sounds and sound systems, and morpho-syntactic forms, respectively. Chapter 5 has many graphs and tables to illustrate e.g. the places and manners of articulation. The chapter begins with the sounds of all languages, but narrows the focus toward the Finnish sound system in the final part of the chapter. This helps the reader in connecting the overall view of the sound systems to their own language. Chapter 6 uses examples from a number of languages to illustrate different aspects of morpho-syntax. The examples are easy to follow, as the authors have wisely chosen

examples from Finnish as well as other languages widely known in Finland such as Swedish and English.

Chapter 7 concentrates on meaning by looking at different forms used to express similar meanings (p. 112). This chapter truly forms the core of Part Two of the book. In fact, it seems to be the heart of the entire book. In some 80 pages the authors manage to cover all the main aspects of grammar, from a morpheme to complex syntax to information structure in a text, and relate it to ways different languages use those forms to convey different meanings. The text continues to be very well structured. Tables and examples are used carefully to illustrate and clarify the text. The authors have opted to use examples from world languages not familiar to most readers, in addition to examples in Finnish. After getting accustomed to reading the examples in Finnish and other familiar languages in chapter 6, the examples are very easy to read. Each world language example is also marked with a reference, which makes further investigation possible.

3.3 What is language?

Chapter 8 discusses the nature of language. The authors stress that language is most importantly social, and that its main purpose is to convey messages between people (p. 192). The authors approach the social aspects of language through the concepts of meaning and token. They use the concept of prototype in explaining meanings of words, as well as markedness in explaining grammatical categories. Language describes the world not as it is, but how human beings see it. This can be done using tokens. The authors further develop Saussure's idea of signifié and signifiant in a graph (p. 195). A token consists of a form (signifiant) in a language, and a concept (signifié) in the mind. This token then refers to an entity, action, or characteristic in the world. The authors further divide tokens into three different types: indexes, icons, and symbols. They argue that the use of symbols and intentionality in particular separate human language from animal languages.

The authors also talk about the relationship between language and thought. Language does have an effect on thought, but non-linguistic thought also exists. In this chapter, the authors build an argument for their view of language as a social entity. They also manage to introduce an array of important linguistic terms and necessary background information for later discussion of language in use in the following chapters.

In chapter 9, the authors focus on the social aspect of language. As an example of the social aspect of language, they look at variation and multilingualism (p. 204). They examine both geographic and social variation, as well as variation within a context. The authors bind these different elements in language variation together with Saussure's *langue* and *parole*. Here *langue* is the language system, and *parole* the different ways people use language, i.e. the different variations of a language (p. 207). The authors also look at multilingualism by defining a native and a multilingual speaker, and diglossia. In this chapter, the authors succeed in introducing a number of new terms in a straightforward manner, while going through a short historical background of sociolinguistics.

Chapter 10 continues to examine the social aspects of language by looking at language variation and change, and the principles behind these phenomena (p. 213). The topic is introduced via synchronic and diachronic study of language as examples of different approaches to the study of language. The authors illustrate these two methods very well via fictitious and genuine examples in the text, using tables to support these examples. The authors also look at some principles that may cause language change using a felicitous metaphor of price quality ratio. The price is the difficulty in producing or understanding speech, and the quality is the effectiveness of producing speech (p. 218). The authors also list possible rules and principles for language change. Throughout the chapter, the authors manage to convey that language is always subjected to change, and that this change can be studied for example by using a synchronic or a diachronic method.

3.4 What is the study of language?

In the last pages of the book, the authors acquaint the reader with an abridged history of linguistics, as well as the current trends in linguistics. At the end of this part, the authors have attached a helpful list of linguistic corpora. This section gives the reader a good overall view of linguistics, and the references at the back of the text guide the reader to explore topics of interest even further. However, this part seems somewhat disconnected from the rest of the book. Nevertheless, it merits its place in the book as it provides the reader with a greater context for the rest of the information the book has presented.

4. Conclusions

Johdatus kielitieteeseen aims to be a comprehensive, yet concise introductory textbook of linguistics, and succeeds in its aims. It is a well-written and well-structured book, and the text is illustrated and aided with many helpful graphs, tables, and examples from different languages. Although some graphs (e.g. graphs on pp. 21, 143), however, seem unnecessary, they do serve to make the overall layout more accessible. The annotated references at the back of each part facilitate further investigation of topics of interest. Also, the information boxes, which cover topics related to those in the text, give the reader a possibility to deepen their understanding of selected linguistic phenomena. *Johdatus kielitieteeseen* sets out to discuss language and linguistics from the point of view of meaning and use. This is a new and refreshing way to introduce linguistics, and the authors succeed in making the book very user-friendly in the process. The book can be recommended for new students of linguistics and languages as a starting point in their linguistic studies, as well as for more advanced students as a manual of linguistics.

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